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(History)

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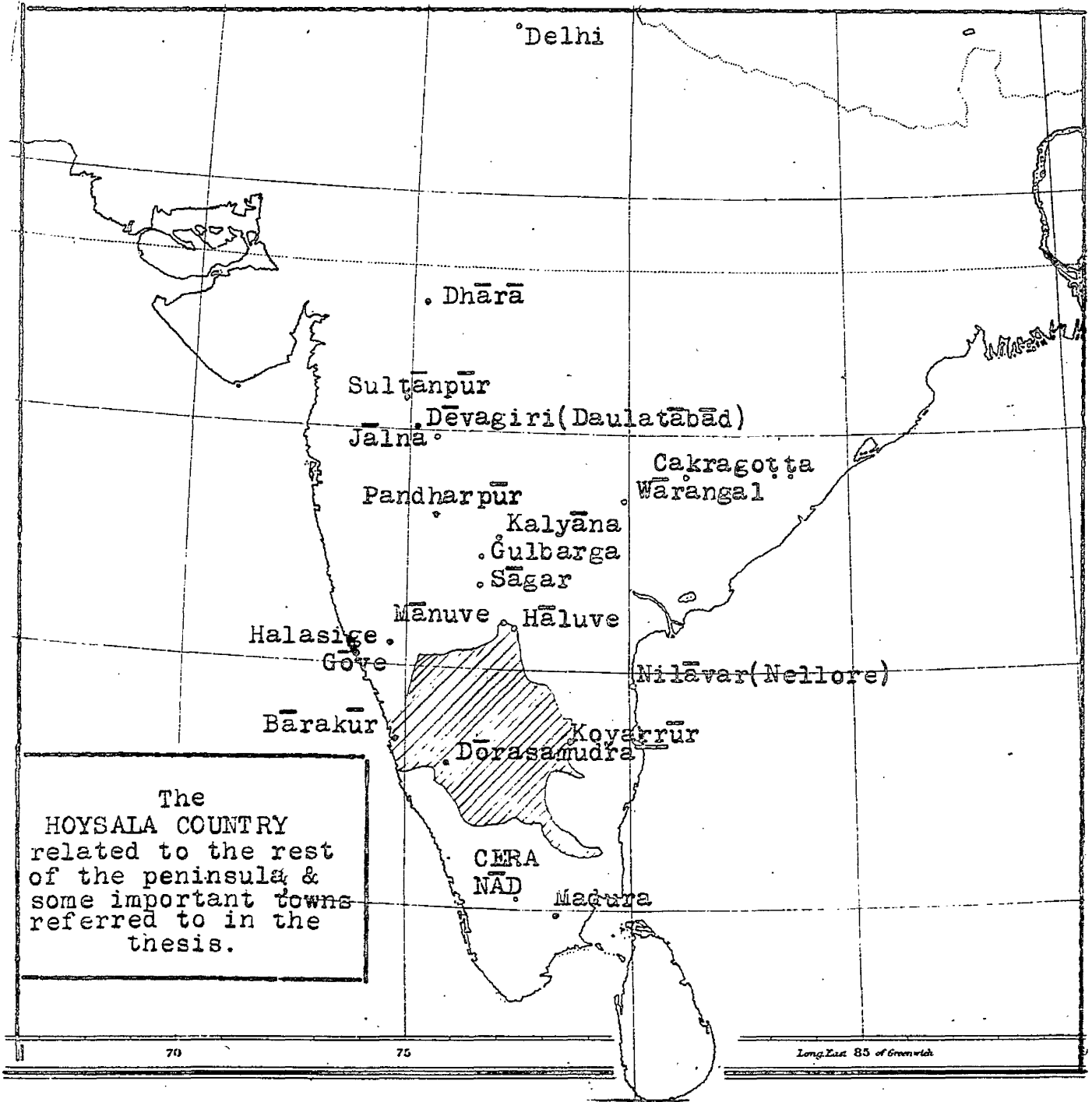
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lists of officials, which, it is hoped, will enable the epigraphic material which is constantly being discovered to be thereby more easily dated, collated and utilized.

Throughout the thesis further light is thrown on the political history of twenty contemporary dynasties.



THE DYNASTIC HISTORY OF THE HOYSALA KINGS

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INTRODUCTION.

Small attention has hitherto been paid by students of Ancient India to the part played by the people of the country now known as the Mysore State. It has been known for a considerable time that a large and fine collection of sculptured temples is to be found there, and that there survives, largely in unpublished form, a great body of literature produced in this part of the Peninsula in both Sanskrit and Kannada on a varied range of topics, many of the works being of outstanding importance. It is known, too, that an important religious sect, the Vira-Śaivas, originated in this sphere and that these regions were the scene of some of the greatest triumphs of the Vaisnava propagandist Rāmānuja. It is, moreover, not unknown that this country possesses a vast number of lithic and copper records which are capable of providing, when reduced to order, a connected story of the history of the land with a varying degree of fulness from about the fifth century to the present day.

Nevertheless, with such sources and such fields for inquiry, insufficient research has yet been made into the contributions of the various sections of the Karnāṭaka people to Ancient and Mediaeval Indian culture, without a full understanding of which the study of Ancient India must always be incomplete. And not only that of Ancient India. The history of Mysore has some unique contributions to make to the solution of the many and perplexing problems concerning Muslim and British rule in India. For she preserves records of the condition, manners and ways of government of purely Hindu states which are far

fuller than any but those of the Cōla and Pāṇḍya kingdoms, while the Mysorean records, for all their faults, are very considerably better adapted to the requirements of the historian, and will remain so until the rich mine of Tamil epigraphical material yields to the approach of more systematic and laborious research than has so far been applied to it. Thus, quite independent of the reports of Muslims upon the peoples they plundered and conquered, we have first-hand evidence in large, and, with labour, manageable quantity and of sufficiently high quality, of the exact state of the country before the advent of any recognizable foreign influence.

Several attempts have been made, notably by Dr. B. A. Saletore, to portray the social and religious history of various sections of the Karnāṭaka people in different periods. A full and reliable account of the social, political, religious, literary, economic and architectural histories of the Mysorean plateau and adjoining districts is still a desideratum, and will remain so until the records upon which it must be based will have been better read, interpreted and arranged than they have been up to the present.

This work is a contribution to the task, being the political history of the Hoysalas, the most considerable and most prosperous dynasty that has ruled in Mysore. Their line saw some of the best and most characteristic developments of the Karnāṭaka genius, and their period, A.D. 950 to 1343, is most worthy of full and sympathetic examination. No works of art produced in earlier or later periods in the south Deccan

can be compared with the achievements of persons living under their rule or enjoying their patronage. This political history is intended to provide the bony skeleton upon which the social and cultural histories of this most fruitful period may be founded. In it are traced the origin, growth, prosperity, decline and collapse of the Hoysalas themselves, accompanied with the greatest detail and with the fullest completeness that the importance of the subject demands and the weaknesses of the sources permit.

The last original account of the dynasty was written in 1917.⁽¹⁾ It occupies 33 pages, and contains certain errors. Previous to that the only work of importance was the chapter on the Hoysalas of Dorasamudra in J.F.Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, which work contained in the last edition (that of 1896) 307 pages, itself an advance on the 106^{page} version in the edition of 1882. Of those pages only a small proportion was devoted to the Hoysala dynasty. The first edition itself was a very marked advance on the previous knowledge of the subject, which had been of the very flimsiest nature, based on ill-interpreted Muslim sources and the ill-understood discoveries of European scholars of the first half of the nineteenth century among the vernacular literature and local traditions of the regions in question, such, for example, as form a large part of the Mackenzie Collection.⁽²⁾ The movement towards the utilization of the epigraphical sources was initiated

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- (1) S.Srikantaiya: *The Hoysala Empire*. Q.J.M.S.vii & viii.
 (2) See below, Appendix III. Cf.the mention of the Bellāls in Meadows Taylor's *Students' Manual of the History of India* (London, 1870) pp.71 & 111; also in Wilks' *Historical Sketches of the South of India*.

by Walter (later Sir Walter) Elliot of the Bombay Civil Service, whose article on Hindu inscriptions in the fourth volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (1837) made, despite its many inevitable errors, a landmark not only in the historiography of Mysore or of India but in scholarly research in general. His facsimiles of the old Kannada characters, significantly without the numerals, and his private collection of copies of inscriptions, many of the originals of which have since been damaged or lost, are still of the greatest value.

Of the many scholars, both native and European, who have contributed to the history of this dynasty two names only deserved particular mention: those of B. Lewis Rice and J.F. Fleet. The first was responsible for a book of translations from texts of inscriptions deciphered from minute photographs, and therefore, as well as on account of the infancy of the study, a work of comparatively little value to-day; for the edition of several works of the old Kannada writers; and especially for the wonderful collection of Mysorean inscriptions, edited with Roman as well as Kannada text and translation, that is known as the *Epigraphia Carnatica*. His works suffer from several faults, all of which are due to the conditions under which they were produced. In the first place the copies from which text and translation were made were not always identical, and the Roman and Kannada texts vary, sometimes largely. The variation is in a sense helpful, as it often enables a correct restoration to be made where the text has been corrupted by the copyists. Moreover, those inscriptions which seemed too damaged

or too uncommunicative were neglected in the Roman Text and the translation; several valuable records have been recovered in the following pages and their mutilated testimony has been added to the pile. The translations were never exact and full: their author did not consider the whole of an inscription worthy of reproduction, often with reason; and in the period during which this monumental work was published the knowledge of old Kannada was still very defective. It is not now very considerably advanced, but many improvements can be made to Rice's renderings, and have been made in this thesis.

The standard of publication of inscriptions after Rice's time has not been uniformly high, and his successors often declined even from those levels of scholarship that prevailed in pioneering days. For several years no Roman or Kannada texts were published in the Reports of the Archaeological department of Mysore, and the same deficiency is found throughout the annual reports of epigraphy of the Madras presidency. The inscriptions collected in that area are however slowly being published without translation or, in many cases, even an index, in the volumes of the South Indian Inscriptions. It is very unfortunate that no systematic collection has ever been made of the inscriptions in the southern parts of the Bombay presidency, though certain collections of "Bombay-Karnatak" records have been made recently under the auspices of the Madras epigraphists; similarly a complete collection of the Kannada inscriptions in the Nizam's State has yet to be made: Walter Elliot's lithographed collection is thus of more than ordinary

value.

J.F.Fleet published a considerable amount of epigraphical material on many dynasties, and amongst them several in close contact with the Hoysalas. But his greatest work was the construction of a reliable political history of the dynasty from the epigraphical material that had so far been published. His own copies of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* and other works are to be found in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, bearing many interesting and useful annotations. Fleet's many errors are seldom due to inexcusable carelessness or faulty deduction, and he remains the best writer on the subject both in point of the thoroughness and exactness with which he worked and in the remarkable success with which he reconstructed the history from the most scanty and difficult materials. His work stands a peculiar test: vast numbers of inscriptions have been published since his work was written, yet his main contentions stand, and his mistakes are insignificant compared with those of his successors, none of whom has surpassed him in this field. Yet Fleet's work is fifty years old, and much material has accumulated, with the double effect of adding new facts to our knowledge and altering the value and interpretation of that which existed in Fleet's time. Records continue to appear, and are discovered annually. The lists of officials at the end of this work are intended primarily to assist in the identification, dating and utilizing of the material to be discovered in the future. These lists will themselves require revision in time, as the identification and affiliation of the officers is at present in very many cases

a matter of conjecture, for records are laconic and the people suffered from an acute shortage of names: a distressing characteristic for the historian as it affects not persons only but places as well.

Although the arrival of fresh evidence is eagerly awaited, the two thousand eight hundred stone and copper inscriptions which have been selected from the fifty thousand available, and upon which this work is based, provide, when supplemented by literary evidence, sufficient material to justify an attempt to construct a history of the whole dynasty.

The task is fraught with difficulties, which have marred the work of previous writers, and will long prove an obstacle to accurate work in this field. An original error made by Rice has often been handed down by the credulous or uncritical so as to deceive several writers before arriving at last at the sanctuary provided for it and its fellows within the historical section of the Mysore Gazetteer which was recently edited by Hayavadana Rao, and which consists of a conflation of all previous theories together with a few suggestions by the compiler, some of which are just, while the remainder are of little value. These errors are very largely due to misreadings, misinterpretations, and faulty deductions based on correct or incorrect material. Misreading is encouraged by the damaged condition of many of the records, very large numbers of which were deliberately damaged and defaced as many as six centuries ago. But faulty sight-copies and imaginative readings of impressions and rubbings have accounted for many more errors. The

real similarity of different characters adds to the confusion, (1) which is worsened by the tendency of decipherers to read familiar and correct forms for unfamiliar words and peculiar forms, which grammarians persist in calling incorrect but which were in their day as usual as the forms selected by grammarians. Copyists have a habit of copying what they think an original ought to read, and Walter Elliot's inscriptions in particular are full of corruptions introduced by copyists. The editors, copyists, readers and, particularly in India, printers do not form the sum total of the sources of errors in our copies; the original authors and the masons or engravers who reproduced their work are responsible for many solecisms and flaws. A good example of the opportunities which these six parties have of corrupting an inscription may be seen by comparing two readings of one record, and the readings of several similar records on unfamiliar and partially intelligible topics. Excellent examples of the misreadings that unfamiliarity brings into a copy may be found in the accounts of settlements, examples of which are provided in Appendix II .(2)

When all is considered it is remarkable that so much material is correctly read. Many corrections have been made by the present writer, but they are only a small fraction of the total number that are required. Correction is only possible when there is a great bulk of material available for consideration at one time, and that advantage has been present in this case, perhaps for the first time.

(1) La and A, da and dha, da and da are nearly alike; ja, ca, ba, and bha are hardly distinguishable in many cases; gu and sa are often identical; ta and ra are alike; nda and nta can not be told apart. Numerals are extremely treacherous. (2) over.

Great as is the number of errors produced by poor epigraphy, the present lack of knowledge of the languages hampers the reconstruction and interpretation of the texts to a very large extent. Indeed there is a vicious circle: until better texts of inscriptions are produced a proper knowledge of the different styles of literary, official and popular ancient and mediaeval Kannada and Tamil can not be attained, and without the latter the production of good texts of classical authors is well-nigh impossible, and the publishing of texts of inscriptions little more than a hazardous venture. The present position is that texts are often published without the editors having a full comprehension of their meaning. It is hoped that eventually it will be possible to exceed even that high standard that is reached by some of the publications of inscriptions in the *Epigraphia Indica* and the *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*.

When, again, it is realized that even where they are fully intelligible the records are laconic in general and productive of historical facts often only in an incidental manner, while much of the material that has to be utilized for historical purposes is thrown into a poetical and highly imaginative form, it is clear that there is a large room for error and misunderstanding. Two thousand eight hundred records are very few considering that they were produced over four hundred years, and therefore scraps of evidence have to bear a much greater weight than they were originally designed to support. Careless and

Page viii n.(2) E.C.I,6 and E.C.V Arkalgud 38 are copies of the same record made by different persons but both edited and published by Rice at different times. The differences are very odd and instructive. One has difficulty in believing that they are of the same stone, but that is undoubtedly the case.

insignificant statements, which may have been of doubtful accuracy at the time they were written, falsehoods and forgeries, all have to contribute to the picture of this dynasty, whose traces, but for the temples, these stone and copper inscriptions and a few coins of almost negligible historical value, (1) have utterly vanished. Small wonder that very many mistakes have been made by writers on one or many aspects of this subject. The temptation to refute and contradict all of them has been great, but the amount of argumentation resulting would have been far too bulky to admit of being reproduced here, and moreover, the errors of previous writers are as satisfactorily contradicted by implication. The field is wide, the facts are few, the room for error vast: it is difficult not to take advantage of it. The present writer has been careful not to overstep the limits of the materials, and where they are unreliable their weaknesses have generally been pointed out.

The translations offered in this work are not expected to be final; they are, in the majority of cases, improvements on those already existing. Defremery's translation of Ibn Battūtah is so good that very slight and few alterations have had to be made in the passages quoted. In the case of the valuable author 'Isāmī, however, no translation of his Futūh us Salātīn has so far appeared, and it has never been examined from the point of view of Hoysala history. Besides 'Isāmī, most of the Muslim writers consulted in this work have received general attention before, though without any critical comparison

(1) A coin bearing, for example, the legend *Ṣoṇambavāḍi-gōṇḍa*, tells us nothing that we do not know from better sources. Hoysala coins were of little artistic value. See M.A.R.1917, p.63 and M.A.R.1929, pp.23-27. A.R.1919, 360(1201) mentions *Bhuja-baja māḍai*, which must have been a Hoysala coin.

with the whole of the indigenous records. The existing translations, summaries, extracts and so on, especially in the collection of Elliot and Dowson, are very nearly worthless. Their readings of names alone are of value, as, on account of the extreme liability of the Persian script to corruption, we can never have too much material to enable us to reconstruct the original reading of the Mss. For this purpose very many copies were examined in connection with the events of 1310-1343. (1) Habib's translation of Amīr Khusrau's Khazāin ul Futūh contains very many unexplained omissions and slips, as well as more than one case of serious inadequacy; but this author is the most difficult of all, including Waṣṣāf, and Habib's efforts may be criticized leniently. No translations exist of the majority of the Kannada classics; and the small extracts appearing in this work, particularly of the interesting and recently published work, the Sūktisuddhārnava, are likewise in the nature of pioneer attempts.

Of the varied literary material used occasionally in this work a sufficient account will be found wherever relevant. No part of it takes precedence over epigraphical material, with the exception of the question of the death of Ballāla III, where the epigraphical material is clearly faulty. Disagreements are, however, extremely rare. Of some works, such as the Sanskrit Gadyakarnāmrta, we have only reports: if the texts are ever published some additional light may be thrown on Hoysala problems.

(1) Of 20 Mss. of the Tabaqāt i Akbarī of Khawājah Nizām ud dīn Ahmad (listed in the Bibliography) for the correct reading Balāl one has Balār, three have Balādar (or approximations), one has Balād, three have Balār with the Bē undotted, three have Malāl, five have Malār, one Malā, one Palār, one Madār, & one Malāz.

Orthographical difficulties beset a work of this nature. The inhabitants of the countries concerned were themselves not sure how their language and especially proper names ought to be spelt. When words occur in several languages and in different forms the Kannada form has usually been preferred, but absolute consistency has been found impossible. Belagāvi has been chosen arbitrarily instead of Baligāve, Baligāvi, Belagāme, Belāgāmve and other forms, all of which were at some time in use amongst the Kannadigas themselves; similarly Talakād has been chosen instead of Talekād, Talakād, or Talaikādu. In many other cases a similar choice has had to be made. In the cases of the names of persons it is often doubtful whether the reading followed is correct or preferable to current alternatives. The reader should be aware of the peculiar Kannada fluctuations between la and la, la and la, ra and ra, ha and pa, pa and va (and even ma) after vowels; the doubled consonant after r has not generally been allowed, despite the fact that it was almost universally affected by the contemporary writers, and is therefore faithfully reproduced in the quotations. These are exactly as they occur in the originals, with only the most obvious errors corrected, and with emendations clearly shown.

It will be found with the references that the date is supplied after the identification of the epigraph: this useful datum in very many cases differs from that used by the editor or editors. The reasons for the change are not always given, as the reasonings behind it are often lengthy and complex; in the majority of cases a misreading of a numeral or some

other irregularity is responsible for the error, which the broad comparison of a large number of records soon repairs. Some examples are particularly difficult, as the date is not only inconsistent with the subject matter but with itself; such cases may often be explained by the suggestion that the record was fabricated or mistakenly copied after the event which it was intended to commemorate.

No great attention has been paid here to chronological worries, which have been stimulated by experts in astronomy and have exercised many minds with little dependable result. Sewell and Dikshit's scheme has been followed, though the names of the samvatsaras are not always identical with those in their list. The incidence of eclipses proves that their identification of the Saka year, whether current or expired, with the cyclic year is correct, and that both have a certain relationship to our era. The absence of an eclipse mentioned in ~~an inscription~~ an inscription from their list proves nothing: the Kannada astrologers used invisible as well as visible eclipses, and a pleasant looking date was to the majority of people as good as an accurate one. There is, incidentally, no proof that any samvatsaras were expunged during this period. When a question mark precedes a date, it signifies that the year may be taken as correct, but that the record itself does not give absolutely convincing proof of the year. The sign for "circa" gives a conjectured date a latitude of three years in each direction.

The maps, which are, perhaps, the most certainly original portion of this thesis, provide for the first time a basis for the exact assessment of the territorial power of this dynasty and some surrounding dynasties. Map 'C' will prove of value when the history of the north-western districts comes to be written. With the exception of maps 'D' and 'E' 75% of the villages known to have been occupied during the period are shown. Of the remainder^d by far the greater part are now deserted, have altered names, or are for some other reason not included in either the 1 inch or 4 miles-to-the-inch sheets of the latest ordnance survey. A complete set of these sheets may be found in the Record Department of the Commonwealth Relations Office, King Charles Street. The maps provided here are accurate to within a half-mile, and will be found very helpful in following the campaigns of the Hoysala kings. With few exceptions the names are shown in their contemporary forms, while only gross differences from the modern forms are noted in brackets. The reader will find it of great help to use a map of modern Mysore also, especially one that, like that found in Riise's "Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions", shows the boundaries of the tāluqas, to which constant reference is made in this work.

Certain subjects connected with the history of the Hoysala dynasty have received ample treatment elsewhere or are outside the scope of this thesis. Such are the questions of the origin of the first Vijayanagara dynasty, on which the latest views of Dr. N Venkataramanayya are followed, and the very

doubtful matter of the conversion of Viṣṇuwardhana by Rāmānuja, references to which are found amongst the nearly-worthless material in Appendix III.

This work could not have been written without the enthusiastic cooperation and assistance which the writer obtained from Messrs. A.Master, M.S.H.Thompson and G.M.Wickens, all at the time of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, who instructed him in Kannada, Tamil and Persian respectively and gave unsparing efforts towards the solution of the very numerous problems presented by the materials. The writer is obliged likewise to Professor J. Brough and Mr.C.A.Rylands, both of the same School, for their patient compliance with his requirements in the fields of literary and epigraphical Sanskrit. He is particularly indebted to Dr.L.D.Barnett, whose perseverance and learning, both exercised often at no small personal inconvenience, have not only encouraged the work at every stage from its inception, but also contributed many valuable suggestions and detected numerous cases where he would have fallen into error.

Esher,

September, 1949.

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LIST OF MAPS.

The Hoysala country related to the rest of the Peninsula & some important towns referred to in the thesis. (1)	Frontispiece.
Map 'A': The Hoysala nād.	In pocket at end of volume.
Map 'B': The Tungabhadra Valley.	" " " " " "
Map 'C': The North-western districts.	" " " " " "
Map 'D': The Southern plains. The Tamil country or Ma'bar. Inset, approximate dynastic distribution.	" " " " " "
Map 'E': Hoysala possessions on the West coast, 1333-43.	To face page 481.

(1) The shaded portion indicates very approximately the area ruled at different times by Hoysala kings. It was never ruled in its entirety by a Hoysala king at any one time.

THE SUBDIVISIONS OF THE HOYSAḶA COUNTRY
WITH A KEY TO THEIR POSITION ON MAP "A".

Alageya-nāḍ	42
Arakere-nāḍ	4
Arasu-nāḍ	7
Āsandi-nāḍ	17
Baḍabagundu-nāḍ	47
Badagere-nāḍ	41
Ballavi-nāḍ) Ballagi-nāḍ)	near Bellūr.
Bambaya-nāḍ	?32
Bānatiyahalli-nāḍ	56
Bayal-nāḍ	23
Beku-nāḍ	near Tagare-nāḍ
Bidurūr-nāḍ	9
Biligūr-nāḍ	unidentified
Caṅga-nāḍ	20
Cikka-Gangavāḍi-nāḍ	46
Cokka-nāḍ	61
Dāsarāyanahalli-nāḍ	60
Dēvagunda-nāḍ	49
Dēvalige or Dēmalige-nāḍ	11
Eḍe or Idai-nāḍ	43
Elahanka or Yelahanka or Elahaka-nāḍ	66
Enṇe-nāḍ	48
Hadavalike-nāḍ	5

Haru <u>he</u> or Haru <u>ve</u> -nāḍ	59
Hiriya-nāḍ same as Ede-nāḍ	
Hogare-nāḍ	26
Hangalvāḍi-nāḍ	38
Hosavūr-nāḍ	50
Hulēnahalli-nāḍ	53
Jiddulige or Jidvalige-nāḍ	1
Kabbunālige-nāḍ north of Jiddulige-nāḍ	
Kabbuhu-nāḍ (a 1000 nāḍ)	27
Kaivāra-nāḍ	73
Kaiyara-nāḍ	39
Kalavara-nāḍ	?19
Kalkani or Kalukani-nāḍ	28
Kaluvali-nāḍ or Keluvali-nāḍ	51
Kelale-nāḍ	52
Keregōḍu-nāḍ	36
Kilalai or Kilalūr-nāḍ	54
Kōḍagi-nāḍ	12
Kolka-nāḍ part of Hiriya-nāḍ	
Koṅga-nāḍ	16
Kōgali-nāḍ	14
Koppa-nāḍ	3
Kōru-nāḍ	44
Kuḍugu-nāḍ or ? Kuḍugalūr	33
Kukkala-nāḍ	62
Kumāra-nāḍ otherwise Tore-(? & Tāra)nāḍ	34

Kurukki-nāḍ		31
Kuruvanka-nāḍ		29
Magare-nāḍ	(a 300 nāḍ)	21
Magatanga-nāḍ		8
Maisu-nāḍ	unidentified	
Māle-nāḍ	Near Dōrasamudra	
Mēllige-nāḍ	unidentified	
Maṇali-nāḍ	Near Dōrasamudra	
Maṇṇai-nāḍ		57
Marugare or Maruguli or Marugal-nāḍ		45
Māsandi-nāḍ		72
Mayse or Maise-nāḍ		?15
Mōdūr-nāḍ		24
Murasu-nāḍ		64
Nallūr-nāḍ		68
Nekku-nāḍ		?10
Nema-nāḍ	Near Tagare-nāḍ	
Nirugunda-nāḍ		22
Nugu-nāḍ		25
Padināḷku(14)-nāḍ		35
Pakali-nāḍ	? part of Hiriya-nāḍ	
Ponmaṇige or Hommaḷige-nāḍ		65
Pulliyūr-nāḍ	otherwise Kuñji, Kurukkuñji	71
Rāmaḍi-nāḍ		67
Saṇi-nāḍ	Near Palliyūr-nāḍ	
Sāntaḷige-nāḍ		2

Sigal-nāḍ or Siyal-nāḍ	63
Sīge-nāḍ	18
Sīre-nāḍ	40
Śrīkala-nāḍ	in the western districts
Tagaḍai-nāḍ	75
Tagare-nāḍ (a 70 nāḍ)	13
Tagu-nāḍ	unidentified
Talige-nāḍ	6
Tēkkal-nāḍ	74
Tuṅgani-nāḍ	755
Vapada-nāḍ	37
Veppūr-nāḍ	770
Vīra-Vallāla-dēva-nāḍ	69
Yalagali-nāḍ	58
Yedatore-nāḍ	30

-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

A.R.	Annual Report of Epigraphy, Madras.
A.S.I.	Archaeological Survey of India.
B.M.	British Museum.
C.H.I.	Cambridge History of India.
D.K.D.	Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts.
E.C.	Epigraphia Carnatica.
E.I.	Epigraphia Indica.
E.I-M.	Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica.
H.A.R.	Report of the Archaeological Dept. of the Nizam's Dominions.
H.I.S.I.	Historical Inscriptions of Southern India.
I.A.	Indian Antiquary.
I.H.Q.	Indian Historical Quarterly.
I.O.	India Office. (Now Commonwealth Re- lations Office.)
J.B.B.R.A.S.	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J.I.H.	Journal of Indian History.
K.K.	Kadamba Kula.
K.K.C.	Karnataka Kavi Carite.
K.T.	Kannada Text.
M.A.R.	Reports of Epigraphy, Mysore.
M.INS.	Mysore Inscriptions.
N.I.A.	New Indian Antiquary.
Pd.	Pudukkottai Inscriptions.
P.S.O.C.I.	Pali, Sanskrit and Old Canarese In- scriptions.
Q.J.M.S.	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.
R.A.S.	Royal Asiatic Society.
R.T.	Roman Text.

S.I.I.	South Indian Inscriptions.
S.K.H.	Sources of Karnataka History.
S.O.A.S.	School of Oriental & African Studies.
V.C.E.	Vijayanagara: the Origin of the City and the Empire.
W.E.	Walter Elliot.
....	Syllables missing.
---	Syllables or words deliberately omitted.
()	Round brackets enclose (1) words necessary to complete the sense; (2) explanatory or illustrative matter.
[]	Square brackets enclose syllables barely visible on the stone or copper plate.
< >	Pointed brackets enclose syllables inserted by the present writer, except where otherwise stated.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE B E G I N N I N G S

CHAPTER ONE : THE BEGINNINGS.

In the tenth century of our era Southern India can not have lacked in appearance many of the features which it now displays. The same wide plains extend across the Deccan and in the Tamil districts at the extreme south-east of the peninsula; the same lofty range separates the relatively narrow strip of the Malabar coast from either; the Western Ghats, as it is known, form a junction, at a point about two thirds of their distance towards Cape Comorin, with the culminating ranges of the Eastern Ghats, that less continuous but no less formidable concatenation, to form the massive heights of the Nilgiris, which project above the southern plains like an enormous bastion. The table-land which lies between these ranges forms at its western edge the watershed of the rivers Tungā and Bhadrā, which with the Vēdāvati flow northwards, and the Hēmāvati, Lakṣmantīrtha and Kabbani rivers which, uniting with the Kāvēri, itself rising in the same region, flow by its sinuous bed to the east and then south; the eastern parts of this plateau, receiving as they do far less rain than the western, provide, besides the Shimsha, but exiguous streams to the waters of the Kāvēri, while to the Kistna river, so plentifully supplied by the western districts, they send only the Suvarṇamukhi, a tributary of the Vēdāvati, and harbour at the extreme eastern edge the sources of the Pinākini or Northern Pennār with its tributaries the Jayamaṅgali and Kumudvati.

These rivers may perhaps, in the tenth century, have been a little less wide; their progress, hardly as yet impeded by ambitious schemes of irrigation, may have been more rapid. Upon the flanks of the mountains a little more soil may have remained. Two notable features, however, distinguish the face of the country of that day from that of the present: the extent of the forests has dwindled, while the number of artificial reservoirs, or tanks as they are known, has increased.

Many hills are now bare which were then thickly wooded. Isolated tracts of woodland, now protected by the intervention of the State from further depredation, were then continuous belts of dense forest traversed by few and winding paths, trod by the wayfarer in terror of wild beasts and by the merchant in fear of robbers. Dense scrub and jungle then covered large areas which have long since yielded to the mattock and the harrow, while the areas of forest which now render the western and southern boundaries of Mysore effective barriers against any but the most enterprising invader, then extended rather further to the east and north than they do at present. (1)

Accordingly an area corresponding roughly to the modern Hassan, eastern Mysore, eastern Kadur and south-west Tumkur districts formed a space, dotted here and there with small if often lofty hills, but otherwise comparatively flat and slightly wooded, which could be considered a gigantic natural clearing amid the mountainous forests that encircled

(1) Epigraphic evidence of deforestation is found, for example, in E.C.V Belur 175(1186) & E.C.IX Bangalore 133(1307).

it completely on the west and south, though less so on the north and east. On those sides gaps were found sufficient for unimpeded access in the first place to two separate tracts, namely that corresponding to the modern Bangalore and Kolar districts to the east, and that lying between the rivers Vēdāvati and Pinākini in the north, forming part of the north of the Tumkur district and the Madaksira and Kalyandrug tāluḡas of the modern Anantapur district - a tract itself giving access to the wider spaces of the Deccan plain; and secondly in a similar manner to a naturally homogeneous tract formed by the western parts of Chitaldrug, the northern part of Kadur district and the northern and eastern regions of the Shimoga district together with parts of the southern portion of Dharwar district in the modern Bombay Presidency. This latter tract, separated incompletely from the great clearing mentioned above by a series of irregular wooded hills running from the main western range, was in its turn made distinct from the lands included in that tract of which the northern portion of Tumkur district forms a part by a comparatively low range parallel to the Western Ghats and joining the east-west projection just referred to. (1)

If the climate of the plateau at that time differed at all from that of the present, it will have been

(1) At this point it may be convenient to refer to Map 'A', the shaded portions of which indicate areas at present wooded.

on account of the greater rainfall which a greater degree of vegetation may have given it. In all other respects modern records will be a reliable guide to the climatic conditions enjoyed by its tenth century inhabitants. The plateau is renowned for its healthy and equable climate, secured by its average height of two thousand five hundred feet above mean sea level. Accordingly, not only is the maximum temperature lower than that experienced in the plains, but the daily variation in temperature is greater. (1) Specially worthy of attention is the peculiar proportion of the rainfall. While about three hundred inches are registered in the area now included within the western half of Kadur, Shimoga and Hassan districts, this level drops sharply as the monsoon clouds leave the heights of six thousand feet and enter the plateau. Within sixty miles of the area with the heaviest rainfall only forty inches in a good and twenty five in a bad year are precipitated.

The historical importance of this fact is very great. As the diet of the greater part of the Dravidian as well as Aryan sections of the inhabitants must have been entirely vegetable - for the prevailing creeds discouraged the consumption of animal food, and neither climate nor soil favoured the pasturing of large herds of cattle - land upon which heavy seasonal rain fell was clearly more desirable than that which enjoyed an irregular or scanty water supply.

(1) A detailed description of the climate of Mysore is found in the chapter entitled Meteorology in vol.1 of Hayavadana

In the west, the ground once deforested and tilled, two or more crops could be raised within the year with comparatively little labour, while further eastwards well water and the seasonal streams could hardly provide a single crop, while a failure of the north-east Monsoon, which waters eastern Mysore during October and November, frequently subjected the population to drought and famine. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that it was in the eastern half of the plateau that the tank originated, as a means of conserving an inadequate water supply. The damming of a stream, permitting only the overflow to enter the old bed, enabled the owner of the land below the tank to triple the value of his soil. In the tenth century hardly a tenth of the existing number of these tanks had been constructed, and the present total, in the region of forty thousand, demonstrates the enterprise of subsequent rulers and the consequent growth of wealth and population.

Great, however, as was the natural cleavage between east and west as regards their respective enjoyment of a water supply, other benefits awaited the hardy immigrant to the west. The farmer whose labour in clearing the forest was rewarded by luxuriant crops could afford luxuries for which the subsistence farmer of the east might not hope. Manufactured goods and precious commodities passed, in dry weather, along the route from north to south which skirted the western

Rao's Mysore Gazetteer, pages 42 and following.

mountains, and met the roads from Mangalore, Bārakūr and Honnāvar, along which passed the trade ~~with~~ ^{which} the South Deccan and indeed Southern India carried on with the Indian Ocean. Commodities as varied as horses and salt entered the plateau in exchange for Mysorean paddy, gold and iron: the rulers of the small communities gathered upon these arteries of trade enjoyed a substantial revenue from the luxurious tastes of the courts of the Kamnada rulers in the north, the Telugu princes in the east, and, to a moderate extent, the Tamilian dynasties of the south-east as well. Soon an indigenous power would exploit this source of income to the full.

But, whatever the difference between east and west as a result of the superior opportunities offered to the energetic in the western parts of the plateau, an equally important distinction is to be drawn between the types that inhabited hill and plain. The plain-dweller, whether of Āryan, Dravidian or mixed descent; whether a Brahman occupied in the civil service, or in elegant repose in some agrahāra which a dutiful monarch had bestowed upon his ancestors; or a Jaina merchant living in a depot belonging to the Nānā Dēśis or to another branch of the Five Hundred Swāmis of Ayyāvole, situated at the crossing of important roads or at some other place that was the proud possessor of a regular fair; or the Gāvūṇḍa, a respectable farmer having many tenants under him; or even the humble cultivator upon whose devoted efforts the whole structure of society rested: all alike feared and detested the hill-dweller, whose habitation and ways of life made the plain-dweller of every description his natural prey.

These inhabitants of the hill ranges, whose chieftains were referred to generally under the term malepar, (1) or hill-chiefs, belonged originally to tribes, presumably of pre-Dravidian descent, which had either never known life in the plain or had been driven from there by early imperial dynasties. Their life was obliged to be harder than that of the plain-dweller. This was principally on account of the poorer facilities for raising crops, due as much to the general lack of security in their less populous and less organized society, as to the roughness of the land and the duration and intensity of the summer rains, which isolated each family from its fellows and from the outside world when swollen streams rendered the narrow paths impassable. Their actual livelihood depended in part upon the sale of sandal and other woods, as also the flesh of wild and half-wild beasts, which they themselves ate and which was not despised by the less respectable castes in the plain; they also sold their services to the plain-dwellers, who employed them for the purpose of exterminating wild animals, principally tiger and leopard. Yet they derived their greatest profit, and doubtless no little pleasure, from looting outlying farms and carrying off women, cows and draught-cattle. Their physical strength being, on account of their environment, naturally superior to that of their victims, they proved a constant source of terror to the villager and of concern to the official, who could seldom deal promptly

(1) References to malepar or malehar are not rare. Even in later days malehar raided cows from villages: M.A.R.1915-6 para.36(1136) and E.C.VII Shikarpur 273(1222)K.T.only. A certain Cika-malapa is mentioned in E.C.VII Shimoga 127(?c1020)K.T. only.

with the menace. Raids by these Bēḍar, as they were known, are frequently recorded even in the days of a prosperity which could afford to set up inscriptions commemorating the disasters. Only imagination can measure the extent of the danger in the tenth century. (1)

As mercenary soldiers, on the other hand, the subjects of the malepar had another source of income and means of employment. It was a means which without doubt contributed largely to their domestication and their eventual emergence into the plain and into civilized society together. By this means the Bēḍar of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries reached a high social position, and the Māvalis of the same period achieved prominence in the Marāṭha empire. But the less enterprising among our hill-dwellers, whose ambitions never leapt beyond the robbing of caravans or perhaps the offer of protection to passing merchants from the attentions of their fellow robbers, and who consequently remained in the depths of the forests, never developed a civilization worthy of the name, remained inarticulate from the point of view of history, and are buried in a well-merited obscurity.

Not that warlike propensities were monopolized by the hill-dwellers: the entire country was favourable to

(1) Attacks by Bēḍar are referred to in M.INS 85(1102); E.C.VII Channapatna 37(1200); E.C.VI Tarikere 84(1209); E.C.VII Honnali 48(1216); E.C.VI Tarikere 63(?1244); ibid. 48, 49(1287); M.A.R.1927, 27(1287); E.C.XI Davangere 38(1300).

the development of a virile constitution. To the labour of cultivation was added the strain of constant watchfulness against the attack of the human foes which a bad state of public order encouraged, and against the ever-present menace of wild beasts, which the wild condition of the terrain rendered inevitable.(1)

Of all the inhabitants of the plateau it may be said generally that they were brave, despising death, pugnacious, and, especially in the north-west, warlike to the degree of blood-thirstiness; in all which qualities the hill-dweller may be supposed to have excelled.(2)

(1) Men are mentioned as in conflict with tigers, sometimes single-handed, in E.C.X Chintamani 162(1114); E.C.IX Kankanhalli 12(1118); E.C.IV Nagamangala 67(c1060); ~~ibid. Gundlupet 66(1293)~~; E.C.VI Tarikere 16(?1193); M.A.R.1917 para.102(1266); A.R.1919, 319(?1285); E.C.IX Kankanhalli 40(1351). The hunting of wild boar, for which dogs were employed, is mentioned in E.C.III Mandya 22(1144); E.C.IX Kankanhalli 11(1310), and E.C.VIII Sorab 340(1249).

(2) The couplet that almost invariably concluded the record upon the viragal, or hero-stone, deserves to be quoted: "jītēna labhyatē Lakṣmīḥ (or Bhūmīḥ) mṛtēnāpi surāṅganāḥ kṣaṇa-vidhvamsanē kāyē kā cintā maraṇē raṇē." "The victor gains wealth (or the earth): even the slain gains the celestial nymphs: what fear then of death in battle when the body perishes in an instant?" To this is added in E.C.VI Chikmagalur 122(1140): "anityam adhravam prāṇam mānam ā-candra-tāarakam | prāṇam ēva (read prāṇasyaiva) parityāgē mānam ēva su-rakṣitam." "Life is transient and uncertain: honour lasts as long as moon and stars: honour must be preserved even at the cost of life." As an indication of the bloodthirsty element in the national character, note the following in E.C. VIII Nagar 19(1320): "maruḷugalu karula māleya<m> koraloḷu sarav ittu rudhira-tilakam iṭṭum / harasutidar ī-Kūruken / uravaṇiy āḷu tanake mecci samarāṅganadol // pita Cīla māte Nāgale / suta-Kūruken ubhaya-kulavan uddharisidan end / atimudadiṁ dēvāṅganeyara varadiṁ Puṣpakavan ̥ri Sivana

The Kārṇāṭaka people, as the Kannāḍa-speaking inhabitants of the plateau were called, show in their early literature and in the less formal of their inscriptions a simple and exuberant attitude to a life which conditions must have made comfortless and brief, but, while it lasted, full, vigorous, adventurous and satisfying.

padama<m> sā . . // " (If the metre is, as it appears to be, of nine syllables to the line - in which case the divisions, here taken from Rice's text, should be neglected - the original have been padaṃ sāreyādaṃ ; otherwise padamaṃ sārdaṃ may be correct. But the reading sā may be unreliable.) "The frenzied people placed on his neck a garland of entrails and, with a shout, a wafer-spot of blood (upon his brow), and blessed that Kūruka, approving him upon the field of battle as an impetuous soldier. While his father Cīla and mother Nāgale said that their son Kūruka had elevated both the families, with exceeding joy he mounted the heavenly chariot by the choice of the heavenly damsels and (approached) the feet of Śiva."

An interesting illustration from literature of the native Kannāḍa vigour is provided by typical verses from the Jaimini Bhārāta (of disputed date but clearly no earlier than the commencement of the Vijayanagara empire). Verse 44 of the fourth book runs:- "taritaridu kattarisi kocci naṭṭ uccaḷisi korad aradu kaḍid iridu baḡid ugidu gaḡbarisi paṛidu sild uttarisi ketti khaḡḡisi baḷicetipid (? read etti pid) ikki koydu poydu / eragi kavid iḡid otti kaḡuki ~~ka~~ kilisi kīri turugi tuḡḡisi tuḷuki nāṅṅi maḡumoneḡoḡḡu re poṛaḷcid-avaricartu balavan ellamaṃ Karnajan esuva kaḡeḡaḷū // " Here the arrows shot by the son of Kārṇa subject all the opposing force to thirty-five varieties of striking and cutting, the words for which are all pure Kannāḍa with the exception of three (uttarisi, khaḡḡisi and kīlisi) which are Sanskrit roots adapted to use in Kannāḍa with slightly different meanings. Likewise, in verses 5 and 6 of book two, we find king Yudhiṣṡhira ruling the earth putting down a large number of vices oppressions and injustices, the large majority of which are represented by pure Kannāḍa words, and protecting and fostering virtues and prosperity depicted in a vocabulary entirely of Sanskrit origin.

The hazards and vicissitudes of this existence were, of course, much more evident to the plain-dweller than to his contemporary in the hills. While the latter was a member of an independent clan secure from the effective threat of foreign domination, the former was constantly at the mercy of any freebooter who happened to be able to defy the government, of an invasion by a hostile power, or by punitive or protective expeditions by his own ruler which could be equally disastrous. The tenants and cultivators were continually finding themselves pawns in the political game played as occasion offered between their local ruler and the sovereign.

Thus while conditions in the mountains might remain unchanged for generations, the inhabitants of the plains, despite their common language, which might have been expected to render them a single nation distinct from Telingas, Tigulas (Tamilians) and Āryas (Marāthas)(1), seldom found themselves fellow-citizens of a single empire. Yet a single empire, or at worst a small number of truly powerful states, was essential for the protection of the lives and properties of the individual inhabitants, and several notable attempts were made to bring about this desirable condition. As however no agreement lasted for long, as to which families in particular should exercise supreme authority, and as those which succeeded in achieving the recognition of the majority sooner or later lost the power they had acquired and so forfeited their claims,

(1) For the use of the word Ārya to signify Marātha see below page 300, 359, 406. See also M.A.R.1937, 36(1240) where there is an obscurity.

tenth-century Mysore was littered with the remains of many once-powerful dynasties, whose degree of co-operation with the sovereign for the time being varied with their own ambition and the latter's weakness.

At that time the north-western area of the plateau was ruled by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty, then about to give place to the Cālukyas: the remainder was nominally governed by the Gaṅga dynasty, whose original headquarters appear to have been at Kōlālapura, the modern Kolar. They belonged therefore to the eastern sector of the plateau, and though they had entered into a fine inheritance in the western clearing of which mention has been made above, they never moved their seat of government further west than Talakād. Their authority had, however, been sufficiently well-recognized in the past for the whole of the plateau with certain small exceptions to be designated the Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000, the numeral referring to the number of inhabited places in the area(1) according to a survey made several centuries before the period now under consideration. The only portions of the plateau not included in the Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000 were, besides certain uninhabited areas in the north-east and north, the Banavāse 12,000 which centred around the once-important town of Banavāse, and the Noḷambavāḍi (or Noṅambavāḍi) 32,000 which stood between the Gaṅgavāḍi and the Deccan plain, and of which Uccaṅgi was the chief town.

(1) This is proved beyond question by M.A.R.1937,33(1097), which distinctly states "96,000 villages(ūrgaḷ)". It had been suggested that the number referred to a sum of revenue, and so on.

The Nolambavādi province derived its name from the Pallava family of the Nolambas, who had exercised great power in that region until defeated by the Gaṅgas, and left remnants of their family to carry on their name in parts even far south of this region.(1)

Nor were the Nolambas the only famous family of which branches continued to rule in a subordinate capacity under the Gaṅgas, or in opposition to them, during the tenth century. Certain well-known branches of the Kadamba family ruled, indeed, under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and afterwards under the Cālukyas at Hāṅgal, Banavāse and Bandalike in the north-west, but representatives of the dynasty flourished at Kīrtipura in the extreme south, on the Kabbani river, at Banavāse, Rāj-ēndrapura and the vicinity in the modern Manjarabad and Hassan

(1) The northern Nolamba-Pallava family is represented by the following inscriptions: E.C.XI Davangere 126(1037) at Mudihadadi; ibid.19(1043) at Āvaragere; ibid.20(1045) at Vaddanahalli; E.C.XI Holalkere 65(1051) at Muttagadūr; E.C.VII Honnali 119(?1054) at Neralagundi; E.C.XI Jagalur 10(1054) at Asagōdu; ibid.Molakalmuru 28(1072) at Rāmasāgara; ibid.Citaldrug 82(1074) at Hulēgundi. The family must have been important in this area long before the eleventh century; likewise Udeyāditya Pallavarāya of Arakere in Seringapatam tāluḡa, who is mentioned in E.C.III Seringapatam 119(1108), must have had lineal connections with the family of a much earlier date. M.A.R.1932,37 (c950) at Marale, mentioned below, has another reference to this family. Nolambas in the east are referred to in E.C.X Mulbagal 248 (?c860) at Mōtagapalli, ibid.Kolar 57(c 925) at Kyālanūr, ibid.198 & 245 (c950 & 966) at Gaṇḍlahalli and Haralakunte respectively, ibid.Mulbagal 84(974) at Mēlāgāni, and finally, in the same volume, Cintamani 118(1010) at Kallahalli. Moreover certain references in E.C.V Arsikere 41(1130) and ibid.55(1143) show clearly that Nolamba fame lingered on in the memory of certain areas for a long while. These are the title Nola[m̄ba] -dēva-pādārādhaka, "worshipper of the feet of Nolamba-dēva and the name Nolamba-gaunda, with the story of Sthira-gambhira-Nolamba, the grandfather of the sāmanta Bhīma who was honoured by Viṣṇuwardhana.

tāluqas, and at Molakalmuru in the north.(1)

Of independent families of high standing may be mentioned the Caṅgāḷva and Koṅgāḷva dynasties, whose names are derived from the Caṅga and Koṅga nāds respectively. They ruled areas in close proximity to each other in the region between the Hēmāvati and the Kāvēri and to the south of the Kāvēri on the very edge of the mountains of Coorg.(2) Of rather greater vitality were the Sāntaras, who were about to leave the restricted neighbourhood of their forest fortress of Pomburccha or Humca for the fertile lands of the north-west, while the several branches of the Sinda family and the Guttas occupied areas of the northern plain to the east and south of the Tuṅgabhadra river. Among entirely submerged dynasties, some traces are found of the Bānas, a line that had been powerful in the northern as well as southern parts

(1) The existence of the Kīrtipura or Kittūr family is shown by E.C.IV Heggadadevankote 56 (1079) at Kittūr, ibid.55(1087) at Haleyūr, ibid.79(1107) at Sōgallī, and very probably ibid.50(1138) at Narasīpura, where a certain Mukkaṅṅa-Kaḍamba has the title Dvārāvati-puravarādhiśvara, almost certainly as a sign of dependence upon the Hoysala. The relationship of this family to that of Rājēndrapura is unknown: the latter is evidenced by E.C.V Hassan 38 (?c1000) at Kundūr, where it is stated that a "lord of [Banavāsi] pura, (worshipper) of Madhuk-ēśvara" was residing at Banavāse, the smaller town of that name, 17 miles east of Rājēndrapura and more than 50 miles north of Kittur; also perhaps by Hassan 45(1025) where mention is made of the "performer of 18 horse-sacrifices, receiver of a boon from the goddess Padumāvati, having the lion signet, Malapa-rāja ("king of the Malepar") (was ruling)"; likewise a group of inscriptions of the king Niti-mahārāja are to be taken as evidence of a Kadamba branch at or near Rājēndrapura: E.C.V Manjarabad 54(c1026), ibid.55(c1035), ibid.57(1030) and 53(1026) all at Ballu; ibid.44(1027) at Rājēndrapura, and 45(?c1030) at the same place; and ibid.50(1034) at Cikkanāyak-anhallī. A remnant of this family appeared later: E.C.V Manjarabad 1(c1090) at Hosagūru, E.C.I 57(1095) at Yaḍūr in Coorg, and E.C.V Manjarabad 18(1095) at Hale-Bēlūru. See also E.C.XI Molakalmuru 41(1100). (2) For further details of

of the plateau, but at this time were mostly confined to the tracts below the ghats in the modern Salem and surrounding districts.

The Gaṅga family had during its exercise of authority over the greater part of the Karnāṭaka country for more than six hundred years thrown off many subordinate branches in various quarters. In the tenth century junior families bearing the Gaṅga name and titles were to be found as far north as Udri, at Āsandi, in the vicinity of Kolar, and in other parts, as proper names show clearly without enabling a precise identification to be made of the number of families that existed, or their exact location.

But however deep their roots in the country, the Gaṅgas had not succeeded in raising it to any high degree of development. The general level of culture appears to have begun to rise in the last half-century of their power, that is, from about 950 A.D.; but prior to that period the central and southern parts of the Karnāṭaka country at any rate had been remarkable for no distinctions either politically or in the fields of literature, religion or architecture. (1)

both Koṅgāḷva and Caṅgāḷva see below, pages 29 ; 63 n.(2); 94; 208-9.

(1) The works of early Kannada literature come with few exceptions from the north, for example from Puligere, the modern Lakshmeshvar, where, according to Nṛpatuṅga (Kavirājamārga I, 37.) the pith of Kannada was spoken - a distinction also enjoyed by two other northern cities, Koṭṭana and Kisuvolaḷ. The great Kannada poets of the tenth century, Pampa, Ponna and Ranna, were indeed patronized by Gaṅga kings, but the last two enjoyed Rāṣṭrakūṭa patronage equally with that of the Gaṅga, and the first, author of the Pampa Bhārata, himself originated in Puligere. The first indigenous writer of outstanding merit

Moreover, the general low level of prosperity as compared with succeeding centuries may be judged from the very small number of lithic and copper records surviving. It may safely be assumed that the silence and obscurity that surrounds the Gaṅga dynasty is due to the poverty and under-developed condition of their subjects. Yet, by the end of the thirteenth century the Gaṅgavāḍi had become one of the most prominent, if not the most enterprising, parts of Southern India culturally as well as politically, while the remnants of the Gaṅga dynasty appear to have played no noticeable part in the struggle to vindicate Karnāṭaka claims for recognition. How this revolution came about may be understood with ease if regard be had to the circumstances of the rise of the Hoysala dynasty.

under Gaṅga rule appears to have been Cāvuṇḍa-rāya, minister and general to the Gaṅga king Rācamalla IV, who composed in prose the Cāvuṇḍa-rāya-purāṇa in 978. The paucity of earlier works which can safely be ascribed to Gaṅga subjects is the more remarkable for the fact that the early cultivation of the Kannada literary language as opposed to Sanskrit was fostered by the Jaina community, which had been heavily subsidized by the Gaṅgas, and claimed almost universal support in the southern Karnāṭaka. Their chief centre south of Kopāṇa was Śravaṇa Belgōḷa in the heart of the Gaṅga empire, but here too the tenth century saw decay and decline. The gigantic statue known as Gommatēśvara, erected according to a not undisputed tradition by the same Cāvuṇḍa-rāya, was a magnificent gesture of a dying cult. Śaivism, on the other hand, had no extensive temporal roots in that part of the plateau known as Gaṅgavāḍi, and when the movement back to the orthodox worship achieved considerable momentum in the twelfth century teachers were sought from the northern cities, such as Belagāvi. Gaṅga sculpture was likewise in a state of torpor. The buildings that survive are remarkable in comparison with later structures for their smallness, plainness and general lack of vitality. Indeed, it has been stated (by Moraes, K.K. 314) that the Hoysalas chose Kadamba motifs when they were developing their own peculiar style of temple construction. It is, at any rate, certain that they employed sculptors from the north.

The part of the modern Hassan and Kādūr districts which formed the north-western corner of that tract of Gaṅgavādi which has been described as the southern and largest of the three greater clearings is to-day, and must have been in mediaeval times, peculiarly favoured by nature for the production of a vigorous and enterprising race. This corner of that healthy plateau is the most salubrious, enjoying not only a very heavy rainfall in the summer but freedom from the heats which occasionally strike the northern part of the plateau, and experiencing the greatest cold, and the highest degree of variation between the morning and evening temperatures. These advantages are doubtless due to its situation between the mountains and forests on west and south, and between the valleys of the upper Hēmāvati and Yagaci rivers and the sources of the Vēdāvati, which lie in the irregular mass of wooded slopes to the north. Sheltered, well watered, and fertile, the tract was destined to be the centre of the Hoysala empire.(1)

Near the sources of the Vēdāvati, within the safety of the harsh recesses of the mountains, yet within easy reach of this favoured plain, having within their territ-

(1) Only at the observatory at Chitaldrug have temperatures of over 100° been recorded on five or six consecutive days. The values for the daily range of temperature at Hassan during March and July are the greatest and least for the four observatories, being respectively 28°.8 and 12°.2 (Hayavadana Rao, volume I, page 44.). "The lowest temperature recorded is 42°.7 registered at Hassan on the 12th December 1895. The temperature on the coldest day in the year has generally been below 50° at Hassan....." (ibid. page 45).

ory the main trade route from Maṅgalūr to the east and north by way of the important trade centre at Belūr, a town at the very foot of the hills, lived a group of hill-dwellers of presumably Dravidian and pre-Dravidian extraction, who had, by the middle of the tenth century achieved an unusual degree of domestication, not to say civilization, and had begun to feel the attraction of a settled dwelling-place and the comforts of a less isolated existence, and had commenced to move plainwards very much after the fashion of a wild beast that issues cautiously and tentatively from its lair.

Their leaders were men of exceptional foresight and energy: whilst having much in common with the majority of the tribe they ruled, they possessed unassailable rights to their position. Even the feeblest of their descendants clung tenaciously to the proud titles that alluded to their virility and superhuman power; to the end of their line they retained the titles malaparōḷ gaṇḍa and gaṇḍa bhēruṇḍa, that is to say "champions amongst the hill-kings" and "male bhēruṇḍas", the bhēruṇḍa being the mythical bird that is often represented in the sculpture of the period grasping elephants and lions in its talons. These male-rāja-rājar, then, distinguished for their bhuja-bala, or strength of arm, were not only "kings of hill-kings" but claimants to descent from the Lunar race through Yadu, and called themselves not only Yādavas, but also Dvārāvatiḥpuravarādhīśvarar, "lords of the excellent city of Dvārāvati", the legendary capital of Kṛṣṇa, the Yādava prince.

This was their chief claim to the respect of their followers, and it is not improbable that they differed from them racially with, perhaps, a fairer skin. Indeed, they may have been originally of the stock of the Āryan conquerors of the south Deccan long since overwhelmed by stronger successors from amongst their own kind. It is, however, useless to speculate on their origin; let it suffice to note that long established and powerful dynasties were not ashamed to intermarry with Hoysala princes. Whatever the nature of their ancestry, it caused no great scorn among the contemporaries of their prosperity. (1)

But that both recognition and prosperity alike were not due solely or even chiefly to their claims to a distinguished ancestry, their family name clearly demonstrates. Hoysala, from the Kannada root hoys, signifies "the smiter", and this terse cognomen indicates without ambiguity the type of role this family first played in Karnāṭaka history. (2)

(1) Sant Lal Katore, in Ind.Hist.Cong.Allahabad 1938, p.200, says that Dvārāvati is Dvāraka, the legendary city of Kṛṣṇa and the original seat of the Yādavas. He adds, "this mythological origin cannot stand the test of historical criticism. Hence it is to be rejected." The statement of Saletore in Tuluva, p.270 para.3 (quoting his Wild Tribes p.79 ff.), that the Hoysalas were of Malepa stock, inferior to that of the Ālupas, is misleading. That the majority of the original subjects of the Hoysala rulers were of the lowest social category may well be believed, though the conclusion as regards their standing relative to the subjects of the Ālupa dynasty is far from clear. That the Hoysalas themselves were of malapa stock means nothing, for we have no proof that the malapar or malepar, i.e. mountain princes, were collectively of any stock in particular. That the Hoysala was not inferior to the Ālupa is proved by the marriage of an Ālupa queen (who would not be exempt from the matrilineal and semi-matriarchal prejudices of the locality and time) to Ballāla III. See below, page 481.

(2) See page 20.

Note (2) of page 19.

The Kannada root was originally *poys*, the change from *pa* to *ha* taking place during the Hoysala period; the form *Poysala* is, especially in the early days of the dynasty, quite as common a form as *Hoysala*. The root, however, not being present in Marathi or Tamil, certain corruptions are found in the spellings of the name originating from Marathi, Tamil and other sources. In the former *Hōsala* and *Hōsana* are found, and in Tamil *Pocala* (for *Pōcala*) and *Pōcala*, while in Grantha *Bhocala*, *Bhojala* and *Hoyisala* deface the records. In Kannada inscriptions also the forms *Poysana* and *Hoysana* are used indifferently with *Poysala* and *Hoysala* (cf. *Bijjala* and *Bijjana*) with the occasional occurrence of *Hoyisala*, *Hoisala* and *Hoyisana*, the latter in E.C.V Hassan 183 (cl195). The forms which never occur in authentic records, *Hoyasala* and *Hoysāla*, are preferred by Sant Lal Katare (I.H.Q.XIV 1938, pp.613-622) and Krishnaswamy Aiyangar and other Tamilian scholars respectively. Aiyangar uses *Hoysala* also, wrongly. *Poynāla* in E.C.IX Nelamangala 38b(1292) is corrupt.

The *Poy Sala* myth hardly deserves notice, and but for the credulous support given to it by Indian scholars and the apparent acquiescence of Rice would be passed over here, belonging to the dream-land of Indian fiction rather than political history. Saletore and S.Srikanthayya believe in *Sala*, and one may wonder whether even Shama Shastri himself doubted his existence (M.A.R.1925, para.119). Hayavadana Rao, "Place names of Mysore" in Q.J.M.S. VI p.265, is justly sceptical. School-children in modern Mysore are taught the story as follows:- There was in the village of *Sasakapura* a Jain *gugu* named *Vardhamāna*; one of his pupils was an *arasumaga*, or prince, named *Sala*. When a tiger attacked the guru he thrust his *salāki* or rod, into the tiger's mouth. As the tiger had been destructive to cattle and had killed some men also the people were pleased. *Vardhamāna* told them to make *Sala* their master, and pay him tribute, and they all agreed: (Kannada Third Book: pp.27-29 - Mysore Education Department, 1947). This account is roughly Saletore's interpretation of the story as given in the records. It is noteworthy that *Sala* is a very unlikely name form; that the inscriptions vary in their accounts of the incident, one saying that the guru was *Sudatta* (E.C.VIII Sorab 28(1208)); and that there is sufficiently frequent mention of the *sele* or *salāki*, the rod or staff, to give the impression that here was an alternative derivation. One of the earliest records to refer to the legend is E.C.VI Chikmagalur 137(1130), and it is pretty clear that the inventor of the myth was *Viṣṇuvardhana*, who wished to copy the *Gaṅgas*, who had a somewhat similar legend. Cf. the legend of the foundation of *Vijayanagara*. Cf. also E.I.XII (1913) p.122n.6, for the story of *Irungovenman*. There does not appear any likelihood that there was any connection between *Irungōvēl* and the *Hoysalas*.

B.R.Joshi's theory (I.H.Q.XXII p.172 ff.) on the derivation of *Hoysala* from the people called *Hoisleru* in N. Canara, and his reference to *Mysore Tribes and Castes* under *Hasaleru* are both unconvincing; his statement about *Vāsantikā-dēvī* is false.

CHAPTER TWO

THE RISE OF THE HOYSALA

(The reigns of Nṛpa Kāma, Vinayāditya and Ereyāṅga.)

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The reigns of Nrpa Kāma,
Vinayāditya and Ereyaṅga.

The name Poysala (to use the older form for the present) is first mentioned in an inscription which was found near the village of Marale in the present Chikmagalur tāluqa - that is to say, at the western edge of a small hilly and wooded tract to the north of Belūr and Dōrasamudra, facing the main forest belt of the Western Ghats across a plain space of about six miles of clearing. Its purport is that a certain Sāmanta Rāma, otherwise Nanni Kandarpa, son of Arakella, together with Arakella's grandson Poysala-māruga, fought at Sirivūr with Anniga and fell; for a gaṇḍa who fought and died in a retaliatory battle Arakella made a grant of land.(1)

Arakella himself is supposed by the editors of the text to have been a Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief, but the mahārāja Anniga has been identified tentatively with Bīra-Nolamba, son of Ayyapa, a member of the Nolamba-Pallava family, who must have lived about 950 A.D. The style of the inscription and its palaeographical characteristics, together with another mention of Arakella in the same area (2) in characters likewise described as pūrvada-hala-gannadakṣara, or early old Kannada, all show that the individuals mentioned belonged to the middle of the tenth century of our era.

(1) M.A.R. 1932, p.200, also M.A.R. 1915/6, para.69: śrī sāmanta Rāman Nanni-Kandarppa Sirivūrado<1> Anniganol kādi satta Arakellana maga avana mama Poysala-mārugaṃ avara pagege Arakellana besado<1> mahārājanol kādi satta Kella-gāvunḍa etc.

(2) E.C. VI Chikmagalur 138.

The name Poysaḷa-māruḡa, deriving from the proper name Poysaḷa, with which we are already familiar, and the Kannada root māru, "to strike", with the ending ga, which may be paralleled with cases such as Bīruḡa and others mentioned below, can mean only one thing, "the smiter of the Poysaḷa". This seems to confirm our impression of the character of the hill-chief in question and the manner in which he acquired his distinctive cognomen. The relative of the Nolamba warden of the marches, for such was the true function of a sāmanta, could be sufficiently identified for his contemporaries as "the smiter of the Poysaḷa" only if the Poysaḷa had been a public menace of some considerable strength.(1)

When, however, the name Poysaḷa reappears in our records, the general political situation in the Gaṅgavāḍi had undergone a profound change, a change which affected the status of the Poysaḷa to a most important degree. By the year 1004 the entire country had, in theory, submitted to the rule of the Cōḷa conqueror. In actual fact the Kadambas of Rājēndrapura and Banavāse as well as those at Kīrtipura did not, as far as we can tell, recognize Cōḷa overlordship; but the Koṅgāḷva ruler at least, perhaps accompanied by his close associate the Caṅgāḷva, assumed the Cōḷa style, and appears to have made use of the assistance which the conqueror may be presumed to have afforded him, to the disadvantage of his neighbours.(2)

(1) Saletore, Mediaeval Jainism p.70, says: "we find one member of the Hoysaḷa family connected with the feudatory chief Arakella." He does not appear to have understood the meaning of the title in question.

(2) The inscriptions of the period 1025-27 belonging to both

The area however in which Belūr and Dōrasamudra were the principal towns, an area into which the Kadambas had not apparently penetrated, seems indeed to have been ruled by none of the great families; the life of the immediate ~~time~~ rulers being perhaps neither very affluent nor very eventful, no inscriptions testify to the activity of a powerful overlord. The tract, being geographically somewhat isolated and probably economically underdeveloped, escaped the notice of either of the mighty rivals for the supremacy of the Deccan, and was at first neglected by Cālukya and Cōla alike.

With his home in this quarter, the Poysala's entry upon the stage in his own person is as provocative as it was dramatic. We are obliged to draw upon an ample fund of imagination in order to build from the meagre details of a lithic record a living picture of this anonymous tribal chieftain in his recently won environment, as we witness the fruition of what must have been a formidable labour of initiative, observing from its commencement the operation of the factor of fresh blood upon new ground.

By the spring of the year 1006 the Poysala fought, at least 120 miles from the seclusion of his home, a battle with a feudatory of one of the strongest and most efficient powers of the day. On the south bank of the Kāvēri river, immediately opposite to the town of Talakāḍ, which the Cōla had occupied two or perhaps three years before this event, is the village of Kaliyūr, at that time known as Kalavūr. An

Kadamba and Koṅgāḷva rulers presuppose a contest for the tracts on each bank of the Yagaci stream to the north of the

inscription found there, dated in the year Parābhava, Saka 929, tells us that Apramēya, lord of Kottamāṇḍala(1), who bore the titles "destruction to the races of the hill-chiefs" and "a bee at the lotus feet of Rājarāja-dēva (Cōla)", defeated, in battle, in the plain of Kalavūr, Nāganna or Nāgavarma, minister of the Poysala, while apparently repulsing the officers Mañjaga, Kāligaga, Bīruga and Candiga besides.

The inscription is damaged and many words are illegible, but several of the phrases are notable, and the unique character of the information makes them specially worthy of attention. After an introductory praśasti containing Apramēya's titles we read:-

...m ene sanda Poysalana dhāma Nāgannaṁ tammay amātya-mattam
 ene dōrdda bal-mahābharanan iyā vijaya-prabhu-mattam
 ene ballit alli koḍegal palam ettige nūnki manda-san-
 grāmadin otti satyamati-patyam ranāgradol Apramēyanē //(2)

"Is not Apramēya a follower of loyalty in the front of the battle, acting powerfully in the close fight, driving the parasols in many directions when he knew that here were also various victorious chiefs - he the wearer of fine great ornaments, who had rent Nāganna the glory of the famous Poysala (or "belonging to the host of the famous Poysala"), seeing that here was his own minister also ?"

Kāvēri river. We find the most probable period for the commencement of this struggle to be that immediately following the Cōla conquest.

(1) A division so far unidentified. Should it be read Kottamaṅgala? A place of some importance of that name is found on the north bank of the Bhavāni, about twenty-seven miles south of Talakād, but on the other side of a mighty forest-range.

(2) E.C.III Tirumakudal-Narsipur 44(1006) It appears to be

And again :-

... padapinolū taṇipidoḷ ugram anya-sādhanā<ṃ> ...
 enippa Hoysalanān āhava-raṅgadoḷ aṭṭi ... pēle matte
 huṅkoḍe hayavēli benkoḍe vairi-sēne jaya-lakṣmiy
 eydidal // (1)

"When he had pursued on the field of battle the Hoysala, named....., who had acquired power over others, who was fierce with pleasure and satiety.....; tell, besides, how (when he had destroyed) the enemy army as the cavalry ? leaders retreated with shouts, the goddess of victory came to his side !"

Moreover, after further fragmentary references to the Poysala and to the military prowess of Apramēya:-

nijade bhuja-baladiṃ kōṭi-ripu-brajamam Kalavūra
 bayalol ānt iridu rakṣō-~~riṅgaṅga~~ vijaiy enipp Apramēyana
 vīryadi arka-candra-taram baregam salugum // (2)

"He who with the strength of his own arm met and smote in *the* plain of Kalavūr the multitude of ten million enemies, Apramēya, known as the demon victor - by his valour..... will endure as long as sun, moon and stars."

a viragal to Apramēya himself. Rice's text reads bharāṇa niyā and menda. The translation offered here is in some respects conjectural.

(1) *ibid.* For vēli compare Tamil vēl, "a chief". Yet it is a case of ari-samāśa.

(2) *ibid.* It has seemed necessary to introduce a lacuna into the last line of the record, a most unusual course to adopt. The structure of the words of the last sentence, so long as it be not shown they they are misread, appear to require it.

From this inscription several facts are apparent: that the Poysala had by 1006 acquired control of a force of foot, horse and likewise elephants, as may be judged from the phrase *gajōttuṅga-sēnā-vāridhiye* ("an ocean of a lofty army of elephants") which occurs amongst the fragments; that he had been sufficiently formidable to Apramēya for the latter to consider it an honour to have defeated him; and that the Poysala seemed to him to be in a flourishing condition, impelled, as the writer alleges, by a fierceness due to "pleasure and satiety". It may be gathered that the Poysala was engaged in warfare at such a distance from his home for one if not both of two possible reasons: for the purpose of recovering from a Cōla feudatory a part of the Gaṅga province, of which Talakād was the capital, or, on the other hand, in order to avenge aggressive activity on the part either of Apramēya or his associates against the country in which the Poysala and his fellow Malepar lived, or against the plain country into which they must by now have ventured. Apramēya's title *malepa-kulakālam* for "Destruction to the families of the hill-chiefs", seems to support the latter at least of the two suppositions. It is, however, certain that, little as we know of the activity of the Gaṅga or Kadamba families in the neighbourhood, the Poysala could not have marched that distance with a large army without considerable co-operation from the rulers of the country between Apramēya and the hills. Perhaps the phrase "*anya-sādhanam*" . . . "refers to his success in acquiring it. It would, again, be

unreasonable to suppose that the attack upon the capital city of the Cōla sāmanta would have been attempted while the Cōla connection, the Koṅgālva, remained active in the rear, and we may thus postulate a successful campaign against the Koṅgālva before the movement against Apramēya was ~~commenced~~ commenced.

Information of another kind also is provided by this inscription. The minister of the Poysala is called Nāganna or Nāgavarma, and the other leaders are named Mañjaga, Kāligaga, and so on. These names are all of an unpretentious kind, the former being such as in later times belonged to persons of no great importance, and the latter group being of primitive Kannada form showing none of the graces that power and wealth soon brought to the nomenclature even of persons of subordinate authority in the Hoysala empire.

It may thus be concluded that whereas in 1006 the Poysala appears as the robust and successful champion of an unsubdued portion of the Gaṅgavāḍi, and a leader of eminence that could tempt the resentment of a Cōla sāmanta, at the same time the personnel of his administration was unassuming, its organization probably being of a similarly primitive complexion. Moreover, though strong enough to bring Apramēya to a pitched battle, he was not able to defeat him, still less to disturb the Cōla emperor's quiet. The year 1006 found the Poysala at the head of a power as modest as it was ambitious.(1)

(1) E.C.III Tirumakudal-Narsipur 44 was accepted by Fleet at first as an authority, and he quotes it as such in his D.K.D., p. 491. Afterwards, however, he changed his mind, for in his own copy of E.C.III (at the S.O.A.S.) he wrote, beneath the

It is a further sixteen years before the Poysala reappears in our surviving records. By that time he had so consolidated his hold upon the resources of the plain that he could engage in battle with the Koṅgāḷva chieftain, who had evidently been increasing his domain at the expense of his northern neighbour, the Kadamba, thus drawing nearer to the Poysala homeland. An inscription of 1022 at Rājēndrapura,

statement of Kielhorn (from E.I.IV 1896/7, p.68) that the date was of no value for historical purposes, "the same remark must apply to the record itself." This is too sceptical a view of the valuable inscription. Kielhorn's objection was that the date as given was Śaka 929, Parābhava, Caitra bā 5, Ādi, that is to say, Sunday the 5th tithi of the dark half of the month Caitra of the year Parābhava corresponding to the 929th year of the Śaka era, whereas by his own calculations that tithi ended on Friday, the 22nd of March 1006 if the Śaka year were current, or Thursday, the 10th of April 1007 if it were expired. The year Parābhava is, however, unquestionably equivalent to A.D.1006/7, so that the latter hypothesis no longer applies. His suggested correction to Śaka 989 (A.D.1066) is otiose. Inaccuracies in the dating of early inscriptions are very common even where there may be no possible ground for rejecting the genuineness either of the body of the record or its date. In this case there are excellent reasons for rejecting the suggested 1066. In the first place the record is in Kannada, a language that went out of use for official purposes in the eastern parts of the Mysore district and the adjoining tracts very soon after the consolidation of Cōla rule, and reappeared only with apparent reluctance in the reign of Ballāla III; in the second place the commencement of Cōla rule in Mysore is a much more probable time for a confederacy led by the Hoysala to attempt to oust a Cōla feudatory, than one 60 years later when Rājēndra Cōla's power was at its zenith; finally in 1066 the Hoysala was actively engaged in subduing opposition on his northern frontier.

Saletore, Mediaeval Jainism, p.69/70, accepts the date 1006 for this inscription, while Sewell does not mention the important record in his H.I.S.I.

eighteen miles south-west of Dōrasamudra, relates that when Rājēndra-Cōla-Prthvī-mahārāja made war on Nṛpa Kāma Poysala, the latter engaged with an officer named Kaṇṇamma, and a certain general was killed. The outcome of the battle is unknown.(1) However, four years later, as we see from an inscription at Honnūru, the same king marched upon "muṇḍa Poysala", that is, the one-armed Poysala, and was victorious in the battle of Maṇṇi.(2) Many battles may have taken place of which no records survive, but, as thirty years elapse before the Koṅgālva's name reappears on an inscription, we may be fairly certain that the Poysala succeeded in temporarily subduing his enemy.(3)

This collapse of the Koṅgālva was not due solely to the jealousy of the Poysala. His most powerful enemy appears to have been none other than the Cālukya himself, who in or a little before the year 1024 sent a daṇḍanāyaka, or general officer, southwards to secure to himself the allegiance of those parts of the Gaṅga maṇḍala which had maintained a complete or qualified independence of the Cōla power. An inscription at

(1) E.C.V Manjarabad 43(1022). Śaka-varṣa 944 ne Dundubhi samvatsara dada bṣhula paḍiva śrīmatu Rājēndra-Cōla Prthuvī-mahārājaṃ Nṛpa Kāma Poysalaṇa mēle ...dimāda kallai.....Poysala Kannammanavaral kūḍi mahārājana basa-(read beṣa)dal Kannammana kudureyaṃ peṇad iṛidu paḍevaḷa-Jōgayya sarggake sanda, etc.

(2) E.C.V Arkalgud 76(1026) dated Śaka 947, Krōdhana, Māgha full-moon. śri-Rājēndra-Cōla-Koṅgālvaṃ muṇḍa-Poysalaṇa mēle nadedu Maṇṇiya kāḷagemam geldu, etc.

(3) After the record of 1026 none appears until 1058, when Rājēndra-Koṅgālva is recognized at Mallūr in Coorg. E.C.V Arkalgud 75, undated, being a viragal of a soldier of Rājēndra-Cōla Koṅgālva may well refer to the same battle of Maṇṇi of 1026, or to a similar action.

Hāṅgal relates how Malli-dēva, otherwise Malla-danḍādhiṣa, took tribute in respect of the kings called Caṅgāḷva, Koṅgāḷva and Niḍuṃtōḷam Cōḷa, or "the broad-shouldered Cōḷa", and triumphed over the camp of the Hoysala. (1) We know that the Koṅgāḷva was to some extent a dependent upon the Cōḷa, and the "broad-shouldered Cōḷa" mentioned here may have been another subordinate ruler who had taken the Cōḷa name; likewise one can hardly err in associating with that bloc the Caṅgāḷva, whose interests and people were so closely connected with those of the Koṅgāḷva. That the Hoysala however, was fit to be classed with these is an absurdity, and the incident may be taken as an illustration of the political methods of mediaeval Indian imperial rulers. A provincial governor was encouraged to levy tribute from any neighbouring power, whether friendly, neutral or hostile, so that the bounds of the empire might, in theory at least, undergo enlargement.

Even so, it seems very strange that the only local ruler in that area who had actually attempted to weaken the Cōḷa ascendancy should suffer more at the hands of the Cōḷa's rival than confessed confederates of the Cōḷa. The words "biḍan geldam" are plainly stronger than "kappama gonḍu", and the order of the sentence suggests that the levying of tribute from the others was in some way anterior to and subordinate to the task of reducing the military power of the Hoysala.

(1) W.E.I. 27-8, dated Śaka 946, Raktāksi:- Caṅgāḷva-Koṅgāḷva-Niḍuṃtōḷam-Cōḷan emba bhūbhujarol kappāma gonḍu Hoysalana biḍan geldam Malli-dēva-danḍādhiṣam. For Caṅgāḷva the text reads Baṅgāḷva, a common error. For the locative see Kittel, Grammar, p. 390 para. 4, "pūjya-sādhunipuna"; but the treatment of the case is insufficient.

Moreover, as far as we can tell, while providing a but transitory satisfaction for his master, Malli-dēva by his visit afforded no accession of strength to any party in Mysore, and his departure for the north-west left the rivals free to work out for themselves the questions of local supremacy, and the choice of a leader against the Tamilian invader. This, the first recorded interference in this particular area on the part of the Cālukya, was distinguished still further by being remarkably ill-opportune and ill-advised.

So far, however, from discouraging his enterprise, adversity seems to have spurred the Poysala to greater activity. His defeat at the hands of Apramēya, the temporary reverses at the hands of the Kōṅāḷva, and finally the enforced submission to the Cālukya, came at a time when he was speedily establishing himself as a territorial sovereign. To this very period must belong the inscription at Uggihalli, the village on the spur that faces, across a narrow valley, another spur upon which lies Sosavūr, the modern Aṅgadi, which was ~~the~~ Saṣakapura the legendary birth-place of the Hōysala family. Uggihalli shares with Sosavūr the advantages of being at once easily defensible, well watered and yet protected against the Monsoon floods, provided with arable land along the banks of the Hēmāvati, and having by means of fords across this river easy access to the main road. This runs between Maṅgalūr, Kalāṣa and Belūr, skirting the hilly ground on the north side of the river, and joining the road from Saklespur and the south, which passes to the east of Uggihalli itself. In this place, in the month

Kārttika of the seventh year of the reign of Kāma Voysala, known as Rācamala (Rācamalla) Permādi, a catra, that is to say a choultry or rest-house (otherwise "sattra", Tamil "cattiram"), was set up for two Brahmans.(1)

With this area, then, within his home territory, the Poysala continued to extend his sway. A damaged inscription at Rājēndrapura shows that in December 1027 he was at war with the Kadamba family of Banavāse and that place. All that can be gathered is that some one fought and died when Banavāse itself was attacked on Nṛpa Kāma's order.(2) A conflict which proximity rendered almost inevitable had matured at last, the eventual success of the Hoysala being in the circumstances certain. Banavāse is just over thirty-two miles east-south-east of Sosavūr; the inhabitants of the district were plain-dwellers and no match for the troops of the hill-chief.

It may now be convenient to sum up what it is possible to conclude concerning the earliest member of the Hoysala dynasty to whom a personal name is given. We can not, of course be sure that the Poysala of 1006 was identical with Nṛpa Kāma, for the ambiguous word "sanda" in the Kaliyūr inscription may signify that he died in battle. But, though he was not the first of his line, nor the one to whom exclusive credit may be

(1) E.C.VI Mudgere 19 (?c1025):- irvvar brāhmanargge catraman nīrisida Rācamala-Permmādiy enipa Kāma Voysalana prtuvī-rājyam ēlaneya sambaccara Kārttika-māsadol nīrisittu, etc. Voysala is a normal though uncommon phonetic variant for Poysala, occurring even as late as the Kōnga-dēsa-rājakāl (Voisala): Brown's Telugu Collections, vol.II p.194.

(2) E.C.V Manjarabad 44(1027) The numeral of the Śaka date has disappeared. - - - Banavāsiya mēle bilḍu kāduttire śrīman Nṛpa Kāma-mahārājana besa<diṃ>...līiya Keleyabbeya maga, etc.

awarded for initiating Hoysala enterprise, Nṛpa Kāma must be considered for the purposes of an historical survey to have been ^{at} the head of his dynasty, and it is desirable to give our attention in the beginning to his name and to the associations which it bears. The name itself, Kāma, as he is called in the Uggihalli inscription, or Nṛpa Kāma, to give him his usual designation, together with the title Rācamalla-Permādi which he adopted, shows clearly the political affiliation which the Poysala had assumed or inherited.

These are Gaṅga names. At least one Nṛpa Kāma occurs in the genealogy of the Gaṅga dynasty (1) and there were several Rācamallas (or Rājamallas - the forms were alternative), while the title Permādi or Permānadi was a regular Gaṅga style, afterwards adopted by the Cālukya emperor Vikramāditya VI. We have already inferred that some kind of connection between the Poysala and the Gaṅgas must have been necessary before the expedition of 1006 could have taken place. We are now able to confirm this view. With the exception of the Gaṅgas, moreover, every immediate neighbour of importance had been fought by the Poysala by 1027. The Caṅgālvās also are to be excluded, but we have grounds for believing them closely connected with the Koṅgālvās, with whom the Poysala undoubtedly had many conflicts. An alliance between the Hoysala house and the petty Gaṅga dynasties in its sphere of activity may thus be safely postulated as the first step to prominence in their world, followed eventually by the emergence of the former as the champion, leader, and finally master of the latter.

(1) For example the Nṛpa Kāma mentioned in Cāmuṇḍa-rāya's Triṣaṣṭhi-lakṣaṇa-purāna, quoted R. Narasimhacar, K.K.C. vol. I, 46-7.

Of Nṛpa Kāma it may also be said that he was, as were most of his contemporary monarchs, a Jaina. Quite probably he had not only a religion but also teachers in common with his near neighbours. (1) It is curious to note that, although having a guru in common was a bond between families at least as respected as inter-marriage, that did not prevent hostilities between Hoysala and Koṅgāḷva, who must have enjoyed the ministrations of the same series of Jaina tutors. That a creed of which a devotion to ahimsa was so prominent a characteristic permitted warfare at all, is perhaps even more curious. With the Gaṅgas, on the other hand, the religious bond coincided, for the time being, with an identity of interest. For the most conspicuous of all the signs of connection between the Hoysala and the Gaṅgas is that inscription at Sosavūr itself which refers to King Māra, Rājamalla. This is clearly the name of a member of a Gaṅga family, or at least of a family much influenced by Gaṅga traditions, even if it is not possible to identify the ruler with a particular member of any known Gaṅga family. Rice dates the inscription at about 1040, but all that it is safe to say about its period is that it was contemporary with Nṛpa Kāma Hoysala. (2)

(1) Most of the principal persons were Jainas. E.C.II 118(1120) Ecigāṅka, the father of Gaṅga-rāja, had the wealthy and famous king (udātta-vittam avadāta-yaśam) Nṛpa Kāma as his patron, and the good, sinless and most exalted lord of sages Kanakanandi of Mullūr as his guru.

(2) E.C.VI Mudgere 18. It refers to Vajrapāṇi-panḍita, a Jaina guru, who is said to be the chief muni of the Gaṅgavāḍi, and guru to Rājamalla-bhūpalaka, king Māra, who bears several ordinary laudatory titles. It is not absolutely necessary to conclude that this Māra actually ruled Sosavūr, though that is

Two facts of another sort complete the scanty details of Nrpa Kāma's life. He suffered from a disability which would be worthy of comment in a world of orthodox Jainas, who appear to have had a horror of bodily blemishes.⁽¹⁾ The Honnūr inscription of 1026, referred to above, describes him as "muṇḍa". This has been translated "base" - an unnecessary interpretation, as words of abuse are too rare in inscriptions for such a translation of an ambiguous word. (2) The word in question can, according to Kittel, mean bald, shaved, and also deprived of a limb as well as base. It is very probable that Nrpa Kāma lost an arm in battle: a notable mutilation which would be sufficient to account for the epithet.

Of Nrpa Kāma's wife or wives we know nothing, but his son was Vinayāditya, who succeeded him as ruler in or before the year 1047.⁽³⁾

far from being impossible. The dating of this inscription is assisted by the fact that the same Vajrapāni is mentioned in E.C.VI Mudgere 9, where disciples of his appear in the reign of Vinayāditya-Poysala, in the year Jaya, Śaka 924, which should be understood as 917; corresponding to the year A.D.1052 or 1053.

(1) Compare the stories of how Gommatēśvara lost the distal joint of his left forefinger, and concerning the conversion of Viṣṇuvarḍhana by Rāmānuja, below p.572.

(2) Indeed, if one neglect odium theologikum, only one case can be quoted, and that too a very mild example: in E.C.VIII Sorab 252 & W.E.II 73b-74a(1177) we find sukha-rahita Gavuḍa-sāmi, or "the wretched Gavuḍa-sāmi".

(3) E.C.V Arsikere 157(1154) at Hosakalyādi:svasti <samadhigata-paṅca-maha> śabda-mahā-maṇḍalēśvaram Dvārāvātī-puravarā <dhiśvaram Yādava-kulāmbara> dyumāṇi samyaktva-cūdāmaṇi maleparol-gaṇḍādy-anēka-nāmādi-pa <śasti-sahitam> śrīman-mahāmaṇḍalēśvaram Nrpa Kāma Hoysalan ātana tamaya --- Vinayādityam etc. It is very likely, though not certain, that Nrpa Kāma actually held these titles, except the one commencing samadhigata, which may not have been assumed until under his son Vinayāditya the Hoysala accepted the status of a provincial governor nominally subordinate to the Cālukya emperor. It was quite regular

The legacy which he bequeathed to him can be assessed fairly easily: the leadership of a hardy people of hill-dwellers, with influence and perhaps some territorial property in the plain; the friendship of influential branches of the ancient imperial family of the Gaṅgas; the complacent regard of the other inhabitants of his small sphere of activity; and the healthy respect of fighting men on every side. The old antagonism to the Cōla and to Cōla dependents suggested joining the Cālukyan camp, and the visitation of Malli-dēva may have re-inforced the suggestion. (1) But we have no proof that such an approximation took place before the accession of Vinayāditya. An inscription of 1047 gives the Hoysala, whether

for ancestors to be credited with their descendants' titles, though often, as in this example, some attempt at realism is maintained. Sanyaktva-cūdāmani is a conventional title borne by many important Jainas of the period. Note also M.A.R. 1929, 12(1062) at Halebid: svasti (savsti is a misprint) śaka varṣa 984 neya Subhakrit-samvatsaram pravarttise anupaman enisida Nrpa Kāma-nāma Voysalāna nandanam jagad-adhikam Vineyādityam Poysalan enisi ciram Gaṅgavādiyaṃ pālisutum etc.: "while the Śaka year 984, Subhakrit, was current - ~~the year~~ while Vineyāditya Poysala, supreme in the world, the son of the Poysala named Nrpa Kāma who was styled the matchless, is protecting for a long time the Gaṅgavādi" The records that say that Vinayāditya was the son of Śala are all late: E.C.IV Nagamangala 29(1218) and E.C.VI Chikmagalur 20(1249); E.C.XII Tiptur 42(1229) says that Śala had Vinayāditya by Bhūmi (Earth). (1) It is not probable that the Dōra in E.I. XVI 75 ff(1037) had anything to do with the Hoysalas, as stated by G.C.Roychaudhuri, p.214-5, where he says that Vāvanarasa (in error for Cāvanarasa) governor of Belvola and Puligere was a "scatterer of Dōradēśa" which might stand for Dōrasamudra, etc. The phrase is in any case Dōra-disāpaṭṭa, "the scatterer of Dōra".

Nrpa Kāma or Vinayāditya can not be discerned, the title Tribhuvanamalla.(1) This may be held to indicate either subordination to the Cālukya Tribhuvanamalla - for many local rulers within the Cālukya orbit assumed that and similar titles - or that the Hoysala felt himself to be of such a stature as a monarch as to merit the cognomen "wrestler of the three worlds". The balance of probability inclines to the former solution, especially as an inscription, which may be assigned to 1049 does not give the title Tribhuvanamalla.(2) Titles assumed out of regard for a superior were not retained as tenaciously as those derived from personal achievements. It will therefore not be unreasonable to suggest that if in any respects Hoysala political interests required close relations with a paramount sovereign at a time of continuous rivalry between Cālukya and Cōla, the first year of the reign of Vinayāditya shows, as the life of Nrpa Kāma is not able clearly to reveal, a notable tendency in the direction of sympathy with the former.(3)

(1) M.A.R. 1914/5 para.76; at Tonaci, Krishnarajapet tāluqa.

(2) E.C.VI Mudgere 21h at Kanacūru. The date is doubtful as the record gives Śaka 989 and Virōdhi in the text while 996 is read in the translation. Śaka 989 would correspond to 1067, & 996 to 1074: Virōdhi corresponds to A.D.1049 or Śaka 971, and the baldness of the phrasing of the record makes the earlier date seem more probable.

(3) Later references to Nrpa Kāma include beside those already quoted, E.C.V Arsikere 142 (1162) at Karugunda in the same neighbourhood as E.C.V Arsikere 157(1154), which is at Hosakalyādi. It gives him the title mahā-maṇḍalēśvara, probably without warrant. N.K.Sastri, Cōlas II p. 41, gives him the dates c 1022-1040. As Vinayāditya's accession can not be placed before or after 1047, Nrpa Kāma's reign can not be held to have ended earlier than that year.

Compared with Nṛpa Kāma, Vinayāditya, or Vineyāditya or Vinīta as he was also known, was far better remembered^{en} by later generations. Often indeed he was considered to be the first member of the dynasty, or at least the first worthy of mention after the mythical Sala; (1) and, as he was considered to be the founder of the fortunes of the Hoysala kingdom, his achievements deserve as close an examination as those of any of his more famous successors. There exists a sufficient body of evidence to support a general conclusion that the reign of Vinayāditya constituted a period of rest, in which the strength and resources of that part of the Kannada people which made up the Hoysala dominion were conserved and consolidated, while many individuals gained experience in other districts and acquired ambitions which were to inaugurate in the subsequent reigns a period of dynamic aggrandisement.

The reign of Vinayāditya, commencing in or shortly before the year 1047, lasted until at least 1098, when he was succeeded by his son Ereyāṅga, who then ruled in association with two of Vinayāditya's three grandsons, Ballāla and Bitti-dēva, who were almost certainly assisted by their brother, who is always mentioned with them in the epigraphic genealogies, Udayāditya. Since Vinayāditya's reign spanned a full half-century, it embraced not only the life's work of his son, but many of the more spectacular exploits of his grandsons besides.

(1) He is the first named in E.C.VI Kadur 53 (?1175) and E.C.VII Shimoga 64(1172), while for example in E.C.III Nanjangud 175(1169) and E.C.V Hassan 53(1170) we find the following poor Sanskrit couplet:

tatō Dvārāvati-nāthā Hoysalā dvīpi-lāñchanāḥ /
jātāś Saṣapurē tēṣu Vinayāditya-bhūpatih //

Perhaps chiefly because of its length, it is in Vinayāditya's reign that we are first able to make a fairly exact estimate of the area of territory which the Hoysala occupied or controlled. The area outlined on Map 'A' shows the part of the Gaṅgavāḍi actually governed by Vinayāditya at the time of his death. It is not, however, to be supposed that the whole of this area was under his control at the commencement equally with the close of his reign. A gradual expansion almost certainly took place towards the north and east. Nor would it be reasonable to conclude that these villages, being, as they were, places sufficiently settled and prosperous for some of their inhabitants to afford records such as have been able to survive to this day, comprise the total area which came under Hoysala influence. Undoubtedly the Hoysala made himself felt in all directions, and his influence was naturally more fruitful in spaces more sparsely occupied or less effectively governed. This at least is a partial explanation for the fact that later inscriptions often appear to ascribe to the early Hoysala dominion bounds wider than the surviving contemporary records will justify. The area outlined on the Map, on the other hand, being about ninety-five miles long at the long-

Ec. VI Kadur 51(1169) gives a similar account: ~~...~~ ā Salaṃ petta Poysala-nāmaṃ kula-nāmaṃ āge negaldam śārddūla-sal-lāñchanākāḷitarkkaḷ Sosavūroḷ innu palaruṃ rājyaṃ geyutt irppinam // janiyisidam vinayādhyam Vinayādityaṃ pratāpi etc. Sala acquired the family name Poysala. Many others of these, distinguished by the noble tiger crest ruled the kingdom in Sosavūr; then was born Vinayāditya, the glorious, abounding in vinaya (propriety of conduct).

est and seventy miles broad at its widest part, represents the entire known area within which the Hoysala enjoyed the revenues up to and about the year 1098, and thus it, and it alone, may be said to be the Hoysala nāḍ proper, the Hoysala empire of the period, and the nucleus of the vast domain which little more than a century was to put into the hands of that dynasty.

An inscription of the year 1184, and therefore suspect when purporting to give information concerning the kingdom of over a hundred years earlier, speaks of Tribhuvana-malla Vinayāditya as ruling with "duṣṭa-nigraha-śiṣṭa-prati-pālaneyum", that is, in the conventional phrase, exercising the powers of restraining the wicked and protecting the good, over the area bounded by Konkana, Ālvakhēḍa, Bayal-nāḍ, Talekāḍ and Sāvimala. (1)

Of these boundaries, Konkana and Ālvakhēḍa are very vague terms for the coastal strip of northern and central Malabar, implying in this case that Hoysala rule extended to the limit of the territory held by the Kadambas of Hāṅgal and the Sāntaras of Pomburccha; Bayal-nāḍ was then a district consisting of two sections now impossible to distinguish, and corresponding to the modern Heggadadevankote tāluḡa of Mysore district, of which Kittūr, under Kadamba rule, was probably the capital; Talekāḍ or Talakāḍ must here, as in other cases to be mentioned below, signify not the city of that name, but the province named after it. Of this province nothing definite is known, as there is insufficient evidence to enable any sort of impression to be obtained as to its size or constitution. How-

(1) EC. IV Nagamangala 32 of which E.C. VI Chikmagalur 160 (?1184) is probably a mutilated copy.

ever it will be observed that Talekād city was about thirty-five miles from the boundary of Vinayāditya's kingdom. If, then, it be conceded as possible that the area between the Kāvēri and the Kabbani rivers was under Hoysala influence if not actually colonized or governed by that power, and that the Talekād district boundary met the limit of Hoysala influence in the region of Srīraṅgapattānam, the eastern and southern bounds mentioned in the inscription are fairly comfortably accounted for. The boundary indicated by Sāvimalē, however, is another matter. This hill has never been identified, although the most obvious choice seems to be Kumārasvāmibēṭṭa, the last two parts of which name signify the same as Sāvimalē. This identification suits the later uses of this landmark very well, but can hardly have been at any time a boundary of the kingdom of Vinayāditya. It appears, indeed, that two important families only stood in the way of such enlargement, namely that of Huliyaṛa or Huliyaṛu and that of Nidugal and Heñjeru. It is true that the first inscription of the Nidugal Cōla family is no earlier than 1106 (1), but there is no reason for doubting their presence there from the first half of the eleventh century. Yet two such families would have been quite strong enough to render very doubtful a claim on the part of the Hoysala to rule from his capital as far as Sāvimalē, supposing that hill to be a hundred and twenty miles distant, access to even half that distance being difficult without the consent of those rulers.

(1) E.C.XI Challakere 16(1106) dated Cālukya Vikrama 40, Vyaya, which is inconsistent. Rice's readings in the Roman and Kannada texts vary. The suggestion of ?1226 is unlikely.

It must therefore be agreed that an historical error was committed by the author of the inscription that credited Vinayāditya with a boundary so far to the north.

The discrepancy regarding Hoysala influence in or near the Kadamba and Sāntara districts of the north-west can not be disposed of so simply. What appears an obvious exaggeration seems to have had a basis in fact. An undated inscription of the reign of Trailōkyamalla Cālūkyā, which may safely be attributed to the period about 1060, suggests that Hoysala and Sāntara forces had recently been in conflict.⁽¹⁾ The fact that the inscription is at Nāḍamañcasāle does not prove that the battle was fought in that vicinity, for the place was merely the home-village of the hero commemorated. But the inscription clearly supports the view that the Hoysala had within the first few years after Nrpa Kāma's death been so powerfully attracted by the fertile soil, the gold mines, the flourishing condition, and the older civilization of the upper Varadā valley; and had begun so successfully to subdue the country to the north of his home between the sheltered clearing from which he had sprung and the Tuṅgabhadra river and again between that and the Kumudvati, that he had at length ventured to attack upon their own ground a people whom we know from the vast number of vīraḡals found on their land to be the most warlike of all the Kannaḍa speaking nation.

(1) E.C.VIII Sagar 130. It is highly damaged; Hoysala and Sāntara are mentioned twice in all; a fragment indicates that a warrior fought so as to win the approval of both Hoysala and Sāntara in front of the whole of Sāntalige, that is, the country ruled by the Sāntaras bordering on the Ālvakhēda. E.C.VIII Sorab 487 (K.T. only) of ?1053 (Vijaya, Jēṣṭa su 10) at Maralugadde mentions the Hōsana and confirms this impression.

Another undated inscription, this time of the ruler Vīra-Sāntara himself, which may be dated confidently in the region of 1062, (1) tells how the ministers of Vīra-Sāntara had gone to the Siriyas of Mūḍa-nāḍ, that is, perhaps to the southern border of the Sāntara region, and in a clash with the Hoysana's hostile force one of the officials' servants died.

Another, also at Billēśvara, in the heart of the Sāntara dominion, tells how a cavalryman died bravely in a fight with the "Hoysala's nāyaka". (2) The date in this case is probably 1068. It thus seems that Vinayāditya engaged with the Sāntara in at least two separate campaigns. Their result can be gathered by comparing the fact that Ammaṇa-dēva Sāntara, son of Vīra-Sāntara, married Hōcala-dēvi, who was almost certainly one of Vinayāditya's daughters, (3) with the implication in later inscriptions that Vinayāditya frightened the inhabitants of Koṅkan, with whom by a stretch of imagination the Sāntaras and their allies might be associated. (4)

(1) E.C.VIII Nagar 71 at Billēśvara: Hoysanana mārbbalada kūḍe kādi; ibid. Nagar 47 and 58 are of this ruler and of the year 1062.

(2) E.C.VIII Nagar 70: śrī-Vīra-Sāntara-dēvana sāhani Kētamalla śaka-varusa 1011 (error for 991) neya Kīlaka-samvatsarada Āsāḍha-pañcamī-Vaddavāradalu Hoysalana-nāyakar ḍdane kādi hala-bāraṃ kondu vīra-śrī-ramaṇan āgi dēva-lōkake sanda //

(3) E.C.VIII Nagar 36(1077).

(4) E.C.V Belur 58(1117), also ibid. 71, where idu is read for ade with hardly any change of sense: Koṅkanigar ivana khaḍgāda/kaṅkanav ade namman elavo mulūgisug enutum / bhōṅkal kedaruvinan niśśaṅkaṃ pariyaṭṭan alte Viṇayādityaṃ // Rice translates this: "The Konkanigas, saying his sword will destroy us all, scattered in every direction, when Vinayāditya set forth to war" Better: "While the Konkanigas disperse quickly saying, "Ah! the (very) wrist-band of this man's sword is (going) to ruin us!", did not Vinayāditya set out fearlessly?"

Moreover, for the space of about forty years from the close of Vinayāditya's reign, the absence of Sāntara inscriptions suggests that their prestige suffered a temporary eclipse, an eclipse materially assisted if not entirely effected by Hoysala pressure. It can not be said, on the other hand, that the Hoysala conquered Sāntalige, nor even subjected it to a prolonged occupation, for no Hoysala inscriptions of this period are found there, and no Sāntara kings at any time acknowledge Hoysala supremacy. Nor does the inscription at Andigere in the present Tirthahalli tāluḡa, describing how Boppavve, wife of Hoysala-dēva's treasurer Candimayya, died by samādhi, give us any reason to suppose that the village came within Hoysala jurisdiction; apart from the doubtfulness of the date, which may be 1090, the presence of an official's wife at a particular place is no evidence of sovereignty over that place on the part of the official's master. (1)

Certain important, but little known dealings with the Gaṅgas likewise contributed to the consolidation of the Hoysala dominion. There was this difference that the achievement of Vinayāditya in this field was permanent, whereas Hoysala relations with the Sāntara were a constant, if not unprofitable, source of anxiety. An inscription which is dated 1089 gives the Hoysala king the title Vikrama-Gaṅga (2) This title, with the usual delightful ambiguity, probably signified not only "a hero amongst the Gaṅgas" but also "a champion over the Gaṅgas".

(1) E.C.VIII Tirthahalli 198(?1090) dated Śukla, without the Saka date.

(2) E.C.VI Kadur 21(1089) at Yellāmbalase, dated Cāl.Vik.13, Vibhava.

The title "Gaṅga-bhū-vadhūṭī-stana-tāra-hāram", which occurs in the ~~same~~ same inscription, clarifies the sense further. The "snatcher of the ~~mountains~~ mountains which are the breasts of the damsel, the Gaṅga country" can hardly have extended his sway to the disadvantage of the other groups of families without some exercise of force. War with the Sāntaras would naturally provide both the inclination and the power to crush any opposition on the part of a family, such as the Āsandi Gaṅgas, that lived immediately in the path of movement towards the North. By 1089 Vaijarasa of that family had recognized Hoysala overlordship (1), while Hermādi Gaṅga, a close connection of his, had married Ereyāṅga's daughter before 1067. (2) And after this conflict, of which we know so little - it must have been very brief or otherwise unworthy of being recorded - this Gaṅga family together with its connections became an integral part of the Hoysala kingdom, retaining its individuality and traditions without obstructing the designs and activities of its overlord, so that this group, one of the earliest to be pressed into subordination, remained true to its sovereign until the collapse of the empire itself nearly three centuries later.

In the east, however, we can be fairly sure that no attempt was made during Vinayāditya's lifetime to annex the possessions of the Cōla feudatories; nor did he disturb, as an act of personal aggression, the Gaṅgāḷva-Koṅgāḷva nexus on his

(1) E.C.VI Tarikere 65(?1089) of Cālukya Jagadēkamalla 73 (for 13), Sukla. Rice wrongly suggests 1141. Here Jagadēkamalla refers to Vikramāditya.

(2) E.C.VII Shimoga 64(1172): mahāmandalēśvara Ereyāṅga-Hoysana dēvan aḷiyam --- Hermmādi-dēva --- Saka-varṣa 989 neya Plavaṅga-samvatsara etc.

southern frontier. But, within the limits already described, Vinayāditya's followers gradually consolidated their control, as the steadily increasing production of stone records indicates. Struggles there must occasionally have been, as the families already in possession failed to compromise on adequate terms with the rising power. An inscription at Neralige, about nine miles to the north-north-east of Dōrasamudra, on a route to Āsandi, refers to just such a struggle. Ālamayya, the perggade or chief of Neralige, fought in the year 1084 with the Nolamba at Nolambanakere (or Nolamba's tank), which we may suppose to have been not far from Neralige itself.(1)

And so it came about that from about 1060 Vinayāditya was said to be ruling the Gaṅgavādi 96,000, although at no time in his life did he rule more than half of it. The expression should not, however, be condemned as an exaggeration: it was

(1) E.C.V Arsikere 6(1084): Cālukya-Vikrama-kālada 9 ttaneya Raktākṣi-saṃvatsarada....brīmatu Tribhuvanamalla Vinayāditya (R.T. reads Vineyāditya) Poysaḷa-dēvanu Gaṅgavādi tombhattaru sāsira<maṃ duṣṭa-nigraha-siṣṭa-pratipālaneyiṃ> sukha-saṃkathā-vinōdadim rājyam geyyuttam ire; tat-pādapadmōpajīvi samadhigata pañca-mahāśabda-mahā-sāvanta --- Poysaḷa-dēva-pādārādhakaṃ --- Neriligeya perggade Ālamayyaṃ Nolamba Nolambanakereya kālegadalu mēl-āḷu kudureyan iridu vīra-svarggake sanda // In the ninth year of the Cālukya Vikrama era, the year Raktākṣi, while Tribhuvanamalla Vinayāditya Poysaḷa was ruling the Gaṅgavādi 96,000, restraining the evil and protecting the good, in the enjoyment of pleasant communications, his devoted servant the great sāmanta who had achieved the dignity of the five great

customary for a ruler of part of one of the old divisions to claim to rule it, with the odd result that often, especially in the north-west, several rulers purported to rule the Banavāse 12,000, for example, at the same time.(1)

One may well wonder what were the sentiments of the Cālukya emperor on the progress of Hoysala power. It seems clear that at any rate until the accession of Vikramāditya VI Hoysala expansion was viewed without alarm, for a reason which will appear in due course. There had been a faint tradition of friendliness, and some time before 1055 Vinayāditya had married a member of his family, a daughter perhaps or a sister, to the emperor himself - a clear sign of the growing importance of his dynasty. In that year we learn that Hoysala-dēvi, a senior queen of Trailōkyamalla, while residing at Kalyāṇa, the Cālukya capital, made a grant of land "for the Mallikēśvara tīrtha of Onnāli on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra".(2)

instruments (omitting further titles), worshipper of the feet of the Poysala king, Alamayya, perggade of Neralige, in the battle of Noḷambanakere (with) Noḷamba, struck down an officer's horse and ascended to the paradise of heroes." It is just possible that the word Noḷamba above may be a case of diplography, but such vīragals generally contain reference to the enemy as well as the place of conflict. Even if the translation might be "at Noḷamba's Noḷambanakere" one would be no less justified in supposing that the enemy was a representative of a Noḷamba family. Again the omission of certain syllables, as for example Noḷamba<na>kūde, may be conjectured.

(1) Vinayāditya's rule of the Gaṅgavādi 96,000 is claimed in E.C.V Arsikere 186(c1060) and finally E.C.V Belur 200(1098). In 1063 he is stated in an inscription to be protecting, in the company of his son Ereyāṅga, under the shade of his sole parasol, the Male country and other parts of the Gaṅga-maṇḍala 96,000: that is to say, particularly the hill region. E.C.VI Kadur 161(1063): Male-viṣeyam modal āgi Gaṅga-maṇḍala etc.

(2) E.C.VII Honnāli 1(1055). Honnāli was not at the time within the Hoysala boundaries.

Another sign of friendliness we have already noticed, namely the title Tribhuvanamalla which Vinayāditya bore from the commencement of his reign: his association with the emperor is confirmed by his use of the title Trailōkyamalla in or before 1061.(1) Moreover in an inscription of about 1074 Vinayāditya bears the titles of a regular feudatory of the Cālukya empire, that is to say, "samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda-mahā-maṇḍalēśvara" the lord of a great tract who has achieved the dignity of the five great instruments, or processional band.(2) But it must be noted that this does not prove actual subordination to the emperor. Indeed Vinayāditya prided himself upon a kind of sturdy and uncouth independence, in which he was content to class himself with Cālukya feudatories of older culture and more flourishing dominions, without discarding his peculiar atmosphere of vitality. In 1062 he is called "Rakkasa-voysalaṅ ugra-cēlakkaṃ Yādava-kulāmbujārkkam", a demon Poysala in his fierce determination, the sun to the lotus the Yādava race. The title Rakkasa-, or Rākṣasa-Poysala, which is clearly copied from the title Rakkasa-Gaṅga, held by several members of that dynasty, is repeated in a verse which occurs in two inscriptions, the first of 1063 and the second of 1094.

Rakkasa-Voysalaṅ emb āṅ-akkaravam baredu paṭaman ettidaḍ idirol
lakkada sava-lekkada maru-vakkaṃ nindapuve samara-saṅghaṭṭanado l

"If, writing the six letters Ra-kka-sa-Po-ysa-la on his flag, he hoists it aloft, can an hostile army of even a full hundred thousand stand before him in the trampling of battle ?" (3)

(1) E. C. VI Cikmagalur 7(1061) & ibid. 15(?1074) (2) & (3) over.

In Vikramāditya's reign, however, Vinayāditya actually accepted Cālukya overlordship, but this was more a tribute to the power and efficiency of that ruler than a reflection upon the capacity of the Hoysala. For, in fact, Vinayāditya had been one of the strongest supporters of the rule of the emperor Sōmēśvara II, Vikramāditya's elder brother, and on being approached by him for aid had sent a large contingent of Kannadiga troops from his small principality under the command of his son Ereyāṅga.

Ereyāṅga had entered public life perhaps a little before 1063. If, as we believe, his father came to the throne in 1047, it is possible that his son began to assume responsibilities round about 1060. At any rate it is in 1063 that he is first mentioned in an inscription. (1)

The situation in which he was called upon to serve the emperor was in no way extraordinary. A period of weakness in the military strength of the central authority had encouraged at least one hereditary rival to rebel. In the previous reign Sōmēśvara I of the Cālukya dynasty had enjoyed remarkable successes against Bhōja, the Paramāra king of the Mālavas.

Page 48 n.(2) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 15(?1074).

Page 48 n.(3) M.A.R. 1929,12(1062); E.C.VI Mudgere 13(1063) & E.C.V Channarayapatna 148(1094), which has the negligible variants akkaramam, sama-lekkade and saṅghaṭṭanadol. The āṅ-akkara were, Dr. Barnett suggests, reminiscent of some actual ṣaḍakṣara; in that case it was probably Ōm mamas siddhēbhyah.

(1) E.C.VI Kadur 161 (1063) where he is called Kumāran. In E.C.VI Kadur 33(c1075) Ereyāṅga bears the titles mahā-maṅḍalēśvara and Tribhuvanamalla, indicating that in the interval he had acquired the status almost of a partner in his father's government, or alternatively enjoyed the exceptional favour of the emperor.

Sometime before 1058, perhaps in the year 1057, he had actually attacked and sacked Dhārā, the modern Dhar, which was the capital city of the Paramāra family. (1) But Bhōja had recovered quickly from this disaster and apparently regained for a while his past glory, and by the time that Sōmēśvara had been succeeded by his son of the same name, with the title Bhuvanaikamalla, that is in 1069, Jayasimha, Bhōja's successor, was prepared to take sides in a squabble amongst the members of the imperial family. The jealousy between Sōmēśvara and his younger brother Vikramāditya was an invitation to all the discontented subordinates of the Cālukyas to recover their liberties; Jayasimha decided in favour of Vikramāditya, but was unfortunate enough to declare his preference before Sōmēśvara could be ousted from power.

Accordingly, after what appears to have been an unsuccessful attack upon Dhārā, Sōmēśvara called to his aid the Hoysala together with a Gaṅga prince by name Udayāditya. (2)

At some period, then between 1069 and 1076 - it is not possible to pick the precise year - Ereyāṅga attacked Dhārā with complete success, and thus provided the first battle-honour for the Hoysala family's praśasti, or record of achievements. (3)

(1) Sōmēśvara refers to this victory in inscriptions dated 1058, 1059, 1060 & 1067. See Ganguly, Paramāras, p.93-4. This is the victory to which Bilhaṇa referred in his Vikramāṅka-dēvacarita, I 91-4, with interminable puns on the word Dhārā.

(2) Ganguly, op. cit. p.128. The view that Ereyāṅga attacked Dhārā before 1058 is improbable, because he would have been very young then, and his subsequent adventures can be assigned only to the post-1076 period.

(3) G.C. Roychaudhuri, p.265, wrongly assigns the attack on Dhārā to c.1100. He also states, without foundation, that Viṣṇuwarddhana went too.

Mālava-rājana durggam

Cālukyargg adhika-ballit enal aśramadiṃ /
dhālitt eydiye <ka>ṇḍ ure

Cālukyar nnōḍe nōḍal Eṛeyaṅga-nṛpa //

"Well done! King Eṛeyaṅga, while the Cālukya was actually watching, stormed (as soon as he) reached the fort of the Mālava king, without effort, saying that it was too strong for the Cālukya (himself)." (1)

An earlier record, in a good Sanskrit and two fine Kannada verses, enlarges on the topic.

Dhārādhārō bhujā-balavatāṃ Mālavādhiśvarāṇāṃ
Bhōjēnaujō-vijita-ripunā vardhitā yā pṛṣiddhā /
sābhūd āpōśanam ahita-bhū-bhōjanē yasya pūrvvaṃ
Kaubērāśā-vijaya-samayē varṇyatē kiṃ sa vīrah //

"How may one describe that hero, (Eṛeyaṅga), in the season of his northern victories ? His preliminary sip, before he consumed the lands of his foes, was that Dhārā, which was the support of the mighty-armed lords of the Mālavas, (a city) famous for having been extended by Bhōja, who had conquered enemies with his vigour." (2)

poge pokk āśādhipar kkaṅgaḷan orasuvinaṃ dig-gajāpāṇḍu-dantaṃ
poge suttal kagge koṇḍippinaṃ apaghanam āgirda rōḍōntarāḷam /
pogeyindaṃ mēgha-brṇḍānvitam enisuvinaṃ tībra-tējōṇaḷam kai-
miguvannaṃ Poysalaṅga^ṃ Bhōjana kurupina durggaṅgaḷam kūḍe suṭṭam/

(1) E.C.V Arsikere 117(1161) Dr.Barnett is responsible for the very plausible conjecture ka to fill the gap before ṇḍ ure .

(2) E.C.V Belur 58(1117).

"The overpowering Poysala burnt together the fortresses that had been the pride of Bhōja (1), so that the smoke entered the eyes of the lords of the quarters and bleared them; the smoke all around smudged the whitish tusk of the elephant(s) at the quarters to make it appear like (another) limb; and through its smoke the fire of his fierce valour caused the region of the heavens to be said to be filled with flocks of clouds."(2)

nija-sēnā-dhūliyiṃ caukada kilig ilad ā-b^ēttugal kūde mēgha-
vrajadim pūldirduv embantire naḍed adaṭim koṇḍ avam sut tu
dvajamaṃ(sic) Bhōja-pranāśōdayaman odavisal Poysalam cakri dhūma- /
dvajamaṃ rājōtkataṃ kaṭṭidan ene perar ār vvirar ā-dhīran- jaitra-
indam //

"With his valour he took and burnt as he went along so that, as it were, those mountains appeared submerged in a mass of clouds altogether, on account of the dust of his own army, as it did not descend to the level of a street (literally, 'square'). The Poysala, fierce towards kings, planted a standard of the victories of the emperor when he displayed Fire (the smoke-bannered one, or 'a banner of smoke') rising from the annihilation of Bhōja. Seeing this, are there any other heroes compared with that resolute one?" (3)

Again: -

Mālava-rājya-mūlam enip aggada-Dhāreyaṃ ātma-sēneyim
cālisi cakravarttige jayam mige tanna bhujā-pratāpamaṃ /
pālisi dig-jaya-prakāṣa-kīrtti-patākeyaṃ uttarāśeyol
kīlisidaṃ dinēśan agid ikṣisuvant Breyāṅga-bhūbhujam //

(1) Literally 'fortresses of Bhōja's mark. (2)&(3) E.C.V Belur 58.

"Overcoming with his own army Dhārā, the mighty, called the foundation of the Mālava kingdom, and fostering the prowess of his own arm so that victory might increase for the emperor, king Eṛeyaṅga set up in the northern region the standard of his fame, which was notorious for victories in the quarters, in such a way that the Sun shuddered to see it." (1)

Although the taking of Dhārā and the humbling of the Mālava king was considered the most remarkable of Eṛeyaṅga's achievements, in later times he was remembered for three other exploits, which are not, as it happens, even as easy to assign to a period as the Dhārā campaign itself. He is celebrated for the burning of Baleya-paṭṭana; for the capture of Cakragoṭṭa; and for signā services on behalf of the Cālukya against the Cōla king.

Accordingly, at least a century after these activities, verses were composed praising this series of successes in one breath.

Mālava-sēney^{am} tulīdu Dhāreyaṅ ṅvade suṭṭu tāldi tac-
Cōlanan īldu tat-kaṭakamaṅ kaḍupin nere sūre -goṇḍa dōṣ- /
sāli Kālīṅganaṅ murīdu bhaṅgisid ātma-bhuja-pratāpamaṅ
kēle diśādhipaṅ negaḷdan ī-teradin<d> Eṛeyaṅga-bhūbhujam //

"Trampling upon the Mālava army he showed no kindness to Dhāre and burnt it; then he seized and dragged the Cōla, and with violence thoroughly plundered his camp; he, the powerful one, routed the Kālīṅga and ruined him, so that the

(1) E.C.IV Nagamangala 30(1164). E.C.V Arsikere 62(1177) & 93 (1189) read dhāṅṅiyaṅ, "capital", for Dhāreyaṅ.

lord(s) of the quarters heard of the prowess of his own arm: in this manner did king Ereyāṅga acquire fame." (1)

And again, in a Sanskrit quatrain:-

kaś śaknōty Ereyāṅga-maṇḍalapatēr ddōr-vikrama-kriḍanaṃ
stōtum Mālava-maṇḍalēśvara-purīm Dhārām adhākṣīt kṣanāt /
dōh-kaṇḍūḷa-karāḷa-Cōḷa-kaṭakam drāk kāndiśīkam vyadhān
nirddhāmākṛta Cakragoṭṭam akarōd bhaṅgam Kālingasya ca //

"Who is able to praise the sport of the prowess of king Ereyāṅga's arm ? In a moment he burnt Dhārā, the city of the Mālava ruler, speedily put to flight the camp of the formidable Cōḷa eager for conflict, and made Cakragoṭṭa void of habitation and routed the Kālinga." (2)

Of his attack on Baḷeya-paṭṭana it was said that "the burning of Baḷeya-paṭṭana through the fire of King Ereyāṅga's anger, when he had seized the shore (or 'boundary'), made one think of the trembling mass of the ocean waves when faced with the glittering fire of Rāma's arrows." Likewise, a very badly damaged inscription of the reign of Ballāla I mentions not only Ereyāṅga's success against the Cōḷa but also his taking of Baḷeya-paṭṭana. (3)

(1) E.C.VII Shimoga 64(1172). In line four of the quotation diśādhipam is almost certainly a misreading for diśādhipar.

(2) E.C.II 349(1159).

(3) E.C.V Belur 58(1117): kare vididu Baḷeyavattanaṃ urivuduv Eregāṅga (sic)nrpana kōpāṇalanim / smariyisidudu Rāma-śara-sphuritāgniyan abdhī-vīcī-nicayācakiṭam // The word kare could mean either the bank of a river, shore of the sea, or a boundary; thus the translation offered by Rice, "Baḷeya-paṭṭana on the sea shore" is liable to mislead. The figure certainly demands the near presence of water. M.A.R.1936,9(c1101) shows plainly the words "Baḷeya-paṭṭanaṃ koṇḍ(u)".

In fact, it was subsequently believed, no doubt with reason, that Ereyāṅga's services to the emperor were considerable. Speaking of Ereyāṅga, an inscription of 1181 says:-

ātaṃ Cālukya-bhūpālana balada bhujā-daṇḍam uddaṇḍa-bhūpa-
brāta-prōttuṅga-bhūbhr̥d-vidalana-kuliṣaṃ vandi-sasyaughā-mēgham
svētāmbhōjāta-dēva-dviradana-śarad-abhrēndu-kundāvadāta-
khyāta-prōdyad-yaśas śrī-dhavalita-bhuvanam dhīran ēkāṅga-vīraṃ

"He the resolute valiant hero, a rod in the right hand of the Cālukya king, was a thunderbolt in splitting the lofty mountains the assemblage of formidable kings, a raincloud to the crops the panegyrist, and made the world white with the splendour of his famous increasing glory that was pure as the white lotus, the celestial elephant, an autumnal cloud, the moon, or a kunda flower." (1)

Unfortunately we are not as yet in a position to be certain when these campaigns took place, on whose behalf, or even in what order of sequence. In the case of Baleya-paṭṭana we can not tell even where it was.

Of the two places which could have been named Baleya-paṭṭana, neither seems really satisfactory. Balagāvi, Belagāvi, or Baligāme, to the north-west of the Hoysala nāḍ, was a place of importance, and there is plenty of evidence that it was called Baleya-pura, or Bali's city. It was not, however, near the sea, or even a large river, and we have no reason to believe that it was at this time of sufficient strategic or political eminence to be considered a prize worthy

(1) E.C.II 327(1181).

of mention beside the other achievements, which were unquestionably remarkable. On the other hand, Baḷiapaṭṭam, a few miles north of Kaṅṅanūr, while satisfying the presumed condition of being on the sea-shore, is not a satisfactory identification unless we are to suppose either that Eṛeyaṅga was engaged in a campaign against a Malabar dynasty that may have recognized the overlordship of the Cōḷa at this time, or that he was attacking the Kērala ruler, the latter suggestion having some probability seeing that Vikramāditya claimed to have defeated the Cēra king. Neither of these suggestions is impossible, yet further support would be required for either, as it is not very likely that the Hoysala would send an expedition into territory that had never been under Cāḷukya control, where in fact he would have few allies, and would be leaving his country on the plateau above a prey to the possible attacks of those Cāḷukya feudatories and other enemies whom he had provoked. An expedition into the Malabar coastal strip must have been a perilous aberration.

On the whole it is more likely that Baḷeya-paṭṭana was either on the west coast, perhaps in the region of Goa, or on the east coast in the province of Orissa. Eṛeyaṅga may well have been sent to humble a rebellious dependent of Sōmēśvara II or even Vikramāditya VI, or perhaps took Baḷeyapaṭṭana during the Cakraḡṭṭa campaign.

Of the Cakraḡṭṭa exploit our knowledge is fortunately more extensive, if less definite than could be desired.

It is known that Cakr^agōṭṭa, otherwise Cakrakūṭa, was in the modern Bastar State near Jagdalpur in the present Central Provinces. (1) The place had a very adventurous career, having been taken by the Cālukya ruler just before 1062, only to be lost to the Cōla four years later when he invaded Sakkaragōṭṭam (Cakragōṭṭa) and Kāliṅga. (2) Some time after the beginning of the reign of Vikramāditya, and almost certainly before the Hoysala contact with the place, Prōla, son of Bēta Kākatiya, had some opportunity to bring it under his control, as is shown by the statement in 1090 that he had "straightened the Cakrakūṭa province". (3)

It remains to decide when, and, if possible, on whose behalf Ereyāṅga led his force of Kannadigas so far across the Deccan against this remote principality. It appears from what Bilhana says of Vikramāditya's successes just prior to his father's death that Cakrakūṭa, as he calls it, was one of his captures. (4) If this information may be relied upon, it is possible that the Hoysala expedition took place about 1068. As, however, Ereyāṅga's principal task, the capture of Dhārā, was effected in the reign of Sōmēśvara II, that is, between 1069 and 1076, and as Ereyāṅga's son Viṣṇuvardhana almost certainly accompanied, and is not heard of before 1101, the expedition will have to be assigned to the post-1076 period,

(1) This is proved by inscriptions, as for example that at Temarā of 1324, see Hira Lal, p. 152 (1st edition).

(2) S. I. I. ~~XX~~ pt. 1, 97 (1062) at Mulgund, copied partially in W. E. I, f. 101, shows Mādarasa, who ruled Belvola 3,000 and Puligere 300 for the Cālukya, bearing besides the titles "slayer of Rājādhirāja Cōla" and "rod of death to the Cōla family" that of Cakragōṭṭa-dāvānalam, a forest-fire to Cakragōṭṭa. For the Cōla invasion see G. C. Roychaudhuri, p. 229. (3) & (4) over.

and indeed a date in the neighbourhood of 1090 would be more suitable than an earlier one. The fact that Anantapāla-dann-āyaka, the officer who ruled the districts of Belvola, Puli-gere and Banavāse between about 1101 and 1121, is accredited with the title Cakrakūṭa-sañcālana in a damaged inscription of doubtful date, is not sufficient evidence for his having taken part with the Hoysalas in a single campaign. It appears, on the contrary, that Anantapāla may well ~~have~~ ^{have} earned the title very late in his career, indeed after his departure from the Kannada for the Telugu country. (1)

That Ereyāṅga was accompanied by his second son, Viṣṇuwardhana, who was born somewhere in the region of 1075, is shown by several references to this expedition. It must be borne in mind that Viṣṇuwardhana could not have taken Cakra-goṭṭa during his reign as the Hoysala king. By the time of his accession the Hoysala kingdom was beginning a movement towards independence, and his energies were directed at objects more obviously profitable, and less hazardous, than a march unaided across the Deccan. It was, therefore, as a subordinate commander under his now elderly father that he earned these praises:

"Did not the brave king Viṣṇu display the sharpness of his formidable sword so that Sōmēśvara was afraid, Sōmēśvara the lord of Cakragoṭṭa of famous splendour?" (2)

Page 57 n.(3) H.A.S. 13, p.25-9. The inscription was set up by Prōla's son Bēta.

Page 57 n.(4) Vikramāṅka-dēva-carita IV, 30: ākrānta-ripu-cakrēna Cakrakōṭa-patēḥ paraṃ / likhitāś citraśālāsu tēnāmucy-anta dāntinaḥ // He set free even the elephants in the frescos.

(1) S.I.I.VI 112/3(A.R.1897, 154) in Kannada at Cebrōlu, Bapatla tāluqa, Guntur district. G.C.Roychoudhuri, p.268, feels that the Hoysalas and Anantapāla took part in the same errand. He

Again, in an inscription of 1205 he is called "a powerful lion in swallowing the fierce elephant Sōmēśvara" as he "displayed his might before Mānikya-dēvi whose throne is at Cakrakūṭa", while in one of 1133 he bears the title Cakra-kūṭādhīśvara-Sōmēśvara-mada-marddanam, "destruction to the pride of Sōmēśvara, lord of Cakrakūṭa".(1) Another again says that he terrified Cakrakūṭa, pursued and captured Sōmēśvara's elephants.(2)

Unfortunately our information about the Sōmēśvara mentioned in these inscriptions does not help us to fix very precisely the period of Breyaṅga's and Viṣṇuwardhana's attack. The earliest date of the Nāgavaṃsi chief Sōmēśvara is 1069, and the latest 1109, although he probably lived until 1111, when his son Kannara-dēva succeeded him. (3) Yet we have already independent reasons for believing that the attack did not take place before the accession of Sōmēśvara II or after the accession of the ~~Hoysala~~ Hoysala Viṣṇuwardhana (1108). On the whole, the period about 1090 seems to fit all the known circumstances well, and to it we accordingly assign not only the Cakragoṭṭa exploit but the campaign against the Kalinga, that

says that the title refers to Gōvinda, Anantapāla's nephew: his name does indeed appear in the record in question, but the title evidently belongs to his uncle. It is possible to see besides that the exploits of this Anantapāla were performed on the order of Vikramāṅka, that is Vikramāditya.

Page 58 n.(2) E.C.VI Mudgere 22(1129): prakāṭāṭōpada Cakragoṭṭad oḍeyam Sōmēśvaram balke tanna karālāsiya kūrppan eṃ meradanō --- adaṭam śrī Viṣṇu-bhūpālakam // M.A.R.1925,30(c1135) has (line 12-3) the same verse in a badly mutilated condition, misconstrued by the editor(p.40): "He was a help to Sōmēśvara (Cālūkyā king)."

(1) E.C.V Belur 58(1117) and E.C.VI Kadur 149(1205); ~~Hoysala~~ E.C.V Belur 124(1133).

(2) E.C.VI Kadur 69(1160)

(3) Hira Lal, p.148-50 A.R.1909, p.111-2.

is referred to in the records quoted above, as suggested by the proximity of Cakragoṭṭa to the Kalinga sphere of influence. Both these enterprises, then, form a part of the process by which Vikramāditya attempted to consolidate his empire, at a time when the Hoysala was content to serve a military apprenticeship under the emperor, to take lessons in the science of expansion, and to taste the advantages of power and influence without the burden of responsibility.

But, before the Cakragoṭṭa campaign, several interesting changes had taken place in the relationship between emperor and ally. Sōmēśvara had been content to employ Ereyāṅga against Dhārā without prejudice to the Hoysala status as an autonomous ruler, and Vinayāditya had been prepared to send his son on a sponsored tour of foreign parts, and to keep up his private army at the emperor's expense: Vikramāditya's accession brought a fresh element into the relationship.

When his relations with his elder brother broke down in the year 1076, besides the feudatories in the west whom he had already conciliated, he found the Hoysala one of his chief supporters. In the decisive battle that gave Vikramāditya the empire Ereyāṅga appears to have taken an active part. An inscription of 1100 tells us that at the emperor's order king Ereyāṅga caused the elder brother to sheath (his sword); the Cōlikas' king he caused to wear leaves; Nannuge he caused to be drawn in three colours (?), so that the world praised him. (1)

(1) E.C.V Arsikere 102a(1100): aṅṅam oregolisi Cōlikar aṅṅaleyam taliran udisi Nannugeyam mū-/vaṅṅam barisidan urvare baṅṅisal Ereyāṅga-nṛpati cakriya besadi // This is an obscure verse. Nannuge is unknown. aṅṅaleyam has been translated here on the analogy of the Tamil aṅṅal, but may be a proper name. Urvare may be "the great ones".

The "elder brother" has been taken, rightly, to refer to Sōmēśvara II Bhuvanaikamalla. This important service must, then, soon have been followed by the campaign against the Cōla. Nothing is known of it except that he fought the enemy with success at Vallūr, which may tentatively be identified with the Vallūr in the Mārājavādi 7,000 which perhaps corresponds to the Pavugada tāluqa of the Tumkur district. This period, therefore, sees for the first time a real advance by the Cālukya against his rival, with the Hoysala, as the location of his home territory would suggest, playing a big part in ridding the Karnāṭaka plateau of the TAMILIAN invader. (1)

But Vikramāditya had permitted this powerful maṇḍalēśvara to assist him on conditions which, while in strict accordance with the objects of the new and more efficient reign imposed a degree of humiliation upon the Hoysala.

If an inscription of somewhat later date may be trusted, Vinayāditya acknowledged Cālukya sovereignty by 1078. (2) An undoubted case of such recognition occurs in an inscription of 1090, (3) while the official use of the Cālukya-Vikrama era, that of Vikram^{am}āditya's coronation, commenced in the Hoysala nāḍ in or before 1083. (4) Inscriptions continue to be dated from time to time in the Śaka era, but the regular use of the Cālukya era in the Hoysala record offices during the reign of Vikramāditya is a reliable indication of at least the theoretical supremacy of the imperial family.

(1) M.A.R. 1936, 9 (c1101); see E.C.X Chintamani 30 (1048) / G.C. Roychaudhuri, p. 271-2 says, "The Hoysalas occupied a strategic position of great importance in relation to the Cālukya-Cōla contest." (2) E.C.XII Tiptur 105 (1078 & 1107). It is possible that the phrases referring to

There are additional reasons for supposing that Vikramāditya made a vigorous attempt to secure the allegiance of dynasties on the borders of his hereditary dominions. It may be in this way that we can account for the presence of an inscription bearing the name of the mahā-maṇḍalēśvara Jayasiṅha at the village Holahalli in Hassan Tāluqa, that is, well within the Hoysala nāḍ.(1) Indeed this Jayasiṅha may be the Kadamba ruler of Goa, who lived according to Moraes between 1030 and 1037, and who may have had occasion to invade thus far to the ~~west~~ south, though it seems very unlikely. The only possible alternative seems to be Jayasiṅha the younger brother of ~~Vikram~~ Vikramāditya, who ruled Banavāse 12,000, Sāntalige 1000, Belvola 300, Huligere (Puligere) 300, and Bāsavalli 1000, all districts in the north-west of the Mysorean plateau, in and about the year 1080, under the title of Vīra-Nolamba-Pallava-Permādi Jayasiṅha.(2) It may well be the case that he passed through the Hoysala nāḍ on a punitive expedition of which we have no other knowledge. That the Hoysala suffered severely then is unlikely: that a demonstration in force was made is quite possible. But we have clear evidence that Vikramāditya undertook extensive operations in the regions to the south and east

~~the~~ the rule of samasta-bhuvanāśraya śrī-prthuvī-vallabha Tribhuvanamalla-Permmādi-dēva may have been written when the later part of the record was composed.

Page ~~61~~ 61 n.(3) E.C.VI Kadur 22(1090).

Page 61 n.(4) E.C.V Arsikere 194(1083); ibid.6(1084) etc. The era did not survive for a century.

(1) E.C.V Hassan 34(?c1080). Moraes, K.K., p.99 ff.

(2) W.E.I, ff.184b and 185b.

of the Hoysala nād, in which, we shall not be rash in supposing, the Hoysala must have rendered useful if not enthusiastic assistance. In 1088, the year Vibhava, the thirteenth of his reign, Vikramāditya boasted of having subdued by the strength of his arm many rulers including Caṅga-Koṅgāḷva, Cēra and Siṅgāḷika.(1) It is very significant that the name of the Hoysala does not occur amongst those said to be subjected by the "only beloved of the three worlds". Yet no operations against the Caṅgāḷva-Koṅgāḷva group, whose unity at this period is fully demonstrated by the method of referring to them in this record; nor against the Cēra, whose forces must have been met somewhere in the Nilgiri or Coorg region, rather than Malabar, if indeed any fighting actually took place; nor against the Siṅgāḷika, whom we have reason to place somewhere in the south-east of the plateau; none in fact of these expeditions could have been undertaken had the Hoysala offered any resistance. On the other hand, the Hoysala's co-operation could easily have been enlisted by the consideration that the might of the emperor was profitably employed from the Hoysala point of view if it reduced the strength and ambitions of the Hoysala's neighbours.(2)

(1) W.E.I, ff 202a-4a. Tōḷ-valadiṁd Andhra-Magadh-Āṅgga-Kāḷiṅga Turāṣka-Caṅga-Koṅgāḷvara-Cēra-Siṅgāḷika-Gūrjara-Māḷava-Cē..... bhujam śubha-vikramōt<t>uṅgga-bhūpan aṁtt iravare lakkevaṁ sukhadin āḷv arasaṁ Trijagaikavallabham // With this reference to Siṅgāḷika and that on p.127 of N.K.Sastri, Colas II, p.12.

(2) The effect of Vikrama's attack upon the Cēra and Siṅgāḷika can not be judged, on account of the absence of relevant evidence. His relationship with the Caṅgāḷva and Koṅgāḷva appears to have had a curiously mixed effect. Of the Caṅgāḷva we have only two inscriptions: E.CV Arkalgud 65(1090) at Lakkūra, and ~~.....~~ M.A.R. 1925, 114(1091) at Kirāṅgūr, Hunsur tāḷuqa. In the first instance Mādeyarasa Caṅgāḷva, in the second merely Caṅgāḷva-dēva is mentioned. Of the Koṅgāḷva we possess, from

On the strength of this co-operation, combined with the services he rendered through his son Eṛeyaṅga and grandson Viṣṇuwardhana, Vinayāditya received this encomium within three years of his death:

kay-sērada ripu-nṛparam
 poy-senḍam poydu mereye vidviṭ-nṛparam /
 Poysala-dharādhipam besa-
 keysidan ā-Kuntaḷādhipatigaṃ tanagaṃ //
 ā-Vinayāditya-ma-
 hī-varan aparāṣeyinde Talakādu-varam /
 Dēvēndran ant ir āḷdam
 bhūvaḷeyam mecci jīya jīy emb inegaṃ //

"The Poysala king subjected to that lord of Kuntala (the emperor) and to himself enemy kings who did not join hands, striking in a brilliant way hostile kings (as if) balls in a game. That king Vinayāditya ruled from the west as far as (the province of) Talakāḍ like Indra, until the circle of the earth cries "well done, sir!" in approval."

(1)

1058, the following series: E.C.I 35(1058) at Mallūr, Rājēndra; E.C.V.Arkalgud 93(1066) at Siṅganakuppe, Rājēndra-Prthvī-Koṅgāḷva-dēva; E.C.I 49(1070) at Hoshallī, the same; E.C.I 43(1077) at Mallūr, Rājēndra-Cōḷa-Koṅgāḷva; E.C.V Arkalgud 99(1079) at Sōmavāra, Adaṭarāditya, otherwise samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda-mahāmandalēśvara, lord of the city of Oreyūr, sun to the eastern mountain the Cōḷa-kula, crest-jewel of the Sūryya-vaṃṣa, Rājēndra-prthuvī-Koṅgāḷva; M.A.R.1912-3 para.62(1079) at Sāli-grāma, Tribhuvanamalla Koṅgāḷva; E.C.V Hole-Narsipur 16(c1080) at Gubbi, Tribhuvanamalla-Cōḷa-Koṅgāḷva, with a mention of Adaṭarāditya; E.C.V Arkalgud ~~102~~ 102(c1080) at Madalāpura Adaṭarāditya; E.C.V Arkalgud 94(1091) at Doḍḍa-Bemmatti, Rājēndra-Prthvī-Koṅgāḷva; ibid.95(?1094) at Cikka-Bemmatti, the same; then a long silence.

It will be seen that the arrival of effective Cālukya pressure brought a decline, followed by a temporary revival which affected both Caṅgāḷva and Koṅgāḷva from about 1090 to

(1) over.

While the political condition of the Hoysala seems, at least in respect of his independence, to have changed somewhat for the worse, the Hoysala kingdom saw a considerable degree of progress during Vinayāditya's long reign not only in the development of the army and on account of the fine opportunities available for Hoysala generals and statesmen to gain experience in an unusually wide field, but also in respect of the material prosperity of the country. The wealth acquired on foreign campaigns, and the added consequence which they brought attracted to the Hoysala court and country the first of what was to become, in the normal course of events, a steady stream of immigrants, adventurers, each having something to offer, if only a blessing, and each expecting ample and substantial patronage from the young and doubtless self-conscious dynasty. At least a small percentage of these newcomers made, eventually, valuable contributions to the material and intellectual advancement of the Hoysala nād.

As success brought self-confidence, Vinayāditya set up his residence further from the hills, in a position less safe strategically, indeed even perilous, but indicating a real appreciation not only of a security born of a settled and faithful peasantry round about, but the advantages of a capital enjoying a more central position and a better degree of access to the trade routes of the new kingdom.

1094, before both slid into oblivion. The temporary assumption of the title Tribhuvanamalla and the amusing compromise in the Gubbi inscription show the struggle for supremacy. The revival while the Hoysala was otherwise occupied was followed by a relapse into mediocrity. M.A.R. 1912-3 para.62(1079) shows the Caṅgāḷva attacking the Koṅgāḷva unsuccessfully, perhaps due to the Koṅgāḷva's change of front.

Page 64 n.(1) E.C.V Arsikere 102a(1101).

Vinayāditya's first inscription of reasonably certain date is at Aṅgaḍi, otherwise Sosavūr, the Śaśakapura or Śaśapura which has already been noticed as the legendary birthplace of the Hoysalas. (1) That Sosavūr was indeed Vinayāditya's earliest capital is shown by an inscription of perhaps 1184, which seems to have been based on documentary material of much earlier origin. Vinayāditya was ruling, according to this authority, at Sosavūr together with his wife, Keleyabbe (the mother of Eṛeyaṅga), in the year 1047-8, for so we interpret Sarvvajīṭ, Śaka 969, and error for 970. (2)

It is interesting to notice from this part of the record that Keleyabbe bestowed on Marīyāne-daṇṇāyaka, a fosterling of hers, a girl by the name of Dēkave as a wife together with the prabhutva, or chiefship, of Sindagere in Āsandi-nāḍ for their maintenance. Marīyāne was probably an adopted son, supplying the place of children whom either she had not born in addition to Eṛeyaṅga or who had died in their infancy. This village Sin-

(1) E.C.VI Mudgere 9, dated Jaya and Śaka 924, which may be an error for 976 or 977, can be assigned to 1054 rather than any other year firstly because Vinayāditya can have seen only one Jaya, namely this one, and secondly because Vajrapāṇi-paṇḍita, whose disciple is mentioned, has another reference in an inscription of about 1040. The only other inscription which may claim to be Vinayāditya's earliest is E.C.VI Mudgere 21 at Kaṇacūru, not very far from Sosavūr. It is dated Virōdhi, which would be 1049. The Śaka year is 989 (A.D.1067) according to the text, and 996 (A.D.1074) according to the translation; as the ruler is named "Poysala" only, no decision can be made on the date of this inscription as yet.

(2) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 160(?1184) at Sindigere. Rice misdates it ?1103. It is an incomplete copy of E.C.IV Nagamangala 32(1184) at Alēsandra. The same family appears to have held both places. The Alēsandra copy has the date 967 for the Śaka year quoted above; the error, if error it be, and not merely a misreading, being one of merely three years, strengthens rather than weakens the value of the evidence.

dagere was only six miles north of Dōrasamudra, but the fact that it was in Āsandi-nāḍ confirms the view that Vinayāditya's territorial expansion was of an early beginning and involved intimate relations with the Gaṅga family of Āsandi, from whom this village may have been acquired by other means than simple purchase.

By the year 1062, however, after a possible stay at Belūr, Vinayāditya was ruling at Dōrasamudra, and it is from that year that we can grant the city the status of a rājadhāni, or capital city. (1)

Its name gives some room ~~from~~ for controversy, and it is open to question whether it should be spelt Dhōra, Dōra-, or Dorasamudra. The most usual form found in the Roman and Kannada texts of the inscriptions is Dōrasamudra, and the cases where the transliteration gives Dorasamudra are to be attributed to the fact that a distinction between the long and the short vowel was hardly ever made in the writing of the period. The text of the Sūktisudhārṇava of Mallikārjuna, written in the reign of the Hoysala Sōmēśvara, uniformly gives the long vowel. (2) The presence of the aspirate is to be doubted, for the Kannada ^{people} had and still have an antipathy to aspirated consonants and the form found in inscriptions may represent the common pronunciation without indicating a conventional spelling, which may or may not have included the aspirate. An element of uncertainty will always remain as to the official spelling, for

(1) M.A.R. 1929, 12 (1062) at Halebīd (Dōrasamudra itself).

(2) E.g. p.132: Ōraṇṭe meccidaṃ kṛti-sāram sutavarṇanakke Hoy-saḷavaṃśō-//ddhāraṃ Narasiṃha-sutaṃ Dōrasamudrādhināyakaṃ Sōmanṛpaṃ // where the metre puts the vowel beyond question.

the distinction between da and dha in the contemporary script, between ḍ in fact and ḍ , was so slight that on many occasions Dōra may well be a misreading for Dhōra. The Muslim historians, who had often a knack of recording the contemporary and colloquial pronunciation with accuracy, and who have thus preserved for us, despite the corruptions to which their unfortunate script is so liable, forms of which we have no other trace, with the single exception of Waṣṣāf, who writes Dōr-samun, invariably spell the name of this town with an aspirate: Dhōra-samundar. It is true that the MSS. are about equally balanced between -samund and -samundar, that is to say, if one neglects several absurd corruptions due to careless copying; and one can put aside at once the previous transliterations of the Persian letters such as "Dahūr-samandar" and so on. Yet the crux remains, and, in the absence of an adequate solution, the unaspirated form has been chosen for this work, as it is known to be more akin to the peculiarities of mediaeval as well as modern Kannaḍa. The name signifies "the tank (samudra, the modern sandra - the Muslim historians testify to the early intrusion of the n) of Dōra". We are not able to identify this man, but there appear to have been several persons of importance by this name in Rāṣṭrakūṭa times. (1) Certain it is, at any rate, that the name of the city has nothing to do with dvāra, a door; and the name Dvārāvātīpura, which is applied to it very rarely, is a case of fanciful folk-etymology, as is for example Baḷeya-pura for Belagāvi. When the Hoysalas called

(1) A king Dōra is mentioned in E.I.VI p.163. The builder of the Dōra-samudra was probably not legendary (!), So the view of

themselves lords of Dvārāvatiṭpura - a title which they held in common with a Caṅgāḷva branch and the Dēvagiri Yādavas to mention only two contemporary holders - they were referring to their Yādava pedigree and their mythical descent from Kṛṣṇa. (1)

While Dōrasamudra was the capital, Belūr also had a palace which was used as a subsidiary seat of government. It seems likely that it was occupied by the Hoysala court before Dōrasamudra, because the site was more immediately attractive, and can reasonably be supposed to have been a stopping-place intermediately between Sosavūr and Dōrasamudra. Belūr was about eight miles south-west of Dōrasamudra, and is now in a more flourishing condition than its ancient rival. As has already been remarked, it lies on two main trade routes; moreover, with its back, as it were, against much hilly and difficult ground, it had a far stronger defensive position than Dōrasamudra, though neither could be said to be well situated from a military point of view. Dōrasamudra was, and still is, linked with Belūr by a good road, while from the first half of the Hoysala period a fine channel, which excited Colonel Mackenzie's admiration, brought to the capital a supply of water from the Yagaci river. When it is considered that the town already stood between several stretches of water, it will be appreciated that the population must have been large to require such elaborate provision, large even for a capital city. In those times life was still largely rural, and even a rajadhāni was a village first and a seat of government second.

De la Vallée Poussin, *Dynasties...depuis Kanishka*, p.224 n.1, is as unlikely, as his giving Dvārāsamudra as an alternative form for Dōrasamudra is, (1) Fleet wisely left the question open, though he ^{wrong.}

Vinayāditya was ruling at Belvūr, that is Belūr, in 1096, approximately two years before his death.(1) It may be that he was holding a nominal authority while his son Ereyāṅga controlled the government at Dōrasamudra, either personally or through his sons Ballāla and Viṣṇuvardhana(Biṭṭi-dēva). Belūr itself, when Dōrasamudra received an unwelcome visit from an enemy a few years ~~before~~ after this date, it seems ~~to~~ to have failed to escape his attention.(2)

Intimately associated with the growth of the kingdom which is observed during this period was a programme of public works, conspicuous amongst which was the provision and repair of tanks. As early as 1062 the king made a grant for the upkeep of recent renovations to the Dōra-samudra itself.(3) The building of tanks is referred to in several inscriptions at intervals during Vinayāditya's reign.(4) An ambitious scheme of land development was carried out by Pōcimayya-dannāyaka prior to the year 1063 in the villages around Bīrūr, in the present Kadur district, which came under his jurisdiction.(5) In the inscription at Halebīḍ which tells how Vinayāditya, in the 21st year of the Cālukya Vikrama era, the year Īsvara, set up a sluice for a tank at Dōrasamudra, the fact also is mentioned - to judge from a mutilated phrase - that in his reign all streams and hollows were turned into tanks. This kind of activity is thus seen to have extended throughout his long reign. (6)

found the form Dhōra in P.S.O.C.I.123 l.47;148 l.12 & J.B.B.R.A XI 240,p.21;see his D.K.D.p.491 n.3. Krishnaswami Aiyangar uses the wrong form Dvārasamudra, e.g.in C.H.I.III p.470,also Sant Lal Katare,Ind.Hist.Cong.Allahabad,1938.p.20. Sir Wolseley Haig is even less justified in using Dvāravatīpura,C.H.I.III p.116. Hobson Jobson is likewise in need of correction.

(1)E.C.VI Kadur 142(1096) where Vinayāditya's name does not

Naturally, the public resources were expended in other ways also; again conspicuous among the beneficiaries were religious persons, bodies and temples. In 1061 Vinayāditya made a land grant to a Brahman agahāra, and in ~~1093~~ 1093 to a Śaiva temple.(1) As the royal family were Jaina by persuasion it is not surprising that we hear more of the Jaina than of the Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava faith in contemporary records. In 1062 Vinayāditya made a grant to his Jaina guru Śānti-dēva's colleague Abhayachandra-panḍita. The former had just died at Sosavūr, after a life of adventure in fields political as well as religious. It is said of him that men possessed of such great and brilliant glory were rare. Who could describe the ability of the ascetic Śānti-dēva, having worshipped whose pair of pure lotus feet the Hoysala king Vinayāditya brought the goddess of wealth to the territory under his rule? The Pāṇḍya king (of Uccaṅgi, of course) gave him the title Svāmi and Āhavamalla (the Cālukya) that of Śabda-caturmukha, and he had finally attached himself to the Hoysala.(2)

appear, merely the title Tribhuvanamalla Hoysala. M.A.R.1926,7 of the same year speaks of the rule of Tribhuvanamalla Vinayāditya as current, and mentions Ereyāṅga as the master of a certain warrior there praised.

Page 70 n.(2) See below, p. 91.

Page 70 n.(3) M.A.R. 1929,12(1062).

Page 70 n.(4) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 15(?1074) at Basavanahalli. The Śaka year 998 should be corrected to 997 to correspond with the year Ānanda. E.C.VI Kadur 33(c1075) at Bommēnahalli. The work was carried out under the mahā-maṇḍalēśvara Tribhuvanamalla vīran Ereyāṅga Hōsala-dēva. E.C.V Arsikere 187(c1090) at Kurādhahalli. E.C.XII Tipatur 57(1091) at Araḷaguppe. M.A.R.1924,19 (1094) at Dēvahalli; near Halebīd. E.C.V Hassan 107(1095) at Nittūr. Finally, E.C.V Channarayapatna 207(1098) at Kembālu.

Page 70 n.(5) E.C.VI Kadur 161(1063). Page 70 n.(6) M.A.R.1937, 33(1097): toreyanituṃ kuḷiyanituṃ kerey ā ... dama negaḷda, etc.

(1) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 7(1061); E.C.VI Tarikere 76(1093).

(2) E.C.VI Mudgere 17(1062); E.C.II 67(1129) where the following

Śānti-dēva's successor in the capacity of guru to the Poysala king was a certain Guṇasēna-panḍita-dēva of Muḷlūr in the modern Coorg. This Jaina priest was guru to a certain Ēcala-dēvi also: we do not know whether she belonged to the Hoysala, Koṅgāḷva or some other family. (1) The king made a grant for a basadi (modern basti) or Jaina temple in 1068, (2) yet the most interesting proof of the connection between the Jaina community and the government is found in a casual reference concerning the guru Vardhamāna-dēva, disciple of Vādirāja, who died by sannyāsa about 1070. The record says of him that he was

Hoysala-kārāliyadalu agraganyaru

which, if we read kāryālayadalu (= -oḷ) for the difficult kārāliyadalu, may be translated "thought the best in the offices, or highly esteemed in the dīwān, of the Hoysala". So that it is clear that at this time Jaina teachers were consulted, if not actually employed, on matters of importance in the civil administration. (3)

quatrain is found:-

yasyōpāsya pavitra-pāda-kamala-dvandvaṃ nṛpaḥ Poysalō
Lakṣmīṃ sannidhim ānayat sa Vinayādityaḥ kṛtājñā bhūvaḥ /
kas tasy ārhati Śānti-dēva-yaminas sāmartthyam itthaṃ tathēty
Ākhyātum virālāḥ khalu sphurad-uru-jyōtir-dāśās tādrśāḥ //

(1) E.C.VI Mudgere 13(1063); E.C.V Arkalgud 98(c1060). He is mentioned immediately after Śānti-dēva in the Śravaṇa Beḷgola record of 1129(above).

(2) E.C.IV Nagamangala 66(1068).

(3) M.A.R.1929, 41(c1070). Dr. Krishna, ibid. p.109, rightly holds that this inscription belongs to the reign of Vinayāditya. Sal- etore, Med. Jainism, p.66-7, denies this on the ground that another priest was the guru of that monarch, saying that this Vardhamāna is the Sudatta connected with Saḷa, in whom of course he believes. He says, "If Vardhamāna had only aided Poysala in founding the royal house, that fact would have been expressed, as in the case of the illustrious Siṃhanandi Ācārya (of Gaṅga fame), thus - that Vardhamāna-dēva had merely created (māḍida) the kingdom. But it was because Sudatta Vardhamāna stabilized the Hoysala government in the reigns probably of three success-

The peaceful scene of domestic progress, founded upon the docility of the Hoysala's neighbours, the influx of wealth from foreign campaigns, the steady development of the cultivation of the soil, and the growth of religious and cultural institutions under royal patronage, while internal unity was secured by the prolonged absence of the most adventurous and lively members of the society on the imperial service, was rudely shattered at a moment when Vinayāditya was in extreme old age, his son was apparently absent from the capital, and the community was unprepared to receive the shock. Only a few years after the Hoysala had captured Cakragoṭṭa and engaged with the Kalinga ruler on the emperor's behalf, not to speak of other notable services, that same overlord thought fit to permit another of his subordinates to trample upon the Hoysala's youthful self-satisfaction, and at the same time work off an old grudge. There is no evidence that the Hoysala

ive rulers that the phrase Hoysala-kārāliyadalu agraganyaru is applied to him in the Sāgarakaṭṭe record. --- the reigns of all the first three Hoysala rulers - Poysala, Vinayāditya I and Nṛpa Kāma were short-lived." Every word of this is unwarranted, and the general conception fantastic. It is convenient to dispose at this point once for all of the phantom Vinayāditya I: there never was more than one Vinayāditya in the Hoysala line. BC.VI Chikmagalur 38, M.A.R.1915-6, para.83 (revising the former) and M.A.R.1932, 21 (giving the text), all concerning one inscription at Uppahalli near Indāvāra, almost certainly belongs to the year 1092 and not 1012 as was thought by its last editor, whom Saletore followed. It is dated in the reign of Tribhuvanamalla-Vineyāditya, a circumstance in itself sufficient to suggest a date after 1047, the year Paridhāvi and the curious expression "Vikrama-gālam 1070" or, as the later editors read the figure, "1060". The editor in M.A.R.1932 writes, "Obviously Vikrama-gāla of the record does not mean the Cālukya-Vikrama era: it means the Vikrama era, though Hoysala inscriptions dated in that era are very rare..... Taking the cyclic year to be correct we arrive at 1070 of the Vikrama era (A.D.1012) which appears to be the date intended". The northern Vikrama era is not rare in Hoysala inscriptions, it is unparalleled: of the 2,500 odd Hoysala records not one bears a date in this era. The explan-

had effected, though he may well have meditated, any movement to the emperor's disadvantage: it is quite certain that Jagaddēva Paramāra could not have come so far southwards without the emperor's permission, whereas it is highly likely that he received assistance and encouragement besides.

It appears that Jagaddēva, son of Udayāditya and nephew of Bhōja, gained favour with Vikramāditya by promising to subdue enemies that had appeared too difficult for Vikrama himself to attack without Jagaddēva's support. In fact Jagaddēva had revived the fortunes of the Mālava kingdom to such an extent that Vikrama must have preferred him as an ally to a possible enemy, even if such an alliance might have unfortunate repercussions upon the chances of performing Vikrama's other obligations. Jagaddēva had carried out successful campaigns against Cakradurga, which may be Cakragoṭṭa, and it is quite likely that he came into contact with his old enemy Ereyaṅga, the taker of Dhārā, on this occasion. If he did not take Cakradurga on the instructions of Vikramāditya, he may well have taken it for his own purposes subsequently to the capture of the place under Ereyaṅga. At any rate, if we may trust Merutuṅga, Vikramāditya was quite infatuated with the Paramāra, and the latter was at liberty to do as he pleased.(1)

ation is probably to be found in two errors, both doubtless on the part of the reader of the inscription: in the first place Paridhāvin is a misreading for Prajāpati, spelt Parajāpati through ignorance (the whole record has a very rustic and naïve appearance), a confusion which the similarity of the characters excuses; secondly, the scribe added two zeros to the numeral in an attempt at artistry of which we have other examples (e.g. E.C.V Channarayapatna 265(\$ 10129) and E.C.IV Heggadadevankote 112((Kaliyuga) 40004403), c.f. E.C.VIII Sorab 325, W.E.I ff. 352b-4a. Therefore the true date is Prajāpati C.V.16 = A.D.1092.

(1) Ganguly mentions Jagaddēva on p.148 etc. He is known from

The exploit against Cakradurga was followed by an attack on the Āndhra king, presumably the Kākatiya Bēta, and a march upon the Hoysala country. He describes his adventures in some clever Sanskrit verses forming part of an inscription at Jainad in the Adilabad district of the present Nizām's Dominions, an inscription which can be assigned with great probability to the year 1093 or to the immediate neighbourhood of that year.(1)

Speaking of king Pramāra it says:-

tadanvayē sānvaya-nāmadhēyaḥ śrīmān Jagaddēva iti kṣitīśaḥ
 abhūd abhūpāla-dig-antarāla-nirmāna-nirvyūḍha-bhuja-śramō'yam /
 yasy-Ōdayāditya nrpaḥ pitāsīd dēvaḥ pitṛvyaḥ sa ca Bhōja rājaḥ
 virējatur yau vasudhādhipatya-prāpta-pratiṣṭhāv iva puṣpavantau //
 Āndhrādhīśa-mṛgīdrśaḥ pati-parityaktāś ciraṃ yaccamū-
 vāha-vyūha-khur-āgra-khaṇḍita-bhuvi kṣīnāḥ skhalantyo 'dhvani
 nīyante navanīta-kōmala-padās tāmra-prabhāiḥ pallavair
 dattālamvanam aṃvudhēḥ parisara-kṣōṇī-latā-śrēṇibhiḥ //

the Rās Māla (Rawlinson, 1924, vol. I p. 117 ff.). He is identified by Ganguly satisfactorily with Lakṣma-dēva. See E. I. II p. 192. Merutuṅga, Prabandhacintāmaṇi, Tawney, p. 186 (see also E. I. XXII 57) says that Jagaddēva was earnestly invited by the Cālukya king to his court and accepted service under him. The Dongargaon inscription of Jagaddēva says that the king of Kuntala graciously addressed him as "the first among my sons, the lord of my kingdom, my right arm, a victory incarnate in all regions, my very self": E. I. XXVI 185. On p. 268 G. C. Raychoudhuri says, "Jagaddēva was undoubtedly fighting the battles of Vikramāditya", but it can not be supposed that his motives were altruistic. For his connection with Cakragoṭṭa compare below p. 148 n. (2).

(1) D. C. Ganguly, E. I. XXII p. 57, says, "That Jagaddēva occupied the throne of Mālava sometime between 1086 and 1094 A. D. can not be disputed".

krīḍōccāṭita- [Ca]kradurgga-nṛpatēr adyāpi yasyājñayā
 danḍāhīta-gajēndra-dāna-salilair nyastām praśastim parām /
 śail-ōpānta-vasundharāsu vipinōtsaṅgēṣu [bhū]pānganāḥ // inadā-
 madhyē- [Dō]rasamudram adri-śikharākār[ām] kapāl-āvalīm
 ālōkya [dvi] radēndra-danta-musala-prānta-spr̥śām prēyasām /
 sākramdaiḥ prati-mandiram [Ma]lahara-kṣōṇīśa-citt-ōdarē /
 śūlam [pa]llavayanti vāḥpa-salilair yad-vairiṇām vallabhāḥ /
 śūlam [pa]llavayanti vāḥpa-salilair yad-vairiṇām vallabhāḥ //

"In his line was king Jagaddēva, who bore that name together with that of his line; he was a man unwearied in stretching out his arms to embrace the intervals held by kings between the quarters (or, alternatively, 'a man the labour of whose arms was to stretch them out to measure the spaces between the quarters that had not any kings over them')."

"His father was Udayāditya, and his uncle king Bhōja: these two shone as if they were covered in blossoms, when famous for the lordship over the earth which they had acquired."

"The ladies of the Āndhra king, long abandoned by their lord, enfeebled by stumbling over land trampled by the hoof-tips of the multitude of his (Jagaddēva's) army's horses, are led, they of the butter-soft feet, on their way over the ocean, a support being provided for the saffron-shining toes by piles of creepers taken from the neighbouring shore."

"Already by his order the queens of the king of the Cakradurga ('wheel-fort') he has rolled away in sport read continually with such groans rumbling in their throats his

great eulogy written by the rut-juice of the great elephants he had brought in by force in the regions deep in the woods, bounded by rivers and rocks."

"The darlings of his enemies, seeing in the middle of Dōrasamudra a heap of skulls belonging to their dear ones, a heap reaching the tips of the pestle-like tusks of great elephants and appearing like the peak of a mountain, with weeping in every house cause to sprout with their tears the spear inside the heart of the king of the Malahar (Malepar)."
(1)

Naturally the remark about the king of the Malepar, if it is supposed to refer to a Hoysala, is not to be taken too literally. But the claim to have reached Dōrasamudra is amply supported by Hoysala inscriptions themselves. That the Mālava force, fresh from successes on the east coast, was a powerful one is amply demonstrated by the pride which the Hoysala princes felt in being able to withstand it.

In the supposed absence of Ereyāṅga, his two sons Ballāla and Biṭṭi-dēva, or Viṣṇuvaradhana, defended the Hoysala capital and succeeded in driving off the invader. Speaking of Ereyāṅga, a later inscription says about his successor, that he was Ballāla, a crest-jewel among Śaivas, one who had conquered in a battle of elephants Jagaddēva who was mounted on an elephant.(2) Of the two brothers, Ballāla and Viṣṇuvaradhana, a

(1) H.A.R. 1927/8, App.B(c.1093) re-edited by D.C.Ganguly in E.I. XXII p.54-63, with a translation. In the 8th line of the quotation he reads dattvālabanam and ksōṇī (the earlier reading had been kṣōṇi). Note that in the 11th line nadā must almost certainly be a mistake for nadī. In line 12 Ganguly reads bhr̥ṅgaṅgaṅāḥ, and accordingly translates the verse:- "He in sport

(2) M.A.R. 1923, 1(1194): Jagaddēvaṃ gajārūḍhaṃ yō jigāya gaj-
āhave //

verse that occurs frequently in the next century asks, "who can deny their valour?"

Dōrasamudradalli Jagadēvana(sic) sēneyan ikki tamma tōl
vīra-samudram āge jaya-laksmige tad-gaja-vaktra-rakta-kā- /
śmīra-vilēpamaṃ neṛapi tat-padakamaṃ beras eyde koṇḍu bhān-
dāraman ā-nṛpar taḷeda bīraman āro gabhīram ennadar //

"Smiting the army of Jagaddēva in Dōrasamudra, their arm being an ocean of heroism, completing the anointing of the goddess of victory with the saffron of the blood from the faces of his elephants, and capturing his treasury together with his breast-ornament - who will not say that the heroism sustained by these kings is profound ?" (1)

A more fanciful verse in a rather late record gives more credit to the elder brother:-

kālegadol taḍan gaḍidu mundana thaṭṭin (? read -an) avuṅki
Mālava-cakravartti Jagadēvane tanna madāndha-sindhuraṃ^{pāydod ā-} /
kīl ide pūtu rāvut ene rāvutan allen idirccu vīra-Baḷ-
lālan en endu meṭṭi tivid āḷtanav accariy āytu dhātriyol //

uprooted the king of Cakradurga, and at his command, even now, the streams on the slopes of the mountain, and the female bees in the midst of the forests, recite without ceasing, in different notes coming out of their throats, his all-surpassing eulogies, fixed with (the libation of water in the shape of) the ruddy fluid of powerful elephants of his army." In line 13 of the quotation he reads Dōrasamudra without doubt. His translation of the verse appears to neglect the more obvious sense of the last line:- "In every house the weeping widows of his enemies, having seen in Dōrasamudra the peak-like heaps of the skulls of their ~~enemies~~ lords, who came in contact with the pointed club-like tusks of his best elephants, increase with tears the acute pain in the heart of the chief of the Malahara!"

(1) E.C.V Belur 58(1117), E.C.V Hassan 116(1123), E.C.IV Naga-mangala 30(1164), E.C.V Arsikere 62(1177). M.A.R.1912/3 para 75a (1115) at Teranya is probably the same. Cf. E.C.VI Kadur 69(1160) madadiṃ mēl ettid ā-Mālavam padakamaṃ koṇḍavaṃ (of Viṣṇu).

"In battle he cut down the obstacle, and, crushing the host in front of him, leapt forward: then that(famous) Mālava emperor Jagaddēva, when (the Hoysala) brought low his passion-blinded elephant, said, "Well done, horseman !"; he said, "I am not a horseman, I am Vīra-Ballāla; oppose me !", and, as he stepped along and struck out, his valour became a marvel in the world." (1)

But Viṣṇuvarhdana does not lose his own share:-

cakri-prēṣita-Mālavēśvara-Jagaddēvādi-sainyārṇavam
ghūrṇantam sahasā pibat karatalēnāhatya mṛtyu-prabhuh //

"Powerful as Yama, striking with his hand, he drank up all at once the rolling ocean which was the army of the Mālava king, Jagaddēva, and others sent by the emperor." (2)

It seems possible that two engagements took place before Jagaddēva departed for the north. An unfortunately much damaged inscription, to which reference has already been made, gives the impression that Ballāla went to consult Vikramāditya on his position, and perhaps to enlist that ruler's support against the Mālava, and then took part in two conflicts, in at least one of which Jagaddēva was involved. The fragments refer to the Poysala king Ballāla's seeing Ballaha, that is, Vallabha, or the emperor, and being capable and gaining a victory without effort in some way connected with a camp; he vowed or assented something without fear in a particular connection with the

(1) E.C.VI Tarikere 45(1197). Rice's translation is faulty, & has been copied by Ganguly, E.I.XXII p.59.

(2) E.C.II 349(1159) The title Jagaddēva-prabala-pannaga-Vainatēyam, "Garuda to the fierce snake Jagaddēva", was probably earned on this occasion: E.C.V Arsikere 34, etc.

emperor; someone ran off in fear; a battle took place at ...samudra, perhaps Dōrasamudra; and the stout Jagaddēva was the object of an attack. (1)

The attack made by Jagaddēva upon the Hoysala capital, partial though its success was, had a profound effect upon the relationship between the Hoysala family and the Cālukya, and the last years of Vinayāditya and Eṛeyaṅga were occupied in an attempt to recreate Hoysala prestige at the expense of surrounding families.

Vinayāditya himself must have died in the year 1097/8 at the latest, leaving Eṛeyaṅga to rule in his stead. This he did until 1102. Eṛeyaṅga's death then coincided with the first general movement of aggrandisement made by the Hoysala power, under the superintendance of Ballāḷa I and his younger brother Viṣṇuvardhana, affectionately known as Biṭṭi-dēva, presumably aided by their third, less distinguished brother, Udayāditya. (2)

(1) M.A.R. 1936,9(?1100): Ballāḷa Poysaleśam Ballahanam kaṇḍu kaṭaka<m>...n ārddu geldan aśramadiṇḍam / maṇiyade pūṇḍu cakr-ēśvara>....; sāhaṇisi...samudradalli tat rāhavavaṃ ? taruṃbole saṃgara ?...; Jagadēvaṃ kaḍiyam karuttana(?) ...

Until the discovery of the Jainad inscription of Jagaddēva that king was supposed to have been a Sāntara. Fleet was of this opinion, D.K.D.p.494, and was followed by the editors of M.A.R. 1923,1(1194) and M.A.R.1936,9(?1100), while Krishnaswami Aiyangar, C.H.I.III p.474 leaves it open. Jagaddēva Sāntara lived about forty years later. G.C.Roychaudhuri, p.270, feels that the attack of Jagaddēva upon Dōrasamudra took place in the first year of the reign of Ballāḷa and Viṣṇuvardhana, whom he understands to have reigned jointly from about 1100. The evidence of EC.V Arsikere 34, which he quotes, is unacceptable as proof of the date of the invasion, as its own date, which in fact coincides with 1101, is completely out of accord with the titles applied to the king for the period in question. Ganguly's article in E.I.XXII has nothing definite to add on the subject.

(2) Vinayāditya's last inscription is M.A.R.1937,33(1097); Eṛe-

Ereyaṅga was, as we have seen, absent at the time of Jagaddēva's attack. Though this must have been as great a moral shock to this lifelong servant of the Cālukya family as it was a material disaster to Hoysala prestige, we do not gain the impression that he took part personally in any schemes of revenge. He must have been little short of sixty years of age at the time of his father's death, an age then considered advanced, and he was probably no longer capable of taking an active part in the strenuous public life of the day. We can however imagine that the new century, and the new policy of his dynasty, were initiated under the beneficial influence of his mature and varied experience, and the departure from his own policy of faithfulness to the Cālukya, which his sons conducted, was not embarked upon without his approbation and support.

Ereyaṅga's first wife, Ēcala-dēvi, the mother of Ballāla, Viṣṇuvardhana and Udayāditya, probably did not live to see the turn of the century: he was almost certainly survived by his second wife, Mahādēvi, whom he appears to have married

yaṅga's last inscription may be E.C.XII Tiptur 30(1102), which is faulty: the R.T. reads Tribhuvanamalla Vīra [n Ere] gaṅga-Poysala-dēva, which is a possible reading, as Eregaṅga is an occasional alternative form for Ereyaṅga; the K.T. omits the brackets; the translation however reads Tribhuvanamalla Vīra-Gaṅga Poysala-dēva. On the whole it seems that the translation is in error. Should this inscription not be accepted as sufficient evidence of Ereyaṅga's living until 1102, his last inscription of certain date is E.C.V Arsikere 102a of 1101. Of Viṣṇuvardhana the first epigraphical mention is in E.C.VI Kadur 164 dated CV. 25, Vikrama = 1101 A.D. Fleet, D.K.D.P. 492, doubted whether Ereyaṅga succeeded his father; Rice held that he did not reign; Hayavadana Rao, p.1319, says, "He probably pre-deceased his father." On the contrary he almost certainly held the throne for three to four years, having held the chief executive authority from at least three years before his father's death: E.C. VI Kadur 142(1096); M.A.R. 1926, 7(1096) & M.A.R. 1925, 43(1097). In ibid. 1937, 33(1097) Vinayāditya is praised because, amongst other things, he was the father of Ereyaṅga.

not long after the accession of Vikramāditya. The marriage itself appears to have been of no small political importance. She was the daughter of a certain Irukkupāla, brother of a certain Pāṇḍya who had joined Vikramāditya at the critical moment of his conflict with his brother Sōmēśvara Bhuvanāikamalla, and was therefore probably on a social plane with Ereyāṅga himself, although the absence of records of his family shows that they were neither so wealthy nor so advanced as the Hoysalās; on the other hand their ancestry was more elevated, for Pāṇḍya's father was Tēja-rāya, who traced his line from the Cōla emperors in the Sūryya-vaṃśa. Her mother's father was Karkkala-mahārāya, who was "active in Tereyūḥ". This man was a very substantial landowner, of Cōla connections, but otherwise an independent power of importance in the east of the plateau. His descendants in the thirteenth century had more intimate dealings with the Hoysala. (1) This marriage clearly extended Hoysala relations with the eastern half of the Gaṅgavādi, and may thus have been a profitable alliance. (2)

(1) The form of the title that then occurs is Karkkata-mahārāya, for which indeed this form Karkkala may be either an alternative spelling or a misreading.

(2) E.C.V Arsikere 102a(1101): Mahādēvi contributed largely to a tank, constructed under the instructions of one Kāḍuvitti: the inscription tries to make out that she built it; but subsequent inscriptions show that it was Kāḍuvitti who was remembered rather than the queen.

CHAPTER THREE

THE FIRST ATTEMPT AT ACHIEVING IMPERIAL STATUS,

AND ITS FAILURE. Being:-

The reigns of Ballāla I, Viṣṇuvarḍhana and
Nārasimha I.

CHAPTER THREE:THE FIRST ATTEMPT AT ACHIEVING IMPERIAL STATUS,
AND ITS FAILURE.The reigns of Ballāḷa I,
Viṣṇuwardhana, and Nārasimha I.

After about seven years of rest and comparative peace, in which the Hoysala government recruited its resources and repaired the damage done by the Mālava invasion, Ballāḷa and Viṣṇuwardhana commenced preparations for a campaign which would turn the Hoysala kingdom from an ally and subsidiary of the Cālukya empire into an independent power, capable of withstanding the shock of hostile invasions, even perhaps those of the emperor himself, by providing itself with a number of satellites or buffer states to protect those of its frontiers that were geographically weak, and by extending its effective influence in a manner at once conciliatory and predatory into every inhabited quarter of the Mysorean plateau.

It must have been almost immediately after his accession, in 1102, that Ballāḷa I listened to encouraging rumours from the north-western districts. Vikramāditya's affairs were in an unsteady condition, and a conspiracy appears to have been on foot with a view to depriving him of his dominions in that quarter.

In 1100 the large districts of Belvola and Halasige (1) were administered by an unusually able civil servant of the Cālukya, Anantapālayya or Anantapāla-dannāyaka, who generally enjoyed the assistance of his equally capable nephew Gōvinda. (2)

(1) The modern Halsi, 15°32'N. 74°36'E. (2) W.E.I f.245b.

In the following year Gōvinda ruled the Belvola 300, the Huligere 300 and the Banavāse 12,000, that is to say, portions of the Gadag, Lakshmeshvar and Banavāse localities came under his jurisdiction.(1) While he was exercising authority in this wide area, disturbances or threats of rebellion brought the emperor himself to Banavāse, where he stayed for a short time. (2) By 1103, however, though Anantapāḷa retained a substantial part of his government, several changes had taken place in the political scene. Jayakēsi II had no sooner ascended the Kadamba throne of the Gōve (Goa) principality, than he assumed the title Koṅkana-cakravarti, or emperor of the Koṅkan, clearly declaring himself free from Cālukya supervision.(3) The mahā-maṇḍalēśvara Tailapa of the Kadamba family of Hāṅgal, then known as Hānuṅgal, though not in open rebellion, became articulate for the first time in this year, making no reference to the authority of the Cālukya viceroys in his area.(4) Ananta-

(1) W.E.I 252b and 247.

(2) W.E.I 246b. The emperor was ruling at Jayantīpura, the formal name of Banavāse: Rice, E.C.VIII p.iv para.3.

(3) Moraes, K.K., App.III No.4, dated 1146, his 43th year; also ibid.p.190. Moraes ascribes this act of Jayakēsi to the attack of the Hoysaḷa, mentioning a later Hoysaḷa inscription as evidence, and speaking of Gaṅgarāja. These references are unacceptable, while the Hoysaḷa menace to the Cālukya would not in itself have been sufficient to act as a stimulus to a ruler of Jayakēsi's calibre. They may well have been in communication, and may have acted in concert to some degree; Vijayāditya Kadamba may have been the obstacle to an earlier effort.

(4) W.E.I ff.275b & 277b. Tailapa rules the Hānuṅgal 500.

pāḷa had lost his control over Belvola by 1102, for an inscription at Gadag, the chief town of that district, and another at Lakshmeshvar, the old Huligere, reveal that at least parts of the Palasige 12,000 had passed during the year into other hands.

(1) One area alone remained stable - that part of the Banavāse 12,000 which was governed from Belagāvi. Inscriptions show that Anantapāḷa ruled there with the assistance of Gōvinda in 1102 and 1103, while the claim made by the former, in the later record, to rule Belvola and Huligere suggests that at length his authority was to some extent restored in those ~~troublesome~~ troublesome but much coveted areas.(2)

It was in this atmosphere of nebulous and rather misleading unrest that Ballāḷa I decided to test the ability of his army against the motley collection of officials, feudatories and land-holders that acknowledged the imperial dynasty.

As Anantapāḷa and Gōvinda, whatever their fortunes might be to the north and west of the Tuṅgabhadrā, were still firmly entrenched in the Belagāvi area; and as the Āsandi Gaṅga family had, no doubt, reasons for complaint at encroachments by their northern neighbours; as, moreover, the family in question was of greater age and of longer civilization than his own, Ballāḷa seized the opportunity when the Cālukya officers were otherwise occupied, and commenced his campaign by attacking the Pāṇḍya ruler of Uccaṅgi.

(1) W.E.I f.260 (Jīvanayya); W.E.I f.262 (Bhīmanayya - ? a misreading: Bha and Ja were very similar, and va was a common variant for ma.).

(2) W.E.I ff. 266(1102) and 279(1103).

Of earlier relations between the Hoysala and the Pāṇḍya we have no knowledge, but it can hardly be doubted that the survivors of this proud but effete family felt little but scorn and discontent at the Hoysala's rapid rise and progress, a feeling that their close proximity can hardly have helped to conceal. A success against this Pāṇḍya, while being an exploit of no great military prowess, provided the hill-fort of Uccaṅgi itself could be induced to capitulate, was nevertheless an object quite attractive to Hoysala ambition, for the very name would be a fine addition to the family praśasti, in fact a trophy which could not be re-acquired or paraded too often.

Therefore, bearing northwards through the Āsandi nāḍ and avoiding contact with the north-western districts, the Hoysala force made for Uccaṅgi. The Pāṇḍya, who does not appear to have been entirely unprepared, met them and was defeated.

madadin idirāda Pāṇḍyana

madamaṃ nija-khaḷga-balade kacciye kaḷed o- /

vade rājya-lakṣmiyaṃ koṇḍ

adaṭar kkeḷame Viṣṇu-Ballāḷa-nrpar //

"Only the kings Viṣṇu and Ballāḷa are valorous, they who bit with the force of their own blades the pride of the Pāṇḍya who proudly opposed them, and without showing kindness took the wealth of his kingdom." (1)

(1) E.C.V Belur 58(1117) & Hassan 116(1123), the latter reading karcciye without alteration of sense. Because in these records this verse stands before the account of the defeat of Jagaddēva we need not suppose that the defeat of the Pāṇḍya was prior to those events.

Not only did the Pāṇḍya capitulate, but he agreed to join the movement against the Cālukya, forsaking the allegiance which he had previously owed to the emperor.(1) The Hoysalas appear then to have crossed the Tuṅgabhadra, when, keeping in touch with the Kadambas of Gōve and Hānuṅgal, they made a rapid progress through the districts to the north and west of that river.(2) They seem to have been on their way homewards when they were attacked, not by Anantapāla, as might have been expected, for apparently he was otherwise engaged, but by an extraordinary expedition commissioned against the rebels, under the command of Ācugi II of the Sinda family of Brambarage, the modern Yelburga in the Nizām's Dominions. This ruler, who was probably not beyond middle-age, led the expedition in person, accompanied by his son Permādi-dēva. Both were, probably on account of the relative proximity of their home to Kalyāṇa, the Cālukya capital, remarkably devoted to the imperial cause, and appear to have boasted of their success against the emperor's rebellious subjects for at least seventy years after the campaign in question.(3)

(1) E.C.XI Davangere 139(1101) shows that in that year he acknowledged the overlordship of the Cālukya.

(2) It is perhaps possible to see a trace of this movement in a very curious and crude notice of an inscription at Belagāvi, which apparently makes no mention of Anantapāla or Goṅḍa, but purports to be of a certain Permmādi(sic)-dēva of a Gaṅga dynasty, presumably that ruling both sides of the Tuṅgabhadra, about 25 miles south-east of Belagāvi, which is exemplified by E.C.VII Shimoga 97(1113), 23(1115), 12(1120), 4, (1122), 13 & 15(1122) 56(1125), 99(1127) and 37(1140). Living in an out-of-the-way pocket, they were generally unmolested by the Hoysalas. See *infra*, p.145. This record, M.INS.85(p.173), P.S.O.C.I.169, coming from highly unreliable sources, can not be trusted as regards any of the proper names. Fleet himself could not see in the minute photograph the word "Raṭṭa" which Rice saw. However we can be sure that it records an attack upon some villages in the region of Belagāvi or between it and the Tuṅgabhadra in the Cālukya

The year 1103, then, saw the complete deflation of the rebels' enterprise, an achievement of which the Sinda was justly proud. An inscription at Naregal in the Rōn tālūga of the modern Dharwar district, the first of an interesting series of Sinda inscriptions, dated in November 1104, describes two phases in the successful campaign:

caṁḍāṁṣu pratibhāsi Hoyisaḷan ārd ērvattidaṁ Gōveyaṁ
 koṇḍaṁ Lakṣmaṇan ājiyoḷ tavisidaṁ vikrāntadim̄d aide beṁ- /
 koṇḍaṁ Pāṇḍyanan āvaḡaṁ Malaparaṁ tūḷd attidaṁ Koṅkaṇaṁ
 goṇḍaṁ Vikrama-cakravartti-besasaḷ saṁgrāma-kaṁthīravāṁ //

"(Ācugi), shining like the sun, roaring, opposed the Hoysala; took Gōve; destroyed Lakṣmaṇa in battle; by his prowess well pursued the Pāṇḍya; moreover scattered and chased the Malapar; and took Koṅkaṇ - by the order of the emperor Vikrama: (Ācugi) the lion in battle." (1)

Vikrama era 27, the year Citrabhānu, the first of the dark half of Phālguna, equivalent to the beginning of January, 1103. The raiders were Bēḍar, who may have been Hoysala troops, Hoysala allies, or local tribes profiting from the disturbances. Page 87 n. (3) Inscriptions of the Brambarage Sindas are not common, but all are informative. Ācarasa, who must be our Ācugi II, was ruling Kisukād 70 and other districts in 1122, according to W.E.I f. 375b at Kodikoppa, also J.B.B.R.A.S. xi p. 247. A powerful argument for the early dating of Ācugi II and in support of the date 1104 for W.E.I f. 282b-4b (see n. 1 below) is the fact that Ācugi drove back Bhoja who had invaded his country. This Bhoja, as Fleet rightly remarks on p. 574 of his D.K.D., must have been Bhōja I of the Silāhāra family of Kolhāpur, who reigned before 1110, the year of the first record of his youngest brother Gaṇḍarāditya (see Sewell, H.I.S.I. p. 392), and thus Fleet reasonably conjectures, D.K.D. p. 104 (earlier edition), that Ācugi repulsed him in about 1098-9, or at least in the first years of the twelfth century.

(1) W.E.I f. 282b-284b (1104), dated Śaka 1026 Tārana, Kārttika 30, Brāhaspativāra, on the occasion of a solar eclipse. According to the list given on page 122 of Sewell & Dikshit's Indian Calendar no solar eclipse was visible in India during 1104, but this is no sufficient obstacle to accepting the date as valid. The

It thus appears that the Pāṇḍya, the Kadamba of Goa, various powers in the Konkan probably linked with Jayakēsi in his revolt, and lastly the Hoysalas and their associates the Malepar were all chastised. Lakṣmaṇa was probably a Kadamba general, either the ex-governor of Banavāse, who functioned there between 1066 and 1068, or more probably the daṇḍanāyaka attached to the household of Mailala-dēvi, daughter of Vikram-āditya and wife of Jayakēsi.(1)

From an inscription of 1163 we learn that Ācugi burnt not only Gōve but Uppinakatte as well. The latter has not as yet been identified, but may well have been within the Kadamba dominions.(2)

eclipse on November 16th 1164, corresponding sufficiently exactly to the date detailed above if Śaka 1026 were changed to 1086, makes it very tempting to assign this inscription to that period, but this is prevented by the consideration that in 1163 Cāvunḍa was the Sinda ruler (J.B.B.R.A.S.xi p.259-273 of 1163). He had indeed grown sons ruling districts under him, including an Ācugi and a Permāḍi. But the Permāḍi of this inscription is unquestionably that elder brother of Cāvunḍa of whom we have another date, 1144 (J.B.B.R.A.S.xi p.253), and who doubtless died before 1163. Fleet was content to accept 1104 as the date of this inscription of Permāḍi-dēva, D.K.D.p.96(earlier edition) but changed his mind and rejected it "because of the later date for the father, Ācugi II", ibid., 1896 edition, p.575 n.3. That an inscription should be set up in his name during his father's lifetime is not very strange: parallels are found constantly throughout Hoysala history.

Moraes does not seem to have known of the existence of this inscription. G.C.Roychaudhuri does not use it, and attributes the attack of the Sinda upon the Hoysala to the 1144 period (p.292-3). It is not surprising that he can not make this theory correspond with Hoysala inscriptions of the period 1143-52, for the first Sinda attack took place in 1103 and a second, of which we have less information, probably in the period about 1120.

The verse quoted above occurs again in J.B.B.R.A.S.xi pp.224-238, W.E.I 395a-7a(1130), where Fleet reads the date as Śaka 872, Saumya and so on: fortunately, as Fleet knew, the absurdity is corrected in Walter Elliot's copy which must have been taken many years before his, when the stone was presumably in better condition; the latter reads Śaka 1051, the

(1) & (2) over.

The second phase of the campaign was undertaken by the young Permādi, who proceeded southwards and inflicted one defeat among others which is of great significance for Hoysala history.

talegoṇḍam Kulaśēkharāṅkana poḍarppim Caṭṭanam mutti bāḷ-
dalegoṇḍam Jayakēsiyaṃ bedare beṅkoṇḍam pracandāvani- /
taḷan ād agrāṇiy appa Hoysalaṇa rājya-śrīyan il koṇḍan a-
akhaḷitaṃ tānene rūḍi vettan iḷeyoḷ Permādi-bhūpālakaṃ //

"King Permādi killed Kulaśēkharāṅka; brilliantly ^{besieging} Caṭṭa, he took his living head; frighteningly he pursued Jayakēsi, and snatched the royal wealth of the Hoysala, who was out-standing, a fierce chief of the earth: (thus) he acquired fame in the world as being himself (only) the firm one." (1)

correct figure. A similar correction should be made to the Saka date of J.B.B.R.A.S. xi p.239-46(1130), where Fleet reads doubtfully Saka 872 Sādhāraṇa, etc. The version of this verse contained in J.B.B.R.A.S. xi p.224-238 reads Pāṇḍyaran, "the Pāṇḍyas."

Page 89 n.(1) Moraes, K.K., pp.120 and 193.

Page 89 n.(2) J.B.B.R.A.S.xi pp.259-273(1163). E.I. XIX 38, v 13 (1179) mentions Dāhala and the Gaṅga of Kadāra in connection with Uppinakatte.

(1) W.E.I.ff.282b-284b(1104); the same verse occurs in J.B.B.R.A.S. xi pp.239-246(1130) edited by Fleet, whose text is superior to Walter Elliot's: the latter reads muridu muṇḍale for mutti bāḷdale; akhaḷitaṃ for askhaḷitaṃ; peṇḍe(which might stand for peṇḍeyaṃ, 'a badge') for rūḍi. All these variants can be accounted for as misreadings. W.E.'s text is however right in reading taḷan ād agrāṇi for Fleet's taḷanādhāgrāṇi. Here as elsewhere Fleet's translation is not quite precise.

In an inscription of 1130 we find an elaboration of Permādi's exploit, which may in fact contain a reference to a second Sinda-Hoysala conflict in the early 1120's. However, as the distinction between the two incidents is difficult to make, and as Viṣṇuwardhana is referred to on both occasions as Biṭṭiga, a name that fell out of use during the first decade of his reign, we shall be justified in quoting the entire passage as illustrative of, if not precisely appertaining to, the events of 1103. The Sindas themselves do not appear to have made any nice distinction: an understandable reticence on the part of the Hoysalas prevents us from being more successful in apportioning the adulation between the campaigns.

[e]seyal Biṭṭigan idda kolligana ghaṭṭak eydi dāl iṭṭu Dhōr-
 asemudrakk idir eṭṭi Bēlupuramaṃ koṇḍ ante bambatti khaḍ- /
 ga-sahāyaṃ taguḷuttav ā-Haḍiya-ghaṭṭaṃ muṭṭi taḷt aḍḍi koṇ-
 ḍu sutējaṃ mige Permma-bhūpati jagad-vikhyātiyaṃ tāḷdidam //

"Brilliantly reaching the mountain pass of the (?) robber that was Biṭṭiga, rushing forward he came up before Dhōrasamudra and took Bēlupura; thus pursuing and driving back, with the sword as his companion, reaching the (famous) Haḍiya-ghaṭṭa, coming to grips he took the obstacle: the glorious king Perma obtained abundantly fame in the world."

And again :-

Biṭṭiga-nr̥pālan oḍan irivittige vād arasu-geḷeḷaḷam raṇaḍol taḷt
 aṭṭi piḍid āneyanitunan oṭṭajiyim tandan asama-sāhasa-tuṅgam //

"Gripping in battle the king-friends who had disapp-

eared into a mountain difficult of access together with king Biṭṭiga, pursuing, and capturing all the elephants he, the unequalled master in daring, brought them away in abundance." (1)

The same proviso applies to a consideration of the facts related by an inscription of 1179:-

ghana-bāhā-baladim̄de Hoysalana matt-ēbhaṅgaḷaṃ vastu-vā-
hanamaṃ koṇḍ atidhīraṇaṃ Torahaṇaṃ beṅkoṇḍu tūḷḍ eydi ma- /
tti neramaṃ bārade kaṭṭi taṃdu chaladhi(read di)ṃ Cālukyaṣṣrāy-
an anūna-prabala-pratāpa-vibhavaṃ Permmāḍi-bhūpālakaṃ ange kott - //

"By the strength of his robust arm winning the Hoysala's furious elephants and treasure-waggons, driving into flight the very bold Toraha, pursuing, approaching, coming into touch, binding (him) without none coming to aid, king Permāḍi, splendid in the prowess of perfect strength, boldly carried him off and gave him to the Cālukya king." (2)

(1) J.B.B.R.A.S. xi pp.239-246(1130) Fleet's translation is not accurate: e.g."Pursuing and seizing in war the friends, (mighty) as elephants(though they were), of the kings who joined king Biṭṭiga in the work of slaughter, (Permāḍi) unequalled in his great impetuosity, brought them(back as captives) with derisive cheers." He reads Vāhaḍiya-ghaṭṭa, but Haḍiya-ghaṭṭa is known from E.C.IV Nagamangala 28(c1125), etc. On p.245, n.8 of J.B.B.R.A.S. xi Fleet mentions that he reads anitum anaṭṭiji (in the text he reads anitum anaṭṭaji) and says that he was not able to obtain an explanation for it as a separate word. The correct reading is established by a comparison with E.C.V Belur 119(c1180): oṭṭaji may well exist as an alternative form, unknown to Kittel, of oṭṭaje, although je and ji are almost indistinguishable in the script.

(2) E.I. XIX 38(1179) v.15. This Toraha (properly Toraha) appears, from the title given in the same inscription (v.63) to the mahājanas of the agrahāra of Rōn - Torapa-kulāṃtakar, "slayers of the Torapa race", to have been a ruler in the north of Shimoga district or south of Dharwar district. The name occurs again in E.C.VII Shimoga 37(1140) as of a ruler of minor importance in that area; in E.C.VIII Sagar 108b(1042) we read that a warrior "without fear plucked up the Bēdar by the root, and

It is thus abundantly clear that the Sinda succeeded not only in punishing various rebellious chiefs in the west and south-west divisions of the Cālukya empire, but also followed the Hoysalas to their capital, taking meanwhile the booty they had collected on their abortive northern expedition, and cut off Dōrasamudra. If he failed to take it it was surely not due to its strength, for the king apparently fled first to Belūr, as the stronger town, then into the mountains to the westwards, as indeed he might well have been expected to do. We see him accompanied thither by several chiefs of hill-tribe origin, who formed the back-bone of the Hoysala army, and we see him retiring to ground over which his elephants could not follow. The Sinda no doubt looted Dōrasamudra and Belūr at leisure, took the elephants away with him, and, being satisfied that he could not profit by a longer stay, returned northwards.

We see that it was Biṭṭiga, or Viṣṇuvardhana, who bore the brunt of this attack. His brother had moved away to the south, not merely to escape Permādi but also to face a threat from the Caṅgāḷva.

Indeed there are strong indications that Permādi actually communicated with the Caṅgāḷva, concerting an attack upon the Hoysala from north and south simultaneously.

We see Ballāla on his way to deal with this menace: when he was at Guddatteranya, just a mile or so north of the Hēmāvati river, he made, in order, no doubt, to secure a favourable event to his enterprise, a gift of land to the god of the temple there. (1)

gained the name that he alone was Torahara-māri, smiter of the Torahar. He was thus a ruler of a type not dissimilar to the

(1) over.

The next thing we hear is that the Caṅgāḷva engaged with the Hoysaḷa at a place called Hosaviḍu, which has as yet defied attempts at identification; the result of the battle is not known, but the absence of any Caṅgāḷva inscriptions from that time until twenty-six years later, followed by a further gap of thirty-four years, suggests that Ballāḷa's efforts at Hosaviḍu and afterwards were not entirely unsuccessful. (1)

The interesting ~~point~~ point is that the record that mentions the battle explains the circumstances as follows:-

"When Permmāḍi-dēva gained a victory over the great Hoysaḷa army, at his command a (certain) warrior fell upon them at Hosaviḍu and went to heaven." (2)

It seems therefore highly likely that the battle was timed to coincide with the attack upon Dōrasamudra and Belūr, and the "great army" must have been that left under Viṣṇuwardhana's command to attempt the repulse of the Sinda. Viṣṇu, being the more experienced of the two brothers, naturally occupied the post of greater danger. (3)

Hoysaḷa himself. Toraha is probably a corruption of tore-pa, a lord or owner of a river or stream, and is thus comparable with the title Malepa or Malapa. Page 93 n.(1) E.C.V Hassan 162(?1103) relates that when Tribhuvanamalla Ballāḷa-Hoysaḷa-dēva was leading an expedition against Caṅgāḷva-dēva, he made a grant of Sindūr to provide for the Monday ceremonies and perpetual lamp of the god Sōm-ēśvara.

(1) E.C.IV Yedatore 30(?1103-4, dated by Rice ?c1110); E.C.IV Hunsur 86(1130); M.A.R.1912-3 para.67(1164).

(2) E.C.IV Yedatore 30(?1103-4) at Chik Hanasōge, on the Kāvēri ā-Permmāḍi-dēvam jaya-/śrīyam tāld ure Hoysaḷōgra-balamam nin-nindod ākṣēpadind / ātam śrī-Hosaviḍinol subhataram kond'eydidam svarggamam // The fact that it does not state that a Caṅgāḷva was the ruler and therefore the master of the warrior is not an obstacle to the present interpretation. Yedatore 26(?1100) at Chik Hanasoge, M.A.R.1912-3 para.67(1164) at the same place, and E.C.V Arkalgud 65(1090) at Lakkūra, 3 miles to the S.W., all bear the names of Caṅgāḷva rulers. (3) over.

The defeat at the hands of the Sinda, following so soon after the invasion of Jagaddēva Paramāra, together with the humiliating outcome of their little northern venture, must have left the Hoysalās' spirits as well as their fortunes in a very low condition. The extreme scarcity of inscriptions during Ballāla's reign shows plainly the reduced tempo of public life, the practice of economy and the reserve of effort.

Nothing but contempt for their failure remained in the Tuṅgabhadra districts as a memorial of the brothers' journey. Even their single trophy and their duped but unenthusiastically, the Pāṇḍya, resumed his allegiance to the emperor with alacrity, promising to show towards his southern neighbours the worst side of the zeal of a convert. (1)

Meanwhile the brothers attempted to recreate their national strength, this time without any scruples as to its eventual object. All trace of subservience to the emperor must, if possible, be obliterated, but, to effect that, the elimination of all hostile or untrustworthy material on the fringes of their kingdom was to be secured, where conciliation or colonization failed, by force.

Ballāla's reign came to an end shortly after 1108, when his last inscription was set up. We are not able to say whether he died then, or whether Viṣṇuwardhana superseded him and forced him into retirement. It is interesting to note that

Page 94 n.(3) The relationship between the Caṅgāḷva family and the northern powers requires further investigation. An inscription of c1100 at Chik Hanasoge itself, E.C.IV Yedatore 26, states that Rājendra-Cōla-Nanni-Caṅgāḷva, "of the Yādavas who were Caṅgāḷvas", rebuilt a basadi at that place. An inscription of the year 1101 (Visu) at Chikkerūr, Kod tāluḡa, W.E.I f.257-8 tells of a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Dvārāyatīpuravarādhiśvara by name

(1) E.C.XI Davangere 139(1106) and 128(1107).

it is said of him in an inscription of 1102 that Ballāla was obeyed by his younger brother as Rāma was obeyed by Lakṣmaṇa. (1) There does however seem to have been some sort of difference between the brothers: it may have been that the elder was in poor health, or that his comparative lack of experience of foreign affairs may have led to his favouring a more modest, a more temporising policy. Or it may have been that the destruction wrought upon Hoysala economy by the two invasions was not repaired before the time when Viṣṇuwardhana took control of the dynasty's fortunes. Certain it is, however, that Ballāla pursued a policy of peace and reconstruction, without apparently indulging himself, or encouraging his followers to indulge, in heavy capital expenditure. Indeed, apparently as a sign of a desire to encourage the Cālukya to ignore his domestic preparations, Ballāla is seen more than once to have acknowledged Cālukya supremacy. (2) This feature is conspicuous for its rarity in the vastly more numerous inscriptions of Viṣṇuwardhana.

Of his operations against the Caṅgāḷva, we have already had occasion to notice that Ballāla enjoyed a consider-

Tribhuvanamalla-Nanni-Caṅgāḷva (misread Bhaṅgāḷpa) ruling at that place.

(1) M.A.R. 1934, 6(1102): Viṣṇu<anu>jaṃ tanag ā-Rāmag anujam besa kayva terade besakeyye yaśō [la] kṣmiyan anubhavisutt irddan atibalaṃ Ballāla etc.

(2) M.A.R. 1934, 6(1102) and E.C.V. Channarayapatna 169(1106): both mention that Tribhuvanamalla (Cālukya) was ruling.

able degree of success. He did not, however, absorb the Caṅgāḷva territory into his dominions, nor draw revenue from them. Neither does he appear to have exercised notable control over Caṅgāḷva affairs, for in 1105 the Caṅgāḷva ruler attacked his neighbour and old associate, the Koṅgāḷva. (1) It was not long, however, before a deep depression settled over both families alike.

Apart from his relations with the Caṅgāḷvas Ballāḷa took part in no expansionist attempts during the period from 1103 until the end of his reign. It is said of him, in an inscription of about 1125, that he inspired fear in surrounding rulers:-

Cērama vairamaṃ bisudu Pāṇḍya kaḍaṅgadir Andra (sic) randramaṃ
pāradir Oḍḍa godḍamaṃ adam biḍu Māḷava kāḷegake mai- (sic)
dōrade sār elē Tigula nīm jaguḷ embud apāra-vīra-dōr-
vvāra-gabhīra-dhīrate viniśruta-ghōṣane Ballu-bhūpanam //

"The profound valour of the massive arms of his unbounded heroism declares the resounding proclamation of king Ballu: Cēra, abandon your enmity ! Pāṇḍya, do not be eager ! Andhra, seek not an opportunity (or 'weak spot') ! Oḍḍa, abandon that nonsense ! Ho ! Māḷava, approach without exposing yourself to war ! Retreat thou, Tigula ! " (2)

(1) M.A.R. 1912-3 para.62(1105) and para.66 which is probably of the same year or period.

(2) E.C.IV Nagamangala 28(c1125).

But this amusing verse with its pretty assonances does not prove that Ballāla actually inspired a high degree of respect in anyone of the mighty powers enumerated. On the contrary, the enthusiasm shown by Hoysala panegyrists for the successes of Viṣṇuwardhana would hardly be rational had Ballāla I made any marked contribution to the solution of the problems of independence and imperial status.

Before we pass to observe how Viṣṇuwardhana dealt with the difficulties which faced the Hoysala at the time, a little can be added to the picture of Ballāla himself.

It is very significant of the broadening of the Hoysala horizon that during this period the dynasty began to abandon its ancestral faith for one that was less austere, more catholic, and generally more accommodating, especially when considered as the religion of a house that aimed at territorial sovereignty, and therefore religious patronage, over an area where the predominant cultures were maintained by non-Jaina bodies. There was something very old-fashioned and narrow about twelfth century Jainism; a man of the world would not have his spiritual desires concentrated upon the polemical austerity of the syādvāda; and a nation that had had a vision of the enjoyment of a higher standard of living for a longer period was not attracted so much by attendance upon a person, whose personal merit depended more upon not having washed, or moved from a peculiar squatting position, for a quarter of a century than the descent of his teaching by way of a constantly varying but never unimposing list of predecessors back to the

blessed Vardhamāna-svāmi himself. Not that austerity, asceticism or self-sacrifice in an acute form was banished from the religious scene; merely a greater degree of urbanity and elasticity of temper was required of a religious teacher. And so Śaivism, ever an accommodating faith, claimed many converts from among Jaina families; and since Jainism had never insisted on the abandoning of caste, and had always availed itself of Hindu imagery and language, the change was easy and smooth, and a conversion on the part even of a king seemed hardly a revolution of importance, except, of course, to the unfortunate gurus of the sect then abandoned.

We have already seen that Ballāḷa I was known as a crest-jewel among Śaivas. (1) We see him in 1101 on his way to visit Sosavūr, the ancestral home, redolent with Jaina associations, and making a grant to a Śaiva shrine. (2) His brother Viṣṇuwardhana, on the other hand, though almost certainly brought up in a Jaina atmosphere, and married in early life to a Jaina girl, learned eventually to Vaiṣṇavism, and though not noticeably unhelpful to needy members and bodies of the Jaina and Śaiva faiths, spent huge sums on the construction of Vaiṣṇava temples, now some of the finest surviving monuments of the dynasty's wealth and culture. (3)

Of Ballāḷa's family life we know very little. Later inscriptions mention constantly Ballāḷa, Viṣṇuwardhana and Udayāditya as the sons of Ereyāṅga by Ēcala-dēvi: of them Viṣṇuwardhana is frequently said to be the best. We never hear

(1) M.A.R. 1923, 1(1194) mahēśvara-śikhāmaṇih.

(2) E.C.V. Belur 199(1101) at Dabbe: Kobe-gāvunḍa māḍisida Śiva-stānamam kaṇḍu Kobēśvara-dēvargge dēva-kāryam māḍi etc.

(3) The perplexing question of Rāmānuja is here ignored.

that there was any doubt as to the possibility of Viṣṇuvar-
dhana's succeeding Ballāla, and we may safely suppose that
Ballāla was without a son. Perhaps it was in an attempt to
obtain one that late in life he married three daughters of a
family henchman. The circumstances of the marriage as related
in later inscriptions are in themselves quite interesting.
In the year 1103, "while in the enjoyment of pleasant commun-
ications, he was in the capital Beluhūru, ruling the kingdom:
to Cāmave-daṇḍanāyakiti, like a second Lakṣmī, wife of Mari-
yāne-daṇḍanāyaka, were born Padumala-dēvi, Cāmala-dēvi and
Boppa-dēvi. These three having grown up skilled in science,
singing and dancing, worthy to grace the capitals of three
separate kings, Ballāla-dēva wedded these three girls in one
pavilion in the Śaka year 1025, etc., and as payment of the
debt for their wet-nursing, again conferred on Mariyāne-daṇḍ-
anāyaka (in the second generation) Sindagere, with the lordship
thereof." (1)

(1) E.C.IV Nagamangala 32(1184) and VI Chikmagalur 160(?1184)■, there being only negligible differences in the text: antum sukha-saṅkathā-vinōdadim śrīmad-rājadhāni Beluhūra-bīḍinolu rājyaṃ geyyuttam irddu; Mariyāne-daṇḍanāyakana dvitiyā-Lakṣmi-samāneyar appa Cāmave-daṇḍanāyakitigaṃ puṭṭida Padumala-dēvi Cāmala-dēvi Boppa-dēviyar int i-mūvarum śāstra-gīta-nṛtyādalū pravudeyarum mūru-rāya-kaṭaka-pātra-jasa-daleyar enesi baleyal ā mūvaru kanyakeyaran ondē haseyolu Ballāla-dēvam vivāham māḍi Śaka-varṣam 1025 neya Subhānu-saṃvatsaradā Kārttika-śuddha-daśami-Bṛhavarad andu molevāla-rinākke Mariyāne-daṇḍanāyakaṅge Sindagereya eraḍaneya-paryāyadalū prabhūtvā-sāhitam neley āgi punar ddhārā-pūrvvakam koṭṭu salisuttam ire.....

If Ballāla had a son by any of these girls the child did not live long, for, as we have seen, within about five years of this marriage his younger brother succeeded him. No descendant of Ballāla I is ever heard of.

It has been suggested by R. Narasimhacar that this was the Ballāla whose life was saved at one time by a certain Jaina guru named Cārukīrtti. An inscription at Śravaṇa Belgōla says of Cārukīrtti that even the air that had but touched his body cured disease; "was it much, then, that his medicine cured king Ballāla of his sickness?" (1) The theory may be disputed chiefly because no mention of this fact, well worthy as it is of notice, occurs in the inscriptions at Śravaṇa Belgōla which eulogise the earlier, Jaina, members of the dynasty. Moreover, an inscription of 1398 says that Cārukīrtti's disciple was called Paṇḍita, and it appears that this same Paṇḍita died at Śravaṇa Belgōla in that year. (2) Hence the Ballāla in question must have been either Ballāla III, who would certainly have had no objection to enlisting Jaina medicaments in the service of his feeble person, or possibly even Ballāla IV.

The deepest obscurity veils the several activities of Viṣṇuvardhana during the early years of his reign. It is unknown even in what year he assumed the sovereignty. His brother's last inscription is dated 1108, therefore we may assume that his reign commenced in that or the following year.

(3) His own earliest inscription, referred to below, belongs to

(1) E.C.II 258(1432): yēṣām śarīrāśrayatō'pi vāto rujah pra-sāntim vitatāna tēṣām / Ballāla-rājōtthita-rōga-sāntir āsīt kilaitat kimu bhēṣajēna // See also ibid. p. 63. Narasimhacar states that Cārukīrtti is called Ballāla-jīva-rakṣapālaka, the

His reign thus lasted approximately thirty-two years, a reign that saw few years of military inactivity, and fewer in which some scheme for the enlargement of the Hoysala dominions was not actually in the process of being promoted. The reign can be divided broadly into two parts, the first lasting from 1108 to 1130, and the second from then until the king's death. The first and longer period was that of the finest phase of Hoysala expansion, of the most splendid achievements of the fresh vigour of the young dynasty, eager, enthusiastic, and impulsive: after it had over-reached itself, the later period saw a more intense, more concentrated and less care-free warfare on the part of a people whose ruler had to struggle fiercely to retain even a portion of what he had attempted to digest. His son Nārasimha lived to see a brief but instructive period of disillusionment and frustration, followed by a dramatic revival somewhat in the spirit of his great father.

In the early part of his reign Viṣṇuwardhana's movements were so rapid, his first campaigns so far-flung, that those who were employed in them as well as their victims had difficulty in apprehending the magnitude of the scale upon which they were conceived, or in recovering from their sudden violence; hardly any contemporary records remain to indicate

preserver of the life of Ballāla, and refers to the Bhujabali-sataka of Doddaiya who apparently lived in the 16th century. Page 101 n.(2) E.C.II 254(1398)
Page 101 n.(3) M.A.R. 1925, 52(1108). Sewell, following Rice, makes 1106 Viṣṇuwardhana's first year. The discovery of this inscription makes a correction necessary. There is a slight error in the date: Sarvadhāri corresponding to Ś.1032(in words): correct to 1030 expired or 1031 current: A.D.1108.

either their actual scope or their precise temporal sequence, and, with a few trifling exceptions, only inscriptions of a later, and no more modest, period inform us of Viṣṇuwardhana's earlier undertakings.

Certain it is, however, that after about six years of preparation and recuperation after the blow dealt them in 1104, Viṣṇuwardhana abandoned Ballāla's policy of restraint, and commenced delivering a series of sudden but well-co-ordinated blows in every direction in turn. He did not make the mistake of provoking the detested Cālukya as the first object of his just resentment. He repeated the plan employed successfully by his great-grandfather and whetted his steel first upon less formidable foes.

His attention was turned first in an easterly direction, where he proceeded to attain two objects at once. He penetrated due eastwards as far as the limits of the plateau, reaching Naṅgali.(1) He must have sought to establish closer contacts with his relations, by his father's marriage, among the Cōla feudatories and remnants of the royal houses of the Gaṅgas and Nolambas in that region. For a short while he exercised sovereignty over a very restricted area in the east of the plateau, and an incident during his operations in that quarter is recorded in a contemporary inscription.(2) A dāṇḍ-ānāyaka of his, named Viṭṭiyānan, attacked Nugapaṭṭi in Iru-

(1) It will be convenient to follow this and other movements on Map 'A'.

(2) E.C.IX Bangalore 85c(c1110) at Bēgūr states that during the reign of Poysaḷa-dēva a work of merit was carried out there in Muraṣu-nāḍ in Rājēndra-Cōla-vaḷa-nāḍ of Mudigonda-Cōla-maṇḍalam.

madi-nād, and was defeated at the hands of a person who may have been a Bāna or a Gaṅga dependant upon a Nolamba, who bore a title that may be translated "binder of the Cōla king", if in fact it does not mean "servant of the Cōla king". (1) Whilst these and similar operations were proceeding in the east, at the same time Viṣṇuvardhana was in a position to make a circuit, bearing southwards and westwards, of the northern limits of the Cōla province of Talakād, and, apart from military successes there of which we have no knowledge, he may well have entertained personal negotiations with land-holders and rulers in the northern and eastern parts of that area.

Having returned from the east, his reconnaissance completed, he crossed the Kāvēri and entered the Koṅgu region. Whether he summoned the Caṅgāḷva and Koṅgāḷva princes to tender their submission is not known. He passed, however, through the Koṅgu country, which was ruled partly by Cōla feudatories and partly by autonomous and half-civilized tribal chiefs, until he had taken his nominal boundary in that region as far south as the Cēra frontier and Ānamale, the elephant hills, in other words to the north-eastern fringe of the modern Malayālam-speaking country. (2)

Having thus disposed of possible interference from East and South, he commenced the attack upon the Cālukya by

(1) H.C.X Goribidnur 57 (1109) at Dādi-nāyakanapāḷya (Goribidnur 56 in the T.T.): mahā-maṇḍalēśvara Cōla-mārāja-kaṭṭi Nuḷamba-Udayāditta-dēvar pṛtuvī-rājya paṇṇānirka Virōdi-saṃvarsarattu Vīra-pe.Bānarādittan Valikōlarādittan Paruvaipura-paramēśvaran Nandagiri-nātan Tuṭṭar-okkettu-gaṇḍan Irumaḍi-nāṭṭu Nugapaṭṭiyai Poysala-dēvar daṇḍa-nāyakka Viṭṭiyāṇan ūrai-kkutti pōgānikka pi.be tuḍaradu kūduraiyaiyu ālayuṃ koṅrān --- Pulladēvar jest-abha niruttinā. (2) M.A.R.1912-3 para.75(1115) "Cērav Anamale."

once again aiming at the emperor's weakest feudatory. The capture of the Pāṇḍyan capital, Uccaṅgi, one of the chief cities of the Nolambavādi 32,000, entitled the Hoysala to assume the titles Uccaṅgi-gonḍa, "taker of Uccaṅgi", and at the same time Nonambavādi-gonḍa, "taker of Nonamba-, or Nolamba-vādi." From this convenient point of vantage he appears to have moved westwards out of the Pāṇḍya-nād across the Tuṅgabhadra into territory of the Kadamba ruler of Hāṅgal. (1) There no doubt he found a better organized and more compact society than that which he had left in Nolambavādi, one which could defend the wealth which he had come to take. But it seems that he found himself occupied in that region for several months, during which he almost certainly sent a raiding party northwards of Baṅkāpura into the Halasige 12,000. He may well have returned to Dōrasamudra by way of Hallavūr, Honnāli and Kūḍali, along the western fringe of the Gaṅgavādi province. Before turning to the events that occurred during his journey homewards, it is convenient to attempt to decide in which years the second capture of Uccaṅgi and the Hāṅgal and Halasige expeditions took place. Only one dated Hoysala record guides us: it relates that in 1111 Viṣṇuwardhana was ruling the Gaṅga-maṇḍala in peace. (2) But inscriptions of the Cālukya, Kadamba and Pāṇḍya

(1) Moraes, K.K., makes no mention of this campaign.

(2) EC. IV Krishnarajapet 49(1111), corrected by M.A.R. 1914-5, para. 78: samadhigata-paṅca-mahāśabda-mahā-maṇḍalēśvara Dvārāvatīpuravarādhiśvara Yādava-kulāmbara-dyumaṇi samyaktva-cūḍāmaṇi-malaparoḷ gaṅḍa Hoysala-dēvar Gaṅga-maṇḍalamam āluttu sukhadind ire Śaka-varṣa 1034 Kara (for Khara)-samvaccharada Sōmavāra, etc. There is mention of Biṭṭi-dēva, i. e. Viṣṇuwardhana. The earlier transliteration actually read Śaka 1017, Yuva: a considerable discrepancy !

dynasties provide slightly clearer clues. It will be seen from a schedule of their records during the period that the probable year for the invasion of Nolambavāḍi was 1111, 1112, or early in 1113, while that of Hāṅgal or any part of the Banavāse 12,000 must have taken place either in 1113 or 1114. Other considerations make the former year more likely, while no evidence is available as to the precise year of the invasion of the Halasige 12,000.(1)

(1) Pāṇḍya inscriptions (with the exception of W.E.I f.331, E.C.VII Shikarpur 99(1112) of Kāma-Pāṇḍya, as he does not appear to have been connected closely with the Uccaṅgi house.):

E.C.XI	Davangere	128(1107)	Tribhuvanamalla	Pāṇḍya	ruling	the				
							Ballakunde	300	etc.	
"	"	"	"	135(1109)	the	same	ruling	a	peaceful	Nolamba-
										vāḍi
"	"	Jagalur	9	(Jan.1111)	the	same	ruling	the	Nolambavāḍi.	
"	"	Davangere	149	(Mar.1113)	the	same	"	"	"	"
"	"	"	166	(1117)	"	"	"	"	"	"

Kadamba inscriptions:

W.E.I	f.302b	(1107)	Tailapa	Kadamba	ruling	Banavāse	12,000	&		
									Hāṅgal	
									500	
"	"	"	"	308	(1108)	the	same	ruler	ruling	the
										same
"	"	"	"	314	(1109)	"	"	"	"	"
"	"	"	"	315	(1110)	"	"	"	"	"
"	"	"	"	318	(1112 Dec.)	"	"	"	"	"
"	"	"	"	336	(1113 Oct.)	"	"	"	"	"
"	"	"	"	340	(1115 Apr.)	"	"	"	"	Hāṅgal
"	"	"	"	346	(1117)	"	"	"	"	500 only.
"	"	"	"			"	"	"	"	Banavāse & Hāṅgal.
A.R.1935-6,	Ap.E	64	(1117))						"
										in Hāṅgal.

Cālukya inscriptions

W.E.I	f.297b	(1107)	Anantapāla-danṇāyaka	ruling	Banavāse	12,000			
							and	Halasige	12,000.
"	"	"	"	310	(1108)	"	"	"	the
									same
E.C.XI	Davangere	12	(1109)	"	"	"	"	"	"
W.E.I	f.317b	(1112)	Emperor	himself	at	Banavāse.			
"	"	"	"	328b	(1112)	Śrīpati-danṇāyaka	ruling	Belvola	and
									Huligere.
"	"	"	"	331	(1112)	Kāma-Pāṇḍya	ruling	at	Sisugali.
"	"	"	"	334	(1112)	Gōvindarasa	ruling.	Fighting	in
									which
									a
									man
"	"	"	"	334b	(1112)	Udayāditya	Gaṅga-Permāḍi	ruling	Banavāse
									&
									Sāntalige
									1,000.

(cont. over)

It seems, then, very likely that Viṣṇuvarḍhana was on his way homewards during the year 1113. His achievement had been more spectacular than profound. Although an inscription of the spring of 1113 already says of him that he had taken Talakāḍ, Koṅgu, Naṅgali, Banavāse, Belvala (Belvola), Halasige, Hānuṅgal, Noṅambavādi and Uccaṅgi, and was then ruling in the capital Dōrasamudra, Viṣṇuvarḍhana himself doubtless regarded the expedition as an extended raid and exploratory series of skirmishes. (1) He left no inscription behind him, or if he did they were sedulously removed or obliterated. The effect of his invasion, if we may judge from the incidence of inscriptions, was felt rather longer in Noṅambavādi than in Banavāse or Hānuṅgal: it cannot however be contested that any lasting benefit was gained by the Hoysala from either quarter. The Kadamba Tailapa continued to reign, though his control over Huligere was given to a Cālukya general in 1112, and in the same year the emperor moved to Jayantīpura (Banavāse) for a short period to direct operations against the invader and his sympathisers. (2) In that year Anantapāla and his nephew Gōvinda retained

W.E.I f.339 (Jan.1115) Gōvindarasa ruling the Banavāse 12,000.
 " " " " 345 (Jan.1117) Emperor recognized at Lakkundi.
 " " " " 349 (1117) Nāgavarmayya ruling Belvola 300, Huligere 300,
 and Banavāse 12,000.

(1) E.C.V Hassan 149(1113) dated Vijaya, Caitra su 10: it can be dated 1113 with confidence, as in 1173, the only alternative the king can hardly have been referred to as Vīra-Gaṅga-Viṣṇu-bhūpālaka, and, moreover, the subject of the inscription is the grant of land to the architect who built and adorned the temple of Mahālakṣmi at Dodḍa-Gaddavalli, where E.C.V Hassan 135 of ?1114 and 134 of c1115 mention gifts to the same temple.

(2) Compare W.E.I f.302b with ibid.f.328b.

Belagāvi, the latter holding Bāraṅgi, ten miles north of Belagāvi, apparently with some difficulty (1); in 1114 he ruled in Sātēhalli in the modern Kōḍ tāluqa, (2) and in 1115 Tailapa Kadamba was well ensconced in the Hāṅgal region.(3) The unsettled condition of the districts is shown by the appearance in 1115 of a new figure, obviously that of a Cālūkyā general, who took over parts of the Belvola 300 together with Huligere 300 and a part of the Banavāse 12,000.(4) Yet by 1118 the Cālūkyā's control over the north-western parts of the Hoysala's outer world was sufficient to enable him to organise a counter-attack.

Even by the Hoysala's subjects themselves no impression of grandiose expansion was gained. Two inscriptions of 1113 say merely that Viṣṇuvardhana was ruling the Gaṅgavādi 96,000, but the fact that neither states, as was customary, where he was ruling, suggests that he was still engaged in movement of some kind, and official pronouncements on the subject may not have had time to be circulated.(5)

It is not, indeed, possible to be certain that the fortresses, as distinct from the towns, of Uccaṅgi and Hāṅgal

(1) W.E.I f. 334(1112).

(2) W.E.I f. 339(1114).

(3) W.E.I f. 340, 341(1115).

(4) W.E.I f. 344b(1115)

(5) M.A.R.1914-5 para.78 and E.C.VI Kadur 19. In the latter he is called merely Poysala-dēva. As it is dated only with the year Vijaya, Āsāḍha sūddha 14 Sōmavāra, there is some excuse for dating it 1053. The beginning of July 1113 does seem, however, to suit the circumstances much better than 1053, as that year was several years too early for the claim to rule Gaṅgavādi, little as that signified. Moreover the title Vikrama-Gaṅga is mentioned, which was not in use in 1053. Rustic records sometimes refer to the ruler as Poysala even in later times.

were taken at this time. The extraordinary exclamations that arose when his grandson Ballāḷa II took the fort of Uccaṅgi suggest not only that it had not been taken so well before, but indeed that it had never before been taken by assault. In this case Viṣṇuwardhana may have starved the garrison into surrender, reduced it by negotiation or bribery, or even cut it off from the nāḍ as a whole until the campaign closed. Likewise even Hāṅgal city may not have been taken, for captures within the 500 district which bore its name would have sufficed to give Viṣṇu the title "taker of Hāṅgal".

Yet it is at this period that we first find the title Vīra-Gaṅga in use, a title of significance when we wish to estimate the growth of Viṣṇu's influence in his home-land and in the neighbouring tracts. (1) Like the title Vikrama-Gaṅga which he already bore, it is ambiguous, but its most probable meaning was that he was a hero among the Gaṅgas, that is, a champion over, as well as of, the Gaṅgavādi in which he had his dominions proper.

Returning to the close of Viṣṇuwardhana's 1112-3 campaign, we find that the presence of his army in the Banavāse and neighbouring districts had encouraged the Ālupas of the modern South Kannara, who had apparently maintained some connection with their old home, to invade the Sāntalige 1,000, then partly in Hoysala hands. An inscription of March 1114 tells how, while Tribhuvanamalla Viṣṇuwardhana Hoysala-dēva was ruling the

(1) For example E.C.V Channarayapatna 212, which Rice dated c1120, but can now be assigned to 1113 or 1114. It refers to the mahā-maṅḍalēśvara --- śrīmat Tribhuvanamalla <Gaṅga>vādi-Nol-ambavādi-Uccaṅgi-Hānuṅgalu-gonda Vīra-Gaṅga-Viṣṇuwardhana-Hoysala-dēvaru.

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Gaṅgavādi 96,000, a certain Setṭi-gāvunda had fought a battle with daggers with the people of Āluva-khēda who had taken prisoners in the 1,000, and had been victorious; as a result he had apparently been awarded the then highly esteemed ^{office} of Gāvunda of Kariviḍi-Hirūr, about seventy miles south of the scene of the conflict. He could not have been there long when the Halikāra Nāyakas of Sīre-nād came and harried the cows "after their custom", and the unfortunate hero died defending the herds.(1) Thus, as if to provide examples of the risk which a ruler then ran if he led a military expedition beyond the borders of his own kingdom, an invasion from the northern edge of the Hoysala nād followed swiftly upon the invasion from the north-west. Doubtless it was the absence of the royal troops that encouraged a certain Baḍi-arasa likewise to raid the cattle of Meleyūr in the modern Krishnarajapet Tāluqa during 1114-5.(2) We can not determine whether Baḍi-arasa was a Koṅgāḷva chief, whose territory would be nowhere more than ten miles from the place he raided, or whether he originated from the half-civilized country between the Nīlagiri and Koṅgu nād. On the other hand he may have been an official of a Cōḷa deputy, for in that year Jaya (1114-5) an inscription dated in the 45th year of Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa was set up at Kannambādi, about eight miles up the Kāvēri from Śrīraṅgapaṭṭanam and not twenty miles from the Koṅgu nād itself.(3)

(1) E.C.XII Tiptur 81(1114) at Karadi.

(2) M.A.R.1927,109(1114-5) dated merely in the year Jaya.

(3) E.C.IV Krishnarajapet 34(1114-5).

Each of these raids was avenged in its turn: the Sîre-nād nāyakas having to wait the longest for retribution to be paid to them.

Viṣṇuwardhana found it convenient to vent his anger first upon the Ālupas; and their discomfiture, which could only have been the result of a single and rapid campaign, is often called to mind in later inscriptions. On his way southwards he was obliged to deal with a small-scale civil war which had broken out, in his absence, in the extreme west of his kingdom. It appears from the damaged stone that a certain Hemmādi, who is otherwise unidentified, but was probably of Gaṅga origin or connections, had rebelled against the Hoysala and had been attacked by a local maṇḍalika named Karṇa and a daṇṇāyaka called Bēgipayya. This provoked a further revolt which only the king's presence seems to have been able to reduce. It is of incidental interest that his wife Śāntala-dēvi was present with the king, and she may well have accompanied her husband from Dōrasamudra through Uccaṅgi and Hāṅgal.(1)

The punishment of the raiders of the Koṅgu area we may presume to have taken effect in the years 1115 and 1116. A later inscription mentions how Viṣṇu put to flight the chiefs who had ruined Pāgadakōṭe and Koṅgu, while it seems that a campaign against the Maleyālas followed automatically.(2)

(1) E.C.VI Mudgere 32(1115) at Paṭadūr.

(2) E.C.IV Nagamangala 47(1199):

Pāgadakōṭe-Koṅg-alida daṇḍada maṇḍalikaṅ ppoḍarppu geṭṭ
 āgaley oḍi kāṅgaḍe kandada manneyar aṅje tîru-vîr /
 āgada vairi-maṇḍalam av ill ene Viṣṇu-narēndram āḷdam i-
 sāgara-vēṣṭitācāleyan ātanol ār ddore bhutaḷādhīpar //

"King Viṣṇu ruled this ocean-clad earth, being one who was unsurpassed(?) in devouring the territory of enemies, while

In this campaign operations against the Caṅgāḷva and Koṅgāḷva would hardly have been avoided, as there can be no doubt that these rulers hesitatedly seldom to attack the Hoysala when he was in difficulties, and the smallest trouble in dealing with the Maleyāḷas would have provided an excellent opportunity. In 1117 an inscription was set up at Cāmarājanagar describing the exploits of Punisa, a Hoysala daṇṇāyaka, mahā-pradhāna and sandhi-vigrahi, in other words a high ranking minister. His activities, which must have occurred between 1115 and 1117 are described as follows:-

"He frightened the Toda (the pre-Dravidian inhabitants of the Nīlagiri), drove the Koṅgas underground, terrified the haughtiness of the arm of King Kāḷa, and entering the Nīla mountain offered its peak to the Lakṣmi of Victory, he the great minister of Biṭṭi-dēva, Punisa of overwhelming might. On the Poysala king once giving the order he valiantly seized Nīlādri (the Nilgiris) and pursuing the Maleyāḷas in battle and obtaining success over their forces, he became the master of Kērala; then he eagerly returned (literally "showed himself") to the Bayal nād (plain country)."(1)

commanders who had not waned in battle were terrified, as they fled at the moment when was destroyed the power of the chiefs of the force that had ruined Pāgadakoṭe (and) Koṅgu. What ruler on the earth's surface were his equals?" Both the R.T. and K.T. read añji, here corrected to añje. The interpretation of tīru-vīr-āgada is conjectural, supposing mīr, "to surpass", to be intended. Pīr, a possible alternative is quoted by Kittel from Abhinava Pampa signifying "a state of being scattered". The K.T. reads āgada correctly for the R.T.'s ēgada; on the other hand the former's reading āgale māḍi for āgaley ōḍi, and illige for ill ene, are not acceptable. Pāgada-kōṭe, the "Farthing-fort" is as yet unidentified.

(1) E.C.IV Chamarañagar 83(1117):
(verses quoted over)

Likewise an inscription of about 1120 gives Viṣṇu-
vardhana the title purī-krta-Nīla-parvata~~ṃ~~, "erecter of a
city on the Nīla mountain, or turner of the Nīla mountain into
a city." (1) A later record tells of Viṣṇuvardhana's ultimate
successes over the twin rulers between the Hēmāvati and the
Nīlagiri, successes for which Puṇisa or his colleagues were
probably responsible, in the titles Koṅgāḷva-nṛpāḷa-vaṇa-dahana-
davānaḷanum and Caṅgāḷa-nṛpāḷa-baḷa-jaḷa-nidhi-baḍavānaḷanum,
"a wild fire in burning the forest that was the Koṅgāḷva king
and a submarine fire to the ocean, the forces of the Caṅgāḷva
king." (2) On this account it is reasonable to believe that it
was in 1115 or 1116 that Viṣṇuvardhana sealed a treaty with
these turbulent southerners by his marriage with Candala-dēvi,
who was certainly a Koṅgāḷva princess. (3)

Todavan adirppi Koṅgaram adaṅgisi Pōluvaram poraḷci mā-
nade Maleyāḷam maḍipi Kāḷa-nṛpāḷana tōḷa biṅkamam /
bedarisi pokku Nīla-siḷeyam jaya-Lakṣmige kīrtti <yajna> mā-
dida vibhu Biṭṭi-dēvena mahā-sacivam Puṇisam balādhikam //

adaṭim Poysala-bhūpam orṃme besaḍim Nīlādriyam koṇḍu tann-
odavindaṃ Maleyāḷaram kadanadol beṅkoṇḍu tat-sāhasā- /
bhyudayam kaikoḷe Kēralādhipatīy āgirdē eṃ Bayal-nāḍanam
padapiṃ kāṇisi koṇḍan intu Puṇisa śrī-dandaṇāthādhīpa //

Kāḷa, a ruler of the Koṅgu-Nīlagiri region, was often called
Kalapāḷa in the later inscriptions.

(1) E.C.III Seringapatam 49 (c1120).

(2) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 137 (dated 1130 but really of about 1190)
Caṅgāḷa stands (as Rice acknowledged) for Caṅgāḷva, and was
misread Baṅgāḷa. The same inscription calls Viṣṇu Kēraḷa-nār-
ēśvara-hāḷahaḷan, "a poison to the Kerala king."

(3) M.A.R. 1927, 115 (c1119) at Śravanahalli records the gift, by
Candala-dēvi (misspelt Cantala - the editor wrongly identifies
her with Sāntala-dēvi) together with her younger brother Dudda-
malla, of a village near Mandagere which she had received as a
perquisite from her father Prthvī-Koṅgāḷva to the Jaina guru
Prabhācandra, disciple of Mēghacandra, of the Mūla saṅgha, Pu-
staka gaccha, etc., for the expenses of the Vīra-Koṅgāḷva
jaina temple. Mēghacandra is known to have died in 1115 (E.C. II
127)

Next Viṣṇuvardhana turned northwards. In the Spring of 1116 he was faced with another campaign against the Pāṇḍya, in which the latter may well have been the aggressor. Viṣṇu marched in the direction of Uccaṅgi and met the Pāṇḍya army at or near Dumme, where a hill of some size for that part of the plateau overlooks a plain just south of the road from Channagiri to Holalkere, near what must have been the northern limit of the Āsandi nāḍ and thus of effective Hoysala influence. Beyond it it would have been unsafe for the Hoysala army to follow the Pāṇḍya in the direction of his capital. An incident in the engagement is recalled by a vīragal that relates that when Biṭṭi-dēva marched against the Pāṇḍya, and in the battle of Dumme a troop of elephants and a force of cavalry came against him, Mācaṇṇa, a henchman belonging to Ārundūr, on the security of double pay from the general Pāva, collecting a force, set forth and destroyed the village of Jālahalli, which must then have been in Pāṇḍya hands. (1) Another vīragal, dated in May-

and Prabhācandra is mentioned in 1115, 1120, 1123, 1139 and finally when he died, in 1145 (E.C.II 127, E.C.V Hassan 112, E.C.II 132, 131. Cf. ibid. 117, 142, 141, 140). Duddamalla is not an uncommon name in Koṅgāḷva circles: compare M.A.R. 1912-3 para. 63 of Duddamallarasa, who may well be the same man - it is at Ankanāthapura in Hole-Narsipur tāluqa; and also M.A.R. 1912-3 para. 65 (1171) and (1177) of Vīra-Duḍḍa-Koṅgāḷva, both at Mūd-alīpya in the same tāluqa. Due to the doubtfulness of the source one can not feel sure that these inscriptions do not belong to 1111 and 1117 respectively. The text of the record quoted above reads: --- Viṣṇuvardhana-Hoysala-dēvara piriyaṛasi Cantala-dēviyaru Tribhuvāna-tila. tīrthada Vīra-Koṅgāḷva-jinālayada dēvara aṅgabhogakkaṃ riṣiyar āhāra-dānakkam tamma bappa Prithuvi-Koṅgāḷva-dēvara vāga (?) baḷivali biṭṭa Mendagereya śritiyolage Kāvanahalliya tamma tamma Duddamalla-dēvanu tāvum ildu--- Prabhācandra-siddhānta-dēvara kāḷam karcī --- biṭṭa //

(1) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 99(1116): Vīra-Gaṅga-Hoysala-Biṭṭi-dēvar Pāṇḍyana mēl etti Dummeya kāḷegadalu āneya ghaṭa kudareya daḷav ettiḍalli Ārundūra leṅka Mācaṇṇa immadi-jīvitakke Pāva-haḍa-

June 1116, found at the same place, almost certainly refers to the same campaign. We can not be sure that any severe treatment was dispensed by the Hoysala after the battle of Dumme: indeed the situation seems to have been that the Pāṇḍya remained quiet for a year or more. Yet he was still able to send a contingent to the emperor when the latter required it. Of activity on Biṭṭi-dēva's part in the Pāṇḍya nād evidence may in fact exist. An inscription at Ālūr, south of Uccaṅgi, purports to mention the mahā-maṇḍalēśvara Biṭṭe-dēva(sic) in connection with a land grant by a Pāṇḍya minister at the end of the year 1116. (2) The grant is, however, too badly damaged to admit of a positive deduction of any kind.

The activity that occurred in 1116 was not relaxed. Before the year Hēmalāmbi had commenced, in March 1117, the status of the Hoysala kingdom had been enhanced by a resounding triumph which brought in its train a series of minor if no less imposing military successes.

vaḷana honeya<?m> koṭṭu ididu harada Jālahalli-grāmaṃ iridanu. This inscription is referred to in the pleasant article by N. Kasturi, "The Hero Stones of Mysore", in the Professor K.V. Rangaswami Aiyangar Commemorative volume, Madras, 1940, p. 202 ff. A merchant, given custody of this double pay, raised the stone when he learned of the soldier's death.

(1) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 100(1116) dated Durmmukhi, Jyēṣṭha.
 (2) E.C.XI Davangere 166(?1116). The R.T. reads(with conjectures added):- śrīman-mahā-pradhānam daṇḍanāyakam Uccaṅgi... tnameyy jīvitada Kōṭey-Ātūra-Nāgēśva<ra>... śrīmac-Cālukya-Vikrama-kāla-ada 41 neya<? Durmu>ki-saṃvatsarada uttarāyanā-saṅkra<nti>.... māḍi mahā-maṇḍalēśvara Biṭṭe-dēvaru Mallige-geṇeya ...yi biṭṭa mattar Viṣṇudēvargge Mattikaṭṭada-keḷage biṭṭa, etc. The K.T. has gross discrepancies: Ālūr(correct) for Ātūr and several omissions including Biṭṭe-dēva. In any case, Rice is not justified in stating in his translation, "the mahā-maṇḍalēśvara Biṭṭe dēva made grants of land(specified) for the god Viṣṇu."

It was almost certainly during the first months of 1117 that Viṣṇuwardhana reaped the fruit of his careful preparations, and, with his army under the command of his principal daṇḍanāyaka, Gaṅga-rāja, took at one blow the famous city of Talakāḍ, and within a few months turned the Cōla officials out of the south-east corner of the plateau. He then followed up his advantage by swift marches to the east, taking the Hoysala standard for a brief space even as far as Kāñci.

It is true that of the long list of titles recited by breathless panegyrists very few were founded upon achievements from which the Hoysala kingdom may be said to have derived substantial gains: they remain, however, as an interesting record of a campaign of astonishing speed and unusually extensive scope. Boldness in rapacity, boundless enterprise, and constant movement characterise Viṣṇuwardhana's ambition; every province within his reach was compelled to contribute battle-honours to his standards; yet the chief cause of the respect with which he was remembered by later generations was that, unlike his descendants, his desire for ostentation experienced no very determined obstacle.

Early in 1117 occurred the first of his great victories. Several attempts, as we have seen, had already been made to probe the defences of the Talakāḍ province, and it is very likely that by 1117 a body of opinion within that largely Kannada-speaking area had been conciliated by the rising power that aimed at the expulsion of the representatives of the Cōla.

The Hoysala army approached the province from the north-west. The news reached the capital, Talakād itself; and the senior Cōla governor in the district came out to meet it. He belonged to the well-known Adigaimān family originally of Tagadūr, otherwise known as Dharmapuri, and thus was usually referred to as Adiyama by his opponents.(1) He drew up his troops on the western side of the Kāvēri river. Before the engagement Gaṅga-rāja, we learn, asked for and received certain land grants, presumably to provide for his own spiritual welfare should he die in battle. Viṣṇuwardhana gave him a village for the upkeep of the Biṇḍiganavile tīrtha.(2)

Gaṅga-rāja then summoned the Cōla commander to surrender the province. When this was refused, the Hoysala army drove the enemy in a south-easterly direction; the latter fled before them across the river into the fortress of Talakād, which lay in the bend of the river immediately upon its north bank. Viṣṇuwardhana entered the town almost at once, and captured the fort. The fate of Adiyama is unknown, but his death is likely. At once the Hoysala struck out eastwards in pursuit of the other Cōla feudatories who had so signally failed to

(1) N.K.Sastri, Cōlas, II p.42 correctly identifies him with the family of Tagadūr. The name is variously spelt Adiyama, Adiga, or Adiyamā.

(2) E.C.IV Nagamangala 19(1118) : mahāsāmantādhipati śrīman-mahāpradhāni drōha-gharaṭṭa piriya-daṇḍanāyaka Gaṅga-rāja Tale-kāḍaṃ koḷuvalli muṅgola bēḍikoṇḍu geldāde meccidem bēḍikoḷk ene śrī-Biṇḍiganavileya tīrttharkke taḷa-vittiyam bēḍe śrī-Viṣṇuwardhana-Hoysala-dēvaru kārunyaṃ geydu koḍe koṇḍu, etc.

"The chief of great sāmantas, the great minister, a grindstone to evil-doers, senior daṇḍanāyaka, Gaṅga-rāja, being on the point of taking Talakād: Viṣṇuwardhana-Hoysala entreated him beforehand, saying, " Ask a boon. When you have conquered I shall be pleased for you to ask", and when he asked a grant of land for the holy placé of Biṇḍiganavile, graciously granted it!"

assist their colleague. A certain Dāmōdara fled in the direction of Kāñci; another, by name Narasiṅga-varmna, fled and was put to death in the neighbourhood of Beṅgiri; other representatives likewise of the TAMILIAN power vacated their offices. Contemporary inscriptions describe or refer to these events in lively terms:-

Gaṅga-rājam Cōlana-sāmantan Adiyamaṁ modalāgi Talakāḍa
 bīdinol paḍiy ippe ant irḍdu Cōlam koṭṭa nāḍam kuḍade kādi
 kollim ene vijigīṣu-vṛttiyind etti baḷam eraḍuṁ sārcidalli //
 ittana bhūmi-bhāgadoḷ ad anyarad ēke bhavat-pratāpa-sam-
 pattiya varṇṇan ā-vidhige Gaṅga-camūpa jigīṣu-vṛttiyind /
 ettida ninna kayya nisitāsiya taumone benna-bāran ett-
 utt ire pōgi Kāñci-guri-yappinam ōḍida Dāman eydane //

ān onde-meyyoḷeydi Narasiṅga-varmma-modalāda Cōlana-sām-
 antar ellaram beṅkoṇḍu nāḍ āḍud ellaman ēka-cchētram māḍi kuḍe,
 etc.

"When Cōla's feudatory Adiyama and others, being like a door in the camp of Talakāḍ, refused to give up the country which the Cōla had given (them), saying "Fight and take it!", Gaṅga-rāja, with an action (impelled by) a desire for victory, rose and caused the two forces to come into contact."

"In this part of the world, why, Gaṅga the general, should it belong to others, that (proper) style of describing the success of your valour? When the destructive point of the sharp sword in your hand raised with the desire for victory was lifting the skin on his back,--is not Dāma sufficient, who went off, and running made for Kāñci as his goal?"

"He (Gaṅga) meeting them in his own person alone put to flight Narasiṅga-varmma and all the other sāmantas of the Cōla, and bringing all the parts that had been the nāds under one umbrella gave them (to Viṣṇu)."(1)

Some of the circumstances of the action are recorded in two inscriptions, one nearly contemporary and one later.

The later one, referring to an ancestor of the Nāyaka who set up the record, says:-

anakav id ēṃ nelam moḷagi tām moḷagōv ene Haṭṭagāra Kēte-Nāya-
kana virājip aḍḍaṇada bal-moḷagam nere kēḷdu becci teñ- /
kaṇa-deseyind Adiyamaṃ toṛe vāyd irad oḍe pokkan ā-
kṣaṇadoḷe Viṣṇuwardhana-nṛpaṃ baḷikaṃ Talakāḍa-kōṭeyaṃ //

"Saying, "What mockery is this ? Is the earth rumbling, or is it thunder ?" as he heard clearly the loud roar of the flashing shield of Kēte-Nāyaka of the Haṭṭagāras, Adiyama, terrified, crossed the river from the south bank, did not stay but ran: at that moment king Viṣṇuwardhana entered the fort of Talakāḍ behind him."(2)

The earlier one is at Aṅgaḍi in Mudgere tāluqa, that is, Sosavūr. It is damaged, but it records that a warrior named Bāsaya under the orders of a Hoysala officer called Biṭṭi-dēva-Hoysala-sāhani died in some connection with a battle in which elephants took part when Hoysala Biṭṭi-dēva opposed and fought

(1) E.C.III Malavalli 31(Dec.1117). The K.T. and the R.T. do not agree. Moreover, though the former reads sāmantan Adiyamaṃ and the latter sāmantar Idiyamaṃ, the translation spells the name Idiyama. The K.T. reads a blank after Adiyamaṃ until Talakāḍa; eppinam for appinam; tāmone for R.T.'s unintelligible temone, here corrected to tau-mone; and Gaṅga-camūpam. Cf. E.C.II 240.
(2) E.C.V Channarayapatna 209(1178).

enitānum bavaraṅgalol palabaram beṅkoṇḍa gaṇḍindam ōv-
 enisuttam Talakādol innevaram irdd īgal karam Gaṅga-rā- /
 jana khaḷgāhatig alki yuddha-vidhiyol benn-it tu nāy unṇad ō-
 dinal unḍ irddapan atta śaiva-śamivol sāmanta-Dāmōdaram //

"Having remained till now in Talakād astonishing people by his valour which put to flight many in any number of battles, the sāmanta-Dāmōdara, turning now his back on the fight through great fear of the blows of Gaṅga-rāja's sword, lives like a śaiva ascetic eating from a skull from which a dog will not eat." embinam onde meyyol avayavadin eydi mūdalisi dhṛti-giḍisi beṅkoṇḍu-mattam Narasiṅga-varmmam modalāge ghaṭṭadiṁ mēlāda Cōlana sāmantar ellaram beṅkoṇḍu nād ādud ellaman ēka-cchatrad unḍige-sādhyam mādi kuḍe, etc.

"Marching alone rapidly, taunting and making them lose courage, he thus put them to flight. Moreover, he put to flight Narasiṅga-varma and all the other sāmantas of the Cōla above the ghats, and brought the whole nād under the dominion of a single umbrella, and handed it (to Viṣṇuwardhana) ." (1)

The same inscription mentions what we know already, that Talakād was the frontier of Gaṅgavādi-nād above the ghats. (2) The town had an important strategic position, being, as a glance at the map shows, the first real stronghold reached by one who ascended the ghats from the south-east. It was thus of

Śukravāradandu tanna jīvitavam mu(?)ṇḍa-jīvitavāgi nilisida / It is not necessary to suppose that Biṭṭi-dēva was still fighting with Adiyama in December 1117, that being the date of this inscription, as it is fairly clear even from the mutilated and obscure fragment above that the warrior died of wounds and/or disease incurred in the battle referred to.

(2) E.C.VI Kadur 69(1160). Talavanapura was the Sanskritized name for Talakād, kāḍu, like vana, meaning a forest. (1) (2) over.

very great value to a king who intended not only to control the plateau upon which Talakād stood, but also to venture into the regions that might be reached by way of the Kāvēri valley.

The remark concerning Viṣṇuvardhana's success at Talakād which is most often encountered among the inscriptions has an important element of fact in it:

modalol Poysala-rājya-lakṣmiy-odavaṃ tōl-valpinim tāldi tann
udayam rañjisi tanna balp odave tann ārpp ēre tann ājñe mī- /
re diśā-cakraman otti-kondu Talakādam Gaṅga-rājyakke tām
modal ādam Yadu-vaṃṣa-varddhanakaram śrī-Viṣṇu-bhūpālakaṃ //

"First of all taking into his arms the wealth of the Poysala kingdom, his inheritance, while his fortune shone, his strength sufficed, his might increased, and his command prevailed, he overpowered all points of the compass, and capturing Talakād became himself the first in the Gaṅga kingdom - king Viṣṇu, promoter of the Yadu race." (1)

Of course, Viṣṇuvardhana's sudden, but well anticipated rise to a position of almost unchallenged supremacy in the ancient Gaṅga-maṇḍala could not have taken place without attracting the attention of the Cōla king Kulōttuṅga I. He was known to the Kannadigas by the name Vīra-Rājēndra, the title he bore as the Eastern Cālukya sovereign before he acceded to the Cōla throne. A sarcastic Kannada verse tells us:-

Page 121 n. (1) E.C.II 240(c1178). The translation is based on that of R. Narasimhacar.

Page 121 n. (2) *ibid*: ghaṭṭadim mēlāda Gaṅgavāḍi-nāḍa-gaḍiya Talakāda bīdinol paḍiy ipp ant, etc.

(1) E.C.V Belur 71 (March 10th 1117). The as yet unexplained title Gandagiri-nātha, given to Viṣṇu in E.C.V Belur 58 (1117) may refer to the conquest of the eastern mountain rim of the Gaṅga country.

ele Kāvēriya-vāri kūde polas ādatt endu pēv aysutum
keladol kūpa-jalāśiy appinegam ā-Rājēndra-Cōlam bhujā- /
baladin Viṣṇu tadīya-sēneya paṅgaṅgal tan-nadī-pūradol
kalasal vikrama-kēliyam meradan aty-ugra-pratāpodayam //

"Viṣṇu displayed the sport of his valour and the rise of his very fierce prowess as he mingled in the flood of the Kāvēri river, by the strength of his arm, the corpses of the army of Rājēndra-Cōla, so that Rājēndra, being disgusted at the general pollution of the Kāvēri, drank the water of the wells nearby." (1)

Indeed it appears that if no immediate attempt was made to avenge the defeat of his sāmantas, Rājēndra did not remain quite inactive. Two years later we find a Hoysala inscription at Būka in the present Channarayapatna tāluqa which mentions not only the ruler of Kukkara-(= Kukkala) nād, who bore the name Vijaya-Rājēndra-Cōla, but also of Vijaya-Rājēndra otherwise <Kulō>ttuṅga himself, in circumstances which certainly suggest warfare in the south-east of the Gaṅgavāḍi. (2)

It seems likely that Viṣṇuwardhana set out northwards and then eastwards for Kāñci immediately after his capture of Talakād. Kāñci was at that time a royal city in the hands of Kulōttuṅga, but it appears to have fallen to Viṣṇuwardhana with the same ease that he experienced in taking a whole string of towns in rapid succession. The Cōla appears to have had an

(1) E.C.V 'Belur 58(Marṣh 1117) and ibid.147(1121).

(2) E.C.V Channarayapatna 272(1119).A vīragal dated Śaka 1041, Vikāri.

an embarrassing series of failures, and no doubt the unsettled condition of the Cōla country as a whole at this period, owing to the old-age of Kulōttuṅga himself and the Cōlas' lack of success in their perpetual rivalry with the Cālukyas, account for them to a large degree. (1)

References to the capture of Kāñci are not common, but are irrefutable: in March 1117 Viṣṇuvardhana is given the title utkampita-Kāñci-pureṃam, "he who shakes Kāñci"; in 1125 he is called Kāñci-goṇḍa, "taker of Kāñci"; and in 1162 it is said of him that

Tulu-nāḍam Male-nāḍam

Talakāḍam koṇḍu matteyūṃ taṇiyade bhū- /

taḷamaṃ Kañci-varam koṇḍ

aḷavaḍisida Viṣṇu-bhūbhujam kēvaḷam ēṃ //

"King Viṣṇu was surely unique, he who not being satisfied by taking Tulu-nāḍ and Male-nāḍ and Talakāḍ as well, took and subdued the surface of the earth as far as Kāñci." (2)

It was almost certainly on his way towards Kāñci that Viṣṇu took Kōlāla-pura (Kolar) and Naṅgali, both of which would have been on his line of march; and it is not improbable that Kōyatūr or Kōvatūr, with the capture of which he was frequently credited, now correctly identified with Laddigam in Chittūr district, was also one of his prizes before he reached the Cōla royal city. (3)

(1) See N.K.Sastri, Colas II, p.48.

(2) E.C.V Arsikere 142(1162); E.C.V Channarayapatna 149(1125); E.C.V Belur 58(1117) and ibid.147(1121). E.C.V Belur 124(1133) says of Viṣṇu that when he put his foot forward, Kāñci came under his command.

(3) E.C.III Malavalli 31(1117) says Viṣṇu took the shining

We are, however, unable to say at what period in his campaign he took Tereyūr, otherwise spelt Teriyūr. There is a Teriyūr, a place of some importance, situated between the river Pinākini and its tributary the Jayamaṅgali, at about four and a half miles from Hindupur, and it was suggested by Rice as the scene of one of Viṣṇuvaradhana's triumphs. If this identification is correct, and it may well be so, Viṣṇu must have taken it during his campaign against the Cōla ruler of Heñjeru and Niḍugal, which was not more than twenty miles to the north-west of Teriyūr. On the other hand some doubt is thrown upon the identification by an inscription of 1100, to which reference has already been made in connection with a marriage of Eṛeyaṅga, where it is stated that a certain Karkkala-mārāya was 'active in Tereyūr'. (1) If this signifies that he had attacked Tereyūr himself the identification given above may stand: if, however, it means that he counted Tereyūr among his hereditary possessions, we should look for the town in Bangalore or Kolar districts, for all the inscriptions of the Karkkata-mahārāya, who is certainly a descendant of the ruler mentioned in the 1100 record, are found within those districts, not one of them being nearer than forty-five miles from Teriyūr. (2) In the latter case Tereyūr may well have

Kōyatūr and Talavanapura which was Rāyarāyapura. The latter was an alternative name for Talakād, though it may have applied to a newer part of the town perhaps founded by Rājarāja Cōla. There seems to have been a Koṅga Rāyarāyapura as well. Fleet, D.K.D. p. 496, thought Kōyatūr was Coimbatore. The circumstances require a place in the east; Laddigam, nearly 4 miles N.E. of Punganur in the tāluqa of that name, at 13°23'30", 78°37'30", lies very near (a trifle to the north) the route Naṅgili-Kāñci. It was the old Kōyarrūr or Kōyattūr, otherwise Uttama-Cōla-puram. See V. Rangacari, p. 500. (1) E.C.V Arsikere 102a(1100-1).

(2) E.C.IX Bangalore 114-5 (cl262) at Talegaṭṭapura; ibid. 99 (1262) at Hoṅgasandra; E.C.IX Anekal 41 (cl265) at Handēnahalli;

fallen a victim to Viṣṇuvardhana's onslaught on his outward journey to Kāñci.

During the same period Viṣṇu took Ceṅgiri. We do not know that he assaulted it in person, or even that his commander-in-chief sent a very considerable detachment against it. It may have been taken while the main army was on its way to Kāñci. A more serious uncertainty surrounds the place itself. Rice identifies it with Śēñji, that is, Ginjee in the South Arcot District. The identification is not attractive; a place in the hills of Salem or perhaps North Arcot district would be more acceptable. Yet we can not be sure that in fact the word itself does not conceal two distinct places. It is frequently read Beṅgiri, a perfectly possible name-form. Rice mostly corrected this reading to Ceṅgiri in his translations, on the ground of the actual difficulty in distinguishing Ba and Ca in the script. But in two inscriptions of the period of 1120 the following titles were applied to Viṣṇuvardhana:-

Beṅgiri-bhujaṅga-bhaṅgakara-khadga-khagarājanam

Beṅgiri (read Ceṅgiri) <Permmāla> kutkīla-cāḷana-catura-cāpa-Vaiṅyanam (1)

The alliteration, together with the fact that in praśastis a proper name is very seldom mentioned twice in such a context, shows clearly that there must have been two places, the one named Beṅgiri and the other Ceṅgiri. The "Vaiṅya in shaking with his bow the mountain, the Perumāl, or lord, of Ceṅgiri" must have been engaged in a separate operation to acquire the title "he whose sword is a royal kite in destroying the serpent Beṅgiri."

ibid. 30(1257) at Cammēnahalli; M.A.R. 1908 para. 49(1295) at Bannērgaṭṭa; see also E.C.X Malur 14(1336) at Tēkal. (1) over.

No really satisfactory location has been found for either of these places. Beṅgiri may well have been on the plateau, for we learn that, a fugitive, Narasiṅga deserted his queens, forsook his kingdom and died in the country near Beṅgiri, so that Viṣṇu took possession of his wives, presumably before taking Kāñci, and almost certainly before defeating Aṅgara and trampling on Siṅgalika, the latter of whom we already have reason for locating in the eastern part of the plateau.(1) Now this Narasiṅga must be the Narasiṅga-varma, otherwise Narasiṅga- or Narasiṃha-brahma who was one of the Cōla sāmantas defeated by Gaṅga-rāja. He fled before the Hoysala forces, meeting his end near Beṅgiri, while his colleague Dāmōdara apparently reached Kāñci before Viṣṇuvar-dhana. (2)

Concerning Ceṅgiri there is rather more information available. In an inscription of about 1120 we learn that the ruler of Ceṅgiri had an army, the dust raised by which covered up all points of the compass.(3) The situation of the hill is

Page 126 n.(1) E.C.V Belur 16(c1120). The latter title is found in E.C.V Belur 58(1117) where Ceṅgiri is read; there however the first title has also the reading Ceṅgiri. In E.C. III Seringapatam 49(c1120) both are read Beṅgiri.

(1) E.C.V Belur 17(1136) originally at Dōrasamudra. The text reads Beṅgiri, and the translation Ceṅgiri:
 (?) saṅgaradoḷ ānt a...arasiyaram bisuṭu jaguḷe taguḷd avana rājya
 Beṅgiri gaḷ ā dharanī-bhāgadoḷ sāye Narasiṅgana vadhū-nikaramaṃ
 Aṅgaranan ikki bide Siṅgalikanam tuḷidu Gaṅgevaram attā maguḷd
 raṅgada nṛpālaran asuṅgoḷ en Eregaṅga-nṛpa-nandanān avāryyatara
 śauryyam //

The reference to a northern campaign is to be associated with that against Iruṅgōḷa, for which see below, and the operations that followed. Aṅgara is mentioned in E.C.V Channarayapatna 149 of 1125, where it is said that Viṣṇuvar-dhana captured the 7

clarified by a verse in an inscription of the latter part of Viṣṇuwardhana's reign, almost certainly referring to the events of early 1117:-

birudar mmārāyar ār nnīn ire jagadoḷag ā-Koṅginol kappamam tā
 tvaritam nīn endu tannam nrpati besase pakṣārdhadol yuddhadol
 giriyaṃ beṅkoṇḍu tat-pattānāman urihi tad-dhātriyam sūregond ac-
 cari kappam goṇḍu tandam mada-gaja-ghaṭeyam Viṣṇu-dandādhināth-
 am //

A young protégé of Viṣṇuwardhana, called Immadi-dandanāyaka Biṭṭiyanna was credited with a triumph, remarkable on account of his youth, over the Koṅgu rulers. The period of this event is settled by the subsequent statement in the record that when the ^{smoke of the} flames of Rāyarāyapura spread towards Kāñci, the minds of the Cōla, Cēra and Pāṇḍya rulers were filled with fear. Of Biṭṭiyanna we learn from the quotation above that "when the king ordered him, saying, "Who are titled mārāyas when you are in the world ? Bring quickly tribute in respect of Koṅgu !", he put to flight Ceṅgiri in half a pakṣa, (that is to say within a week) burnt his city, plundered his territory, took an astonishing amount of tribute and brought it in with a troop of lusty elephants."(1)

component parts of the kingdom of (?) Aṅgara. For Siṅgala and Siṅgalika see above p. 63.

Page 127 n.(2) In E.C.III Sēringapatam 49(c1120), which is damaged, the translator mentions Narasiṃha-brahma ? of the city of Cakragoṭṭa, and the text has Cakragoṭṭapura..rasimha-brahma-bhuja-bhañjana-prbhañjanānum, the space appearing to require the very plausible conjecture <da Na>. There is however no evidence that Cakragoṭṭa had a ruler Narasiṃha until a century or more later. In 1111 Kannara-dēva was ruling there: see Hira Lal, op. cit. (2nd. edition) p. 210. Page 127 n.(3) E.C.III Seringapatam 49(c1120): bala-padōddhūta-dhūli-dhūsarita-dikupāla-Be (read Ce) ṅgiri-Perumāla-kutkīla etc. In E.C.V Hassan 89(1135) we find the word dikupāla ending in -nām, thus separating the preceding phrase and making it into a separate title without reference

It is known that of the Koṅgu-nād, besides the portion south of the Kāvēri which was partly inhabited by the Koṅgālva's subjects and partly by wild tribes, there was an eastern section which extended some distance into the northern limits of the modern Coimbatore and Salem districts. We may be reasonably sure that Ceṅgiri was not far from Salem itself and near to the Kāvēri valley; a place easily approached once the obstacle offered by the Cōla occupation of Talakād had been overcome. This suggestion is confirmed by the fact that Perumāḷ is a regular Tamil name for a ruler. Likewise the Paṭṭi-Perumāḷa, who is so often said to have been established by Viṣṇu with his own troops, (1) was probably a petty TAMILIAN chieftain whom the Hoysala encouraged in insubordination to his Cōla overlord.

Several other references to Ceṅgiri show that Biṭṭi-yanna's campaign was highly admired. Viṣṇu was pleased to bear the title Ceṅgiri-bala-kālānalam, "the fire of death to the force that belonged to Ceṅgiri." (2) An amusing verse from a

to Ceṅgiri. The present reading is preferable on the ground that the row of titles includes only such as have one proper name apiece. However the question is debatable.

Page 128 n. (1) E.C.V Belur 17(1136) In E.C.IV Nagamangala 76 of 1145 where Rice is content to read Beṅgiri in the expression "Viṣṇu plucked out the moustaches of Koṅgu and Beṅgiri" the reading should be altered to Ceṅgiri.

(1) E.C.V Belur 171 for example: Paṭṭi-Perumāḷa-pratiṣṭhānuṣṭhit-ātma-sainyanam.

(2) E.C.V Belur 124(1133) and elsewhere.

record written about eight years after the event says:-

Adiyaman ōdid ōṭama ner ōḍisi kalṭu Nṛsimha-varmman ō-
didan avan ōṭamam gunisī Ceṅgiri Ceṅgiriyaḷli kalṭu koṇḍ /
adaṭina Koṅgar ā-negarḍḍa Koṅgaran īkṣisi Pāṇḍyan ōḍidam
Yadu-tilakaṅga Viṣṇu-dharaṅḍipatiḡ ōḍadar āṛ ddharitriyoḷ //

"Adiyama ran as if in a race, and learning the pace
Nṛsimha-varma ran, while Ceṅgiri having multiplied upon
that pace the proud Koṅgas learnt it in Ceṅgiri, and seeing
the celebrated Koṅgas the Pāṇḍya also ran: who did not run
before king Viṣṇu, the ornament of the Yādavas ?"(1)

In another inscription, no doubt by virtue of being
commander-in-chief, Gaṅga-rāja takes the credit for the Ceṅgiri
exploit:-

Talakādam seled ante Koṅgam oḷakoṇḍ ā-Baṅkiyaṃ tūḷḷu dōr-
bbalaḍim Ceṅgiriyaṃ kaḷalci Narasiṅgaṅ Antakāvāsamaṃ /
niḷayaṃ māḍi nimircci Viṣṇu-nṛpaṅ anthā-mārggaḍim Gaṅga-ma-
ṅḍalamam koṇḍav arāti-yūtha-mṛga-siṅgaṃ Gaṅga-daṅḍāḍhipam //

"Drawing to himself Talakād, and so taking possession of
Koṅgu, driving away the famous Baṅki, throwing down Ceṅgiri,
and sending Narasiṅga to dwell in the abode of Death, he en-
larged king Viṣṇu and in other ways captured the Gaṅga-maṅḍala:
Gaṅga-daṅḍāḍhipa, the lion to the herd of deer that were his
enemies !"(2)

(1) E.C.V Channarayapatna 149(1125).

(2) E.C.V Channarayapatna 248(1134). The text reads niḷayaṃ
which must be an error. Baṅki, perhaps a Cōḷa or Siṅgalika
general, is otherwise unknown.

It is thus very likely that the expedition against Ceṅgiri and the Koṅgas took place while Viṣṇu himself was engaged upon the journey to Kāñci. When he arrived there he seems to have sent another detachment beyond that city towards the coast. It reached Mahābalipuram, and marched southwards, without meeting effective enemy opposition. This we gather from the total silence of the Cōla, Pāṇḍya and Hoysala inscriptions on the subject: a battle of importance would almost certainly have been claimed by one, if not both of the parties, as a signal victory.

That Viṣṇu's force reached the coast is shown by the statement in a later inscription that he destroyed Jananāthapura, which is identified with Mahābalipuram, or Seven Pagodas. (1) They then proceeded to the south, and may actually have reached Madura, if a literal interpretation be made of the expression kara-tala-krōḍī-kr̥ta-dakṣiṇa-Madhurāpuram, "he that squeezed in the hollow of his hand the southern Madhurā." (2) It is clear however that the Pāṇḍyas, then under the domination of a weakened Cōla dynasty, offered no more resistance than their masters to the lightning movements of the Hoysala raiders. The following verse may be compared to the remark about the Pāṇḍyas running in imitation of the Koṅgas:-

karavālav āde Pāṇḍyam

karavāliṃ Hoysalēśan iriyal nōḍa- /

lk are-vāl allade kādal

karavāl ill āytu nōḍe Tigulana paḍeyol //

(1) E.C.V Belur 17(1136) and E.C.VI Chikmagalur 160(?1184). cf. Rice, E.C.VI introd.p.xvi; also E.C.IV Nagamangala 76(1145): nija-sēnā-nātha-nirddalita-Janānāthapura.
 (2) E.C.V Belur 17(1136).

"There was not a (single) sword in the army of the Tamilian (i. e. Cōla) as he watched, while not even a half-sword was to be seen during the fighting, when the Hoysala lord struck with his sword the Pāṇḍya when (the Pāṇḍya) flourished his sword." (1)

It is not at all impossible that a detachment, or even the same body that reached Madura, may have penetrated as far as Rāmēśvaram. There was a great fascination in that place of pilgrimage, which offered to the ruler whose representatives reached it the title of "ruler as far as " or "setter up of a pillar of victory at" Sētu, for Sētu, though not the most southerly point of the peninsula by many miles, was conventionally supposed the limit opposite to Hima, or the Himalaya. An echo of just such an achievement is heard in the rhetorical statement occasionally met with in Viṣṇu's reign, that he "protected all lands as far as the shores of the southern ocean under the shadow of his sole umbrella." (2) An inscription of Parākrama Pāṇḍya, as N.K.Sastri notes, may well refer to the early part of 1117. It deals with the grant of privileges to some Pallis on account of their having rescued the images of gods and Nāyaṇmārs of the village of Ādutturai

(1) E.C.V Belur 171(c1160).

(2) E.C.V Channarayapatna 149(1125) N.K.Sastri, Cōlas II, p.43-4 does not believe in the Hoysala expedition to Kāñci and Madura. But as he says that they are no less incredible than his wars against Cakrakūṭa or Lāṭa, he partially answers himself. Lāṭa assuredly was never attacked by a Hoysala: but Guzerati contingents must have played a large part in the army of the Cālukya, led, as in the case of the Sinda, by a representative of the royal line. The defeat of such a detachment in one of his many attacks upon the Cālukya dominions would be considered by contemporaries more than adequate excuse for claiming the defeat of the Lāṭa.

which were being carried away to Dōrasamudra during the war of the Periya-vadugaṅ. This Periya-vadugaṅ, the 'great northerner', may well have been the Hoysala himself, though better suggestions are that he represents the Kākatīya or the Cālukya, known at this time to have been encroaching powerfully upon the Cōla's northern districts, and thus creating the diversion of which Viṣṇuvardhana made such good use. Āduturaṅ is on the Vellār river, in Perambalur tāluṅa, in the modern Trichinopoly district and it is not at all improbable that the Hoysala force raided it on its way towards Madura, supposing as in the theory outlined above, that it went from Kāñci to Mahābalipuram and thence to Madura; otherwise, had the movement been from Ceṅgiri to Madura, then to Rāmēśvaram and to Kāñci by way of Mahābalipuram, a not impossible but unproven route, then Āduturaṅ would have been raided on the northward journey. It remains to enquire why the idols should have been stolen. They may have been stolen for their intrinsic value, being perhaps of gold, and bejewelled; perhaps the removal of the idols seemed to be a method of weakening the good fortune and thus the morale of the enemy, though the rapid nature of the campaign seems to preclude this explanation; on the other hand the interest in temple building in Mysore at this period may have suggested to the leader of the Hoysala troops the pleasant anticipation of building in his own culturally less mature province a new Śaivite temple elegantly adorned with these examples of Tamilian craftsmanship.(1)

(1) A.R.1913, 35; *ibid.* p.113-4; N.K.Sastri, Cōlas II, p.44.

Viṣṇuwardhana soon returned to the plateau. Almost his first task was to cope with opposition offered him by the Cōḷa family of Heñjeru and Nidugal. In other parts also of the plateau the Cōḷa name was recognized, but the most active family actually to claim descent from the Cōḷa line lived near its northern limit, Heñjeru itself being about fifty-five miles north-west of Kolar. It was not unnatural that this family with its extensive territories mainly between the rivers Vēdāvati and Pinākini, and with interests in the watersheds of these rivers, should have made an attempt to assist the remaining Cōḷa adherents on the plateau, and the ruler, Iruṅgōḷa, may well have marched to intercept Viṣṇuwardhana on his homeward journey. In any case, Viṣṇu had several inducements to engage in battle with him, because it was from his territories, in particular the Sīre nād, that a raid had been conducted upon Hoysala lands a few years before, and the Cōḷa ruler, being a subordinate of the Cālukya, (1) and having access to the main parts of the Cālukya's southern dominions, was a very suitable victim for the Hoysala's initial schemes of aggrandisement: Viṣṇuwardhana could even pretend that the absorption of the nād then under Cōḷa control was in the interest of the imperial family, so long hostile to Cōḷas in general.

If Viṣṇuwardhana met Iruṅgōḷa's forces in the field he rapidly put them to flight, and took first Roddam, a city on the eastern bank of the Pinākini, and a city of importance to the Cōḷa, who bore the title Gōva, or governor, of Roddam. (2)

(1) The Heñjeru Cōḷa was a subordinate of the Cālukya emperor from 1108 at the latest (E.C.XII Challakere 43) and continued to be so, at least nominally, until the Kalacuri usurpation.

(2) The title is found in E.C.XI Challakere 43(1108) and *ibid.* 21 (1147) where Malla-dēva rules Sīre and Rodda nāds amongst others.

This success was followed by the capture of Vallūr, thirteen miles north of Roddam, the scene of engagements between northern and southern rivals in the past, including one in which Biṭṭi-dēva's father Eṛeyaṅga had fought. It is very likely that Iruṅgōḷa's troops fled to that place and that there he capitulated. It is also likely that Tereyūr was taken, if not on the march to Roddam, at any rate on the way back to Talakād (1)

Iruṅgōḷa's submission did not apparently curtail his self-governing powers or the extent of his territory. Like the southern Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya, he seems in his official documents to have ignored the Hoysala successes. He lived for many years after his ~~defeat~~ ^{defeat}, apparently a loyal subject of the emperor.(2)

Very frequent mention was made of Viṣṇuwardhana's victory; he was often given the titles Heñjeru-diśāpaṭṭa, "scatterer, or confounder of Heñjeru"(3) and Iruṅgōḷa-kuntakadaḷa-vana-vidalaṅga-karāḷa-ṣuṇḍāḷa, "grim elephant in breaking down the plantain garden that were the spears of Iruṅgōḷa".(4) The title Roddava-tuḷiva, "trampler upon Roddam", was almost certainly won at this time, although it is not mentioned in the earliest of Viṣṇuwardhana's prasastis.(5)

In E.C.XII Sira 7(1128) Iruṅgōḷa is called Dēva of Rodda.

(1) Cf. above p.125.

(2) S.I.I. IX 209, A.R.1927,96(1125) at Narasapuram, Kalyandrug tāluḷa; E.C.XII Sira 7(1128) at Dodḍa-Bāṅagere, Sira tāluḷa; S.I.I. IX 233, A.R.1913,83(1139) at Eradukera, Kalyandrug tāluḷa; S.I.I. IX 230, A.R.1919,695(1134) at Ramadurgā, Alūr tāluḷa; his descendants carried on the tradition.

(3) EC.II 143(1131) etc.

(4) E.C.V Hassan 89(1135) etc.

(5) E.C.II 143(1131). As for Būdali, which was captured almost certainly in this campaign, as there is little evidence that Viṣṇuwardhana thrust in this particular direction in later years, see below p.173. Būdali is 21 miles S.E. of Roddam.

Having subdued the northern Cōla, Viṣṇuwardhana seems to have returned to Talakāḍ . There much work awaited him. The city had to be settled after the conflict of a few weeks previously, and the entire district had to be searched for remnants of Cōla adherents, and brought under the Hoysala jurisdiction. The fear of a counter-attack from Kulōttuṅga, combined with subversive activity within the newly won territory induced Viṣṇuwardhana to place these eastern districts under the general superintendence of his brother Udayāditya, and it is not unlikely that, on his departure for the north, he may have consigned Talakāḍ also to his brother's care.

For he can not have been in Talakāḍ many days when a summons reached him, requiring his presence before the emperor himself.

We are not at liberty to speculate on the emperor's views on Viṣṇuwardhana's brush with the Pāṇḍya at Dumme in 1116, but it is reasonable to suppose that the Hoysala successes of the winter of 1116-7 and the spring of 1117 had produced at Kalyāṇa sensations not wholly of satisfaction. Vikramāditya's pleasure at the discomfiture of the Cōla must have been outweighed by a suspicion, as we know not unfounded, that the long list of titles which Viṣṇuwardhana had accumulated, together with the real extension of Hoysala power and influence in the east and south-east, pointed to an intention on Viṣṇuwardhana's part of setting himself up as an imperial ruler in his own right. The interview must have been one of great interest: we know nothing of its details, but subsequent events show that

Viṣṇuvardhana and Vikramāditya failed to reestablish relations of real cordiality or mutual confidence.

It is not easy to locate the spot where this interesting conference took place. We learn that early in March 1117 Viṣṇuvardhana was on his way to "(?)Kadunaḍu of Hemmādi-rāya of Kataka", and made a vow to the goddess Kālamma at Janivāra in the modern Channarayapatna tāluḡa. (1) "Hemmādi-rāya of Kataka" may indeed mean Vikramāditya of the kataka of Kalyāna. that is, his capital, or more probably Vikramāditya "who was in camp", in other words engaged on a royal progress through his dominions. Janivāra is on the way from Talakāḍ to the north, or but a few miles from a main route from that city to Belūr and Dōra-samudra, being but five miles from the Hēmāvati river near which the route passed. We in fact find Viṣṇuvardhana ruling with Śāntala-dēvi in Belūr itself on the 10th of March 1117, as he paused to review the government at the capital, where his son Ballāla had been acting as his deputy, and incidentally to issue the two grants which have often been quoted in these pages. These grants tell us at great length of Viṣṇu's victory lately won over the Cōla, and of his successes from the days of his earliest campaigns: apart from the puzzling title Gaṇḍagiri-nātha, almost certainly won during 1116-7, the rest of the titles have already been accounted for in our review of his early history, and the endless succession of alliterative, bombastic or vapidly rhetorical titles would be as unenlightening to discuss as it is tedious to read. (2)

(1) M.A.R. 1912-3 para. 75, p. 35 (1117). (2) E.C.V Belur 58 & 71 say that Viṣṇu and Śāntala were ruling at Velāpura. The former is a curious inscription containing adulatory material of later reigns. It may be a re-edition of an older record with append-

An inscription of much later date refers to this meeting. Viṣṇuvardhana marched north and joined Vikramāditya, perhaps in the north-western districts near the Tuṅgabhadra, towards the end of March. The record says, in describing how a certain man obtained the status of land-holder, that Caḷukavve was the servant of Biṭṭi-dēva on his return journey from the north, when he had gone to pay homage to the senior Hemmāḍi-rāya of Kalyāna. (1)

It may not be a mere coincidence that at the end of the year 1117 a single inscription commences with the words svasti samasta-bhuvanāśraya śrī-prthvī-vallabha mahā-rājādhirāja rāja-paramēśvara and so on, being the style and titles of Tribhuvanamalla-dēva, otherwise Vikramāditya Cālukya. Such a thing had not happened since 1111, and even that example could be explained by suggesting that the Āsandi Gaṅga family, which had apparently erected the inscription, either valued an ancient connection with the Cālukya family more than politeness to the Hoysala, or had greater reason to fear Cālukya than Hoysala resentment. (2) It seems therefore that there was a slight, if impermanent, element of contrition, or at least regret, at Dōrasamudra, for the uncompromising severance of confidence that had for some years made happy relations between Vikramāditya and the Hoysala court impossible. The sentiment, which can hardly have been very vigorous, was soon obliterated by the action of Vikramāditya himself.

ices, as it were. There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the information provided in it.

(1) E.C.VI Kadur 111(1215-6) ōlagisal hōgi badaganindam bahali Calukavvev ōlagikātiy(read-kāriy) āgiddalli etc. Rice was not justified in translating ōlagisal "to serve"; it rather means "to attend a durbar". (2) E.C.V Belur 116(1117); VII Shimoga 89(1111)

Viṣṇuvardhana seems to have returned from the north almost at once to Talakād. Cōla representatives were not yet evicted from the whole province, for the two inscriptions on the plateau dated in the forty-ninth year of Kulōttuṅga show clearly that in the year 1117-8 Viṣṇu experienced no little difficulty in ridding the newly won province of the Tamilian.

(1) Viṣṇuvardhana's presence at Talakād is shown by several inscriptions, one of which is dated in April 1118, the rest being capable of being dated in that or the preceding year. (2)

We learn that on the first of January 1118 Viṣṇuvardhana granted four villages besides Talakād itself, and a tank, for the cult of the god Kīrtinārāyaṇa which he set up there after he had "rooted out Adiyaman and taken possession of Talakkādu." (3)

By this time Viṣṇu had set up a subordinate headquarters at Kolar, where, no doubt, he stationed his brother Udayāditya, together with his staff, for the purpose of bringing the east under his control. An inscription states that Viṣṇu - vardhana was ruling the Gaṅgavādi 96,000, including Koṅgu, residing at Talakād and Kōlālapura. (4) Udayāditya's daughter Ēcala-dēvi died at Vijayādityamaṅgala, the modern Bētamaṅgalam in Kolar district, during this period. (5) The policy which

(1) E.C.XI Kankanhalli 12 and E.C.X Sidlaghatta 30.

(2) E.C.IV Krishnarajapēt 31(1118); E.C.VI Chikmagalur 70(c1117) E.C.X Chik Ballapur 17(c1118:Rice wrongly dates c1135).

(3) M.A.R. 1911-2, para. 83(1173) at Talakād itself.

(4) M.A.R. 1920 para. 70 which is E.C.IV Krishnarajapēt 37 revised. On his way to or from Kolar he set up his camp at a place called ...deśi-pattanam: M.A.R. 1909-10, para. 74 at Siti.

(5) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 70(c1118).

Udayāditya implemented was not to overturn the existing governmental machinery, but to collect the revenues from the late Cōla districts with the least possible disturbance. Once the Cōla viceroys were gone, and their underlings promoted or stiffened with Hoysala officials, nothing remained but to order the executive officials to continue in their functions as usual. A small and gradual infiltration did actually take place in the eastern districts from the west, but until intensive tank building and land improvement was initiated in the thirteenth century under pressure of circumstances few who were otherwise comfortably settled cared to choose the dry and comparatively barren plains of Bangalore and Kolar in exchange for the luxuriant fields of the western districts. The disinclination to colonize was matched by a lack of initiative in the administrative sphere. From inscriptions it is apparent that not even the designation of the mandalas was changed. The easy-going new-comer was content to have part of his territory called Nigarili-Cōla-maṇḍalam as long as, in the Cōla manner, a nāḍ ruler called himself Tribhūvanamalla-Poysala-sāmanta Maṇṇai-nāḍ-āḷva. (1)

While these arrangements were being prosecuted steadily, if without uniform success, in the eastern and south-eastern districts, Viṣṇuwardhana himself could not, of course, attend to the general administration of his increasing kingdom. His eldest son Ballāḷa, presumably, though not certainly, his son by Śāntala-dēvi, was therefore, as has been noted, employed

(1) E.C.IX Nelamangala 67(c1117).

as his father's deputy at Dōrasamudra, and in that office not unnaturally bore his father's titles. We first find him acting in this capacity early in 1117, with the titles Tribhuvanamalla Talakāḍu-gonda and bhuja-bala-vīra-Gaṅga-Hoysala.(1) He performed the same duty on future occasions when his father was abroad on campaigns, until his untimely death deprived Viṣṇu-wardhana of his most valuable subordinate.

Viṣṇu's peace was soon broken by the invasion of his country by a coalition of northern rulers under the direction of the emperor Vikramāditya. Amongst the maṇḍalēśvaras and sāmantas that would willingly have contributed forces to this expedition were the Kadambas of Goa and Hāṅgal, the Pāṇḍya of Uccāṅgi, the Cōla of Heñjeru and the Sinda of Erambarage, and we have reason to believe that each of these was represented. In the early months of 1118 this expedition was intercepted and routed by the general Gaṅga-rāja.

śrīman-mahā-pradhānaṃ daṇḍanāyakaṃ drōha-gharaṭṭaṃ Gaṅga-
rājam Cālukya-cakravartti-Tribhuvanamalla-Permmādi-dēvara dalam
pannirvvar ssāmantar vverasu Kanṇegāla-bīdinalu biṭṭ ire //

tege vāruvamam hāruva bageyam tanag irula-bavaram enuta
buguva kaṭakigaran aḷiṅgaṃ pugisidudu bhujāsi Gaṅga-dānd-
savaṅgam
ādhipana //

embinam avaskanda-kēliyindam anibarum sāmantarumam bhaṅgisi
tadiya-vastu-vāhana-samūhamam nija-svāmige tandu koṭṭu, etc.

"When the army of the Cālukya emperor Tribhuvanamalla-
Permādi-dēva, including (the) twelve sāmantas, was encamped

(1) E.C.V Arsikere 56(1117) at Śankaranahalli. Rice thought this an error !

at Kanṇegāl, Gaṅga-rāja, the great-minister, general and mill-stone to traitors, saying, "Away with the idea of desiring a horse; this will be a night battle for me!", attacked and defeated with ease all the sāmantas, so that people said that the sword in the hand of Gaṅga-dandādhipa caused the men of the army who had put on their armour to enter mire, carried off the collection of their stores and vehicles and presented them to his own lord."(1)

A further reference to the imperial army's venture is to be found in an undated inscription which can now be assigned to 1118. It appears to relate that when Bhallaha's, that is Vallabha's or the emperor's, general Bhōga Caṭṭa marched against the Mahā-maṇḍalēśvara Tribhuvanamalla bhuja-bala-vīra-Gaṅga-Hoysala, Hoysala-dēva drove him back.(2)

A difficulty nevertheless remains to decide where the fighting took place: Kanṇegāl does not seem to be beyond hope of identification, but satisfactory proof of identity is not available. There are several possible places in the neighbourhood, or to the south of Hassan, and even south of the Hēmāvati river: it seems nevertheless improbable that the force of Vikramāditya should have been able to travel so far through Hoysala territory without record either in Hoysala or foreign inscriptions. Kanṇegāl must thus be sought in the northern confines of the Hoysala nāḍ proper.

(1) E.C.II 73(1118) Attention has been paid to the translation of R.Narasimhacar. The word alir appears in the Sabda-maṇi-darpana, but Kittel could not discover its meaning. It may be "mire", the rendering adopted here; cf. Tamil alaru. Savaṅgan Narasimhacar renders "(?)camp"; it is a variant for savaga, "a suit of armour". It appears in the Pampa-Bhārata, IX 103, with

In March 1118 Viṣṇuwardhana counter-attacked. His strength had obviously not been diminished. The warriors who had taken Talakād, Kōyatūr, Tereyūy, Vallūr, Kāñci and the rest were in good heart for a campaign against the ungenerous and ungrateful Cālukya. The successes of Gaṅga-rāja were soon followed by an invasion in force of the Kadamba territories beyond the Tuṅgabhadra. Tailapa Kadamba was said in March 1118 to be amongst "maṇḍalika-enemies" in the Banavāse 12,000.(1) This confusion was certainly stimulated if not caused by Viṣṇuwardhana's invasion. The town of Tāgarate, about seven miles north of Hosagunda, was held by a nāyaka of Viṣṇu when it was attacked, very probably on the Kadamba's behalf, by a certain Mudda.(2) Viṣṇuwardhana next moved through the northern parts of the Pāṇḍya and Cōḷa principalities, apparently including in his programme an assault upon Uccaṅgi.(3) It was almost certainly in this rather than in the 1117 campaign that Viṣṇu took Gōndavādi-sthala, otherwise Gōvindavādi in the extreme north of the Heñjeru Cōḷa dominions, only seventeen miles south-south-east of Bellary. ~~There~~ He made a grant to the god Dē-
 ēśvara, which had been set up eleven years earlier by a depend-
 ent of the son-in-law of the famous Anantapāḷa, ~~at~~ at a place

the meaning, according to the editor, of "toṭṭu-kolḷuva sāmagri that is, "a suit of clothes". (2) M.A.R.1912-3, para.75.

(1) E.C.VIII Sorab 325, W.E.I ff.352b-354a(1118).

(2) M.A.R. 1929,5(c1118). See Map 'C'.

(3) The assault on Uccaṅgi was carried out in the presence of Viṣṇuwardhana by Cāma-dēva, son of Cōḷa-Gaṅga-mahīpāḷa, a dependent of Gōvi-dēva of Huliyeṛu, a fief then in doubtful relations with the Hoysala: E.C.XII Chiknayakanhalli 29(1149). E.C.V Belur 171(c1160) says that the Hoysalēsa cut Pāṇḍya down, probably referring to this event.

now known as Hire Hadagaḷḷi, but then as Hosa Hadaṅgile, near the extreme north of the territory of the Pāṇḍya king of Uccaṅgi.
(1)

We have little further certain information about the events of the years 1118-1120. Viṣṇuwardhana's activities in the north seem to have been, for the first time, of some degree of deliberation and less comparable to a cattle-raid. He appears indeed to have traversed a wide stretch of land. It was probably at this time that Mudugaṅūr, Rājavūr and Belavaṭṭige fell into his hands, and he "muddied the Malapra-hāriṇi", that is, the Malprabhā river. (2) Movement, once one had passed the Tuṅgabhadra, was considerably easier, population less dense, and organized resistance less formidable.

Viṣṇuwardhana was satisfied for the time being with the gains in the north, modest though in fact they were, and expended effort on improving the state of communications between the capital and the Sāntara territory, where we have seen him, at Tāgarate, taking advantage of the low state of the ruling house's fortunes. If he were to deal a sound blow at the Kad-amba dynasty that ruled the northern half of that wide corridor to the northern plains, he must not only attack in the north but prepare an assault from the hilly and forested land to the south of their dominions. He accordingly spent part of his forces in an effort to reduce the small but virile principality of Gaṅgas that lived on the banks of the upper Tuṅgabhadra, retired from the main field of Kannada power politics, but in a position to interrupt communications between Dōrasamudra and

(1) In S.I.I. IX pt. 1. 118, A.R. 1914, 494, at Hire Hadagaḷḷi, Viṣṇu appears in a series of donors over a period. He is credited

the north-west. He sent Boppaṇa against Tribhuvanamalla bhujabala Gaṅga-Permādi, and a battle was fought at Halasūr in March 1120.⁽¹⁾ Hoysala attacks on this family were extremely rare.

Meanwhile, as was usual when the grand army was away on a campaign, The Hoysala nād itself was open to invasion. We learn from an inscription set up by the grandsons of the deceased hero that a man died in the time of Biṭṭi-dēva when Kanna-mahārāja attacked Kabbinakere, which was in fact very close to the heart of the Hoysala nād, in the year 1118, (2) The difficulty is to identify the Kanna in question. The title mahārāja points him out as a personage of considerable importance. It remains to be shown whether or not this ^{is} Kannara-dēva I, son of Sōmēsvara-dēva, the Nāgavamśi chief of Cakra-gōṭṭa, who may well have joined in the battles on the Cālukya's side. (3) However it may be, we see once again the extreme vulnerability of the Hoysala nād, once the main forces of the king were withdrawn.

with the capture of Cakrakūṭa, Talavanapura, Uccaṅgi, Kōlāla, the Seven Hills, Vallūr, Kāñci, Kōṅga, Hari (read di) yāghaṭṭa, Bayal-nād, Nīlācala-durga, Rāyarāyōttamapuri, Terēyūr, Kōvatūr, Gōndavādi-sthala, Talakāḍu, Koṅgu, Naṅgili, Tulu-nād, Nolamba-vādi, Gaṅga-mahāmaṇḍalam and Banavāse. Haḍiyaghaṭṭa must have been in the western, not the eastern, ghats, as is clear from the fact that Permādi Sinda reached it soon after his capture of Belūr (above p. 91). The editor of S.I.I. IX pt. 1, 118, p. 94 para. 2, by an unfortunate error of punctuation made it appear that Vīra-Viṣṇu, our Viṣṇuwardhana, was of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra. Page 144 n. (2) See Map 'B' and below p. 172-3.

(1) E.C.VII Shimoga 12(1120) at Gondicaṭṭanahaḷli. See above, p. 87.

(2) E.C.V Hassan 11(1178). śaka-variṣa sāsirada nālvattaneya (1040 in error for 1039) Viḷambi-saṃvatsarada Māgha-suddha 10 Sōmavāradandu svasti śrīman-mahā-maṇḍalēśvara-Tribhuvanamalla-Biṭṭi-dēvara kāladaḷu Kanna-mahārāja Kabbinakereyān (?read aṃ) irid andu, etc.

(3) Hira Lala, op. cit. (2nd. edition) p. 210. An inscription at Kannambādi, in land acquired in 1117, dated 1118 shows Viṣṇu confirming a grant by a Kannara-dēva: M.A.R. 1911-2 para. 84. But this may be one of the later Kṛaśṇa Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

Although Viṣṇuvardhana's lengthy counter-attack against the emperor was successful, in as far as it enabled him to carry out extensive and leisurely reconnaissances across the frontiers of enemy maṇḍalikas further northwards than he had ever before ventured on his own behalf, he returned nevertheless to Dōrasamudra without leaving permanent garrisons, or settlements, or even records, in any area beyond the already existing limits of the Hoysala nād - with the possible exception of the Sāntara districts, and that one lithic record in the Pāṇḍya nād which has already been noticed. On the other hand, it seems very likely that he suffered a reverse in the period between the commencement of 1119 and the end of 1120 at the hands of the Sinda ruler of Erambarage. Such a reverse would be very easy to inflict, for Permādi-dēva Sinda, son of Ācugi, must have observed the length of the Hoysala communications and the hazardous conditions in which his troops were supported. It is conjectured that the Sinda added to his laurels of the period 1103-4 by a victory in this time from the statement in a later inscription that "Pemma" frightened and put to flight the Hoysala lord who had ruled with severity over the countries Ceṅgiri, Cēra, Cōla, Malaya, the Seven Hills, Tulu, Kolla(?), Pallava (i. e. Kāñci), Koṅṅunapura (i. e. city of Koṅṅuna, which may be Koṅṅu, cf. the western Gaṅga title Koṅṅunivarma), Banavāse, Kadambale (i. e. Kadambalige, the Kadamba country, of which much extended beyond the Banavāse province) and Hayva, which was the 500 province on the confines of Halasige and Goa, to the north of Baṅkāpura. And then, apparently, the brave king Pemma seized in war a multitude of infuriated elephants.⁽¹⁾

(1) J.B.B.R.A.S.xi pp.259-273(1163).

Now a claim to these possessions might be said to have been proper to Biṭṭi-dēva in 1120, but not at any rate in any year before 1117. Not unnaturally the Hoysala inscriptions throw no light on the question. On the other hand, various miscellaneous records help to fill in the picture of these active years.

A Hoysala inscription which has hitherto been ignored shows distinctly that in the year 1120-1 some fighting took place in which the emperor was opposed to the Hoysala; moreover we first meet in it the famous Kadamba general Masanaya, an arch-enemy of the Hoysala, who was apparently present on Vikramāditya's behalf. The mention of the river Kāvēri seems to suggest that the battle in question was fought not only inside the Hoysala nād but actually well towards the south of it. All of this goes to show that Viṣṇuwardhana's temerity had evoked several distinct retorts - though from the event we can tell that they were all repulsed, leaving Viṣṇu many useful recollections if few solid gains. (1)

An undated inscription of the period of 1120 included among the forts taken by Viṣṇuwardhana the famous mountain retreat Pombuccha (otherwise Pomburccha or Humca) besides Andhāsura-cauka, which is seven miles south-east of Hosagunda, and Taleyūr, which is yet unidentified. Had Pombuccha alone been taken by the Hoysala, the blow to the Sāntaras would have been rather moral than practical, for they had in recent years moved towards the broad valley north of the mountainous belt in which their old capital lay, and laid more store by these new acquisitions. But the capture of Andhāsura together with the

(1) E.C.V Hassan 12(1120-1) K.T. only; corrupt, damaged and with some possible misreadings. The year Sarvvari, the Hoysala

occupation of Tāgarate mentioned above (p.143) shows that Hoysala influence in the Sāntara districts was far from being a formality, and that some profit was gained at the time, besides the glory of taking the old capital city. In this record the old titles were continued and reinforced by these and similar achievements. (1)

In an inscription of 1121 Viṣṇuwardhana's boundaries are given as Naṅgali in the east, Cēraṃ and Anamale in the south, Bārakanūrghaṭṭa in the west, and Sāvimale in the north. The southern boundary, like the eastern, accords well with our story, and the western implies, as is quite possible, that the Hoysalas held the hill country as far as the ghats that lead to the plains of the Ālvakhēḍa, or the modern South Kanara district. The Hoysala's attention was turned in every direction but that of the teeming lands by the sea-shore, on the further side of the mountains from which his line originated. Then if, as is here contended, Sāvimale was the modern Kumāra-swāmi-beṭṭa, Viṣṇuwardhana's wanderings beyond the territories of the prostrate Pāṇḍya and Cōla certainly deserve this claim. (2) An inscription of two years later is less modest, and claims that Viṣṇu's northern boundary was the Heddore, or Krishna river. A later claim, to which we shall return, to have "reduced Anṅigere to little bricks", and the capture of Rājavūr and other places near the Malprabhā river show that by 'boundary' the writer really meant the limit of his movements. Any claim

titles, words for battle, the names Maṣanaya, Kāvēri and Vikramāditta are quite plain.

(1) E.C.V Channarayapatna 227(1120) and E.C.II 132(1123). Pombuccha was sometimes called Paṭṭi-Pomburccapura(sic). E.C. XII Tiptur 58(1120) gives Viṣṇu the titles Tuḷuva-bala-jaladhī-baḍavānalam Pāṇḍya-kula-kamala-vēdaṇḍa, Cōla-kāṭaka-sūrekāra & (2) E.C.V Belur 147(1121).

actually to rule these northern districts must have been absurd. In fact the Hoysala northern boundary at this time ran from the southern effective limits of the Heñjeru and Uccaṅgi districts to the central portion of the Sāntalige nād, though even this last detail can not, in the absence of clear proof, be other than a tentative conjecture. Beyond it, however, we can be sure that Hoysala influence never rose above the level of intrigue.

All, however, was not well with the Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000 itself. Viṣṇuvardhana did not enjoy undisputed rule, for the year 1120 saw a revival of Cōla power on the Mysorean plateau. Kulōttuṅga's successor, Vikrama Cōla, set up several inscriptions, ranging in date from 1120 to 1130, in different parts of the Kolar district. It is of interest to note that this successful attempt was made at a time when the Hoysala king was engaged in one or perhaps two simultaneous campaigns in his home territory or on its northern periphery; at a time, moreover, when we may be justified in supposing that his vice-roy in the east, Udayāditya, was ill or otherwise incapacitated, and in the area that was furthest removed from the centre of Hoysala power. The provenance of the inscriptions shows that Vikrama Cōla held for ten years a tract to the immediate north and west of Kolar. It may have been, when at its greatest extent, of no more than nine hundred square miles in area; we can not, however, be sure of the extent to which depredation was

Talekāḍu-Koṅgu-Naṅgali-Nonambavāḍi-Banavāse-Nānuṅgallu-goṇḍa, and mentions his taking Talemale, Virāṭapura (Hāṅgal), Rāyapura, Eḷu-male (Seven Hills), Koṅkaṇa, Ceṅgiri and Mālavam su-lalita-Cakragoṭṭa. The record bears the titles of the emperor, which assists us in suggesting that Viṣṇu's return may have been in a less confident mood than his departure.

carried on by the Cōla upon surrounding lands, connived at in all probability by the officials in the neighbourhood who had once served a Cōla master. It appears that Kaivēra, Puda and Kuṇi nāḍs were under Vikrama's control, and Kolar itself must almost certainly have been in his hands at one time or another. (1)

This difficulty in the east was accompanied by trouble in the south. Insurrections did not normally arise singly in mediaeval Hindu kingdoms, and the success of one, however short-lived, was sufficient to encourage others. In 1122 Viṣṇuvaradhana in person must certainly have been engaged away from the capital, for Ballāla was again ruling in the Gaṅgavāḍi. From the pressing emergencies which awaited his attention in the east and south we can guess that Viṣṇu put off for a while his further schemes of attacking the Cālukya. Our information, indeed, regarding his relations with Vikramāditya after 1120 and before 1128 is so slight that no definite judgement can be arrived at, and when relations with Kalyāṇa come again into the light, Vikramāditya was already dead. That the operations of 1120 had some temporarily damping effect on Hoysala pretensions is somewhat confirmed by the inscription of Ballāla of the year 1122 commencing with the style and titles of Tribhuvanamalla Cālukya: it seems that until control over the whole of Gaṅgavāḍi had come in sight and the Hoysala strength had been recruited afresh, official documents once again assumed a less independent tone, a characteristic which was not thrown

(1) E.C.X Sidlaghatta 8b & 9 at Sugatūr; E.C.X Srinivasapur 61 at Maḍivāḷa; ibid. Kolar 186 at Daḷasanūr; ibid. Chintamani 70 at Doḍḍa Nañjūr. N.K. Sastri mentions Vikrama's success in Cōlas II, p. 64. Puda and Kuṇi nāḍs are not shown on Map 'A': the former included Mādamāṅgala, and the latter was nearby.

off for ever until the death of Nārasimha I.(1)

Of Udayāditya a little more information is available: an inscription of 1123-4 states that when Viṣṇuwardhana was on the bank of the Kāvēri his younger brother Udayāditya-dēva died in Kellavatti, a place in the modern Hassan tāluqa.(2) From this we learn that Udayāditya may have been relieved of his post in the east, and may have died in retirement. It also appears that Viṣṇu himself was engaged on a southern campaign, which in fact he may have commenced in the previous year, as we find him in Belūr in the third month of the year 1123. (3) Ballāla's court, being the permanent administrative headquarters of the kingdom, was at Dōrasamudra. When Viṣṇuwardhana made his comparatively brief visits to the capital he was generally accommodated at Belūr.

Udayāditya's death is referred to in another record, which almost certainly belongs to the year Krōdhi, that is, 1124-5. It states, as far as one can tell, that after the illustrious mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Tribhuvanamalla conqueror of Talakāḍ bhuja-bala-vīra-Gaṅga-Hoysala-dēvar Udayāditya-dēvar attained the world of gods at the village of Kelevatti, a certain gauda of Bidirūr set up the stone on Sunday the 10th day of the bright

(1) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 151(1122) at Īśvarahalli. The R.T. & K.T. agree in reading śrīmat-Tribhuvanamalla Talakāḍu-gonḍa bhuja-bala-~~.....~~ vīra-Ballāla-dēvaru duṣṭa-nigraha, etc. Rice could not believe what he saw, and translated it "the capturer of Talakāḍu, the strong-armed [Biṭṭi-dēva] putting down the evil"!

(2) E.C.V Hassan 102(1124) dated Sōbhakrit, Puṣya,uttarāyana-saṅkrānti.

(3) E.C.VI Kadur 119(1123) dated Śubhakrit, Phālguna suddha; E.C.V Manjarabad 60 at Mangalagōḍu is probably of this period. On the southern expedition: E.C.VI Chikmagalur 65(1123-4), K.T. only, relates the death in battle of a seṭṭi Koṅgaṃ sādhyā mā<ḍi>, or "having mastered Koṅga, or Koṅgu."

fortnight of Kārttika in the year Krōdhi. After the gauda had given his head in the way he had promised at some time, the illustrious mahā-maṇḍalēśvara Kumāra Ereyāṅga-dēva graciously granted a kāhu of one paṇa at Bidirūr starting from the year Śubhakrit. What appears to have happened was this: Udayāditya died in the first months of the year 1123. Afterwards, when the year Krōdhi had already commenced, a stone was set up to commemorate not only the death of Udayāditya, but that of his henchman, who had had himself decapitated a short while before, in payment of the vow he had made not to survive his master, and had left instructions that a stone was to be erected and to receive the usual regular worship. Ereyāṅga, who must have been a son of Udayāditya, did his duty and rewarded the suicide by providing either a freedom from taxation to the extent of one paṇa for the man's family, or, what is more likely, an income of one paṇa a year towards the cost of the upkeep and worship of the stone, the grant commencing from the time when the vow ought to have been fulfilled. The inference is that Ereyāṅga had been obliged to send to the gauda and remind him of the need to perform his vow ! We shall encounter later a family that had bound itself in a similar way to the ruling sovereign for the time being. We learn from this inscription the fact also that members of the royal house were permitted to carry a part at least of the king's titles: the phenomenon was observed in the case of Ballāla; here it occurs even with the king's nephew. (1)

(1) M.A.R. 1932,31(1124) also M.A.R.1915-6, para.85.

Concerning Udayāditya there is a doubt as to whether he may have been known ~~by~~ by the name Vijayāditya also. The name occurs in circumstances that do not admit easily of another conjecture. We should not invent a new member of the dynasty with so unsatisfactory an authority. The name Vinayāditya likewise occurs, but may perhaps be dismissed as an error or a misreading. Udayāditya was a rather mediocre and obscure person, and later generations may have found it difficult to remember him clearly. (1)

Meanwhile Viṣṇuwardhana was engaged in campaigning against the Koṅga-Malayāla tribes. Two inscriptions tell how a certain Hermādi-gaunda at the king's order attacked and captured the hill-fort of Kulkala, which must have been Kukal in the Nilgiris. (2) The tribes in that area may well have led skirmishes and cattle-raids against the Bayāl-nād to their north, now within Hoysala boundaries.

Viṣṇu's preoccupation in this area naturally encouraged raiders from the north. Not far from the capital trouble was brewing. A certain Mācaṇṇa of Baḷlūru attacked Sige, seventeen miles east-south-east of that place. (3) Balleya-nāyaka of Huliyēru conducted a cattle-raid against Byālkere in the modern Chiknayakanhalli tāluqa. (4) Perhaps the same raiders attacked Neṭṭakunte in the modern Gubbi tāluqa. (5) The daṇṇāyaka that was in camp at Niṭṭūr, about seven miles away, was posted there perhaps with a view to the pacification of the district and the reduction of ill-disposed members of the Huliyēru family and

(1) M.A.R. 1912-3 para.75(c1120):Vīra-Gaṅga Vijeyāditya-Hoysala-dēva. E.C.V Arsikere 38(c1200) and M.A.R.1909-10, para.74(1130). Rice, in M.A.R. 1907 para.57, quotes from "a Kannada Ms.on Halebid temples" the statement that Udayāditya built Seringa-

their entourage.(1)

In 1125 Viṣṇuvaradhana was in Talakād again, probably keeping in touch with developments in both east and south. (2) The next two years appear to have been spent in peaceful preparation for the second half of the reign, the second phase of the first Hoysala attempt to achieve independence and empire. A strong effort was about to be made to cast aside the enforced compromises and pretences of the previous seven years, and to strike a series of blows which would bring about these objects by direct methods.

If Rice was correct in supposing that the Tamil year Amudākali was equivalent to Kīlaka, than in 1128 operations were in progress against Vikrama Cōla, who had destroyed a town in Kaivāra-nād.(3) An incident in the fighting is recorded in an inscription at Cikka Bāṇāvāra in the modern Bangalore Tāluqa.(4) Perhaps it was on his way back from the eastern front that Viṣṇuvaradhana stayed for some time at Yādavapura. He had not left that town before fighting commenced between Hoysala troops and the Kadamba general Masanaya. It seems very

patam in 1120.

Page 153 n.(2) E.C.III Nanjangud 193 and 194(1124).E.C.IV Chamrajnagar 20(1142) refers to another capture of the fort and states that it was above the peak of the Nīlagiri. There is a vīragal, perhaps belonging to this campaign, at Nāgarahalli in Kadur tāluqa dated Cālukya-Vikrama-kāla Krōdhi(1124-5): E.C.VI Kadur 71(K.T. only).

Page 153 n.(3) E.C.V Belur 228(1124).

Page 153 n.(4) M.A.R. 1909-10, para. 74.

Page 153 n.(5) E.C.XII Gubbi 1(c1125).

(1) Of the dannāyaka's name only ...mayya is left.

(2) E.C.V Channarayapatna 149(1125).E.C.III Seringapatam 34(1126) says also that Vīra-Gaṅga-Poysala-dēva was ruling the happy kingdom of the Gaṅgavādi 96,000 under the shade of his single umbrella. (3) E.C.IX Hoskote 18(?1128).(4) E.C.IX Bangalore 25(c1128: not ?c1140, as Rice).

likely that a Hoysala dannāyaka posted to the Sāntalige nād had been ordered to strike at this moment, with the object of commencing the task of avenging the insults offered to the Hoysala country by the Kadamba during the past eight years. For we learn that while Biṭṭi-dēva was ruling in Yādavapura, on Biṭṭidēva's making an attack against Masanaya, a warrior of Bidirūr fought by order of Hossala-dēva(sic) against the troops of elephants and horses in the fort of Hānuṅgal, and died.(1)

Now we see, from the fact that a large-scale battle was fought actually within or on the immediate circumference of the fort of Hānuṅgal, that is, Hāṅgal, that the Hoysala attack upon the Kadamba had enjoyed a considerable initial success. This was, of course, not the first time that the Hoysala had attacked Hānuṅgal, nor was it to be the last. It seems that a general marauding campaign was commenced, which occupied, on and off, no less than four years, eventually concluding in a manner disappointing to the Hoysala.

The chief incentive, which impelled Viṣṇuwardhana to direct the attack in 1128, was the turmoil into which the death of Vikramāditya had thrown the north-western districts. That famous emperor is calculated to have deceased in January 1127. (2)

(1) That Viṣṇu stayed at Yādavapura in 1128 is proved by E.C. III Mysore 16. Yādavapura is Tonnūr in Seringapatam tāluṇa, not Mēlukōṭe, as Rice thought. Mēlukōṭe, not far removed from Tonnūr was called Yādavagiri. M.A.R. 1932, 30(?1128) is a re-edition of the inscription mentioned in M.A.R. 1915-6, para. 86, misdated by the editor ?1125. It runs: svasti śrīman-mahāmaṇḍalēśvaram Tribhuvanamalla Taḷakāḍu-gonḍa-gaṇḍa bhuja-bala-Vīra-Ġaṅga Biṭṭiga Hossala-dēvaru Yādavapuradoḷu su-katā-vinō[da] diṃ rājyam geyuttam iralu Biṭṭiga-Hossaladēvaru Masanayana mēl ett-
alu Bidirūra Muruvanahisa Hānuṅgala kōṭeyalu āneya kūdureya dala Hossa<la>dēvaru besasalu kādi sura-lōka prāptanāda, etc.

(2) G.C. Raychaudhuri, p. 285.

His successor Bhūlōkamalla, otherwise Sōmēśvara III, had already taken up the duties of government, apparently without impressing the maṇḍalikas and sāmantas in the north-west of his efficiency. (1) In 1128 Jayakēsi, the Kadamba king of Goa and Hayve, made a raid eastwards and southwards and reached Puligere, or Huligere the modern Lakshmeśvar. (2) The remarkable dearth of records in this area, and in the Banavāse, Hāṅgal, Sāntalige and the adjacent nāds during the years 1128 and 1129 is a clear proof of the disturbance that the conflicting ambitions of a multitude of petty dynasties inflicted upon the unfortunate population of a rich territory. The Hoysala was thus only one of those who discovered an opportunity to achieve two objects with one expenditure of effort. Commencing as one of many, he remained longer in the field than the majority, until, exhausted with an interminable warfare so far from home, he was obliged to abandon the enterprise for the time being.

In January or February 1129 Sōmēśvara himself came down to the south, in fact to Hulluni, dig-vijayaṃ geḃḃal endu, "With the intention of making a victorious expedition to all parts". He found Tailapa Kadamba of Hāṅgal ready to assist him. (3) Viṣṇuvardhana apparently retired for the moment to the Sāntalige district, where no doubt his troops found congenial quarters, for Masaṇaya had in 1127 been a leading commander in a battle between his master Tailapa and the latter's ambitious

(1) It must be remembered that the districts that were north-west from the Hoysala point of view were south-west to the Cālukya.

(2) W.E.I f.330(1128).

(3) E.C.VII Shikarpur 100, W.E.I ff.428a-431b(1129).

subordinate Permādi Sāntara. We know that in that year a battle took place around the town of Īśāpura, which appears to have been close to Uddhare. (1) An incident in the fighting which now occurred between the Cālukya allies, the Kadamba forces, and the Hoysalā supported by the Sāntaras may be reflected in the inscription which speaks of Perggade Boppa-dēva's siege of Hañci.(2)

At the end of 1129 Viṣṇuwardhana was in his capital Dōrasamudra, using his son Ballāla as his representative, though whether in the field, or in the civil administration we can not be sure.(3)

The preparations of the winter over, an onslaught against the northern powers began. Fighting broke out in the modern Tumkur district, apparently in an attempt on the part of malcontents to rid themselves of Hoysalā rule. The continued power of the loyal Āsandi Gaṅga family seems to have rendered this plot abortive.(4) Reasonably enough Viṣṇu first applied himself to the task of subduing, yet again, the Uccaṅgi Pāṇḍya. This ruler had not unnaturally favoured, and very probably assisted, Masanaya in his latest hostilities towards the Hoysalā. The enemy encamped with a large army on his frontier at Emmeganūr.(5) Viṣṇuwardhana attacked him, and one of his ablest

(1) E.C.VII Sorab 141(1127).

(2) M.A.R. 1928,97(c1129).

(3) E.C.VI Mudgere 22(1129): Viṣṇuwardhana-Hoysalā-dēvaru --- Dōrasamudrada nelevīdinolu sukha-sankathā-vinōdadim rājyam geyyuttum ire --- śrīmat Tribhuvanamalla Kumāra-Ballāla-dēvam anavarata-manōrathāvāptiyim rājyam geyyuttum ire, etc.

(4) M.A.R. 1909-10, para.74(1130 - Saumya only). The place was Bilugali.

(5) E.C.XII Chiknayakanhalli 35(1190) and M.A.R.1909-10, para.76(1169). Emmeganūr was the modern Yammiganūru, 30 miles SSE of Uccaṅgi, at the extreme southern boundary of the Pāṇḍya nāḍ, about 17 miles NE of Āsandi, and 25 NW of Huliyēru.

lieutenants, Caṭṭa of Huliyēru, whose proximity to the northern powers may have lent him reasons for alacrity quite as pressing as those entertained by his ruler, captured the Pāṇḍya's elephants and presented them to Viṣṇuvardhana, who witnessed the exploit. (1)

The same Caṭṭa then accompanied Viṣṇu to the Kadamba country west of the Tuṅgabhadra. There the redoubtable Masana awaited them at a place called Balemeri which has so far not been identified, and there suffered a defeat at the hands of the Huliyēru chieftain, who seized the Kadamba's horses and presented them to Biṭṭi-dēva. It might perhaps be convenient to interject at this point that the ^{number of} elephants and horses which might be present at these battles would not be very large, ^{of} the former seldom more than a hundred, and the later two thousand at the very most, so that these exploits were not so extravagant as they appear. (1) The Kadamba country was now open to the Hoysala. With friendly Sāṅgaras in his rear, and a friendly Gaṅga dynasty to assist ^{him} ~~him~~ in holding down the Hāṅgal area - Ekkalarasa Gaṅga of Uddhare was almost certainly set up by the Hoysala in 1129 - (2) ^{he} ~~he~~ advanced northwards and continued the depredations.

The general effect of this invasion can be gathered from the fact that in October-November 1130 Tailapa-dēva died, thus closing a long reign at a time of great stress and anxiety. The Hoysala subsequently took credit for causing his death. One of Masana's younger brothers committed suicide on the occasion. (3)

(1) M.A.R. 1909-10, para.76(1169)

(2) The first inscription of that family (E.C.VIII Sorab 149) is dated 1129.

Moreover his successor, Mayūravarma, lived under the most difficult conditions. For the next ten years the Kadamba power in Banavāse-nāḍ seems to have been well nigh eclipsed. In March 1131, returning no doubt to the Hoysala country, Viṣṇuwardhana's forces encountered Masana at the Kapeli, that is, the Kabbani river, but without a decisive engagement. (1) In October of the same year we find that ~~general~~ enjoying territorial jurisdiction a few miles to the south-west of Uddhare, while his master Mayūravarma continued to claim sovereignty of the Banavāse 12,000. (2) But the power of the dynasty was severely shaken, and the Sāntaras, for example, took advantage of the fact by establishing their own authority in the districts just south of Uddhare.

In 1131 Viṣṇuwardhana claimed, besides his previous successes in the south of the peninsula, to be the submarine fire to the assemblage of maṇḍalikas of Tonda (the country about and south of Kāñci), capturer of Hānuṅgal, destroyer of Pombucca, disturber of Sāvimala, destroyer of the ghats and Roddam, and so on, ruling the Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000 as far as Lōkkiguṇḍi. This is an error as, of course, Nōnambavāḍi intervened between Gaṅgavāḍi and Belvola, in which lay Lōkkiguṇḍi, the modern Lakkuṇḍi. From the absence of Kadamba and Cālukya inscriptions in the area until the year 1132 it would seem that this claim may not have been quite rhetorical. (3)

(1) E.C.IV Nagamangala 56(1131) at Honnērahalli.

(2) E.C.VIII Sorab 80(1131).W.E.I f.442(1131) at Hire Kerūr, Kod tāluḡa, shows Mayūravarma, as a subordinate of Bhūlōkamalla, purporting to rule Banavāse, Hāṅgal, Halasige and Sāntalige. The extreme paucity of his records belies this specious claim.

(3) E.C.II 143(1131).

An indication of Viṣṇuvardhana's growing influence in the Sāntara districts, in which he seems to have performed in turn the functions of conqueror, champion and ally, is to be found in one of the multitudinous inscriptions at Belagāvi which, dated in October 1131, portrays certain functionaries in the suite of a queen of Ballāla making a gift. This may signify that Ballāla himself paid a visit to Belagāvi, or merely that his queen was a Sāntara lady and that her entourage was drawn from among her own folk. However, that they were present in their official capacities suggests that at the time Hoysala authority was well respected and familiar to this area. (1)

We know nothing of the events of 1132; we may imagine from the lack of information from both parties that fairly continuous pressure was being exercised by Viṣṇuvardhana on the northern districts, perhaps as far eastwards as Gadag.

By May 1133, however, Viṣṇu had encountered Masana, otherwise Masanaya, in person, had defeated him, taken over his country, and had set up his own headquarters in the town of Baṅkāpura. From this advanced base he clearly hoped to extend his conquests in the north, and to repeat his former achievements without the need to abandon his territorial gains almost as soon as they had been acquired, which had been inevitable hitherto. (2) But the extent of his real influence around Baṅkāpura itself can be judged from the absence of Hoysala inscriptions not only in the town but also in the surrounding country; yet on the other hand no Cālukya or Kadamba inscriptions

(1) E.C.VII Shikarpur 87(1131).

(2) E.C.V Belur 124(1133).

appear in the vicinity, except a Cālukya record at Hāvēri, which is in any case not very near.(1) Nevertheless an inscription of this year states that he had mastered all territory south of the Kṛṣṇavēṇi, a dubious statement to some extent supported by the words occurring in a later record, which say of him that "having given away in religious gifts the whole of his own territory, he invaded Uccaṅgi and other lands of his enemies; invading the whole country from his own abode to Belvola, he bathed his horse in the Kṛṣṇavēṇi," that is, the Krishna river. (2)

But leaving aside these doubtful claims, we note a more realistic touch in several later statements. A damaged record of 1136 tells us that Viṣṇuwardhana destroyed Masana root and branch, Masana who had been a torment to the country, and wrote the Banavāse 12,000 down in his account-book. When the king Viṣṇu played with the great Sahya and Nīla mountains as if in a game, what wonder was it that he took the famous Hānuṅgal in half a second with a simple flip of his finger? He killed with a glancenātha who was taking Kisukal, pursued after Jayakēsi and gained possession of the Halasige 12,000 and the <Hayve > 500.(3)

It deserves to be explained that since Viṣṇu's campaign of 1129 against Masana the Pāṇḍya dynasty of Uccaṅgi had been quiescent, and with one doubtful exception no record of the dynasty appears until 1142. So it was that in 1134 Viṣṇu

(1) W.E.I f. 442b(1134)

(2) E.C.V Belur 93(?1133-4) and E.I. VI 10(1192).

(3) E.C.V Belur 17(1136): Banavāse-pannircchāsiramumam kaḍitakk varise.

could claim to be ruling , in Dōrasamudra, both the Gaṅgavādi 96,000 and the Nolambavādi 32,000,(1) and that when he was recalled to the north in 1137 he was able to march direct to Uccaṅgi and make his camp there without opposition.

On the other hand, the claim that he ruled southwards as far as Rāmēśvaram can not be substantiated.(2) Another record, in the following year, states, with more reason, that his southern boundary was Koṅgu.(3) Indeed, his relations with those parts would have been more secure had not so much of his energy been expended at the opposite extremity of his kingdom. Operations at Baṅkāpura, for example, naturally raised the hopes of the inhabitants of Koṅgu, just as warfare in Kolar infused optimism into the ambitious inhabitants of the male-nād, or western hill-tracts: with the same result in each case - disturbances, from cattle-raids to open insurrection, depending on the degree of preoccupation on the part of the ruler. As it was in 1130, while Hoysala troops were beginning to overthrow the power of the Kadamba, Viṣṇuwardhana was obliged to order an invasion of the Bayal-nād, and some action took place at Hanneradu-bīḍa in that area.(4)

With these disadvantages, however, his preparations for the last and most furious part of his northern struggle were almost complete, when Viṣṇuwardhana suffered a bitter domestic blow. His son Ballāla, who, ^{from} all we have been permitted to judge of him, ^{appears} not only a dutiful son but an efficient and reliable subordinate, and a capable ruler, died between 1129 and 1133, most probably, if we may judge from the reference to

(1) E.C.XII Gubbi 34a(1134). (2) E.C.V Arsikere 30(1134).
 (3) E.C.V Hassan 89(1135). (4) M.A.R.1927, 37(1130 April) at

his wife at that time, after November 1131. It is a remarkable sign of Viṣṇuwardhana's stalwart determination that despite the tremendous handicap which the loss of his administrative chief inflicted upon his freedom of movement and even hopes of personal safety, he yet managed, with frequent flying visits to Dōrasamudra or Belūr, to keep up a continuous, if sometimes rather nebulous state of war against both Kadamba and Cālukya, at a distance of not less than a hundred and twelve miles from his capital.

It was, therefore, with extreme rejoicing and genuine satisfaction that the birth of another son to a piriyarasi was greeted. Nārasimha was born to Lakṣmī-mahādēvi at Dōrasamudra in April or May 1133, and the king hastened to the capital to set up this boy as his successor. The dangerous nature of his own occupations, the continual possibility of insurrections and civil discord, and the need for a king to step into his shoes with the same enthusiasm and with at least a modicum of the same experience that had inspired his own efforts, caused Viṣṇuwardhana, now past his sixtieth year and perhaps nearing his sixty-fifth, to make with all possible haste such arrangements as could achieve his purpose. The boy was crowned at once, and not only given his father's titles, but also, as a sign that he was to be the fulfiller of his father's ambitions, the title Jagadēkamalla, "the sole wrestler with the earth". The infant was appointed a court. Ministers, Hunasemakke in Chikmagalur tāluqa: Biṭṭiga-Hoysala-dēvaru Bayal-nādina mēl etti Hanneradu-bīḍa kiḍisi Does E.C.V Hassan 13 (K.T. only) belong to this period and campaign? A cavalry battle against (?) Beppa-dēva in the time of Biṭṭi-dēva: a vīragal.

no doubt together with his mother as Regent, formed a committee to exercise jurisdiction in his name: he entered, a boy born to be king in a sense perhaps unique, upon his public offices in the dual capacity of a shadow of his future self, and a reflection of his father.(1)

We learn that Viṣṇuvardhana was still in Dōrasamudra in 1135,(2) but his affairs in the north had not been static. Already in 1134 it appears that Mallikārjuna-dēva Kadamba, younger brother of the unfortunate Mayūravarma, had engaged with the Hoysala.(3) At the beginning of 1135 he had retaken Hāṅgal and the Hoysala officers in the area were placed in a dilemma. An attack on Hāṅgal was commenced and abandoned. Yaḷavaṭṭi in the vicinity of that town was besieged without success. The village of Hāhanūr was besieged, it matters little whether with success or failure, for the recognition of the Cālukya emperor and of the Kadamba ruler continued in the disputed areas.(4) At the end of the year 1136 Viṣṇu was said to be ruling the kingdom of the earth having on the one side Baṅkāpura and on the other Taḷavanapura as his royal cities.(5) But by the month of November 1137 the Kadamba had driven the Hoysala/governor out of Baṅkāpura, and the authority of the emperor was re-established there.(6) Nor was Mallikārjuna

(1) The birth of Nārasimha is related in E.C.V Belur 124 and 93. He is described as a ruler, at the age of three, in E.C.VI Kadur 35(1136), and at the age of six in E.C.V Channarayapatna 145(1139), where he is called Viṣṇuvardhana Jagadēkamalla Nārasimha. Note that the title Vīra has not yet appeared.

(2) E.C.V Belur 170(1135). (3) A.S.I. 1929-30, p.174, para.3(a) (?1134): a hero fought Hoysala Biṭṭi-dēva on the side of Mallikārjuna. (4) W.E.I f.453a, which is damaged; almost certainly identical with A.S.I. 1929-30, p.174, para.3(b); A.R.1933-4, App.E 31, at Kaginelli:(all of 1135). (5) E.C.V Arsikere 144(1136). (6) W.E.I ff.455b-456a(1137).

satisfied with this success; he continued to attack the Hoysala officers in the area about Baṅkāpura. The presence of Viṣṇuvardhana himself was clearly required. He marched northwards again, and the western route being impracticable on account of Sāntara unrest and Kadamba hostility, made for Uccaṅgi, where we find him encamped during some part of the year 1137-8.(1) There he waited until he learned that Mallikārjuna had moved northwards, and then himself sprang westwards at Mallikārjuna's capital. He entered and plundered the town. An inscription at Hire Māgadi was set up while he was besieging Hāṅgal, and another at Kelagūr at the same time, while one at Kōdavaḷḷi tells of an incident in the Hoysala nād during the plundering of the town: some malepar, or perhaps adherents of the Kadamba's cause attacked from the west, and were dealt with by a local detachment.(2) While the Hoysala was congratulating himself on having achieved the first step towards the reconquest of Baṅkāpura, the unfortunate Mallikārjuna was happily engaged in the siege of Lōkkiguṇḍi.(3) He was attempting to assist the imperial dandanāyakas; for the emperor's cause had made some progress lately, and the emperor was in November 1138 acknowledged in Huligere.(4) The emperor can have afforded little particular support to the Kadamba, for Sōmēśvara's death at this point does not seem to have had any adverse effect on Mallikārjuna's fortunes. We find that Viṣṇuvardhana besieged

(1) E.C.XII Tiptur 14(1137-8): Hoysala-dēvaru Uccaṅgi-rājadhāniyole rājyaṃ geyyutt ire Śaka-varīṣa ...1059 neya Piṅgala-saṃvaccaradandu, etc.

(2) E.C.VIII Sorab 414(1138); M.A.R.1915-6, para.86(1138); E.C.VI Chikmagalur 71(1138).

(3) A.R. 1932-3 App.D.45(1138).

(4) W.E.I f.457-9a(1138).

Hāṅgal once again as late as the end of 1138, so that in effect two distinct battles had to be fought for the place within a single year, and the Kadamba must have been able to regain his capital in the meanwhile. (1) At the latter operation likewise Viṣṇuvardhana was himself present. He claimed to rule over the Banavāse 12,000 and the Hāṅgal 500 as well as Gaṅgavādi and Nolambavādi, while in 1139 we find him with the imposing title Vīra-Gaṅga-Kadamba. (2)

The year 1139 saw some speedy movements by Nārasimha as well as Viṣṇuvardhana. The former was ruling at Dōrasamudra with the title Vīra-Gaṅga-pratāpa-Nārasimha-Hoysala-dēva in the month of March. (3) Between June and July his father was ruling in Baṅkāpura, (4) and from what we gather from two inscriptions both father and son were present at its recapture.

bhuvanaikāścaryyav āyt itana caritav ad ent embe Kādamba-sainyam
kaviy ēring endu Baṅkāpuradol iral adam kēldu garbbhasthan āg
avatāram geyvutaṁ tad-balāman aredu tat-prājya-sāmrājya-sarvva-
svavan ādam tandeg ittaṁ jasav esevinegam Nārasimha-kṣitiṣam //

"King Nārasimha, when the army of the Kadamba was at Baṅkāpura with the intention of beginning an onslaught, hearing of it while he was yet within the womb, he made a descent (into the world, or "an unexpected attack"), crushed that force, and gave to his father all the wealth of that rich empire, so that his fame shone forth, and the sole wonder of the world was his marvellous adventure." (5)

(1) E.C.V Belur 202 (Śaka 1060 Kālayukti, Dhanur = 1138).
(2) E.C.V Arsikere 105(1139). (3) E.C.V Arsikere 17(1139).
(4) E.C.V Channarayapatna 199(1139); E.C.IV Krishnarajapatt 78 is of this period. (5) E.C.V Belur 193(1161) and ibid. Arsikere 172(1162): the former reads id ent, yēr īg for ēring, and

But the six-year-old boy did not remain long in the forward areas, and by the end of the year was back in Dōrasamudra. It is not certain whether Viṣṇuwardhana himself was there in December 1139 and January 1140. He claimed to have taken Virāṭa's city, that is, Hāṅgal, and Baṅkāpura. (1) Moreover, we learn that in the interval between July and December 1139 Viṣṇu had engaged in battle with the forces of a Jaga-dēva (sic). This can be no other than the Jagadēva (for Jagaddēva) Sāntara for whom the two dates 1149 and 1160 are already known. It is not unreasonable that the growing power of the Sāntara dynasty should have found Hoysala interference and pressure intolerable. It was essential to Hoysala progress in the struggle with the Cālukya and the Cālukya satellites in the north-west that a passage should be free through Sāntara territory, and that supplies of food, munitions and perhaps troops could be recruited easily from that neighbourhood. Thus we can hardly doubt but that Viṣṇu suppressed Jagadēva's action sharply and ruthlessly.

Viṣṇuwardhana maintained his hold on Baṅkāpura until his death, and thus not only Sāntara, but also Kadamba lands were between his newly won territory and his home. It is thus very curious to note that despite the difficulties to which such a state of affairs must inevitably have exposed him, for a good part of the period 1139-1141 Hāṅgal itself was permitted to remain in hostile hands. In December 1139 at the period of

aledu for aredu; aledu, "shaking", is not an impossible variant, but is less acceptable than aredu, "crushing".

(1) E.C.V Hassan 114(1139), E.C.VI Kadur 32(1140). It is a very odd fact that the former, relating as it does to Viṣṇu's successes against the Kadamba and Cālukya, commences with the (obsolete) title Tribhuvanamalla Cālukya. Doubtless a merely conventional use.

the winter solstice Viṣṇuvardhana, the title Vikrama-Gaṅga being once again in evidence, was ruling in Baṅkāpura, his capital of victory (vijaya-rājadhāni), ruling the provinces of Gaṅgavādi, Banavāse, Halasige and the "two 600s", which remain to be identified.(1) An inscription of early January 1140 states that a certain warrior fought in the battle of Hānuṅgal during the victorious expedition of the king.(2) The extraordinary paucity of Kadamba and Cālukya inscriptions in this area during the period 1138-1142 shows that Viṣṇu's power to prevent certain sorts of constructive activity under the sway of those two dynasties was widely exercised. The absence of his own inscriptions, for which deliberate vindictiveness on the part of his enemies is not a sufficient explanation, suggests that his own authority was restricted and precarious. Yet we gather from a much later record that he dedicated a Hoysalēśvara temple at Baṅkāpura, and Huḷḷa-dannāyaka had time to renovate a Jaina temple in that town.(3) The area in the immediate vicinity of Baṅkāpura was neither highly productive nor thickly populated, so that in fact Viṣṇuvardhana probably derived less direct profit from it than he would have obtained from a closer control of Kadamba or Śāntara territories. On the other hand Baṅkāpura looked northwards and eastwards, and Viṣṇu's experienced eyes were turned in the direction of the subordinates of the now waning Cālukya power. Some time between March 1140 and the end of the year Raudri Viṣṇu, from

(1) E.C.V Arsikere 18(1139). The "two 600s" are mentioned in E.C.IV Nagamangala 76(1145) and E.C.VI Kadur 36(1203).

(2) M.A.R. 1935,9(1140) at Kuduregundi. It is E.C.V Hassan 92 revised; though it is damaged and there must be a lacuna, it appears that the warrior died in an assault or escalade during an actual siege of the fort of Hāṅgal.

(3) E.C.V Arsikere 14(1288); E.C.II 345(c1159).

his camp at Baṅkāpura, engaged with a certain Jayakēsi, who can be none other than Jayakēsi Kadamba of Goa.(1) It was almost certainly under Viṣṇuwardhana's orders, again, that an expedition was sent to Lōkkigundi in or a little before September 1140. Forces were recruited for the purpose even from the Gaṅga area on the Tuṅgabhadra, and the opportunity was seized by the Toraha chief to plunder the neighbourhood of the depleted villages.(2) Before long Hānuṅgal capitulated to the Hoysala for the fourth time. In the meanwhile the king himself had been at Hulluni on the Belvola campaign, so that it appears that very large forces were then at his disposal.(3) By the very commencement of the year 1141 Viṣṇuwardhana was ruling in the town of Hāṅgal in the company of Bammala-dēvi, daughter of a certain Gōvinda of the Pallava family, whom he must have married during one of his northern campaigns. (4) Two months later he was again in Baṅkāpura, where his position was infinitely stronger than it had ever been. We find him there in October 1141 ruling a "victorious kingdom", and again perhaps in April 1142.(5)

(1) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 122(1140-1): Duddeya-sāhani Hānuṅgalu-nāda turuva Jayakēsiya kudure kādi turuvam uyvali kādi kudureya hididu turuvam magurcci suralōka prāptan āda / A cattle-raid in the Hāṅgal area by cavalry of Jayakēsi is repelled by the hero, who died after successfully recovering the cows. Cf. Moraes, K.K.p.195.

(2) E.C.VII Shimoga 37(1140); for Toraha see above p.92 n.(2).

(3) M.A.R.1937, 32(1140).

(4) E.C.XII Gubbi 13(1141). It is of interest to note that he married a Pallava. The connection with this politically effete dynasty, which had lost all trace of its former glory, was apparently still of value to a Hoysala sovereign of Viṣṇu's calibre. Her relations and dependants in Nolambavādi and Banavāse may have been many, but the alliance can have had little more than a sentimental recommendation.

(5) E.C.VIII Sorab 348(1141), E.C.VI Kadur 96(1141); ibid. 99(1142) says he was ruling at Baṅkāpura, but it is dated irregularly:-

It will be no surprise to learn that, in the midst of this triumph, Viṣṇuwardhana's long absence from his capital and his preoccupation with the Cālukya war had encouraged disturbances again within the Hoysala nād. Nārasimha had the greatest difficulty in keeping order within the Gaṅgavādi province. He ruled with Viṣṇuwardhana's titles, as has already been remarked, and several inscriptions which would otherwise be assigned to his father were clearly issued under the authority of the child prince. (1) In fact Biṭṭi-dēva, the great Viṣṇuwardhana, intended that his son should be a kind of alter ego at home, while he himself was occupied abroad. But we have evidence of fighting in the modern Kadur district in December 1140, and in the next year in the Tumkur district a battle between a previous Cōla feudatory and others. (2)

Hardly had the entourage of the boy king recovered from the strain of these commotions, when the aged Viṣṇuwardhana died at Baṅkāpura, and one of his generals carried his corpse to the capital for the rites of his funeral. His eight-year-old successor was unable to secure even an uninterrupted journey for his father's bier. (3)

Śaka 1064 Rudhirōdgāri (error for Dundhubi), Vaisakha su 10.
The last certainly dated inscription of Viṣṇuwardhana Biṭṭi-dēva is E.C.VI Kadur 96.

(1) For example neither E.C.VI Kadur 32 nor E.C.V Hassan 114 can be assigned without question to Biṭṭi-dēva. E.C.V Arsikere 58 (1139-40) is almost certainly in the same category and may well belong in fact to Nārasimha, bearing the title Vīra-Gaṅga-Hoysala. The Vīra-Gaṅga Viṣṇuwardhana Hoysala at Beluhūr (Belūr) in January 1140 is probably Nārasimha likewise (E.C.VI Kadur 79).

(2) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 4(1140), E.C.XII Tiptur 25(1141).

(3) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 96(1142) at Havallī: the inscription commences with the statement that the mahā-maṅḍalēśvara Tribhuvanamalla --- vīra-Gaṅga-Viṣṇuwardhana-Hoysala-dēva (i. e. Nāra-

Thus, after a life of extraordinary activity, and of unusual success in the field of military enterprise; having surmounted formidable obstacles, and sufficiently overcome several natural deficiencies and disadvantages in his homeland to enable himself to profit by the occasional weaknesses of his neighbours; and having at their expense promoted the expansion of the Hoysala kingdom in an effort to bring the Kannada people south of the Krishna river under a single empire, whose centre of gravity might be more in accord with the distribution of population and the growth of southern Indian integration; Viṣṇuwardhana, the greatest of the Hoysalas, died at the very moment when his hopes appeared to be on the point of being realized, when the north-western dynasties were learning to accommodate themselves to a new hegemony, and when the integrity and enthusiasm of the rising Hoysala power was strong enough to assume exacting responsibilities. The duty of his successor was clearly to carry the process forward to its next stage; a relaxation of effort, on the other hand, could clearly undo all his father's achievements.

simha) was ruling the Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000 and continues: Śaka-varṣa 1063 neya Durmmati-saṃvatsaradandu Baṅkāpuradalu hiriyarasa Biṭṭi-dēva kālaṃ geyye Boppa-dēva-daṇṇāyakaru kaṇṭhavam koṇḍu bennane bandalli Mudurgereya kāḷegadalli---; this is

followed by details of a warrior's exploit, and the petition of the Talige-nāḍ thousand to Nārasiṅga-dēva for a grant of land for the worship of his memorial stone.

That Viṣṇuwardhana Biṭṭi-dēva died in 1142 has been disputed. Various other dates have been suggested for his death even as late as 1156. Many have been misled by the fact that Nārasiṅha bore all Viṣṇuwardhana's titles except his personal name, Biṭṭi-dēva, while, to be more precise, the name Viṣṇuwardhana which Biṭṭi-dēva bore as a personal name, Nārasiṅha had as a title.

As has already been remarked, we are not able to assess Biṭṭi-dēva's triumphs with precision. We know from the distribution of his own and his son's inscriptions that a slight increase of territory took place to the north and to the south, with a fairly considerable expansion to the east. But among the many places mentioned among the lists of his conquests are several which remain unidentified, and others that may have been visited by flying companies of horse or swift-moving reconnaissance parties rather than conquering expeditions. The brilliance of Viṣṇuvarhdana's vigour reached far, but the energy of firm government was concentrated within a more restricted circle.

Amongst the forts said to have been taken by Viṣṇu in a late record were Banavāse, Virāṭa-nagara (Hāṅgal), Ballāri, Vallūr, Iruṅgōḷa's fort (Niḍugal), Kāruka's cliff, Kummaṭa, Ciñcilu, Perma's Rācavūr and Muduganūr. Ballāri, otherwise Ballāre (the modern Bellary) and Kummaṭa, six miles north-west of Anegundi, were probably accounted for during the northern expedition of 1120, and so likewise Rācavūr, or Rājavūr, which is now Rājūr, fourteen miles north-east of Naregal, and was as the record indicates in the hands of the Erambarage Sindas. Muduganūr may have been the Mudenūr in Rāmdurg State, two miles north of the Malprabhā river, but was more probably the present Madaganūr which is eight miles east-south-east of Navalgund, as shown on Map 'B'. Kāruka and Ciñcilu are still unknown. (1)

(1) E.C.IV Nagamangala 70(1178).

A similar doubt, based perhaps as much upon uncertain readings as on a lack of clear proof of identity, surrounds three of the names occurring in another late inscription. Besides/^{the} statement that Viṣṇu set fire to Rājāvūr and reduced the well-known Annigere to little bricks, we hear that he subdued Sādali, reduced Būdali to ashes, surrounded and smote Pāriyūr, burnt Belliṭṭige, and made the mud standing in Sindu run out. (1) Būdali is still in existence on the west bank of the Citrāvati river, eighteen miles south-east of Roddam, and may, as already suggested, have been taken during the Cōla campaign of 1117-8. Belliṭṭige is almost certainly Belavatige in Dharwar district, three miles north-east of Navalgund. Sādali and Pāriyūr as well as Sindu remain to be identified.

Like other mediaeval monarchs of his class, Viṣṇu received congratulatory messages from the rulers of even remote peoples, and claimed to have established his superiority over them either by virtue of this fact, or because they had not offered to prevent his schemes, or, having so offered, had failed to do so. So it was that the Hoysala claimed, in the pompous and preposterous style of the day, to have broken the bones of Mālava, Cēra, Kērala, Nolamba, Kadamba, Kaṅga, Vaṅga, Baṅgāla, Varāla, Cōla, Khasa, Barbbara, Oḍḍaha and others. (2)

Of all the tributes paid him, however, the following is probably the most genuine and most significant: after speaking of Viṣṇuwardhana's successes against Jagaddēva (Mālava) and Uccaṅgi and his capture of the Belvola region, a record says of

(1) E.C.V Belur 193(1161). See Maps 'A' & 'B'.
 (2) E.C.V Channarayapatna 179(?1190).

him: -

yaḥ smāryyatē niyuktaiḥ pratyupacāraṃ nr̥pēṣvasādhyatayā
Paramarddi-dēva-nr̥patēr Hoysalaṃ avadhārayēti muhuh //

"Whenever they wait upon him (the emperor), his servants remind him: "know that the Hoysala alone among princes is unconquerable for king Paramardi-dēva!" "(1)

For of all the successes of Viṣṇuwardhana surely that was the greatest. Vikramāditya, with all his immense advantages, never succeeded in reducing the ambition of this maṇḍalēśvara, while his successors so long as Viṣṇuwardhana lived continued to retire step by step before the Hoysala advance.

The death of Viṣṇuwardhana Biṭṭi-dēva thrust upon Nārasimha a heavy burden. The boy himself, naturally enough, took but a feeble part in the counsels of his own kingdom, and the responsibility for the poor figure which he made lies chiefly with the group of ministers to whom he entrusted his affairs. (2) It was hoped that Nārasimha's relationship to the great Viṣṇuwardhana, and his inheritance of the latter's armies, territories, and lastly, though by no means least significantly his titles (3) would protect him from internal disorders and external menaces. In fact the death of his father was the sig-

(1) The famous Gadag inscription of Vīra-Ballāla II, E.I.vi, 10, W.E.II ff. 124b-127b (1192). See Fleet, D.K.D. p. 497, Bhandarkar, H.D. p. 87 and N.K. Sastri, Indian Culture x p. 35-6, for different ways of interpreting the verse. The last is followed here. Paramardi is a Sanskritism for ~~Permādi~~ Permādi.

(2) The fact, which could hardly be doubted, that Nārasimha relied largely on officials of different grades to carry on both policy and administration is indicated by M.A.R. 1937, 34 (1143) at Dōrasamudra, where several dānāyakas "induced" the king

nal for protracted disturbances within the Hoysala nād, invasions from the south, and a concerted effort by the northern allies to throw the Hoysala out of the north-western provinces.

The reign of Nārasimha I was far from being uneventful, but it is a story of inadequacy, feebleness and failure, in fact a very marked contrast to that of Viṣṇuwardhana. A firm policy at home was as lacking as a consistent attempt to advance against the Cālukya and his maṇḍalika. The thirty years of Nārasimha I are not the most inglorious in Hoysala history, and indeed they performed the useful function of stimulating the dramatic reaction under Ballāla II, but they provide an interesting example of the result of the chance transfer of power from strong to weak hands at a time of tension and feverish effort, as well as gigantic sacrifice and a near approximation to exhaustion. Had Viṣṇu lived longer perhaps the Hoysala nād might have borne the strain more successfully. As it was, it verged perilously near to break-down, and all the high hopes were dashed. With them went the genuine spontaneity of the early period; the spirit of the far-flung campaigns of Viṣṇuwardhana was never recaptured.

to make a grant.

Page 174 n.(3) Nārasimha is called Viṣṇuwardhana Nārasimha in E.C.III Nanjangud 110(1148); E.C.IV Hunsur 143(1150); E.C.III Malavalli 44(1150)(K.T.only); E.C.V Channarayapatna 228(1154) - Viṣṇuwardhana-Hoysala-pratāpa-Nārasimha in E.C.V Arsikere 55(1143), E.C.XI Tiptur 61(1162), ibid. 66(1163), ibid. 32(1164); IV Chamrajnagar 98(1167); ibid. Hunsur 3(1167); M.A.R. 1912-3, para. 77(1172), Viṣṇuwardhana-Hoysala in E.C.IV Chamrajnagar 20(1142); V Arsikere 110(1142); IV Nagamangala 94(1142); V Belur 178(1145); ibid. Hassan 130(1147); VI Kadur 69(1160). Vira-Gaṅga is found in E.C.VI Mudgere 3(1144). It is doubtful whether E.C.VI Kadur 50(1174) refers to Nārasimha I or to Ballāla II: Vira-Gaṅga-Hoysala-Viṣṇuwardhana-rāya.

The first three years of the reign saw the Hoysala kingdom exerting itself to withstand pressure from the north. The emperor Jagadēkamalla may himself have led the attack. In March 1142 he was acknowledged in the modern Gadag tāluḡa (1) and by February 1143 in the Kod tāluḡa, much further to the south; (2) shortly afterwards his reign was recognized in Belagāvi itself, (3) while Kuppaṭūr, thirteen miles to the north-west of Belagāvi was in his hands by August of that year. (4) A Sinda feudatory of the emperor had been ruling as far south as Harihar from August 1142, and was recognized in the modern Rani-bennur tāluḡa, that is, on the western side of the Tuṅga-bhadra, opposite to Harihar, in April and August 1143. (5) The whole of the Hāṅgal 500 and its environs appears to have been recaptured by the northern allies by the end of the first year after Viṣṇuvardhana's death. (6)

The scarcity of Kadamba inscriptions during these years is not necessarily attributable to Hoysala activity or ruinous warfare, so much as to a new policy adopted by the emperor Jagadēkamalla. For the next thirty years, at the least, the Cālukya attempted to govern these districts through the direct instrumentality of his daṇḍanāyakas, the native dynasties being placed under their jurisdiction: actually, as might have been anticipated, a kind of compromise resulted. But the independence, and therefore the liberty to prosecute feuds, among the māṇḍalikas and sāmantas was considerably curtailed for

(1) W.E.I f. 481a at Kōṭavumacigi, 14 miles N.E. of Gadag.

(2) W.E.I f. 480 at Sātēnahalli. (3) M.A.R. 1910-11, para. 91.

(4) W.E.I f. 521a (1143). (5) E.C.XI Davangere 61(i), W.E.I, ff. 484 & 483.

(6) W.E.I f. 481b (Nov. 1143) at Siragōḍu and f. 482a & b (Dec. 1143) at Yalavaṭṭi.

several years. The slightest relaxation, however, on the part of the government at Kalyāna could result in turmoil amongst the north-western dynasties, and it was one of the most remarkable signs of Hoysala weakness during the following years that sufficient advantage was not taken of the disputes which tended to preclude the chances of a united front amongst the Cālukya sāmantas.

It must not be supposed that the loss of Baṅkāpura, Hāṅgal and the greater part of the Banavāse 12,000 did not cost the Hoysala much anxiety and expense. The paucity of Hoysala inscriptions between 1141 and 1144 seems to show that a considerable retrenchment of public benefactions was enforced, and a curtailment of enterprises both national and private. Moreover, the government had to ^{face} attacks on several fronts at once. (1) The Cālukya thrusts were almost certainly three-fold; that through Banavāse being more powerful than those through the Pāṇḍya and Cōla nāds, as the first was more valuable than the two remaining areas put together. At the same time, towards the end of 1142, inroads from the Nilgiris caused the Hoysala to send an expedition to Kulkalla in reprisal. It was apparently successful. (2)

The forces with which the Hoysala had to contend in the north were of the usual composite character, the hard core being supplied by the dynasties that had already reasons for harming the Hoysala. They brought with them companies of Muslim mercenaries, one of the earliest cases of their employment by Hindu states. (3)

(1) E.C.VI Mudgere 34 (c1142), K.T. only, tells of a battle being waged against Śrikala-nād while Nārasimha who was the Hoysana was ruling the kingdom of the earth. The record is at Bahakāl,

As incidents in the struggle, we hear first, in October 1143, of the Hoysala raising a great army against Mallidēva Kadamba, who, stripped for the time being of his hereditary estates, ruled several small portions of Hayve 500 and other parts of the north-west including Māhalige, the modern Malali, which is situated as far to the south and west of the area once safely within the Hoysala grasp as twenty-three miles in that direction from Belagāvi. As was the campaign as a whole, that particular attack upon Māhalige was a failure.(1) The death of a certain Masanaya, who can hardly have been the famous Kadamba general of that name, in November 1143, referred to in a record at Siragōḍu must likewise have occurred during this campaign, Masanaya, like his namesake, having been on the side of the allies.(2) Cāvunḍarasa Sinda, one of the Cālukya's instruments, was so satisfied with his success against the Hoysala at this time, that he doubtless accepted with much complacency the encomium of which he have a trace from a record of several years later.

eight and a half miles north-west of Sosavūr. An insurrection in or invasion from the west is arguable.
 Page 177 n.(2) E.C.IV Chamrajnagar 20(1142).
 Page 177 n.(3) E.C.VI Mudgere 3(Feb.1144) at Phalguṇi: Poysana-dēvana kaṭṭida alagu Balla-veggadeya naccina britya Kolevūrada Biṭṭa palavu Turukaṅgalan iridu sattu, etc. A faithful servant of Balla-veggade, a blade wielded by Poysana-dēva (i.e. the king), slew many Turks and died. Turuka, otherwise Tuluska, Turuska, or Tuḷuka, was the regular local method of referring to a Muslim: though not in itself an acceptable name for the Muslim rulers of northern India or their dependants, the custom was so well recognized that Indian Muslim historians frequently imitated it when speaking of their compatriots. This inscription bears as date merely Rudirōdgāri, Māgha ba 5 Śukra; but the titles of the king (Tribhuvanamalla Vīra-Gaṅga-Poysala-dēva) make it impossible to assign it to any year but 1144.

(1) E.C.VIII Sagar 58(1143): it commences with the titles of

samarōdyad-bala-Hoysala-kṣitipa-sēnānīkam omd āgi vi-
 kramadiṁ tāge parākrama-krama-yutaṁ Siṁdānvayāmbhōdhi caṁ- /
 dramān ērvvaṭṭi tad īśanaṁ maledaraṁ kond ugra-matt ēbha saṁ-
 ghamān ādam piḍidaṁ pratāpa-tapanāṁ Cāvunḍa-bhūpālākāṁ //

"When the army of the Hoysala king who had prepared himself for battle met him bravely with a united front, King Cāvunḍa, the moon to the ocean of the Sinda family stepping forth valiantly rushed through, burning like the sun, killed its general (or 'master') and those that had opposed him and, moreover, took a group of fierce and rutting elephants."(1)

The Pāṇḍya, for his part, obtained, as it were, a new lease of life from his master's good fortune. Pāṇḍya inscriptions hence-forward appear in some numbers and the ancient kingdom appears to have enjoyed a revival. An inscription at Gaṅganarasi, in the Pāṇḍya nād, states that Jagadēkamalla attacked the Hoysala and increased his fame by capturing his elephant. His subordinate is said to be Vīra-Pāṇḍya-dēva.(2)

Jagadēkamalla followed by those of Malli-dēvarasa, and then records the death in battle of a hero after putting to flight a great force of all arms, Hoysala mahā-dand āgi Māhaliḡeg ettid alli.

Page 178 n.(2) W.E.I f.481b(1143).

(1) E.I.xx 12(1167) at Beṇacamaṭṭi in Dharwar district. In the third line of the quotation the text reads matta-ēbha, which is impossible according to the metre.

(2) E.C.XI Davangere 85(1143): it states also that he enslaved the Cōla (?=Cōla). This improbable statement can not be verified here.

alavig alumbav appa bhuja-garvvada Cōla-nrpālan aṅgi tal-
 laḡise taguḡdu Cōl-nelanan āḡ-nelan āgire māḡi koṇḡa Hoy- /
 saḡanan aḡarppi tējad esakaṁ migal āne-gavartta-goṇḡan ār
 alavo bhuja-pratāpa-vibhavaṁ jagadoḡ Jagadēkamallena //

The same Vīra-Pāṇḍya was ruling in Uccaṅgi at the beginning of January 1143, being recognized in that year at Ānēkoṇḍa and Ambali.(1) A Pāṇḍya inscription, dated six years later, at Astāpanahalli near the southernmost limit of the Pāṇḍya nāḍ shows that the ruler of Uccaṅgi extended his sway during this period to the limits of his capacity. On the other hand, an inscription of an independent nāyaka at Hoḷalkere of the year 1154 shows that neither Pāṇḍya power, not that of the Cālukya vicariously, extended any considerable distance south or east of Astāpanahalli.(2)

In his Saṅgītacūdāmaṇi Jagadēkamalla himself mentions among his birudas the title 'pracuratarā-Haiśalalakṣmi-haraṇa', "snatcher of the very abundant wealth of the Hoysala"(3), so that it is clear that a defeat was inflicted on the latter, at least from the emperor's point of view; and when Nārasimha is given the title "lion to the row of sons of the lord of the earth Sōmēśvara" it signifies no more than that Jagadēkamalla and his brother Trailōkyamalla were, as is quite likely, forced to accept occasional reverses at the Hoysala's hands.(4) However, we get the impression from the general bulk of Nārasimha's inscriptions that a qualified kind of dependence was forced upon Nārasimha, and that at one blow the emperor had deprived that ruler of the special advantages in point of income, prestige and influence that his father had laboured for many years to secure.

(1) E.C. XI Davangere 4(1143); S.I.I.IX pt.1, 242, A.R.1904, 31 (1143).

(2) E.C.VII Channagiri 39(1148). E.C.XI Holalkere 1(1154): Pratāpa Nāyaka, a single instance. (3) K.Madhava Krishna Sharma, I.H.Q.xx p.87-8. (4) E.C.V Hole-narsipur 17(c1154): Sōmēśvara-bhūmīśvara-putra-śrēṇi-siṃha.

It has been noticed already that no very clear indication of the status of the Hoysala can be drawn from the occasional occurrence at the commencement of his inscriptions of the style and titles of the emperor; on the other hand it is a phenomenon usually worthy of comment, and seldom fails to receive some explanation. In and after 1145 Nārasimha's inscriptions bear this heading more frequently than was the custom in his father's reign, while the King himself often bore the title Jagadēkamalla, not, as in his early youth, as a sign of power, but as a sign of humility towards the emperor whose title he had adopted. There is of course nothing very disgraceful in such conduct: the ruler who had so successfully integrated the forces of the empire, who had imposed his authority so uniformly upon his turbulent and mutually discordant subordinates, that he was able to crush the finest armies of the Hoysala, besides achieving exacting successes in distant parts of the peninsula, such a ruler was a man to whom even the proudest mahā-maṇḍalēśvara might think it honourable to defer to the extent of adopting his title. The contemporary custom supported the maxim that imitation is the sincerest form of flattery. (1)

Defeat in the north brought, as usual, its train of troubles in the south. Here however, the Hoysala was, by reason of the proximity of the source of anxiety, and the ease with which the available forces could be concentrated, enabled to achieve a substantial, if somewhat negative success.

(1) Instances of the use of the title Jagadēkamalla are found in M.A.R. 1914-5, para. 79(1145); M.A.R. 1915-6, para. 87 or E.C.VI Chikmagalur 43(1145); E.C.X Kolar 100a(1153); E.C.V Hassan 57(1155); E.C.X Kolar 169(1155); E.C.III Serinapatam 62

The Caṅgāḷva ruler appears to have provoked the government at Dōrasamudra by extensive manoeuvres in the southern districts of the Hoysala nāḍ which were immediately adjoining his own hilly and almost inaccessible domain. His cattle raid on a particular village is recorded.(1) He must have been well satisfied with his achievements, and may have celebrated his return to political prominence by raising an army in that locality with the proceeds of his plundering expeditions, recruiting his numbers from the many discharged soldiers that must have been available at the time. The later half of the year Krōdhana, that is, from about August to October 1145, can be chosen as the most probable period in which Nārasimha's forces attacked the Caṅgāḷva. We are told by the inscription on a vīragal that Balla-veggade and Bōki-haḍavaḷa fought against the Caṅgāḷva, both being officers of Vīra-Gaṅga-vikrānta-Cōla-vijaya-Nonamba-sāhasa-Gadamba-Tribhuvanamalla-Viṣṇu-wardhana who was the Hoysala-dēva, in other words Nārasimha. The battle involved foot, horse, and elephants.(2) The same campaign is referred to in two later records. One tells us that Gōvi-dēva of Huliyēru, a famous member of a noteworthy family, incised wounds on the face of the Caṅgāḷva's elephant that resembled the characters of an inscription recording his valour.(3) The other states that Malla, son of Sitagara-gaṇḍa,

(1158); E.C.IX Channapatna 137(1159), 78(1163).

(1) E.C.IV Hunsur 143(c1145).

(2) E.C.V Belur 178(1145) at Paṇḍitanahaḷḷi, misdated by Rice 1124.

(3) MA.R.1909-10 para.76(1169).

another prominent figure in the political life of the twelfth century, captured two elephants in the fierce war with the Caṅgāḷva, and without hesitation charged on his horse, pierced Caṅgāḷva's proud elephant and captured his umbrella. (1) Bōki, the Hoysala general was not forgotten: he is mentioned as a famous general who subdued Tuly, Caṅga, Bayal-nād, the Kōṅga dominions and the Cōḷa country to the hero Nārasimha, a statement that shows how widespread the disaffection had become, and again as the destroyer and plunderer of the Kōṅgas. He is called in these records Bōkimayya. (2) The general result is reflected in this verse found in a contemporary record:

Himadiṃ Sētuvaram toḷaldu nelanam niṣkaṅṭakam māḍuva-
lli mahōgrājiyoḷ ānt idircid adaṭiṃ Caṅgāḷvanam konduv ā- /
samad ēbhāvaliyam haya-pratatiyam cambongaḷam nūtna-ra-
tnamumam koṇḍu Nṛsimha-bhūpan iḷeyam dōs-stambhadol tāḷdidam //

"While he was clearing the earth of thorns (i. e. enemies), having wandered about from the Himālaya to Rām-ēśvaram, Nṛsimha the king withstood in a mighty battle and slew valorously the Caṅgāḷva, and taking that row of rutting elephants, a multitude of horses, golden articles and uncut jems, he supported the earth upon the pillar of his arm". (3)

(1) E.C.VI Kadur 36(1203).

(2) E.C.V Hassan 69(1155) and E.C.XII Kunigal 1(1157).

(3) E.C.IV Nagamangala 76(1145). The text actually reads in the fourth line of the verse eḷeyam, here corrected to iḷeyam (earth). Eḷeyam is an attractive reading, meaning "lad". If one were to take nūtna-ratnamum and the rest as the object of tāḷdidam, a very tolerable sense would be obtained; but the construction would be too clumsy.

We are now in a position to notice a change in the tone of the bombast which faces us in the reign of Nārasimha. In common with the nostalgic references to the territories ruled by Viṣṇuwardhana, with which so many of Nārasimha's inscriptions are embellished, these effusions ring with a sad bewildered kind of hollowness. The pandits knew that their ruler was hardly managing to maintain the Hoysala kingdom intact and free, yet they spoke always of victory, conquest and success, as if to shame Fortune into bringing back the prosperous days of the great Viṣṇuwardhana.

At about the same time that Nārasimha sent his armies to reduce the southern districts, turmoil broke out not ten miles north of his capital. Some raiders from the west stole cattle and a fight took place at Uppavalli. This then seems to have developed into something more serious, for Kundūr and Nittūr were attacked, and two heggades lost their lives besides many persons of lesser importance.(1) The general activity seems to have been so severe that, for perhaps one of the only two occasions since the death of his father, Nārasimha was forced to leave Dōrasamudra. He moved for a while to Koṇḍāla in the modern Hunsur tāluqa, where he was safe from the disturbances near his capital as well as nearer to the operations against the Caṅgālya and others, operations then proceeding in Nārasimha's favour.(2)

The years that followed were punctuated by lawlessness. The weakness and preoccupation of the government are

(1) M.A.R. 1915-6, para. 87, E.C.VI Chikmagalur 43 revised; E.C.V Hassan 37(?1145); and ibid. 109(1145).

(2) M.A.R. 1914-5, para. 79. The editor wrongly thinks Koṇḍāla to have been Kodāla in the Krishnarajapet tāluqa.

thereby clearly demonstrated. Two cases at least of cow-harrying occurred in 1146 and 1147. (1) In 1147 or 1148 Gōvidēva, the sāmanta of Huliyēru was engaged in fighting. His enemy is unknown, but the Pāṇḍya of Uccaṅgi or the Cōla of Nidugal are equally probable choices. (2) It may well have been the latter, for an expedition was sent against him in August 1149: it appears to have overcome some opposition in region of Maddalūr, at the southern edge of the Cōla dominions. (3) By then Nārasimha claimed not only to have campaigned successfully against the Caṅgāḷva but to be the conqueror of Kudagu, that is, Coorg, the greater part of the eastern districts of which was in Caṅgāḷva hands, ^{and} ~~but~~ also Kōlāhala, Purrūr and Vāṇibhadra, all three places as yet unidentified. Purrūr may in fact be the modern Puttūr in Āttūr tāluqa of Salem district, in which case the three conquests may have been in the Koṅgu region, in the broadest sense of the term, and we may support by these claims the suggestion that the disturbances and invasions in the south were of wide extent and not quickly suppressed or avenged. (4) Further activity in the south and east followed later.

For the space of about six years we know nothing of Hoysala political life. Nārasimha seems to have spent the time in the double process of growing up himself, and organizing the internal resources of his troubled kingdom. When the period of silence, and, we may guess, repose came to an end, Nārasimha, now in his twenty-first year, felt sufficiently strong to attack his north-western neighbours. Since 1152 a certain Mahādēvarasa

(1) E.g.E.C.V Hassan 108(1147) at Nittūr.

(2) E.C.VI Kadur 34(1148) at Muttūr.

(3) E.C.XII Sira 44(1149). (4) M.A.R. 1911-2, para. 85(1148).

had been ruling the Banavāse 12,000 and Huligere 300 in the name of the emperor Trailōkyamalla. In that year, 1152, disturbances had been proceeding in the southern parts of the dominions of Ekkalarasa, the Gaṅga ruler of Uddhare, who owed the prosperity of his family to the intervention of Viṣṇu-wardhana many years before. Ekkalarasa was clearly a ruler of a turbulent and ambitious character and had many enemies. (1) In 1154 Bammarasa, the ruler of Gutti, otherwise Candragutti, raided Naḍuhalli, which was only five miles south-east of Gutti, though probably within Ekkala's dominions. (2) We may presume from the events of the next few years that the Sāntaras who were in a position to profit from hostilities among their northern neighbours, took interest in these proceedings and communicated with the Hoysala. In 1154, then, Nārasimha marched against Caṭṭaya. Caṭṭaya must have been the official of that name who was employed on the part of the Cālukya under Mahādēvarasa. (3) The result of the expedition was that Nārasimha reached Banavāse, stayed there a while and withdrew. (4) After this he was 'anointed to the vīra-paṭṭa', or received a special decoration for bravery, and adopted the title to which reference has already been made, "lion to the row of sons of king Sōmēśvara". (5) The war in question is said in that record to have been against Āhumalla, that is Āhavamalla, which, like Vallabha, appears to have become a common way of referring to the emperor for the time being.

(1) E.C.VIII Sorab 525(1152).
 (2) E.C.VIII Sorab 54(1154). (5) E.C.V Hole-narsipur 17(c1154).
 (3) E.C.V Belur 168(1154). See E.C.VIII Sorab 570(Jan.1154) also ibid.438(Feb.?1154), K.T. only, mentioning "Hoysala's flag".
 (4) E.C.IV Krishnarajapet 32(c1154).

Nārasimha's withdrawal from the north may have been accelerated by further trouble in the east and south. It seems very likely that as soon as Nārasimha started for Banavāse, a Cōla invasion occurred in the east. In 1155 Bōkimayya was encamped at Naṅgili, having performed much of value to his master's cause. An inscription of Rājarāja-dēva Cōla is found at Kendatṭi, in the modern Kolar tāluḡa, dated in his 7th year, which must be 1153-4, and not 1139 as Rice conjectured. (1) Bōkimayya thus had plenty to occupy him in the Naṅgili region, but it seems that he went further and added more to his already luxuriant laurels. We hear that he suddenly routed a king named Śaṅkha and also Panarjoṭṭa; he defeated with great energy the rulers of Kāñci and Koṅgu, and obtained superior elephants. (2) Not that the trouble subsided so soon: in 1156 Tippūr in the modern Bangalore district was attacked by a certain Muraśādi, and in the same year a Vāmaṇa Mallana invaded Koṅgu, though it is not quite certain whether or not he was a Hoysala officer. Much fighting ensued, however. (3) Nārasimha himself may well have gone to the eastern front, because we hear that he visited Śravaṇa Belgōla in 1159 "after his victorious expedition." (4)

By this time the Kalacuri Bijjala, or Bijjana, who had held office under Trailōkyamalla, had usurped the Cālukya throne; and, in keeping with the novelty of his position, he had determined to bring all the southern maṇḍalēśvaras and

(1) E.C.X Kolar 75(1153-4). (2) E.C.X Bowringpet 9(1155) at Bētamaṅgala. Rice wrongly has Cōkimayya. The "ruler of Kāñci" need not have been the Cōla viceroy at Kāñci, but any Pallava prince who bore the title Kāñcipuravarādhiśvara.

(3) E.C.IX Bangalore 112(1156); M.A.R. 1930, 35 (August 1156) at Gōpālapura. (4) E.C.II 349(1159).

sāmantas into allegiance to himself, not only to strengthen his own position against the Cālūkyā, who was still alive, but also to revive the former, more efficient, constitution of the empire he had obtained. The Hoysala naturally attracted his early attention, but it was after rather more than three years of power that Bijjala sent an expedition against Dōrasamudra. An inscription of the year 1162 speaks of a certain Bambamaṇa-Dāvāṇa-daṇḍanāyaka as having marched against the capital, where the inscription is situated; Yādava-nāyaka fought by order of Nārasimha and fell.(1) Another of the same year at Hosaholalu states that when, at the instance of Bijjala Besada and Dāviraḡa came to fight with the mahā-maṇḍalēśvara Nārasimha-dēva, Lakumaya-nāyaka marched against them and in a battle that followed a certain Bīmeya-nāyaka pursued the cavalry.(2) The forces that Nārasimha had in the Sāntara country and which might have been expected to come to the rescue of the Hoysala nāḍ proper, were set upon by Barmarasa-daṇḍāyaka, the ruler of the Banavāse nāḍ, and an officer of Bijjala, who thus claimed to have driven the Hoysala army into the Tuṅgabhadra.(3) Nārasimha's success was, positively, so little that space in records could still be taken up by references to his "victory" at the age of six, while, in the very year that his losses at the hands of the Kaḷacuri were added to the lists of

(1) M.A.R. 1908 para.41b(1162). It is possible that Bijjala had attacked Nārasimha in 1160, for an inscription describing an incident in a battle between the two in the year Vikrama, although bearing the Śaka date 1142 may in fact be of 1160 (Śaka 1082) as the titles and method of referring to Nārasimha suit Nārasimha I better than the second of that name. As however Bijjala is not identified more particularly, and as E.C.VIII Sorab 256(1218) mentions a vīra-Bijjala-dēva, there appear some grounds for supposing that after all, despite the incon-

failures at the hands of the Cālukyas, he boasts of taking for his own the Cōla country, overcoming the Mālava, agreeing with the Gurjara, assenting to the Vaṅga, and driving away Koṅga and Kaliṅga. We can pronounce no suitable judgement on these claims: whether in fact any military or diplomatic operations underlie them it is hardly possible to say. The statements that he was much greater than his father, in fact quintuple the celebrated hero Viṣṇu, and that he subjected Dravila, Magadha, Pañcāḷa, Nēpaḷa and Lāḷa, are absurd.(1)

On the contrary, Nārasimha's government missed some splendid opportunities. The state of affairs in the north-western districts was very favourable to Hoysala ambitions. The year 1162 was punctuated by outbursts of violence. The emperor Trailōkyamalla, or Tailapa, was far from being dormant, and his agents were vigorously striving to embroil the maṇḍalēśvaras and sāmantas with the usurping Kaḷacuri, and where that failed, with one another. In 1161 the Cālukya himself had been at Banavāse.(2) At the beginning of 1162 Bijjala was at Belagāvi, doubtless trying to undo Tailapa's work in that area.(3) That he had recently defeated the Pāṇḍya is seen from his granting villages in the Pāṇḍya-nād.(4)

gruity of the titles, 1220 may be the correct date for this inscription (E.C.V Belur 113).

Page 188 n.(2) M.A.R. 1914-5, para.79 which is E.C.IV Krishna-rajapent 4 revised.

Page 188 n.(3) E.C.XI Davangere 42, M.INS.33, P.S.O.C.I.121(c1162).

(1) E.C.IV Hunsur 137(1162).

(2) W.E.I f.543(1161).

(3) E.C.VII Shikarpur 102(1162).

(4) ibid. Cf.E.C.XI Davangere 42, M.INS.33, P.S.O.C.I.121(c1162) at Harihar.

In April his minister Sōyavamarasa began to besiege Gutti. (1) In June Bijjala attacked Tāgarate, and in the meanwhile his victim Tailapa Sāntara fought against Pāṇḍyarasa, who may well have been the Uccaṅgi ruler, now a supporter of the Kalacuri. (2) Trouble was brewing in the Sāntalige nād itself. A branch of the Sāntara family had commenced to rule on its own account from the important town of Hosagunda, and a certain Bīrarasa, ancestor of a tenacious line, made it plain that the Sāntara dynasty had from thence forward more than one head. (3) In the next year the canvas of the political scene is crowded with characters. Bommaya-dañṇāyaka, obviously the same as the Bamarasa, brother-in-law of Kasapayya, who had defeated a Hoysala force in the previous year, was ruling Hāṅgal and Banavāse for Bijjala. (4) Cāvūṇḍa Sinda ruled the Kisukād 70, Bāgaḍage 70, and Kelavāḍi 300, all north of the Tuṅgabhadra. (5) Kīrti-dēva, a Kadamba ruler in Banavāse nād, who may in fact have been in charge of Gutti, resisted Kalacuri blandishments and remained loyal to his own independence if not to the Cālukya. (6) A certain Jagadēva of the Sāntara family, with undefined relationships with Tailapa or Bīrarasa, exercised some

(1) E.C.VIII Sorab 568(1162).

(2) E.C.VII Shikarpur 56(1162) at Barūru, about 3½ miles north of Tāgarate. M.A.R. 1923, 64(1162), at Hāluguḍḍe, Nagar Tāluḡa.

(3) M.A.R. 1923, 64(1162): Vīra-Bīrarasa ruled Mēlu-Sāntalige & the agrahāra.

(4) E.C.XI Davangere 42, M.INS.33, P.S.O.C.I.121(c1162), also E.C.VII Shikarpur 102(1162).

(5) J.B.B.R.A.S.xi pp.259-273(1163), plate xvi of Hope's collection. Cāvūṇḍa here recognizes Nūrmaḍi Taila, the Cālukya. By 1167 he recognized the Kalacuri: E.I.xx, 12.

(6) A Bamarasa, minister of Kīrti-dēva, seems to have ruled Gutti in 1158 and later. Kumāra-Kīrti-dēva is mentioned in 1159: E.C.VIII Sorab 416. He appears to be ruling Gutti in E.C.VIII Sagar 114(1165).

ruling functions still in the Sāntalige 1,000.(1) Moreover, the ruler of the little Gaṅga principality of Uddhare, a place of strategic importance far outweighing the slightness of its territorial possessions, was under specific obligations neither to the Kaḷacuri nor to the Cāḷukya, but to the Hoysala. In 1163 Ekkalarasa Gaṅga is distinctly described as the Hoysala maṇḍalika.(2) It is, therefore, clear that in these years the Hoysala Nārasimha had a sound diplomatic footing in the very centre of the affairs of this valuable north-western country, and it is very remarkable that no satisfactory use was made of the advantage. In March Sōvavarma, who must be the Sōyavamarasa mentioned above, together with other officers, was ordered by Bijjala to attack Gutti, and they besieged it. (3) Jagadēva was apparently with this army, and was stationed between Uddhare and Gutti. In April Ekkalarasa, doubtless in league with the Kadamba in Gutti, attacked Jagadēva near Kūluganūr.(4) The siege must have been abandoned, for in August or September we find Kīrti-dēva, accompanied by his minister Bammaṇṇa (i. e. the officer otherwise known as Bammarasa, to be distinguished from the Kaḷacuri viceroy of that name), together with Ekkalarasa, setting upon Jagadēva. (5). This operation must have concluded soon to their satisfaction, for by October Ekkala was free to engage in a raid further north, at Belagali, five miles north of Banavāse.(6) In 1164, however,

(1) E.C.VIII Sagar 91-93(1160).

(2) E.C.VIII Sorab 193(?1163):the word Hoysaṇa occurs thrice in this fragmentary record.

(3) E.C.VIII Sorab 287(1163).

(4) E.C.VIII Sorab 193(?1163).

(5) E.C.VIII Sorab 177(1163).

(6) E.C.VIII Sorab 449(1163).

Vijaya-Pāṇḍya of Uccaṅgi recognized the Kaḷacurī, and moreover had as his subordinate the important Sinda ruler at Harihar, Īśvara-dēva, whose territory was of very great strategic as well as commercial importance.(1) In the same year Vīra-Sāntara recognized Bijjala, and the outlook became very unfavourable for the Hoysala. All movement to the north seemed hedged in by hostile powers. But still there were opportunities to be missed, and Nārasimha did not fail to miss them. The successes of his partisan Ekkala Gaṅga were supported by confusion amongst the Sāntaras. In April 1164 the Sāntara Siṅga-dēva of Hombucca together with the authorities of Banavāse nāḍ launched a double attack upon Bīrarasa of Hosagunda. Then Jagadēvarasa, "the Ālva king below the ghats", apparently not identical with the Jagadēva mentioned above, raided the districts in the Sāntalige nāḍ, and an army hostile to the Sāntara marched upon Andhāsura, which may or may not have been within the Hosagunda family's domain.(2). The confusion continued at the same pace in 1165. Here again Nārasimha allowed his opportunities to slip past. Bīrarasa was sufficiently unencumbered by the malice of his competitors to be able to send a raiding expedition to a village seven miles west of Hosagunda.(3) In March Jagadēvarasa, together with several of, we may presume, Bijjala's daṇṇāyakas, pitched their camp at Andhāsura. Then a coalition comprising the Gutta chief

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- (1) E.C.XI Davangere 43(1164). Vijaya-Pāṇḍya had recognized Bijjala since 1162: S.I.I. IX pt.1, 293, A.R.1913, 113(1162). He had been forced to by the Īrambarage Sinda: E.I.xx 12.
- (2) M.A.R. 1930, 67(1164) at Bairāpura.
- (3) E.C.VIII Sagar 112(c1165).

Vikranāditya, whose own territories lay north of those of the Sinda of Harihar, in the region of Guttavolalu on the ~~western~~ western bank of the Tuṅgabhadra, and who had clearly not succumbed to the Kalacuri intrigues as had his close associates whether Pāṇḍya or Sinda, together with Sōyi-dēva of Bandanike, Ekkala of Uddhare and the ruler of Gutti, who was almost certainly Kīrti-dēva, joined with Bīrarasa, who had returned from his other activities to Hosagunda, and engaged in a body with the Sāntara-Kalacuri force at Andhāsura. They were apparently successful, and the imperial officers were defeated. (1) In May 1165 Ekkala was raiding in the immediate vicinity of Kalacuri-held Banavāse, and to the north of that town. In each case we hear him called "the Hoysala maṇḍalika", yet there is no proof that Nārasimha sent him men or munitions or even money, though the latter is not unlikely. (2) In October Daśaratha-daṇṇāyaka and Kālarasa, who were probably Sāntara officers, raided Hosavalli, six miles west of Belagāvi and three miles south of Uddhare. (3) But the coalition which had aimed at the prevention of the Kalacuri power extending further southwards appears not only to have succeeded in that object, but also in the embarrassment of those officials who ruled in Bijjala's name already.

The process continued into 1167, but, from first to last, the Hoysala took no active part in operations that could have turned out very largely to his advantage. Domestic con-

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- (1) E.C.VIII Sagar 114(1165).Rice wrongly read Sattavōdili for Guttavolalu.
 (2) E.C.VIII Sorab 372 & 373(1165), 368(?1165)(K.T.only).
 (3) E.C.VIII Sorab 6(1165).They plundered "according to the custom of their class."

siderations appear to have eclipsed the dream of empire.

Meanwhile Ekkala bravely carried on. In April 1166 Bammarasa of Gutti and Bīrarasa of Hosagunda besieged Giṅṅalagunḍi, a place as yet unidentified. The fort was held by Bijjala's men, but Ekkala, who accompanied the allies, succeeded in drawing them out by a trick. (1)

The death of Bijjala in 1167 seems to have altered the situation considerably. The improved chances of a restoration of the Cālukya family, and the accession of a less active man to the government at Kalyāna, brought less apprehension than relief to the maṅḍalikas of the north-west. In November a certain Ciṅṅa-dēva attacked Kīrti-dēva and Cikka Bommaṅṅa, who was probably an officer in the forces of the coalition, but with this last flicker the fires of discord appear to have died down, and a period of comparative quiet ensued until 1171. In this over-disputed area the Kaḷacuri seems to have forgone his chances of expansion. (2)

Hoysala activity during this period was remarkably slight. Disturbances of an undefined nature broke out in the north-western portion of the Hoysala nāḍ in 1164, probably on account of the much more violent upheavals further north. (3) But neither this, nor the threat of invasions and insurrections in the south and east, accounts fully for the strangely passive attitude of the Hoysala government. Nārasimha himself was by 1164 thirty-one years of age, and therefore probably in a position to exercise a tight control over each department: his

(1) M.A.R. 1928, 81 & W.E. II ff. 30b-31a (1166): Hoysaṅa-maṅḍalika balviṅge hōgad iral upāyediṅ horavaṅḍisida samayadoḷe, etc. The editor of M.A.R. 1928 mistranslated this, "The Hoysala maṅḍalika not resorting to force of arms, drove out the besiegers by some strategem", giving an entirely wrong impression of the facts.

upbringing being of a kind most likely to encourage an inflated sense of his own importance, he may well have been something of a tyrant, whose restricted views and cautious habits may have exercised a constraining and damping effect upon the enthusiasms and projects of his followers. But there is evidence that Nārasimha was in no condition to exercise even that control which we have here suggested as being an unhealthy one.

His eldest son, Ballāla, was born to Mahādēvi, Nārasimha's chief queen, in or about the year 1150. From the titles which he subsequently adopted it appears that while still in his adolescence he had had some experience of action against the Kalacuri.⁽¹⁾ If he was too young to criticise his father's conduct of affairs, he was old enough to be stirred by the tales he would hear of his grandfather, tales which, however exaggerated, could not fail to portray a great man, and an ancestor of whom he might be justly proud. He was old enough to realize that a forward policy was the only possible policy for the type of state that his future kingdom was destined to become, and had almost become already.

His own entrance into public life as an administrator occurred when he was about fourteen. In 1164 he exercised authority in his own name, but clearly under his father's control.⁽²⁾

Page 194 n.(2) E.C.VIII Sorab 29(?1167) wrongly dated by Rice ?1227. Page 194 n.(3) M.A.R. 1909-10 para.77(c1164) at Jinaga, and E.C.XII Tiptur 32(1164) at Tandaga.

(1) Two inscriptions purporting to be of the year 1158 must be relegated to the year 1218. E.C.V Arsikere 154 is dated Saka 1080 Bahudhānya etc., but as the king is given the titles śrī-prthvī-vallabha etc. the date has plainly been misread. E.C.V Channarayapatna 211a is to be attributed to 1218 for the same reason, while the record has a sequel in 211b of ?1222.
 (2) EC.IV Nagamangala 30(1164).

In 1165 we find him "ruling the kingdom" with the title Kumāra, as would be expected in the case of a Prince of his age. (1) In 1167 he is mentioned in an inscription, and indeed in that year he exercised for a period a regency together with Mahādēvi. (2) It is not impossible that this regency was of a local and temporary kind, or that the two were deputed to the joint administration of certain particular districts. In fact an attack in the year 1166 on the northern bastions of the Hoysala kingdom, till then protected from Kalacuri cupidity, may well have resulted in Nārasimha being forced to delegate powers to his family. Īśvara-dēvarasa of the southern Sinda family invaded Arakere nāḍ from the west, entered Malevūr, three miles north of Honnāli, on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra, and took Haṅṅisige, which must have been near by. In this fighting, probably, a certain Bamma-gauḍa of Kisugola obtained a reward for fighting against Lakha, who is otherwise not heard of. (3) But the fact appears to be this, that Nārasimha was through sickness, or some other cause, incapacitated, so as to be unable to conduct the government in person. For the regency of Ballāla which commenced late in 1167 was continued in 1168. Though a boy of perhaps no more than 17 years, he enjoyed a large number of high-sounding titles. Such were the distinctive titles asahāya-śūra, "hero without a companion"; ēkāṅga-vīra, "warrior, or hero, (even) with a single limb" (4); niśśaṅka-pratāpa, "of

(1) E.C.V Channarayapatna 210(1165) at Bidare.

(2) E.C.VII Shimoga 55(1167), E.C.V Channarayapatna 191(1167).

(3) E.C.VII Honnali 98(1166) at Siṅgatigere, 3 miles E.S.E. of Mallūr. E.C.VI Mudgere 7(?1167) at Bommanahaḷli.

(4) Even if he had one arm tied behind his back: but cf. the other meanings of ēkāṅga - Mars and Viṣṇu.

unshaken prowess"; rana-raṅga-dhīra, "bold on the field of battle", not to quote others of similar tenor but less common.

(1) In an inscription of 1168 he is called Viṣṇuwardhana Kumāra-vīra-Ballāḷa-Hoysaḷa-dēva, son of Viṣṇuwardhana Nāra-siṅgha-dēva, son of Viṣṇuwardhana Biṭṭi-dēva. In the same record we meet his younger brother Mahadēva. (2) Again, in the spring of 1169, Ballāḷa was ruling with the titles "wrestler with hill-forts" and "the one who succeeds even on a Saturday (an inauspicious day)", Giridurgamalla and Śanivāra-siddhi being titles first introduced into the Hoysaḷa prasasti by Ballāḷa II, or Vīra-Ballāḷa as he may be known, won or borrowed by him from the Kaḷacuri Bijjāḷa, who had used them for a number of years previously. (3)

Soon Nārasimha resumed control, while in 1169 one of his inscriptions reveals a curious perversity: the titles of the Cālukya Bhūvallabha appear. Bhūvallabha was a general term such as might apply to any Cālukya emperor, but in 1169 the Cālukya's cause was at a very low ebb. Perhaps the reason was that the Hūliyēru family, that commissioned the inscription, had a sentimental regard for their ancestral connection with that house, so that the obedience of Nārasimha I was not in fact owed to a member of an almost impotent dynasty. (4)

(1) E.C.V Arsikere 1(1168).

(2) E.C.V Channarayapatna 184(?1168). RICE dated this 1208, the date given being Śaka 1777 (damaged) and Vibhava; the record almost certainly belongs to Śaka 1091 Virōdhi, as internal evidence demands it.

(3) RICE, e.g. in M.A.R. 1900 para.7, followed by others, misled by inscriptions after Ballāḷa II's capture of Uccaṅgi, ascribed the assumption of these titles to that famous event. Bijjāḷa used the titles from 1156 (E.C.VII Shikarpur 104, of 1156); Ballāḷa first used them in 1169, as far as we know: E.C.XII Tiptur 91(1169). (4) M.A.R. 1925, 49(1169); ibid. 1909-10 para. 76(1169).

The next three years saw sporadic fighting in various quarters of the Hoysala nād. The weakness of the government at Dōrasamudra was not concealed from neighbouring princelings by the pretentious and vapid claims. In 1169 they learned that before king Nārasimha trembled the Maleyālas, Koṅgu, Vaṅga's king, the Tuluvas, Pāṇḍya, Paundra and Āndhra kings, Cōla, Lāla, Yāvana, and Śaka, as well as the kings of Siṃhala and the seven islands in the midst of the sea. (1) No similar terrors appeared to assail petty rulers of whom we hardly know their very names. In 1169 there were again disturbances in the eastern districts (2); in 1170 and 1171 there was military activity in the modern Bangalore district. An official called Nārasīṅga-Poysala-Kilalādirāya-Kā(?read Vā)cci-dēvar marched against Cendapāḍi from Perurvedak-kōṭṭai in Kilalalai-nād, which was his fief, in Irājēndra-Cōla-vala-nād, and fell at Poṇḍam. (3) About the same time fighting took place in the same area between a nāyaka and the ruler of Sigal-nād at ...yāṇḍigapalli in that nād. An inscription at Balepura states that Nārasimha destroyed Sigal-nād, so that it appears that the insurrection was fairly serious. (4) Meanwhile trouble had broken out again in the south-west, for in 1171 the Hoysala was obliged to undertake a punitive expedition in that quarter also. Moḷateyabīḍu, in Koṅgāḷva territory, was attacked. (5)

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- (1) E.C.VI Kadur 51(1169). (2) E.C.IX Maḡadi 14(1169).
 (3) E.C.IX Kankanhalli 84a(1170-1) at Daḷavāyi-Koḍihalli.
 (4) E.C.IX Kankanhalli 44(1171) at Hale-hunise-koppa. E.C.IX Kankanhalli 23(?c1171).
 (5) M.A.R. 1912-3 para.65(1171) at Mūḍalīpya, Hole-Narsipur tāluqa.

Again, in March 1172, fighting broke out in the north. A certain Dāna-veggade of Mūtta died when an elephant troop and an army of horse attacked Baluhada-koppa. We can not be sure who was the enemy, but it may well have been Īśvara-dēva Sinda.(1)

However, a pause must have supervened, for we learn from an undated record, which may be assigned with some confidence to the period 1171-2, that a certain Lakumayya, a mahāpradhāna, or minister, of Nārasimha, had freed the latter's kingdom from enemies and had established him. (2)

Amid all this confusion, in 1171, when he was about 21 years of age, Vīra-Ballāla seems to have enjoyed some heavy responsibilities.(3) Perhaps it was at this period that he began to feel active dissatisfaction with his father's misconduct of affairs. In June, and again in December 1172 Vīra-Ballāla was still exercising powers of government.(4)

Bad as in fact was the general condition of the Hoysala nād, the political situation in the north-west once again suggested Hoysala action, action that might have the double effect of reducing lawlessness at home and reaping rich rewards abroad. After a pause of two years in which the only military activity had been a civil war between the brothers of Bīrarasa in the vicinity of Hosagunda,(5) fighting had again broken out in the Banavāse district. A guard-house held for the Kalacuri was attacked. The Twelve Manneyar, a nominal coalition of northwestern chiefs under imperial leadership, were in action.(6) In May 1172 fighting took place in

(1) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 81(1172) at Kasige. Perhaps E.C.VI Mudgere 6(?1172) at Nandipura may contain a reference to the same conflict; as also E.C.III Mandya 117(1172-3), K.T. only.

in which a man from "eastern Gutti" was concerned, and a man from the southern district of the Sāntalige nād died.(1) The "eastern" Gutti was probably not Gutti, the modern Candragutti, about which the inscriptions of the period say a very great deal, but on the other hand it is not clear that it was the famous Gutti(Gooty) in the Bellary district. Again, in September of that year a battle took place at the Gutti near Banavāse between the ruler there, Kīrti-dēva, and parties unknown, success being obtained apparently by the former. (2) As far as we can gather, the once "Hoysala mandalika", the ruler of Uddhare, was dormant or exiled, for we last hear of him in 1166, and the next ruler, his son Tailapa, does not appear, epigraphically speaking, until 1176.

Ballāla must have been informed both of the past inefficient handling by his father of Hoysala affairs in the north-west, and of the opportunities to regain lost ground at the Kalacuri's expense. These considerations, together with those problems ~~which~~ that faced the government solely on account of the previous weak control of nāyakas and sāmantas, seem to have inspired Vīra-Ballāla to an unusual course of action.

Page 199, n.(2) E.C.V Hassan 66(1172) at Honnāvara: śrīman-mahāpradhānam heggade-Lakumayya Poysala-Nārasimha-dēvaṅge rājyamam niṣkaṇṭakam mādi pratiṣṭhāpisi, etc. The record shows that Lakumayya claimed a high status on account of his services. He omits Nārasimha's titles.

Page 199 n.(3) E.C. IX Kankanhalli 86(?1171), which RICE dates ?1230, a date impossible on account of the subject-matter.

Page 199 n.(4) E.C.VII Shimoga 43(1172) at Hiriyūr; E.C.VI Tarikere 85(1172) at Mudigere.

Page 199 n.(5) E.C.VIII Sagār 116(1170) at Taṅgalavādi. The battle was at Alavalli. Page 199 n.(6) E.C.VIII Sorab 370(1171).

(1) E.C.VIII Tirthahalli 112(?1172), K.T. only, dated Śaka 1..4 Khara Jēsta su 5 Ādi. A cavalry battle took place.

(2) M.A.R. 1923, 125(1172) at Māgaḍi, Sorab tāluqa.

In March 1173 he was in Dōrasamudra as ruler, ruling jointly with his father, though, no doubt, nominally under Nārasimha's supervision, even if no document specified the fact. (1) By April he had found it impossible to bring his father to accept his views on the best way to manage ^{the} kingdom, and we learn that he left him, and went south-westwards towards the villages and forts of the hill-dwellers, the people, of all the now mixed population of the Hoysala nād, who were most likely to appreciate and applaud Vīra-Bāllāla's forward policy. A certain novus homo, by name Tantrapāla Hemmādi, made capital out of this extraordinary situation, and recommended Vīra-Bāllāla to make a tour of the hill-districts, in order to conduct not only a propaganda campaign, but a recruiting drive, with a view to raising an army for the discomfiture of the despised Kalacuri and his northern sycophants, and at the same time obliging Nārasimha to acquiesce in the bold schemes of his son. The tour passed off with no small éclat. The rulers on the fringe of the Hoysala nād hastened to pay their respects. The Koṅgāḷva and Caṅgāḷva, who had reasons of their own for wishing to please the heir apparent, made their obeisances with the rest. (2)

(1) E.C.III Mysore 58(1173) dated Caitra śuddha 5; E.C.V ~~Belur 25(1173)~~ at Belūr shows Nārasimha ruling at Dōrasamudra on Caitra śuddha 11.

(2) E.C.V Belur 86(1177): śrīman-mahā-pradhānaṃ Tantrapāla-Hemmādiyannaṃ --- munne tann ālda śrī <vīra> Ballāla-dēvaṃ tamma bappaninṃ tolagi male-vāyd iralu samasta-maleya prajegāvundugaḷam Koṅgāḷva-Caṅgāḷvan-ādiyāda maleya maṇḍalīkarumaṃ kāṇisi tann āldaṅge sāmrajya-paṭṭamaṃ kaṭṭisi pradhāna-padaviyaṃ paḍadan // "The great-minister Tantrapāla-Hemmādiyanna, when formerly his ruler <vīra> Ballāla-dēva, separating from his father, crossed the hill-country, made all the subjects (and) land-holders of the hills together with the Koṅgāḷva and Caṅgāḷva and other hill-mandalikas visit him, caused his ruler to have the diadem of empire bound on him, and achieved the rank

With a force of some size and, we may be sure, of good quality, he marched from the south towards Dōrasamudra. Nārasimha's many loyal adherents attempted to impede Ballāla's progress, but, before he had crossed the Hēmāvati, he was in action, and had destroyed the village of Hūvinahalli.(1)

In the month of May he arrived within striking distance of Dōrasamudra. The village of Gaudagere in the modern Hassan tāluḡa suffered,(2) and the Talige-nāḡ and Koḡagi-nāḡs were invaded and plundered.(3)

Early in June 1173 Vīra-Ballāla entered Dōrasamudra in triumph, and made arrangements for his coronation. His father Nārasimha, now in his fortieth year, but probably aged beyond expectation by sickness and natural debility, was compelled to accept terms: these were that he should change places with his son, exercising powers in a subordinate and strictly subsidiary capacity.(4)

of minister."

(1) M.A.R. 1912-3 para. 27(1173) dated by the editor 1172. The fact that the warrior commemorated came from Kōlāla-nāḡ suggests that Nārasimha had difficulty in obtaining supporters *near home*.

(2) E.C.V Hassan 154, completed by M.A.R. 1926, 55(1173): Hoysala Nārasimha-dēvaru Dōrasamudrada neleviḡinalu sukha-saṅkathā-vinōḡaḡalu rājyaḡ geyuttire Kumāra Ballāla-dēvanu viḡḡūradalu Vijaya-saṁvatsara, etc. The expression is, "in the hostility of Prince Vīra-Ballāla." The M.A.R. note is a little too free, and the text has viḡḡūradalu (wrongly). Ten days after this raid a warrior fell near Kabbinakere in Hassan tāluḡa in "Yadappa's war": E.C.V Hassan 9(1173), where RICE dated ?1233.

(3) M.A.R. 1932, 34(1173): saka-varasa (?) 1176 (read 1096) Vijaya-saṁvatsara-Mārgasira su 12 Mam --- mahā-maṅḡalēśvaram --- Nārasimha-Hoysala-dēvaru Dōrasamudradalu pṛthvī-rājyaḡ geyuttiralu Kumāra Ballāla-dēvanu tamm-ayyaḡge tappi bandu Talige-nāḡam Koḡagināḡam hoku rājyake keḡaḡu Talige-nāḡu sāvīra-bhūmiḡam tele māḡi(?) etc. It might appear from this that the invasion of Ballāla took place in November 1173: but the date refers not necessarily to the invasion itself, but either to the date of the death of the hero commemorated, or to the date of the erection of the stone. (4) Sewell and Krishnaswami Aiyangar, in

Many of Nārasimha's old retainers and subordinates disliked the change, for occasional grants show him as ruler even a few years after his forcible deposition.

Vīra-Ballāla, his obstacle removed, now began to proceed against the enemies of the state with all the vigour of a youth that had been pent up for long and was now suddenly released. His coronation was celebrated on the 21st of July 1173 with all the magnificence that the event deserved. The Hoysala country was awakened from stagnation, and the significance of the moment excused a lavish expenditure from an almost bankrupt treasury. (1)

H.I.S.I.p.116 say: "On January 15, 1170, the Hoysala king Nārasimha died. So says an epitaph at Billahalli in N.W. Mysore." But E.C.VII Channagiri 36 to which they refer consists merely of the following, omitting a fragment of no importance:.... gāvundaṇu.... <samasta-bhuva>nāśraya-śrī-prthvī-vallabha mahārājādhirājam Hoyisaṇa-pratāpa-cakravartti vīra-Nārasimha-dēvarājyada Virōdhi-samvatsara Puṣya ba<hu>la-dasami-Bṛhaspativāradalu sura-lōka-prāptar adaru. The significance is that in January 1230 in the reign of Nārasimha II a certain gāvunda and perhaps others died in battle. The interpretation of Sewell & Aiyangar is in defiance of the rules of grammar and the royal titles.

Nārasimha is stated to be ruling in E.C.V Belur 114(1173) at Dōrasamudra: he is mentioned likewise in E.C.IV Chamarajnagar 96(c1174).

(1) Ballāla was recognized in Tumkur district even in June 1173: (E.C.XII Gubbi 34c(1173)), and in July in Kadur district(E.C.VI KADUR 136(1173)). The date of the coronation is given by E.C.VI Kadur 4 and E.C.V Arsikere 71 as Vijaya, Śrāvana śuddha 11 Adivara; E.C.V Hassan 71 gives it as Śrāvana śuddha 10 Ādivāra, while E.C.V Belur 118 gives Śrāvana śuddha 1 Sōmavāra, though 1 is probably a mistake for 11. M.A.R.1911-2, para.87 merely gives Vijaya, Śrāvana.

V.Rangacharya vol.II p.1216 says that Vīra-Nārasimha was succeeded by Vīra-Ballāla in 1188. Not only is the date wrong but Nārasimha I never held the title Vīra. The same scholar's Salem 109(?1159) is not likely to refer to Ballāla, whatever the true date may be, as Hosūr was not at the time within Hoysala territory.

A reflection of the fighting which brought Ballāla to the throne is found in E.C.V Arsikere 173(1173) dated in Nov-

Before passing to the next phase of the history of this dynasty it is convenient to consider what progress, if any, was made during Nārasimha's reign towards the object for which his father had given his whole life. Besides the defence against the Kalacuri attacks, and the counter-attack in the north-west, which have been described above, there are distinct signs that if no territorial aggrandisement took place, at least some consolidation occurred in the south and east, areas for the possession of which the great Viṣṇuvardhana was chiefly responsible, and which his son had *barely* managed to retain. Again, it is interesting to note that Hoysala subjects took over and developed some land in the north, which must have been in Nārasimha's hands from his earliest years. The area itself was perhaps not more than four hundred square miles in extent, and lay to the north and west of Āsandi, on the eastern bank of the Tuṅgabhadra. We hear of activity at Māvanakōṭe in 1163,⁽¹⁾ Siṅgatigere in 1166, Bidare in 1172 and Purale in the same year. But there was no really important town thereabouts: the area presumably in Hoysala occupation was wedged between districts ruled by Sinda and Pāṇḍya and no doubt had been neglected by both. The Sinda recognized Hoysala overlordship in the second year of Vīra-Ballāla,⁽²⁾ but had probably flouted it during the

ember-December, whereby a grant of land was made for a prāyaścitta, perhaps on account of the killing of a Brahman. It may well be that the Ereyanna rewarded by Ballāla II for successes against enemies in E.C.V Arsikere 138(1174) had fought against Nārasimha.

Ballāla made gifts to his supporters, on the occasion of his coronation, and to Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva and Jaina temples: E.C. VI Kadur 136(1173 -as are all the following); E.C.V Hassan 71; EC.VI Kadur 4; E.C.V Arsikere 71; E.C.V Belur 118; M.A.R.1911-2 para.87; and E.C.V Hassan 119.

(1) E.C.VII Honnali 87(1163); ibid.98(?1166); E.C.VII Shimoga 55

whole of Nārasimha's reign; drastic measures would be needed to bring down the Uccaṅgi family also, which had profited so highly from the decline in Hoysala fortunes. Moreover the best part of this area was occupied, albeit in the Hoysala's name, for its own advantage by a Gaṅga dynasty, with whom the Hoysalas had been in contact since Ereyāṅga's time. So that in fact the expansion was not only less real than apparent, but even less solid than either Viṣṇuvardhana's triumphs or Nārasimha's own modest achievements might have encouraged us to anticipate.

(1167); *ibid.* 43(?1172); and *ibid.* 64(1172). E.C.VII Channagiri 36 at Billahaḷḷi is of 1230 (see above p.203 n.4) and not 1170 as RICE thought.

Page 204 n.(2) E.C.VII Honnali 45(1175) at Belagutti.

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE SECOND ATTEMPT AT ACHIEVING IMPERIAL STATUS

AND ITS SUCCESS. THE ABERRATION.

The reigns of Ballāḷa II (Vīra-Ballāḷa I)
and Nārasimha II (Vīra-Nārasimha I)

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THE ABERRATION.

The reigns of Ballāla II (Vīra-Ballāla I) and Nārasimha II
(Vīra-Nārasimha I)

Vīra-Ballāla's accession was auspicious in one respect in particular: a most encouraging conjunction of laudatory epithets. The young monarch's adoption of the titles "successful on a Saturday" and "wrestler with hill-forts" from the praśasti of Bijjala Kalacuri has already been mentioned. These became invariable parts of the Hoysala praśasti from 1173 until the last years of the dynasty's decay. (1) He carried forward several of the titles of his predecessors and added to them: "a submarine fire to the ocean of the Tuluva army, a wild fire to the fort which was his dāyāda (rival kinsmen, especially half-brothers), a thunderbolt to the mountain the Pāṇḍya family, plunderer of the Cōla camp, a Bhīma in war, Kāma of the Kali age, very inclined to the liberal delight of rejoicing the minds of all the tribe of panegyrists", and so on. (2)

Such indeed was the confidence and energy of the new

(1) E.C.V Belur 118(1173) at Dōrasamudra: Śrīman-mahā-maṇḍalēśvaram Talakādu-Gaṅgavādi-Nonambavādi-Banavāse-Hānuṅgalu-gaṇḍa bhuja-bāla-Vīra-Gaṅga Nissankan asahāya-śūra Malarāja-rāja malaparolu gaṇḍa kadana-pracaṇḍa Śanivāra-siddhi Giridurgga-malla Calad-aṅka-Rāma Viṣṇuvaradhana-pratāpa-Hoysala-Vīra-Ballāla-dēvaru. The title calad-aṅka-Rāma Kittel translates "Rāma who is distinguished by firmness of character", referring to the Śabdamanidarpaṇa (p.205), and a M.S. at Mūḍabidar (a very unsatisfactory type of reference). We could adopt this or a similar translation here were it not for the fact that in the 12th & 13th centuries Rāma was generally thought of as a warrior rather than in any other capacity: an interpretation such as "a Rāma in the swift battle" might not be unacceptable.

(2) E.g. E.C.V Channarayapatna 146(1173).

direction of Hoysala affairs, that Ballāla was ready to commence the task of regaining his grandfather's lost prestige after slightly more than half the breathing space that his predecessors had allowed themselves after a disaster or sequence of setbacks. Four years were sufficient for Ballāla to gather the strength of the kingdom for a general attack upon the outposts of the Kalacuri dominions.

Not that during that period, one of the most disturbed in Hoysala history, he had not sufficient troubles nearer home. Tiptūr, about 38 miles east of the capital, was attacked by persons unknown in April 1174, doubtless an incident encouraged by the general lawlessness of the short civil war and the long period of weak government that had preceded it.

(1) In October a battle of unknown magnitude took place at or near Halevāgilu, 16 miles south of Dōrasamudra. (2) In January 1175 two villages, also close to the capital, fought a battle over a disputed boundary. (3) Indeed, the unrest must have been violent, for there seems to be evidence that Ballāla was away from the capital about the end of the year 1174, that is to say if he were not ill, for it is said in an inscription at Saṅṅēnahalli that Nārasimha and Ballāla-dēva's Queen Bammala-dēvi were ruling in Dōrasamudra. (4) In April 1175 the Talige

(1) E.C.XII Tiptur 62(1174). (2) E.C.V Hassan 29(1174). It must be Hāluvāgilu in the place indicated and not the Haluvagilu near the east bank of the Tuṅgabhadra in the Uccaṅgi dominions. (3) Honnāvar and Niragunda: E.C.V Hassan 68(?1175). (4) That seems to be the best interpretation of E.C.V Channarayapatna 229(1174). Viṣṇuwardhana-Hosaḷa <Nāra>siṅga-dēva Ballālu-dēvan arasi Bammala-dēvi Dōrasamudra <da biḍino> lu sukha-saṃkathā-vinōdadim rājyam gevuttam ire. The suggestion that the words preceding Ballālu should be understood as a title without any implied copula is less probable.

(1)

nāḍ 1,000 was attacked by parties unknown. Raids during this period were probably experienced from the direction of Huli-yēru, for in September 1175 Vīra-Ballāḷa undertook a campaign in that region, He attacked Sībi, which is almost thirty miles east of Huli-yēru, and must therefore have driven his enemies before him into that wild and sparsely populated region, where neither Hoysala nor Cōḷa rule was then acknowledged.(2)

That the Hoysala nāḍ suffered a raid from the south during this period is suggested by an inscription at Malūr in the present Channapatna tāluḡa, which records a grant of land to a man who replaced at the cost of 130 gadyāṇas the ornaments of the god Apramēya-perumāl, which had been carried away from the place where they had been buried, during a raid by foreigners "in former days".(3) Certainly in June 1175 Koḷatūr, the modern Channarāyapaṭṇa, had been destroyed, without any trace of the culprits. And while troubles assailed the government on the north-east and south-east, the Koṅgālva and Caṅgālva were making a feeble attempt, in fact their last, to shine among the competing interests. Kulōttuṅga-Cōḷa-Caṅgālva-dēva is known to have ruled in May 1172; in 1174 he appears twice with the title Dvārāvatīpuravarādhīśvara, not in order to acknowledge Hoysala supremacy, for that he never did in his records, but to assume in common with the Hoysala title reflecting his claims to Yādava ancestry.(4) Of Vīra-Cōḷa-Koṅgālva-dēva a record of

(1) M.A.R.1927, 36(1175).

(2) E.C.XII Sira 99(1175) at Bōrasandra, to the N.N.E. of Sībi.

(3) E.C.IX Channapatna 89(?1176).

(4) E.C.IV Hunsur 113(1172); ibid.111 & 112(1174).

apparently the year 1177 is found at Nandigunda in Coorg.(1) It is clear therefore that Ballāla incurred many embarrassments when he assumed the crown by force. He had to control the very forces by which he had come to power. One can hardly doubt but that his schemes for vindicating Hoysala military glory were accelerated by a desire to provide employment for troublesome members of his society. An inscription of 1177 shows how much difficulty was encountered, as well as the success he experienced in meeting it. His queen Bammala-dēvi must have been a stalwart companion; she is said to have plucked up the families of the hill chiefs by the root.(2)

At any rate, before his internal difficulties were entirely surmounted, and with admirable suddenness and vigour, at the end of August or the beginning of September 1177, he launched a powerful attack upon Uccaṅgi, and destroyed the prestige of the Pāṇḍya dynasty for ever. Not that the Pāṇḍya ceased to reign, to rule and to issue grants in his own name, but the remarkable resilience and recuperative powers of his family were at last exhausted. (3)

nere mū-lōkamum eyd ad eyde baḷasaḷ Pakṣīśānum laṅgisaḷ(sic)
 nereyam kūṭa-tatakk enipp atula-bhāsvad-durggamam Pāṇḍyan al- /
 karin Uccaṅgiya-bettan aśramadin āṭ and aṅṅakall ādidam
 tirikall adidan ēn ati-prabalanō Ballāla-bhūvallabham //

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- (1) E.C.I 33(?1177) dated Manmatha etc.
 (2) EC.V Arsikere 62(1177) at Halkūr.
 (3) Ballāla was in Dōrasamudra in August 1177: E.C.V Arsikere 62(Hēmaṅambi Bhādra su 13).

"How mighty was King Ballāla! He played at pebble-games, saying, "Dance!", with the hill of Uccaṅgi without effort, and with the Pāṇḍya delightfully, and with the fort gleaming immeasurably by reason of the slope to the summit, which is fit for the Lord of Birds (Garuḍa) only to surmount, and which truly extends so as to enclose the three worlds."(1)

A Sanskrit verse amplifies the picture:-

agrē yasya ca vighrahēṇa ruṭitas tyaktācalō niścalaṃ
Pāṇḍyas tāṇḍava-śālinam ca turagaṃ tyaktvā viṣṭāsanah /
bibhyat kānana-madhyam ētya vivaśas tatrāpi bhūyō bhayān
mlāyaty adbhuta-vikramō vijayatē Ballāla-bhūpālakah //

"King Ballāla of marvellous prowess is victorious - he in battle with whom the Pāṇḍya was smitten, first of all; now he abandons his hill, leaves his prancing horse motionless, and forsakes his throne, and, making in terror for the midst of the forest, even there in his helplessness languishes in great fear."(2)

It appears that there were in Uccaṅgi at the time two members of the Pāṇḍya dynasty, The principal of them was Kāma-dēva, who was the Vijaya-Pāṇḍya-dēva whose inscriptions are found in this period; who ruled at the time of Ballāla's attack; and who continued to rule after Ballāla's departure.(3)

(1) E.C.V Channapatna 209(April 1178).E.C.VI Chikmagalur 21 (Dec.1178) has this verse, but reads akkarin for alkarin; both are forms of alkarim, from alkar, "love" or "pleasure". RICE has in both cases misunderstood the sense. The Pāṇḍya king, his fort, and the hill itself follow one another into the air as if Ballāla were tossing one pebble while picking up another.

He was the Kāma-dēva who had suffered an attack from the Sinda ruler a few years before. But it appears that a relation of his, known as Oḍeya or Oḍeyarasa, was with him; it is clear that he was Kāma-dēva's father, living in retirement, after a lifetime of obscurity under the rule of his uncle, that staunch enemy of the Hoysala, Vīra-Pāṇḍya. (1)

bharadindaṃ tanna dōr-ggarbbadin Oḍeyarasam kāydu kādalk aṇam
ire Ballāḷa-kṣitīśam naḍadu baḷasiyuṃ mutte sēnā-gajendrō- /
tkara-dantāghāta-saṅcūrṇṇita-śikharadol Uccaṅgiyol silkidam bhā-
sura-kāntā-dēśa-kōśa-vraja-janaka-hayaughānviṭam Pāṇḍya-bhūpaṃ /

"When in the pride of his arm Oḍeyarasa was with great fury determined to fight, king Ballāḷa, having marched, surrounded him, and laid siege, then, on the peak which had been ground to powder by the blows of the tusks of the chief elephants in his army, in Uccaṅgi King Pāṇḍya fell into his hands, accompanied by his beautiful women, country, treasure-heaps, father, and groups of horses!"

cira-kālam ripugaḷg asādhyam enisird Uccaṅgiyaṃ mutti dur-
ddhara-tējō-nidhi dhūli gōṭeyane koṇḍ ā-Kāma-dēvāvanī- /
śvaramam sand Oḍeya-kṣitīśvaranan ā-bhaṇḍāramam strīyaram
turaga-vrātamumam samantu piḍidam Ballāḷa-bhūpālakaṃ //

"Laying siege to Uccaṅgi, which was for a long time considered impregnable to enemies, king Ballāḷa, full of irresistible ~~pro~~ prowess, took it as if a fort of dust, and seized in a delightful manner not only king Kāma and the famous king Oḍeya but also their treasury, women, and troops of horses." (2)

RICE's translations are defective in other respects also.
Page 210 n. (2) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 21(Dec, 1178): here again RICE's translation is not precise.
Page 210 n. (3) Ballāḷa took Vijaya-Pāṇḍya's fort of Uccaṅgi; E.C.IV Nagamangala 70(Dec. 1177). In E.C.XI Davangere 86(1177)

Again, in a later record, which has given rise to some misapprehension:-

Cōlam muttire panneral-barisakam kōlpōyte tām pōdan emb
ālāpaṃ bare sārdd ad ondu moḷanaṃ mēl peccuv Uccaṅgiyaṃ /
hēlāsādhyav ad ādud endu divijar ccōdyaṃ badutt iye ba-
ll āḷ āḷdaṃ giri-durgga-malla-vesaram Ballāḷa-bhūpālakaṃ //

" 'Though the Cōla besieged it for twelve years, was it plundered ? (No.) He went away.' When this report came he approached, and while the heavenly ones experienced wonder, saying that Uccaṅgi was fit to be taken in sport because it reared above (him) but one cubit; and (thus) bestowed it (upon him), he possessed himself, he the mighty man (Ball-āḷ), king Ballāḷa, of the name "wrestler with hill-forts". "(1)

we find Vijaya-Pāṇḍya-dēva ruling over territory including Ganganarasi, 14 miles W. of Uccaṅgi in August. But no details are given of where he was residing at the time.

Page 211 n. (1) Vīra-Pāṇḍya ruled till 1162: S.I.I.IX pt. 1, 293. Vijaya-Pāṇḍya's first record is E.C.XI Davangere 43(1164)q.v. Page 211 n. (2) E.C.II 327(1181) The latter verse occurs in E.C.II 240(c1178), where there are some printing errors.

(1) E.C.V Arsikere 178(1196) reads as above, but with baduttire, which is contrary to the metre; E.C.V Belur 137(1183) contained the verse, now much damaged; E.C.V Belur 175(1186) reads beras ardd, which is less acceptable. This grammatically complex verse seems to have misled RICE and others. The last line may indeed be rendered "he acquired the name Giri-durgga-malla", though it is possible that āḷdam should have Uccaṅgiyaṃ as its object, leaving iye absolute: thus giri-durgga-malla-vesaram could be an irregular tat-puruṣa compound: "he who has Giri-durga-malla as his title". Cf. M.A.R. 1909-10 para. 80(1235)

It is open to question who is the Cōla referred to. That Uccaṅgi, as a Cāḷukya outpost, was open to Cōla attacks over a long period in the 11th century is very likely, but attacks from the southern Cōla must have ceased at least by 1070. The only apparent alternative is the Cōla of Nidugal, who must have been from time to time antagonistic to his neighbour, whose territory he flanked throughout its entire length. It is curious that this is the only evidence of Cōla-Pāṇḍya hostility in Nolambavāḍi.

śanivāradande Pāṇḍyāvanipana saptāṅgam eyde siddhisidudarim
 Śanivāra-siddhi-vesaram janapati Ballāla-dēvan esedire taledam/

"King Ballāla, having attained the sevenfold (sover-
 eighty) of the Pāṇḍya king on a Saturday, from that instance
 of fortunate accomplishment assumed in his splendour the name
 "successful (even) on a Saturday"."(1)

That these titles were not in fact obtained on that
 occasion is already well-known, but the thought was sufficiently
 pleasant for the inaccuracy to escape notice a decade after
 the event.

Other references to the capture of Uccaṅgi are many.
 One record of 1181 asks:-

hesar-Uccaṅgiya kōṭeyan asadr̥ṣa-bhuja-balade munna koṇḍ arasugaḷ
 asahāya-śūra-Śanivāra-siddhi-Giri-durgga-malla Ballāḷana^{ar} vol //

"What kings had taken the famous fort of Uccaṅgi with
 unequalled strength of arm in the past after the fashion of
 Ballāla, the hero without a helper, successful on a Saturday,
 the wrestler with hill-forts ?"(2)

What happened after the capture we gather from two
 other references:-

agalim pātālav eṇṭuṃ deṣegaḷ agaladind uddadiṃ vyōmam int ir-
 vvagiy āgal percci mūrūṃ bhuvanadoḷ esev Uccaṅgiyaṃ koṇḍa
 maguḷduṃ Pāṇḍyaṃ śaraṇ-bokkaḍe karuṇisi tad-rājyamam^{gāṇdam /} koṭṭu
 jagadoḷ vikhyāti-vettaṃ haraṇa-bharanadiṃ vīra-Ballāla-dēvaṃ^{mūrūṃ} //

"The champion who took Uccaṅgi, which was Pātāla in

(1) Clearly composed at the same time as the verse quoted
 before it, it appears only in E.CV Belur 137(1183).

point of its ditch, the eight quarters in extent, and in height the sky, thus expanding in both dimensions, and famous in all three worlds, when, after all, the Pāṇḍya sought refuge (with him), being gracious to him, Vīra-Ballāla-dēva gave (back) his kingdom, and acquired fame in the three worlds by taking and bestowing (or, 'destroying and supporting')." (1)

And, again, we notice that a dignitary who subsequently held office in the Eastern districts, by name Rāghava-dēvarasa, held the title "lion to the elephant Pāṇḍya-rāya, setter up of Pāṇḍya-rāya." He probably took a prominent part in this campaign. (2)

Ballāla's forces were not as yet in a position to take over the occupation of the Pāṇḍya territory, though they might overrun it, and therefore it was in Ballāla's interest to reinstate Kāma-dēva as his vassal. Kāma-dēva did not, however, show in his inscriptions any sign either of gratitude to the Hoysala or of subordination to him.

Ballāla II was ruling his kingdom, "protecting the earth between Hima and Sētu under the shadow of his single umbrella, having accomplished a victory in all quarters, having vanquished the Pāṇḍya and made Uccaṅgi his royal city" in the month of September 1177. (3) While he was at Uccaṅgi, preparing

Page 213 n. (2) E.C.V Channarayapatna 161(1181) reads Ballālanayolu, and E.C.V Channarayapatna 150(1182) reads Ballālanavol. In E.C.VI Tarikere 20(1185) Ballāla has the title vidalita-Vijaya-Pāṇḍya-vikramādhāra-giri-durggam, "he who burst the hill-fortress of Vijaya-Pāṇḍya, which was a receptacle of prowess."

(1) E.C.VI Tarikere 10(1184). E.C.V Belur 136(1217) has a damaged copy of the verse. E.C.V Belur 72(c1179) has the erroneous readings vyōmadind and bokkaḍa.

(2) E.C.IX Nelamangala 82(1196). (3) E.C.XII Cikanayakanhalli 36 at Huliyēru.

for further campaigns, two other movements were afoot. An expedition penetrated into the neighbouring territory of the Nidugal Cōla, while another swept onwards towards the Tuṅga-bhadra, which must have been the Pāṇḍya's northern boundary, crossed it perhaps in the region of Hūvina-Hadaṅgile, to which place Vijaya-Pāṇḍya himself resorted in times of distress in July of the following year, (1) and passed north-westwards as far as Mulugunda. That Ballāla did so much is clear from the title Ballāla receives in a record of 1177: "capturer of Nonāmbavāḍi and Mulugunda". That he claims the capture of Mulugunda indicates that he met at the time with no effective obstruction from the Gutta or from the Cālukya or Kalacuri officials in the Huligere region, while it appears that there was sufficient strength in the region of Dharmavolaḷu, Lokki-guṇḍi and Gadagu to prevent the expedition penetrating the chain of hills which the Kalacuri's subordinates probably held, and thus entering the territory which had most to offer to the invader. Indeed the whole movement suggests that whatever the condition of the Banavāse nāḍ and the Baṅkāpura-Huligere region there was at the time a sufficiently reliable and united force between Gadagu and Koppaṇa to suggest a flanking movement by way of Mulugunda rather than a frontal attack across the Tuṅga-bhadra by way of Alavaṇḍi or Mevundi. (2) This expedition having clarified the position to the north of the Pāṇḍya nāḍ, and shown that the time was not ripe for further attempts in that direction, Ballāla reviewed the situation in the Cōla district, and

(1) S.I.I. IX pt. 1, 254, para. 4 (A.R. 1914, 445).

(2) M.A.R. 1909-10 para. 78 (1177) at Oṭikere, Ciknayakanhalli tāluq.

turned towards the west.

Malli-dēva Cōla, who was ruling at the time at Heñjeru, was forced to acquiesce in the new Hoysala encroachments. (1)

To explain the condition of the districts which Ballāla next invaded, it will be necessary to give a picture of the general political situation, which will be found to explain not only the ease with which Ballāla's task-force reached Mulugund, but also why he chose that particular period for the invasion of the Pāṇḍya nād itself.

The Cālukya family had lost its empire, but not its vitality. There can be no doubt but that the Cālukya cause had many adherents and propagandists in the Banavāse and adjoining nāds, though amid the signs of the confusion that prevailed there at the period it is not easy to assess their actual strength. The Pāṇḍya dynasty was inclined to sympathize with the ex-imperial dynasty, and it is known that, at least during Nārasimha's reign, the Hoysala himself had not been strongly repugnant to the admission of Cālukyan supremacy, a notion as harmless as it was sentimental. Meanwhile, from the total ab-

(1) Malli-dēva, son of Iruṅgōla, ruled between 1147 & 1179 according to inscriptions, his first being E.C.XI Challakere 21 and his last S.I.I.IX pt.1, 273, A.R.1927, 104. He was at Heñjeru in 1158 (S.I.I.VI 557) and 1167 (E.C.XII Sira 23); in Gōvindavāḍi in 1169 (S.I.I.IX pt.1, 269) and at Heñjeru in 1179.

A verse in E.C.VBelur 119 (cl180) relates something of the eastern expedition:-

dhareyoḷ munne narēndran emb esakad ā-Cōlaṅge kōḷ-pōgad emb
aridaṃ naccina Dēva-durggaman adaṃ dhāl iṭṭu Pāṇḍyāvanī- /
śvara-sāmrājya-samētam ottajeyin itam kondān Uccāṅgiyam
para-durgga-Tripura-Trinētran adaṃ Ballāla-bhūpālakaṃ //

"King Ballāla is a hero, a Trinētra (śiva) to the Tripura (demon) that were the forts of his enemies. He it was that, assaulting formerly that Dēvadurga that had given con-

sence of records that acknowledge either Cālukya or Kaḷacuri sovereignty in the Banavāse, Hāṅgal, Sāntalige, or Huligere districts, we may imagine that both dynasties had their representatives in that area, that these had reached a point in their rivalry which precluded peaceful activities on both sides without enabling a decision to be arrived at to the advantage of either, so that the districts formed in fact a kind of no-man's-land between the Kaḷacuri empire and the Hoysala outposts. In 1173 some Kaḷacuri agents were very inhospitably received in Banavāse nāḍ.(1) Between that year, however, and 1176 no ~~heavy~~ heavy fighting is recorded. In 1176 Vikramāditya, almost certainly the Gutta ruler of Guttavolalu and an uncle of Vijaya-Pāṇḍya-dēva, was worsted in the battle of Tavanidhi, and was attacked on his way thence by a subject of Tailapa Gaṅga, the son of a Permādi-dēva, no doubt Ekkala of Uddhare, who himself in the same year raided a village belonging apparently to the Kadamba ruler.(2) In 1177 we hear that Vikramāditya had obtained some territorial jurisdiction in the Banavāse nāḍ, so that it appears that his reverse at Tavanidhi can not have been very severe. (3) Kuppattūr, on the road

fidence of being impregnable to the (famous) Cōla, who had a splendour as if he were a ruler in the earth, as if to say "it can not be plundered", took Uccaṅgi with (all its) abundance, accompanied by the empire of the Pāṇḍya king."

The R.T. is defective, reading koḷ-pōgad, "can not be taken", which is not impossible but is less acceptable since kōḷ-pōgad has parallels; dhāl ittu for dhāl ittu, which represents dāl ittu, dhāli being a frequent alternative for dāli; and oṭṭajiyin for oṭṭajeyin.

No satisfactory identification can be suggested for Dēvadurga. It can hardly be the Dēvadurga eight miles south of the Krishna river, at 76°55'16°25'.

(1) E.C.VIII Sorab 139(1173) at Uddhare: Kāvāṇa and Sōvāṇa

from Hāṅgal to Belagāvi, was attacked by a certain Gavuda-sāmi and looted. He seems to have been assisted by some one at Uccaṅgi, prior, of course, to the Hoysala occupation of that place. (1) Sōvi-dēvarasa of Bandalike, probably in league with Tailapa, marched against Gutti. Tailapa himself was at Kuppe, possibly the village about eight miles south of Uddhare, his capital, though with what object it is difficult to guess, unless it was to direct a raid upon a Sāntara or an imperial fief to the south of his small principality. There he was subjected to a siege by Vikramāditya, so that two nominal subjects of the Kalacuri Saṅkama-dēva, who had recently taken up the imperial responsibility, were openly at war with each other. It will be remembered that Vikramāditya Gutta had been, in 1165 (above p.193) inimical to the Kalacuri; we are not justified in inventing a Kalacuri daṇṇāyaka of the name Vikramāditya, which is the only alternative, and thus we must conclude that in the interval of ten years the Gutta's views had been changed. The shifting pattern of political life in this corner of the empire permitted such changes within even smaller intervals. Clearly, then, while Vikramāditya was engaged in this struggle of 1177 he was in no position either to defend his nephew's kingdom or to prevent the Hoysala expedition from passing through his own. (2)

were sent by the Kalacuri emperor to collect the dues of Banavāse nād; a nāyaka the emperor had honoured invited the Kadambas Sōyi-dēva and Bammaṇa of Gutti together with Vikramāditya Gutta and the Sāntara ruler to watch a day's "manoeuvres". He then surrounded Kāvaṇa and Sōvaṇa's army and a fight "developed".
 Page 217 n. (2) E.C.VIII Sorab 32(1176); *ibid.* 313(?1176).
 Page 217 n. (3) E.C.VIII Sorab 251, W.E.II f. 73b-74a(1177).

(1) E.C.VIII Sorab 251(Jan.1177) Durmati is an error for Dur-

While this confusion reigned in the west a ruler of Ballāla's energy was not likely to waste the opportunity. Between September and December 1177 he invaded Banavāse nād in force and inflicted heavy losses upon the Kadambas and others impartially. A mutilated verse of the period relates:-

Kari.pan ildu<du> Cōlika-kṣiti-talaṃ pāl ēlvinam bhasmam āg
urid int eyde Nolambavādi-Banavāsī-maṇḍalaṃ pūlide /
tirid ant ādudu Gutti potti pogid att ā-Pānugal bandud Ā-
lvara-khēḍaṃ prabaḷa-pratāpa-śikhiyim Ballāla-bhūpālanam //

"Through the fire of the mighty prowess of king Ballāla the surface of the land of the Cōla was (?) reduced to blackness; the country of Nolambavādi and Banavāsi blazed well, becoming ashes, so that ruin was produced; Gutti became as if roaming about, being covered up; on that side the (famous) Pānugal (Hāṅgal) catching fire was covered with smoke, and the Ālva's country was scorched."(1)

It is not to be assumed from this that Hāṅgal was actually taken, nor that Ālva-khēḍa was invaded: but both might be expected to be uncomfortably aware of the distress of their near neighbours.

Ballāla returned home, leaving detachments in the Cōla, Pāṇḍya and Banavāse regions. He was ruling again in Dōrasamudra during December 1177.(2)

mukhi: the 10th year of Rāya-murāri Sōvi-dēva is 1177. The use of the emperor's era for dating does not indicate political subservience.

Page 218 n.(2) E.C.VIII Sorab 498(1177); ibid.174(1177).

(1) E.C.V Channarayapatna 220(?1178),? before March - on the back of the stone is an inscription of that date and others later. pūlide tirid is a conjecture for the text's unintelligible pūlid ētared. (2) E.C.IV Nagamangala 70(1177, Pausya su 3).

The operations in the north-west, however, he considered as only just begun. In the spring of 1178 he returned to continue the struggle. We have no very satisfactory evidence as to the progress of the Hoysala forces between 1178 and 1179, but from subsequent events it appears that Ballāla directed another swiftly-moving raiding party, which he may not in fact have accompanied throughout its journey. We learn that he slew warriors and by the strength of his valour took possession of Viṣṇu's conquests, namely Halasige, Belvola, Huligere and Lokkigundi, as far as the Herdora, that is, the Krishna.(1) If this is true, his force enjoyed the same freedom of movement as had been at Viṣṇuwardhana's disposal fifty years before; one feels that the Kalacuri must have put up a very stiff opposition in Belvola at least. However, to leave such pretentious claims, it seems certain that Hāṅgal fell into his hands at this time. Of two later inscriptions the first states that Ballāla swallowed Virāṭa-rāja-pura, that is, Hāṅgal, and the second that "like letters on water Poysala's army blew away Hāṅgal where Kāvana was and great Pāṇḍya's hill considered impregnable"

(2) Meanwhile his authority must still have been accepted in Malli-dēva's country, for in December 1178 an inscription in Vira-Ballāla's name was put up at Parigi in the modern Hindu-pur tāluqa, on the eastern outskirts of the Heñjeru kingdom.

(3) We can feel fairly sure, too, that there was activity against Kalacuri subordinates to the north of the Tuṅgabhadra,

(1) M.A.R. 1910-1, para. 101(?1189). (2) M.A.R. 1926, 25(1191) & E.C. V Belur 112(?c1198). In the latter the name Kāvana must be a misreading for Kāvana.

(3) S.I.I. IX pt. 1, 318(A.R. 1912, 83) of 1178-9.

otherwise it would not have been possible for the king to have reached Kavalūr in the next year without very extensive and lengthy preparations.

By April 1178 Ballāla was again in Dōrasamudra, during what seems to have been a lull before a storm.(1) In the previous month a battle in which his forces were involved took place probably in the Belagāvi area.(2) During this period Ballāla certainly acquired a body of active supporters in Belagāvi itself; an inscription of the third year of the Cālukya emperor Āhavamalla refers to the presence at a ceremony of various persons including "those known as the suns among champions who, having subdued the Konkan, took tribute from Vijayāditya, and only honoured ones amongst men, who acquired renown having caused satisfaction to the Malaparol gaṇḍa, the Hoysala Vīra-Ballāla." (3) Ballāla's troubled kingdom was once again experiencing disturbances in the east, and some tightening of governmental control was required there. It may be guessed that an invasion had occurred from the Cōla district for in June 1178 a Hoysala dependent attacked the fort of Vindūr. Though clearly a small incident in a minor campaign, it must have added to the already considerable anxiety at the capital.(4)

(1) E.C.V Channarayapatna 209(1178). He was still there in May: E.C.V Hassan 55(1178). (2) E.C.VIII Sorab 2(?1178). The date is not certain.

(3) E.C.VII Shikarpur 119(1181): Koṅkaṇamaṃ sādhisī Vijayādityanaḷ kappamaṃ konda gaṇḍa-mārttandarum / Malaparol gaṇḍam Hoysala-vīra-Ballāla-dēvaṅge santōṣavam māḍi manṇeṇyam haḍada janaika-mānyarum enisidar.

(4) E.C.IX Kankanhalli 35(?1178) There is little doubt of the date: Viḷambi, with the king's title mahā-maṇḍalēśvara --- Vīra-Gaṅga-Viṣṇuvardhana-Posala-vīra-Vallāla-dēvan.

Meanwhile a far more critical situation was developing. The events of the past few years had not been unnoticed at Kalyāna. The emperor Saṅkama determined to lead a counter-attack in person. The news of his preparations must have reached Ballāla at the beginning of the year 1179: he moved northwards at once. He was at Kavalūr, about fifty miles north of Uccaṅgi, in the Belvola province, in the last days of April 1179, in the company of a wife called Remma-dēvi. (1) It is clear that he supposed that he would be able to intercept Saṅkama well to the north of the Hoysala dominions. But the Kalacuri was too clever for him. Early in May he was actually in Beḷagāvi, having pushed aside Ballāla's partisans, in the company of Lakṣmī-dēva, Sōvanayya and Kāvanayya, the last two danṇāyakas being the agents who had been insulted by rulers of the Banavāse district in 1173. (2) In the same month, having thus stolen a march on ~~the~~^{its} leader, he attacked the Hoysala detachment and inflicted a series of defeats upon it. The fighting continued, and Ballāla retired to the capital. (3) Saṅkama's general Kāvana-danḍanāyaka claimed to have driven the Hoysala to the points of the compass, (4) and the ubiquitous Candugi-dēva-danṇāyaka, an officer of Āhavamalla, Saṅkama's successor, boasted of having taken the Hoysala and Cōla kingdoms as well as burning the territory of the brave Vijayāditya. (5)

(1) Ballāla was in Dōrasamudra in November 1178: E.C.V Belur 83. The queen's name is spelt, incorrectly, Ryammā: W.E.II f. 82b-83a (1179). (x) (2) E.C.VII Shikarpur 96, I.A.v p. 45-50, P.S. O.C.I. 189 (1179). (3) He was apparently there in May: E.C.IV Nagamangala 15 (1179).

(4) E.C.XI Davangere 44 (c1180). E.C.VI Chikmagalur 87 (c1180) shows Ballāla at Sāyirāravā (unidentified) in this period.

(5) E.C.VII Shikarpur 119 (1181) at Beḷagāvi. The Cōla was the Neḷjeru ruler, and Vijayāditya the Kadamba ruler of Goa.

(x) It is possible that she was wife of a Māsavādi Ballāla.

The many references to this campaign, occasioned by the number of vīragals erected after it, indicate that the Hoysala troops were heavily engaged without achieving proportionate success. The emperor returned northwards after he had as he thought disposed of the Hoysala menace, made an effective show of strength in the disaffected nāḍs, accepted the submission of the chief of Uddhare, (1) and doubtless confirmed the tenure of the Kadamba ruler of Gutti. (2) Hoysala records tell us that a certain Biṭṭiya-nāyaka defeated troops of elephants while he himself sat on horseback in Ballāla's battle with Saṅkama; (3) a battle took place at ... rugaḷu in May 1179; (4) Hammaṇa of the modern Mudgere tāluḡa died piercing the head of Saṅkama's elephant at the battle of Maḡavalli; (5) Accaya-sahaṇi, chief of the Hoysala camel force distinguished himself at the battle of Maḡevalli (sic) against Saṅkama-dēva; (6) when Ballāla sent for Babbeya-nāyaka and ordered him to fight against the army of Saṅkama-dēva, he went and fought with great valour, killing several maṇḡalikas and cutting to pieces numerous warriors; (7) and Ballāla himself encamped at Hadadeya-kuppa when he marched against Murāri-Kēṣava Nārasiṅga, who was accompanied by the Kaḷacuri Bijjala's general Canna-Kāḷama-sāhaṇi. (8) An obscure reference to Saṅkama is found in an inscription at Hulikal dated July 1179. (9)

(1) E.C.VII SHikarpur 96(1179).

(2) W.E.II f.311b(1178) at Ālūr:Sōvi-dēva ruled, in Gutti, the Panthipura-baliya bāḡa 200 (a dependency of the Hāṅgal 500) with parts of the Banavāsē nāḡ in August and September 1178.

(3) M.A.R. 1931,2(c1179) at Belūr.

(4) E.C.IX Channapatna 64(1179) at Iggalūr.

(5) E.C.VI Mudgere 33(1179) dated October-November, but referring to an event later than the battle, i.e. Ballāla's going to Sosavūr. Maḡavalli is as yet unidentified.

(6) M.A.R.1937,31(?1179) at Dōrasamudra.

(7) M.A.R.1914-5, para.81(1179) at Agrahāra-Bācahaḷli.

Though Saṅkama retired without invading Ballāla's own territory, he retained all the other advantages of the war, and thus the Hoysala can hardly have considered the outcome anything less than a serious set-back; no doubt this is sufficient reason for assigning to the year 1179-80, with comparatively small hesitation, an inscription referring to the king Nārasimha and bearing the date Vikāri. It commemorates the death of a son of Kālpetti-dannāyaka at the battle of Vasudhāre in Talige-nāḍ. Now Vasudhāre was clearly the modern village of Vastāra, twenty miles or so to the west of Dōrasamudra. The preoccupation of the government with the war against Saṅkama Kalacuri must have encouraged some raid or commotion, which had then led to this fighting. Nārasimha, now in his forty-sixth year, was doubtless a kind of viceroy during Ballāla's frequent absences on active service, and so performed the same function for his son as he had for his father - as we can see from this vīragal, and from Ballāla's presence from time to time at Dōrasamudra when he clearly would have been better employed at the front, with about the same degree of inefficiency. (1)

During the period between 1179 and 1182 Ballāla had to settle his quarrel with the Kalacuri and repair the damage which the war had inflicted on his kingdom. Indeed the latter

Page 223 n.(8) M.A.R. 1917 para.99(?1179).The editor dates it 1189, but that is manifestly impossible.

Page 223 n.(9) E.C.XII Tiptur 35(1179) Ballāla, Saṅkama and Ballāla do not appear to have been engaged in conflict at that moment; the impression given is that Saṅkama had to fight another enemy, but the record is damaged.

(1) M.A.R. 1927, 8 at Belūr. Vikāri must be 1179 because the king bears the titles mahā-mandalēśvara Tribhuvanamalla Talakādu-Koṅga-Naṅgali-Banavāse-Hānuṅgal-goṇḍa bhuja-bala-vīra-Gaṅga-prātāpa-Hoysala śrī-Nārasimha-dēvaru, a series inconsistent with 1119, before Nārasimha was born, or 1239 when the titles were obsolete. Admittedly the date refers to the setting

necessity powerfully urged an early accommodation with the emperor. The latter was probably quite ready to come to terms with Ballāla, as his successes in the war of 1179 were soon counter-balanced by a recrudescence of ill-feeling towards his dynasty in the regions that separated the two powers. Malli-dēva Cōla, despite his defeat at the hands of Candugi-dēva, acknowledged in December 1179 neither the Kalacuri nor the Hoysala, but the Cālukya supremacy. (1) The attitude of the Pāndya was ambiguous, but the tradition of independence in general and objection to the Kalacuri in particular was rooted fairly deeply in Banavāse and Sāntalige. This situation the Cālukya, although he had, naturally, other areas besides to consider, might be expected to exploit. The real interest of the Kalacuri was therefore to come to an ~~agreement~~ ^{agreement} with the Hoysala, to take the form of a non-aggression pact, with the tacit understanding that Ballāla might tamper with the north-western nāds if he wished, so long as he thereby hampered the Cālukya's attempts at a revival, and abstained from crossing the Tuṅgabhadrā in the Belvola region in such a way as to embarrass the Kalacuri's faithful adherent, the Erambarage Sinda.

It would be impossible here to give even an outline of the vast number of considerations that, between 1179 and 1183 poured in upon the deliberations of the foreign department of Ballāla's council of ministers. Perhaps at no other time in the history of the Mysorean plateau had so many conflicting inter-

up of the vīragal and not the battle, but as the warrior was of a substantial family, and three persons contributed to its cost and endowment, there appears no reason for the ceremony's having been long delayed. For Nārasimha, cf. E.C.V Arsikere 79 (1184)

(1) S.I.I.IX pt.1, 273 (1179) at Malavanūr.

ests converged upon one point. The geographical position of the Hoysala, together with his degree of stability, activity, ambition and material resources, rendered his kingdom specially influential in deciding the growth or decay of dynasties in the peninsula. In the north the Yādavas of Dēvāgiri were stirring; in the west the coastal strip of the south Konkan was restless; in the east the Kākatīya was coming to the height of his power; in the south Cōla and Pāṇḍya were involved in a highly complex struggle for survival amid a welter of conflicting interests now too strong to submit even to two dynasties. The great Karnāṭaka empire was showing signs of decay: it was for the Hoysala, if he wished, to cast his weight into one pan or the other, or to profit from the needs of both the rivals. As it turned out, until the last few years of this reign Hoysala policy was very astute. Whether the credit be due to Ballāla himself or to his mantri-maṇḍala, the fortunes of his dynasty were able in a brilliant manner to reach the very highest pitch of which they were in fact capable.

The first step was to accept a Kalacuri offer: for indeed whether the victor of 1179 actually took the initiative or not, his was the greater need. We have available an interesting piece of evidence on this point. An inscription of the year 1255 set up by a son-in-law of a son-in-law of a certain Kuñjanambi-seṭṭi states that the latter, "pleasing both the Hoysala emperor in the south and Ballaha himself in the north, formed an alliance between the two kings which was universally praised."(1) A comparison of dates shows that the Ballaha

(1) EC.V Arsikere 108(1255).

(i. e. Vallabha) in question must have been Saṅkama Kalacuri. An alternative suggestion, that the alliance may have taken place after 1183 between Vīra-Ballāla and Sōmēśvara Cālukya with the object of providing Ballāla with a free hand in other regions, is not so attractive, as we know that Ballāla was engaged in hostile operations against Sōmēśvara not only in 1183 itself, but also as soon as the Yādava of Dēvagiri appeared near enough to disturb seriously the Cālukya administration. Indeed, a Cālukya-Hoysala alliance would be so unnatural a circumstance and so difficult to justify, that, while not being impossible, it is hardly to be credited without better authority than the present reference.

Having thus accommodated his relations with his only serious rival, Ballāla proceeded to inspect the state of his affairs in the regions intermediate between their frontiers. In March 1180 he was almost certainly at Hallavūr, where we find him adjusting some boundary dispute between Nonambavādi and Gaṅgavādi, though we are unable to tell whether his decision was in favour of the Āsandi family, on whose part the investigation appears to have been carried out, or that of the other party, the unfortunate Pāṇḍya. (1) Hallavūr was a place of almost as great strategic importance as Harihar itself, and in a similar way. A little less than eighty miles from the capital by the shortest route, and about twenty miles upstream from Harihar, the town was in an excellent position for the receipt of intelligence from every direction, while from it movement might be made at the shortest notice into either the

(1) E.C.VII Channagiri 73(1180). Vijayasamudra was a name

eastern or western parts of the area in which Ballāla, like his grandfather, was interested. An invasion of the northern regions was as easily effected as a sudden retreat to the Hoysala nāḍ, while the town of Hallavūr itself was admirably situated for defence in every direction but the south.

In 1180-1 some fighting took place at Ummadi (1) and in December 1180 at Ānandare. (2) It is possible that Ummadi may be the Ummadūr that is about thirteen miles south-west of Talakād, where Ballāla is said to have destroyed a crore of warriors. (3) In 1181 operations, apparently on no very great scale, continued in the north. In March Ballāla himself took the field against Bāceya-nāyaka of Herbbeṭṭa, (4) while a certain Saṅkama-dēva, a sāmanta under Āhavamalla Kalacuri, joined Ballāla and went with the latter's daṇḍanāyakas to Tānagunda, north-east of Belagāvi, where no doubt the Hoysala was trying to obtain some advantage from the confusion into which the growing weakness of the Kalacuri and activity on the part of the Cālukya had once again thrown this distracted but valuable area. (5) Kēśimayya-dannāyaka, the Kalacuri lieutenant who

applied to Hallavūr in this period, probably during an early Hoysala occupation. In this record only .yasamudra remains of the name. Compare Channagiri 72(1220). He pitched his camp for the occasion outside Siḷagōḍu.

- (1) E.C.X Goribidnur 41(1180).
 (2) M.A.R. 1929, 16(1180) at Dōrasamudra.
 (3) E.C.V Belur 175(1186) at Vīra-dēvanahalli.
 (4) M.A.R. 1926, 16(1181) at Tagara, Belūr tāluḡa. See below p. 385. Herbbeṭṭa or Hebbeṭṭa in this case may be the Hebbeṭṭa mentioned in M.A.R. 1927, 35(1288), near Ānūr in Chikmagalur tāluḡa. It is not likely that it was that near Antaravalli or that at 74°45'13"57".
 (5) E.C.VII Shikarpur 197(1181-2).

nominally ruled Banavāse 12,000, Hayve, Sāntalige and Yedadore in Belagāvi, fought a battle at Mayile in March 1181, (1) and in the following year the Jiddulige-nād was the scene of further fighting. (2) Meanwhile, fortunately for the Cālukya, Ballāla's attention was diverted. Leaving his detachments in the north-west to carry on as best they might, he directed his energies in the opposite direction. The battle of Ummadūr has already been noticed. If indeed it took place in the south, as has been suggested, the occurrence fits into the usual pattern. The preoccupation of the government and the royal armies in the north and the recent reverses encouraged an invasion from the Koṅgu nād, which now required to be repelled. The story was repeated in the east. In 1181 Vīra-Vallāla-Kilalādiraja-Vācci-dēvar, Hoysala feudatory with his headquarters at Peruvedakōṭṭai in Kilalalai-nād, sustained an attack from an unknown nāyaka. (3) He appears to have held his own, but the king felt that further steps were necessary, and determined on reprisals. As his grandfather had done, he drove towards Kāñci. It does not appear that his forces remained long in that area, but he seems to have been pleased with the success of the demonstration, as well as with those in other directions, for a verse, in the style of the wordy panegyric now common to the public compositions of the period, tells us:-

mūḍalu saṃcalisittu Kāñci paḍuvalu ghōliṭṭud ambōdhiy edd
 ōḍitt addada Cēra-dēśav anituṃ Pāṇḍyāvanī-maṇḍalam /
 kāḍoḷ kūde keraldu pokk aḍagid att uddāma-saṅgrāmadol
 kāḍirdd entu barduṅkuv annar oḷarē Ballāla-bhūpālanoḷ //

(1) E.C.VII Shikarpur 144(1181) at Belagāvi. (2) & (3) over.

"On the east Kāñci trembled; on the west the ocean groaned; all the great Cēra country got up and ran; the country of the Pāṇḍya land, raging, entered the forest all at once and vanished; are there any who escape alive from King Ballāla when pressed in the mighty war ?" (1)

Whatever his successes in other directions, his policy in the north began to bring good returns. Supported by the anxiety of the Kaḷacuri, Ballāla had taken part in the quarrels of the north-west, where his motives were for the present allowed to remain hidden under the cloak of co-operation with the emperor. Naturally, nothing but the impossible, namely an alliance between Kaḷacuri and Cālukya, could prevent Ballāla from bringing the north-western nāds under his control, as a step preliminary to a general movement towards the Krishna river. The chaotic condition of the districts, the petty feuds between the many ruling families, and the complete lack of control on the part of the imperial government, were sufficient reasons for the growth of the Hoysala dominion in the interests of governor and governed alike. But this was not to be achieved as long as Kaḷacuri or Cālukya remained possible alternatives.

Page 229 n. (2) E.C.VIII Sorab 43(1182).

Page 229n. (3) E.C.IX Kankanhalli 84b at Daḷavāyi-kōḍihalli. He made a grant to the god Siṅgapperumāl in the same year (Plava) and a similar one in the next: E.C.IX Channapatna 167 at Byāderahalli, and ibid.160 at Honnāyakanhalli.

(1) M.A.R. 1925, 64(1181) reads pañcaḷisittu, an editorial slip; ghūliṭṭud; kāḍoḷu, saṅgrāmadolu and bhūpāḷanoḷu, where the u is merely a substitute for a virāma; and kōḍiṭṭante for kāḍirdd entu. M.A.R. 1937, 17(1196) reads ḍḍit, wrongly; the u's as in the previous copy; taguḷdu ('running after') for keraḷdu; kāḍittāmtu for kāḍirdd entu; and bradumkuvannar. E.C.V Arsikere 23(1197) reads arggada, an alternative form for aggada. Ghōḷidu must be an alternative form (not noticed by Kittel) for gōḷidu, "to lament".

In 1183 Ballāla's policy enjoyed its first success: Sōmēśvara IV Cālukya, known as Tribhuvanamalla or Jagadēkamalla, recovered the throne which his father had lost to Bijjala, and, with the disappearance of Siṅgana, the youngest son of Bijjala, in 1184, the Kalacuri dynasty came to an end. Thus the only enemy of whom the Hoysala had had sufficient cause to be afraid was removed for ever.

Naturally, the accession of Sōmēśvara IV was hailed as a return of the days of Vikramāditya, and families such as the Pāṇdyas of Uccaṅgi, the Cōlas of Heñjeru and Nidugal and the Kadambas of Hāṅgal felt satisfaction on two distinct grounds: firstly their own efforts, feeble as in fact they had been, had contributed to the re-establishment of the supposedly legitimate dynasty, and therefore the emperor could be expected to leave them a very large share of their precious self-government, and not to interfere in their several schemes of aggrandisement; secondly, the re-establishment of the Cālukya, even on such unsatisfactory terms, would enable them to resist Hoysala infiltration, and so save themselves from becoming mere feudatories of either of their powerful neighbours.

The Hoysala, however, knew well enough the real strength of the Cālukya, saw the evident signs of decay in other parts of his empire besides those in which he took a particular interest, heard the sound of a new language from the north, and decided to wait for the second stage in the process to develop. He had only six years to wait.

In 1183-4, however, while Sōmēśvara's name was being affixed to documents and recited in ceremonial preambles in one principality after another, and as long as the Kalacuri maintained forces in the area, the Hoysala took an active part in the commotions. There is evidence of an officer of the 'Mahā-maṇḍalēśvara Ballāla-dēva' attacking villages under the Cālukya's indirect control in the modern Sorab tāluqa. (1) But we have no further evidence of military activity by the Hoysala in any of the districts before the year 1190. An inscription at Sōgi, probably of the 1185 period, tells us of Brahma-dandanāyaka, who was in fact the son of Kāvana-dandanāyaka, of whom we have already heard much, and gives him the titles Vānarāya-diśāpaṭṭa, "scatterer of the Bāna king", the Bāna, of course, being a member of the northern, Karnāṭaka branch of the Bāna family; and Hoysala-śaila-durgga-nirghāta, "thunderbolt to the hill-forts of the Hoysala". (2) But it is more than likely that these titles were earned by Brahma-dandanāyaka while he was a general in the service of the Kalacuris, and before he changed sides and became a man of great importance in the Cālukya empire. (3) There is thus no reason for supposing that any warfare took place between the year of Sōmēśvara's accession and the time when Ballāla judged that his opportunity had come. These six years of peace in the north, peace that is to say from the Hoysala's ~~side~~ side, for fighting took place, on and off, between the various maṇḍalikas in the area, these years

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- (1) E.C.VIII Sorab 419 (?1183) at Hire Idagōḍu.
 (2) S.I.I.IX pt.1, 287, A.R.1914, 458 (c1185).
 (3) He reoccurs in A.R.1928-9, App.E 207 (1184).

were not years of diplomatic idleness. While Ballāla's own kingdom was accumulating material resources, and preparing for the coming struggle, the families in the north were vigorously canvassed for their support against the Cālukya. No overt act of hostility appeared, but one by one the dynasties assumed dignity and power: between 1187 and 1189 at least eight dynasties were active and articulate - anticipating the opposite of the fate that awaited them.(1) Particularly noticeable is the resurrection of Sāntara power and prestige. This activity does not indicate weakness on the Hoysala's part, for our knowledge of Ballāla's position and the progress of affairs in the region during his grandfather's lifetime show us the contrary. It does however confirm our opinion of Sōmēśvara's position, and points the way to the next step, which clearly lay within the Hoysala's initiative.

In the year 1189, due to a fortunate conjunction of circumstances into which it is not here necessary to enquire, the ruler of the Marātha dynasty of Dēvagiri, Bhillama Sēvuna of the Yādava race, had acquired large portions of the northern half of the Cālukya empire, and was on his way southwards. We know nothing of the struggle put up by the Cālukya, or the odds against which he fought. But Bhillama's progress was rapid, and the Kannada-speaking people south of the Krishna fell swiftly under the control of his dalavāyis. Sōmēśvara, whose life and influence lasted certainly until 1200, but with far less vigour

(1) The ruling families of Uccaṅgi, Heñjeru, Belagavatti, Uddhare, Hāṅgal, Pomburccha, Gutti (or, perhaps Bandalike), and Guttavolalu. Brambarage may be omitted as the Sinda ruler there was loyal to the imperial family for the time being. The eastern families have been ignored here as politically insignificant.

than during the first exile of his family, abandoned Kalyāna, and fled, it seems, south-westwards.

The Sēvuna advanced towards the Tuṅgabhadra on a broad front, and during 1190 occupied several important towns. (1)

Ballāla's opportunity had come. The emperor had abandoned his capital; the maṇḍalikas were terrified by Bhillama's advance and by the ex-emperor's presence to an almost equal degree. The Hoysala army crossed the Tuṅgabhadra, swept through districts that had previously proved an insuperable obstacle, and met the Sēvuna advanced parties perhaps several miles north of the Erambarage Sinda's dominions. In April 1190 his queen Mādēvi ruled in his stead in Dōrasamudra, and it seems that he was on active service during the spring of that year. (2) We know nothing of the details of the campaign, except that the first meeting of the antagonists was favourable to the Hoysala, and that the Sēvuna attack was staved off for about eighteen months. An inscription of December 1191 tells how by Ballāla the fortress of Uccaṅgi was burnt up, Virātarājapura swallowed, and the power of the Sēvunas sipped up, and that he, the fire to the forest the fame of the Pallava, scatterer of the deer Siṃhala and Sapāla, scatterer of Bhillama, submarine fire to the army of the Sēvunas, was ruling a territory extending up to Kalyāna. (3) He was certainly now in

(1) Bhillama was recognized at Anṇigere in January 1190 (A.R. 1928-9, App. E, 192, W.E. II f. 166a-7b (1190) at Anṇigere); at Gadag in May 1191 (E. I. iii 30) but must have been in power there much earlier. Sōmēśvara Cālukya was recognized at Lakkundi in 1186 (A.R. 1926-7, App. F, 48, W.E. I f. 565b (1186)) and at Hoṣūr near Mulugunda in 1187 (A.R. 1926-7, App. F, 112 (1187)), but his last record before the Sēvuna-Hoysala war is at Hombal of 1189 (A.R. 1926-7, App. F, 145 (1189) where read 6th for 3rd year.).

(2) E.C.V. Arsikere 85 (1190).

(3) M.A.R. 1926, 25 (1191). The Pallava must have been an almost

a position to assume a good portion of the responsibility which his dynasty was now mature enough to shoulder. The area between the Hoysala nād and the territory occupied by the Sēvuna was at his disposal. His preparations for this event had been wisely laid, and he had only to secure that which he had entered in the north before absorbing the western districts, in order to acquire all that justice or ambition could assign him.

So highly did Ballāla value the significance of his first operation against the Sēvuna that, although he did not assume the titles samasta-bhuvanāśraya śrī-prthvī-vallabha mahā-rājādhirāja paramēśvara paramabhaṭṭāraka, "Refuge of the entire world, beloved of the goddesses of Fortune and the Earth, overlord of great kings, the mighty lord, the most venerable one," until after the decisive victory of 1192, and thus proclaimed in that year his assumption of the dignity and prestige of the now extinct Cālukya sovereignty, he ~~soon~~^{soon} commenced to date his records in the northern districts in his own era, not calculated from his accession in 1173, or from the year of the assumption of imperial titles, but from 1190-1.(1)

insignificant ruler. The Siṃhala is the Siṅgala or Siṅgalika whom we have met before, e.g. p. 127 above; if indeed Ballāla had any dealings with him, it may have been in 1191 itself, as we know from E.C.IX Kankanhalli 26(1191) that two feudatories of Ballāla fought in the south-east districts - and trouble continued in the next year (E.C.III Nanjangud 71(1192)). Cf. E.C.VI Tarikere 42(1206) where Ballāla smites the heads of the lusty elephant Cōla, lion Siṃhala and śarabha Sēvuna. As for Sapāla, the reading may be defective.

(1) E.C.VII Shikarpur 143(1205):16th year; ibid. 148(1207):17th; M.INS. 65(1205):15th; ibid. 64(1207):17th; E.C.VII Shikarpur 244(1203):13th; W.E.II 136a(i)(1200):10th; ibid. 152a(1207):17th; ibid. 154a(1208):13th; ibid. 151a(1206):16th; E.C.VIII Sorab 148(1204):14th; S.I.I. IX pt. 1, 323(1197):7th; ibid. 325(1205):15th; A.R. 1935-6, App. 77(1207):17th; ibid. 1933-4, 93(1197):7th; ibid.

From 1191 to 1218 Ballāla II was engaged in continuous warfare in the north. A chronicle of his personal movements alone reveals the furious tempo of his life: the general records of the period - and they are many - depict when properly co-ordinated a fast-moving scene of conflict, on many fronts and often at the same time, giving, out of the welter of information, a picture of superlative success, of real greatness, followed by a decline, ending eventually in a period of stability at a point of grandeur quite considerably higher than that displayed when the process commenced.

In June 1191 Bhillama was himself at Hērūr, the modern Bēlūr, about thirty miles to the north-east of Gadag.(1) In the summer of 1192 Ballāla in person led his army probably from the Pāṇḍya nād, or alternatively from the Baṅkāpura region towards the Sēvuna forces at Soratūr (otherwise Sorattūr). These were drawn up at this spot in order to prevent his passage into the Belvola district which lay on the further side of the hill-chain, and which was already in Bhillama's hands. The Yādava army was commanded by Jaitrasimha, Jaitisimha, or Jaitugi as he was variously known, and must have been an array of all arms, organized upon the most advanced lines of the day, and already experienced in defeating Karnāṭaka opponents. Ballāla

1926-7, 155(1205):15th; ibid. 22(1211):21st; ibid. 52(1212):22nd; ibid. 1928-9, 187(1197):7th; ibid. 191(1205):15th; ibid. 193(1202):12th; M.A.R. 1929, 58(1206):16th; ibid. 62(1199):9th; - all of an era commencing in 1190. Of 1191 are: M.INS. 75(1202):11th; A.R. 1934-5, App. 12(1207):16th; ibid. 1926-7, 36(1194):3rd. Slight errors of calculation are responsible for the following, indicating an era commencing in 1189: E.C.VII Shikarpur 145(1205):16th; ibid. 196(1212):23rd; E.C.VIII Sorab 307(1208):19th; A.R. 1934-5 App. 7(1202):13th. The following may be accounted for by errors of reading as much as of composition: E.C.VII Shikarpur 173(?1198):12th; ibid. 156(1202):18th; ibid. 214(1207):?20th; E.C.VIII Sorab

drove this force before him, through the gap in the hills, to the Lokkigundi, ^{the} Yādava camp. There, despite the fortifications, he found the morale of the enemy so much reduced, that he captured the city without much delay, and proceeded to take over control of the entire Belvola country.

The earliest reference to this series of events is found in an inscription of October 1192 at Hosūr, about seven miles south-west of Lakkundi, the old Lokkigundi, and about four miles west of Soratūr. It states that compensation was paid to the governing body of that place for the damage caused by the encampment of the king's army. (1) We are later told that Ballāla single-handedly vanquished the hundreds of the Sēvuna army; (2) he was ruling after having destroyed(?) the entire Sēvuna army composed of the four arms, together with the city named Vīra-varadhana, and having given back (punardatti māḍi) Lokkigundi otherwise Śrī-Rāma-datti, which had been given him by ...mana; ⁽³⁾ Ballāla moistened his sword with

13(1196):14th(R.T.&K.T. Trans:19th);M.A.R.1927,152(?1197):11th.

Page 236 n.(1) E.I.iii p.217(30).See I.A.xviii p.271.

(1)A.R.1926-7, App.F.113(1192).

(2) M.A.R.1910-1, para.101(c1195).

(3) M.A.R.1908 para.45(1195).This record is partly illegible. An attempt has been made, it is difficult to see why, to identify Vīra-varadhana with the Śrī-varadhana mentioned by Hēmādri: both are in any case otherwise unknown.

the blood of the Pāṇḍya, whetted it on the grindstone of the head of Bhīllama, and sheathed it in the lotus mouth of Jaitugi; (1) mention of Ballāla's battle with Jaitiśiva at Soratūr and the defeat of the latter is likewise found in a record of the period. (2) It was not long before poetry was composed to celebrate the glorious events:-

puḍid irdd aṭṭale peccid ālvāriy agurv v āgirda mēl gottalaṃ
kadanakk adbhutam appa deṅkaṇi karaṃ guṇpuḷḷi aḡaḷ kādi hō- /
gād enipp aggada durggad ondu baladindaṃ Jaitugaṃ kāde bē-
gade koṇḍaṃ kali Lokkiguṇḍiyan aḡaṃ Ballāla-bhūpāḷakaṃ //

"The hero king Ballāla quickly took that Lokki-
guṇḍi, when he fought against Jaituga, who was with his
single force at the great fort, which was thought impos-
sible to fight against (on account of its) encircling ram-
parts, lofty bastions, amazing bulwarks aloft, a flag-
staff marvellous for battle, and an extremely deep moat."
(3)

And again:

ān olavinda baṇṇisadaḡ ēṃ gaḷa dakṣiṇa cakri yuddhadol
tān asaḡāya-śūran enip unnatiyaṃ rāpu-rāya-Sēvuṇē- /
nūna-gajāśva-sad-bhaṭa-balaṅḡalaṇ aḷk urād onde meyyol ond
āneyol okkilikkida parākramad unnati tāne hēḷade //

"If I with pleasure describe how indeed the southern
Emperor was in battle -(what was) his greatness expressed
(in the title) "Hero without a companion"; does not his
greatness itself speak, the greatness of that prowess that
with his single body on a single elephant without fear or

(1) E.C.V Belur 77(1198). (2) E.C.V Channarayapatna 249(?1193).
(3) over.

hesitation thrashed thoroughly the entire forces of the enemy-king Sēvuna, consisting of elephants, horses and good warriors ?"(1)

And again:

kari-sainyōtkarav unṭu vāji-balav unṭ āl unṭu taḷt ennoḷ ār
dhuradoḷ kāduvar Bhillama nṛpaṃ baṃd ānt oḍ ārd onde siṃ- /
dhuramaṃ nūnkidan okkal ikki tuḷidaṃ bennaṭṭi koṇḍ ikkidaṃ
Soraṭūrindave Lokkiguṇḍivarig ēṃ Ballāḷa-bhūpālakaṃ //

"When king Bhillama, saying, "I have a multitude of elephants and warriors, I have a force of horses, I have soldiers: who will fight in war, coming to grips with me?", came and met him, king Ballāḷa crying aloud, pushed forward that same elephant, thrashing (the army) thoroughly trampled on it, pursued and flogged it from Soraṭūr right up to Lokkiguṇḍi, did he not ?"(2)

Then, after other details, we hear of the further developments after the battle of Soraṭūr:-

sand-ugrāhita-raktadindav aḷiṅ ādatt ī-mahī-cakrav inn
ending āruvud oṭṭid aṭṭegala beṭṭ ell elliyuṃ baṭṭey inn /
ending appudu Māriḡaṃ haṣiv ad ending appud embannegaṃ
kondaṃ Sēvuna-sainyamam bavaraḍoḷ Ballāḷa-bhūpālakaṃ //

" 'The circle of this earth has become mud by reason of the blood of famous and fierce enemies - when will it dry again ? When will all the roads become (free) again, that are now all mountains of piled headless trunks ? When will Māri (the Goddess of Death) become hungry ?' King Bal-

Page 238 n.(3) over. (1) & (2) over.

12/a slew the army of the Sēvuna in battle until people spoke thus."

eraḍum-lakkaṃ-baram sutthaneyar aṣani-sannāhadim panneral sā-sirav aṣva-śrēni mēl-aṅkavanīya maṇi-paryānadim tōrkkev ett ey-tare tann ond-āneyim Sēvuna-nrpa-balamam nūnki bennaṭṭi kondam Soratūrīm Kṛṣṇavēnī-nadiya taḍi-varam Vīra-Ballāla-rāyam //

"When as many as two hundred thousand (?)infantry with array of thunderbolts, and a troop of twelve thousand horses with decorated saddles above and jewelled (?breast-plates rising to view approached him, king Vīra-Ballāla on his own single elephant drove the force of the Sēvuna king and pursued it and slew it from Soratūr as far as the bank of the Krishna river."

oṭṭaje mikku sorkki kari-gaṭṭida vairi-nrpālakar ccalam baṭṭire sand-Erambarage-māni-Virāṭanakōṭe-Gutti-Bell- / itṭage-Raṭṭapalli-Soratūr-kKurugōḍ-olagāda durggamam toṭṭene mutti koṇḍ-alavan ē-vogalvem Giri-durgga-mallanā //

"How can I praise the vigour of Giri-durga-malla who besieged suddenly and took the forts within the famous Erambarage, proud Virāṭa's fort, Gutti, Bellittage, Raṭṭapalli, Soratūr and Kurugōḍ , when enemy kings (?) forming a group, making their mass great, and becoming proud, were of firm determination ?"(1)

Page 238 n.(3) E.C.V Arsikere 5(1195).The K.T.adds many viṭāma u's. It also reads Lokkigunḍiya correctly for R.T.'s Lokkigonḍiya. It reads āl(u)vareyūm vōgidda, and R.T. ālverey agurvāg-idda. RICE's translation is defective: e.g. he mistook agal, which is agalu "a ditch" for agalu, "space, or extent".

Page 239 n.(1) E.C.VIII Sorab 140(1198).Note the use of the word Cakri: the change in Ballāla's status summed up in one word. Page 239 n.(2) W.E.II ff.139b-143a(1202) at Annigere, the copyist's corruptions being removed. E.C.V Arsikere 193(1194) states that Ballāla's greatness was proclaimed by his struggles

Another account gives a different list of the places occupied after the victory:

innuṃ bīrada tōra-bittan agevoyd ant irppud ārūḍha-saṃ-
pannam dakṣiṇa-cakri gelda Soratūrim Belvolam muṭṭe sañ- /
channōdghrṣṭa-kṛṣīvalāvali-haḷa-prāg-bhāga-nihkīlitō-
tpannam Sēvuṇa-saunya-sad-bhaṭa-karōṭī-kōṭi-sanghaṭṭanam //
ari-Girni-durgga-malla-nrpan ettida bēgade koṇḍa durggav ond
eraḍe Virāṭa-rāja-nagaram Kurugōḍu Mataṅga-bhūdharam /
Dhorevadi-Gutti-Guttavolal-Uddhare-Kāladi-Bandanikke-Ba-
ḷlare-Soratūr-Erambarage-Hāluve-Mānuve-Lokkiguṇḍigaḷ //

"Further, the southern Emperor conquered from Soratūr to Belvola (land) fit for being brought under (cultivation) as if he were scattering, for sprouting, seeds of the greatness of his valour. Friction against the ten million skulls of the brave warriors of the Sēvuṇa army was produced from the fore portion of the ploughs of the cultivators, which had thus lost their peg - the ground being covered over and pulverised (by Ballāla)."

"The king was a "wrestler with the hill-forts" of his enemies who rose and took with speed, as if one or two forts, Virāṭa-rāja's town, Kurugōḍu, the Mataṅga hill, Dhorevadi, Gutti, Guttavolal, Uddhare, Kāladi, Bandanikke, Baḷlare, Soratūr, Erambarage, Hāluve, Mānuve and Lokkiguṇḍi." (1)

with the Pāndya king's son (?) Bhu...ka, and the fall of the hero-king that was the great Jaituga.

Page 240 n.(1) E.C.XI Davangaræ 25(1224). Concerning Alir see above p.142 n.(1), where the interpretation is confirmed by this instance. The second verse of this quotation appears in S.I.I. IX pt.1, 340(1224) also. There for sutthaneyar, suttanayar is read.

It is thus quite clear that when Hēmādri, in the praśasti to the Vrata-kāṇḍa of his great treatise, says of Bhillama Yādava "vidadhē yō Hōsaḷēsam vyaṣum", that he made the Hoysala king lifeless, his statement is utterly without foundation. (1) Nothing is heard of Bhillama after 1193, when he was still recognized at Hipparagi, Sindagi tāluḡa in Bijapur di^strict, (2) and his only connection with the Hoysala king, which took place between 1190 and that year, had the opposite effect on the latter.

Indeed, by his victory of 1192 Ballāla II put himself in the very position which he most wished to occupy. He was able to promote the expansion of his empire upon three fronts at once. Naturally enough, Banavāse and the adjoining districts fell into his hands without a serious struggle, compared with the effort such an acquisition would have cost during the period of Cālukya or Kalacuri rule; naturally, likewise, the Belvola nād, whose chief cities were within his grasp, that district long coveted by his grandfather, was not open to his further encroachment, but also offered access to other attractive parts of the late imperial dominions. On the other hand, the opportunity had clearly arrived for subjecting to Hoysala rule those dynasties that lived on the north-eastern flank of the Hoysala nād, and had either troubled Ballāla's frontier districts from time to time, or had assisted in the various

Thoughts quoted in the Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa (Kittel's ed. p. 23) it is so far unexplained. RICE's remark about fire-arms should be ignored. E.C. XI Davangere 25 in the last verse reads voṭṭaji, a slip. The sense of kari-gattida remains obscure. A textual corruption is likely. Page 241 n. (1) E.C. V Channarayapatna 179 (c1195). It purports to be of 1190, a date incompatible with the contents. The K.T. reads ereḍeḍ and the translation Mātaṅga. The translation given here is not perfect, though an improvement.

invasions , or, partaking of the general unsettled atmosphere of the times, gave no better excuse for absorption into a universal state. Thus it was that towards the end of November 1192 Ballāla was still encamped at Lokkiguṇḍi, had acquired Gadagu, about seven miles to its north-west, and was in a position to dispose, by deed of gift, of the village of Hombal nearly eight miles further to the north-west of Gadagu itself. We learn from the record which provides us with this information an additional noteworthy fact. Besides telling that Ballāla cut off Jaitrasimha, the right arm of Bhillama, and so acquired the sovereignty of the Kuntala country, it relates that previously Ballāla had defeated with the use of cavalry only, and deprived of his rājya, or territorial jurisdiction, the general Brahma, whose army was strengthened by an array of elephants, and who had conquered sixty tusked elephants with a single tuskless elephant, at the time when he was tearing their wealth from the Kalacuri family because of an insult to his father, who was, it will be remembered, Kāvāṇa-dañṇāyaka. (1)

Page 242 n. (1) S. Srikantha Sastri, Sources of Kan. Hist. i, p. 228.
Page 242 n. (2) A.R. 1936-7, App. E. 30, text in W.E. II ff. 169a-170a (1193).

(1) E. I. vi, 10; W. E. II ff. 124b-127a (1192) at Gadag:

nyakkārēṇa pituḥ śriyaṃ Kalacuri-kṣatrānvayāt karṣatā
yēnaikēna hi tūbarēṇa kariṇā ṣaṣṭir-jjitā dantinām
taṃ ca Brahma-camūpatiṃ gaja-ghaṭ-āvaṣṭabdha sainyaṃ haṭhād
yēn āśvair api kēvalair-bbhujā-bhṛtā nirjjitya rājyaṃ hṛtam /
ucchidya Jaitrasimhaṃ dakṣiṇam iva tasya Bhillamasya bhujam
vīrēna yēna labdham Kuntala-desādhipatyam api //

It is thus clear that Ballāla was prepared at the critical moment not only to attack and throw back the Sēvuna but also to defeat a subordinate obstacle, the general Brahma, who had once been a Kalacuri officer and was at the last a legatee of the Cālukya. And this helps to explain the ease with which Ballāla assumed the sovereignty of the greater part of the southern half of the Kuntala-dēśa. Another record, dated on the same day as the preceding, at Baḷaganūr, about six miles, in its turn, to the [REDACTED] north of Hombal, mentioning the grant of land by Ballāla to a gaḍa who had "caused him pleasure", proves the rapidity with which Ballāla entered upon his new property.(1) There is therefore little doubt of the accuracy of the claim made in the quotations above, that Ballāla took, besides Soratūr and Lokkiguṇḍi, Brambarage also. The discomfiture of the Sinda dynasty of that place must have afforded the Hoysala particular satisfaction. Bellittige, which we have met in connection with Viṣṇuwardhana and identify with Bellavattige (or Belavattige) to the north-west of Madaganūr, is likewise justly claimed for the Hoysala, and we should hardly be rash in adding Madaganūr and Annigere itself to the list of conquests.

Before turning to the most complex and doubtless most difficult part of the process of absorption which faced Ballāla's administration during the period between 1192 and 1195, namely the subduing of the north-western principalities, we may

(1) W.E.II ff.122a-124a, A.R.1926-7, App.F.142(1192).

notice the progress that was made in the east. The places claimed in the two records quoted above and being in that quarter were, from south to north, Ballāre, otherwise Ballāre or Bellary, which was in the hands of a Sinda chief;(1) Dhorevadi, otherwise known as Doravaḍi and successfully identified with Daroji, about fifteen miles north-west of Bellary;(2) and Kurugōdu, about twelve miles north of Bellary, being the last mentioned in the group of towns between the Tuṅgabhadra and the Hagari rivers. We should however be justified in including Siruguppe, near the junction of those rivers, for the claims to have taken Hāluve and Mānuve show that Ballāla passed at least twenty miles to the north of that place. Hāluve must certainly be the modern Hālvi, about two miles from the Tuṅgabhadra, to the south of the river, and Mānuve must be Mānvi, nearly five miles north of the river, both places being equipped with hill-forts, and the latter, Mānuve, probably being the most northerly fort ever taken by a Hoysala king on his own behalf.(3) Although Ballāla may have had a variety of reasons

(1) See S.I.I.IX pt.1,296(1176) & ibid.322(1195).

(2) Venkataramanayya,V.C.E.p.167-8, strongly presses the identification, which the later history of the place well supports. Mackenzie Collection,General(I.O.),vol.x p.145-8,"Account of Daroojee, received at Daroojee Dec.1800" relates that the country was overgrown with jungle by the reign of Krishna-rāyalu of Ānagundi who caused the jungle to be destroyed and the village to be built and named Dvārāvati. Daroji to the eastwards was actually built by the Moghuls. Daroji is said to be four miles from Kampili, but it is clear that it is about ten miles. It is by no means impossible that the ancient name of the place which Krishna-rāyalu revived was Dvārāvati, of which Dhorevadi, Doravaḍi and even Daroji may have been corruptions. Saletore, in his article on the origins of Vijayanagara in the Vij.Sexc. Comm. Volume,p.141 n.9, doubts the derivation of Daroji from Doravaḍi, but does not offer any other site for the place, or help in any way by relating that Doravaḍi was "the ancient name of Doravaḍi (quoting E.C.VIII Sorab 309) an absurd error, as Doravaḍi is the name of the village where the record is,

for taking the towns near Bellary, it is certain that Hāluve and Mānuve were taken in the course of operations designed to remove Sēvuna authority from as much as possible of the area within Hoysala range, (1) and we may suspect that the Yādava king's officials had penetrated quite far southwards on the eastern flank of the Hoysala's new field of activity, for an inscription of Jaitugi Sēvuna is found at Cinna Tumbalam in the modern Adoni tāluḡa, not thirty miles to the east-north-east of Siruguppe. (2)

The date of this north-eastern campaign is in part determined by two records, the first of which tells of the king's s@lge of Kurugōḡu in August 1194, and the second informing us that he was encamped in that place in September of that year. Kummata was taken at the same time, if we may judge from an inscription of May 1195, in which Ballāḡa is given the title "taker of Talakāḡu (and so on), Lokigunḡi (sic), Kummata & Brambarage". (3)

It will, doubtless, have been during his stay in the north that Ballāḡa set up a liṅga at (?) Jāḡevale on "the western bank of the Tuṅgabhadra", a place so far unidentified, in the name of his father Nārasīṅga-dēva, who seems to have died during this period of his son's triumph. (4)

and thus the home of the warrior commemorated in the inscription. Doravaḡi and Doravaḡi are of course identical, and neither had or has any connection with Doravaḡi. If Doravaḡi had been an alternative (not ~~any~~ more ancient, as Saletore himself says, correctly, that the record is of 1212) form of Doravaḡi, it would not have affected the stages by which Doravaḡi became Daroji. Page 245 n. (3) Hālvi, Adoni tāluḡa, Bellary dist., 77°7' 15°53'; Mānvi, Raichur dist., 77°4' 15°59'. Their approximate position is shown on the frontispiece map: the other places are to be found either on Map 'A' or Map 'B'.

(1), (2), (3), and (4) over.

Vīra-Ballāla was still at Lokkiguṇḍi in January 1193. The inscription relating this is actually at Belāgāvi, and tells that a certain Ereyana-dañṇāyaka united the Banavāse 12,000 and Sāntaḷige 1,000 under one government.(1)

To turn for a moment to the west, we see from a later record that, the defeat of the Sēvuna king having been accomplished, "among the many countries which that emperor of prowess, Vīra-Ballāla-dēva had by the might of his arm brought into subjection and was ruling with energy, the Banavāse country was an abode of Kāma (Love)".(2) It is thus clear that the movement westwards took place soon after the collapse of the Sēvuna forces, and Hoysala administrative control was hastily imposed upon the unfortunate dynasties, whether Kadamba, Sāntara or Gaṅga, former allies and former antagonists alike. It is not possible to settle the order in which the towns fell, but Ballāla certainly acquired, according to the inscriptions to which repeated reference has been made, Raṭṭahaḷli, or Raṭṭihaḷli on the Kumudvati river, then Bandalike, the now desolate and overgrown city about twelve miles further west, Uddhare, ten miles further in the same direction, and then Gutti, at the extreme edge of the great north-western clearing. Guttavolalu, the seat of the Gutta and Hāṅgal, the seat of the Kadamba dynasty, were taken at about the same time. Conquests in the Sāntara region are not recorded, but many must have occurred, and the Sāntara dynasty entered a dark period.(3)

Page 246 n.(1) That Hāluve & Mānuve were places in themselves worthy of notice and conquest is shown by the fact that Viṭṭhala-bhūnātha, a general under Pratāpa Rudra, took "Ādavani (Adoni), Tumbulam, Mānuva and Hāluva" in or about 1295. Venkataramanayya, V.C.E.p, 169-70. Page 246 n.(2) S.I.I.IX pt.1.367(?1191): dated Śaka 1 15 1 Virōdhi in error for Śaka 1113 Virōdhikrt,

However, as may be anticipated, a region with such a reputation did not accept this fate quietly. In 1193 Ballāla went southwards to observe the state of affairs in his home territories. An invasion from beyond the southern frontier appears to have taken place in 1192, in the usual way, and there is mention of a battle with the Polagas, whoever they may have been.(1) But though Ballāla was in Dōrasamudra in April 1193,(2) he was, within a very short time, on his way northwards again, and staying at Hallavūr.(3) In August serious disturbances were on foot in the Banavāse nād, while Ballāla was visiting it;(4) in October Ballāla felt the need to be at a more central position, and had gone to Bālguli, about seventeen miles north of Uccaṅgi.(5) This Bālguli was, like Hallavūr, a favourite place for Ballāla's camp during a northern campaign; it was further advanced than Hallavūr but

hence misdated by the editor 1229.

Page 246 n.(3) E.C.V Belur 204(1194). M.A.R.1923,1(1194) at Neralige. E.C.II 335(1195). Another record of 1195, M.A.R.1926, 40 and 1908 para.45, calls Ballāla the taker of Tattavādi and Talekādu-nād, or, otherwise, Tardavādi and Tarikādu-nād. The latter has yet to be identified, but Tardavādi 1,000 is known to be a district stretching from Bijāpur to the Krishna river, and often governed by officials who held Belvola, Huligerē and Halasige districts (see Fleet, D.K.D.(1896 edition) pp.431, 440, 458, 485 and 521). Ballāla could only have conquered the southern part of this district. Page 246 n.(4) E.C.VII Honnali 17(1286).

Page 247 n.(1) E.C.VII Shikarpur 105, M.INS.46, p.103, P.S.O.C.I. 200, W.E.II 128a-130b(1193). Page 247 n.(2) E.C.VIII Sorab 140 (1198). Page 247 n.(3) Ballāla's task was facilitated by the mutual hostilities of the families. See M.A.R.1931, 79(April 1191); E.C.VII Shikarpur 38(Oct.1191). It continued unabated in February 1193: E.C.VIII Sorab 143(K.T.only).

(1) E.C.III Malavalli 27, 29(1192); M.A.R.1920, para.74.

(2) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 39(1193).

(3) E.C.V Channarayapatna 249(?1193).

(4) E.C.VIII Sorab 30, P.S.O.C.I.224(1193) at Soraba: Vīra-Ballāla-dēvam Banavāse pannicchā<si>raḷḷe bijeya geyda kalam.

(5) S.I.I. IX. pt.1, 319, A.R.1904, 90(1193).

was not so favourably situated strategically, requiring for its defence a much large force, as the hills that surrounded it, even in those days of greater afforestation, presented a very wide perimeter. While he was there some fighting took place, perhaps at some spot between his camp and the previous Hoysala frontier.(1) Proof that the area was being settled under Hoysala administration, on the complete collapse of the Pāṇḍya and the subordination of the Gutta dynasty, is provided by the inscriptions that were set up in the north in 1194-5. Two are found at Kuruvatti, five miles south-east of Guttavolalu, one at Lakkundi, and one at Holal, which is four miles north of Kuruvatti.(2)

Vīra-Ballāla remained at Bālgūli, sometimes called Bāgūli, during January 1194, and did not move his headquarters from there until March.(3) He returned to Dōrasamudra in early April, and may well have been in the capital throughout the summer.(4) In the meanwhile it is clear that he was engaged in some operations of a fairly minor character. We hear that he besieged Dusthe "in the north" during March.(5) Its position is not known. Perhaps during this obscure period he stayed at another fort while moving in the newly-won territories, a fort which likewise defies attempts at identification, Mahāvāleya-durga.(6)

(1) EC.XI Hiriur 70 at Huvvinahalli. The date is not certain.
 (2) Kuruvatti: S.I.I.IX pt.1, 337, A.R.1918, 218 (misdated by the editor: c1181), ibid. 320, A.R.1918, 217 (1194); Lakkundi: A.R.1926-7, App.F 36 (1194); Holal: S.I.I.IX pt.1, 321, A.R.1914, 472 (1195).
 (3) E.C.V Arsikere 118 (1194). S.I.I.IX pt.1, 320, A.R. 1918 (1194).
 (4) E.C.VI Kadur 77 (1194). It appears that he was in Dōrasamudra in June (M.AR.1926, 107 (?1194)) but the details are not conclusive, and the inscription, which refers to an attack by Nārasiṅga of Bematūr upon a place in Nagamangala tāluḡa, is

It was probably rather during the later than during the earlier half of the year 1194 that Ballāla attacked the Cōla ruler of Heñjeru and Niḍugal. It would seem that the ruler, Bhōga-dēva, had begun to erect fortifications to defend his kingdom from Ballāla, who now surrounded him on all sides but the east; to this period we can assign records that describe the battle at the fort of Hāne, or Hāneyakōṭe. This was supposed by Rice to be on Brahmagiri near Siddhāpura, (1) a view supported to some extent by the existence of an inscription at Siddhāpura (2) which refers to the rebuilding of the forts at Niḍugal and Hāneya, or Hāne. However, the fort was taken, despite valiant efforts by Bhōga-rāja in its defence, (3) and another record at Siddhāpura says that after bringing into ██████ subjection the Hāneya fort Ballāla built a city called Vijaya-giri. (4) Of this Vijayagiri nothing further is known, though it can not be assumed to have been situated within the Cōla dominions, however likely the sequence of the statements makes that suggestion appear.

In the Banavāse 12,000 Ballāla's position in 1194

in several respects irregular.

Page 249 n. (5) E. C. VI Mudgere 5 (1194).

Page 249 n. (6) MA. R. 1936, 2 (? C1194 - dateable only by the reference to Bammala-dēvi and by the titles of the king.)

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- (1) E. C. XI introd. p. 19. It is not the Hāne in the north-west.
 (2) E. C. XI Molakalmuru 20 (1218).
 (3) M. A. R. 1908 para. 44 (c1194) at Kaṭṭesōmanahalli near Halebīd.
 (4) E. C. XI Molakalmuru 12 (c1194).

was fairly secure, for we find a certain Padmi-dēva, bearing the then highly coveted title Kumāra, holding Ballāla's commission for that district with his headquarters at Belagāvi.

(1) A little over twenty miles to the north, however, the Kadamba family of Hāṅgal were contemplating resistance to the Hoysala, and the chronicle of the period from 1196 to 1211, when the Yādava drove Ballāla out of his northern outposts, is largely occupied with an account of the extraordinarily valiant fight which that family sustained against apparently overwhelming odds.

But before this began, Ballāla had further work to do in the north. In January and March 1195 he was at Dōrasamudra, (2) but before the summer was over he had returned to the further side of the Tuṅgabhadra and resumed the direction of the process of occupying the sometime Cālukya districts. An inscription of the next year tells that, besides other conquests conventionally associated with his name, Ballāla II took Banavāse, Hāṅgal, Halasige, Huligere, Nolambavādi, Beluvala (Belvola), Bāgaḍage, Erambarage, Kisukādu, Kumbaṭa, Balla, Kudēri, Ayyanavādi, Māsavādi, Kelavādi, Sindarige, Uccaṅgi and Lokkiguṇḍi. (3) The capture of many of these places has already been noticed in its place, while Balla, Kudēri and Ayyanavādi remain to be identified. It seems extremely likely that a corruption has occ-

(1) EC.VII Shikarpur 138(1194).

(2) E. C. V Arsikere 5(1195), and *ibid.* 150(1195).

(3) M. A. R. 1937, 26(1196). Kisukōḍu is certainly a misreading.

urred, and that the reading should be Ballakunde, the well-known 300 of that name not far removed from Kukkanūr, and almost certainly within the old Erambarage Sinda dominions, followed by some other name which is not at present apparent. (1) Halasige may have been claimed under conditions similar to those under which Viṣṇuwardhana claimed it from time to time, that is to say, there is no proof that Hoysala officials ever administered even a part of it, though they may easily have raided the southern portions of it. Huligere must have been in Ballāla's hands from the time of the Soratūr battle if not continuously from the time of the Muḷugund expedition. Māsavādi was the small district including Dambal and Kaulūr which one who crossed the Tuṅgabhadra on the way to Lakkunḍi then had to pass through, in other words between Belvola proper and the Pāṇḍya nād. It was only a 140 district, and counted as a sub-division of Belvola. (2) Māsavādi, ^{it seems,} had provided Ballāla with his wife Remmā-dēvi, of whom mention has already been made. She belonged to the ruling house of the district. Bāgaḍage, on the other hand is known to have been a Sinda district, in fact a small 70 nād, probably situated in the modern Bijapur district. (3) Kisukāḍu, the chief town of the 70 nād of that name, is the modern Paṭṭadakal, eight miles north-east of Bādāmi (4), and thus about 40 miles north of Lakkunḍi, and was likewise a Sinda possession of long standing. The Sindas had also held

(1) See Fleet, D.K.D. (1896 edition) p. 434. Cf. W.E. I f. 20a.

(2) See Fleet, op. cit. pp. 333 (in 1040 there were only five towns in it), 435, 465, 502, 506 n. 2. Also W.E. II ff. 80a-84a, and I f. 20 & I f. 41.

(3) See Fleet, op. cit. p. 458. Also J.B.B.R.A.S. xi p. 259, and P.S.O.C.I. 67. (4) ibid. It is at 15°57'75"49'.

Kelavādi, a nād of larger size than the preceding, being a 300 nād, with a chief town of the same name which is the modern Kelavādi, eleven miles north of Bādāmi, and thus about fifty miles north of Lakkundi. (1) These districts, Bāgadage, Kisukādu and Kelavādi must all have been parts of the Tardavādi 1,000, and thus the claim to have conquered them is in accord with another contemporary claim to have conquered the Tardavādi-nād, (2) but the truth seems to be that the Sinda family had collapsed, and the Sindavādi nād which includes this southern portion of the Tardavādi 1,000 naturally fell into Ballāla's hands, to the extent, that is, to which he was able to occupy it; and that was severely limited, as the absence of inscriptions shows. Sindarige, which remains to be considered, may have been an alternative name for the Sindavādi nād.

True to this list of nominal conquests from the Sinda dynasty, Ballāla is found in October 1195, having "raised the north", (3) actually ruling in their capital Erambarage. He was there, in the fort, on the fifth of October, (4) and seems to have taken the unusual course of remaining in that quarter during the winter, for we find him there in February 1196. (5) Almost immediately afterwards he returned homewards,

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- (1) Fleet, op. cit. p. 572. Also J.B.B.R.A.S. xi p. 253 (1144).
 (2) See above, p. 248 - being Page 246 n. (3).
 (3) E.C. VI Chikmagalur 54 (1195): hadagal etti.
 (4) E.C. III Tirumakudal-Narsipur 31 (1195).
 (5) E.C. V Arsikere 104 (1196).

for, as usual, difficulties began to be experienced in other regions. Ballāla had hardly reached Dōrasamudra, where he stayed in March and May 1196 (1), when a Hoysala contingent led by his wife Umā-dēvi, raided the Sinda principality of Belagavatti.(2) It seems that the Sinda ruler, Malli-dēva, whose possessions lay across important lines of communication between Dōrasamudra and the north, whether out of discontent or sympathy with his relatives of Erambarage, had decided to embarrass the Hoysala. Umā-dēvi repeated her raiding activities in April of the next year, attacking both Yarehalli and Belagavatti.(3)

The amount of work impending in the Hoysala country, and the general strain on the administrative machinery of the kingdom, probably account for the emergence into public life at this time of Kumāra Vīra-Nārasīṅga-dēva, son of Ballāla by Padmala-dēvi, who enjoyed authority in May 1196, although, having been born in November 1182, he was only 13½ years of age.(4)

But, whatever the activity south of the river, Hoysala progress in absorbing the areas to the north of the Tuṅgabhadra was steady. Three inscriptions at Mevundi, about eight miles south-east of Lakkundi, dated respectively between March 1196 and January 1197 proclaim Ballāla's titles.(5) Naregal, an old stronghold of the Sinda,(6) situated about thirt-

(1) E.C.V Arsikere 16(1196), E.C.IV Gundlupet 27(1196).

(2) E.C.VII Honnali 37, 38, 39(K.T.only), & 40(1196). Umā is called Umā-bāyi, a unique contemporary instance of the appellation bāyi, now not uncommon, but of Marāṭhi rather than Kannaḍa associations. (3) E.C.VII Honnali 28(1197). (4) E.C.IX Kan-

kanhalli 67(1196). His birth: E.C.IV Nagamangala 32(1184).

dated in November 1197, while another at Annigere is of the same month.(1)

In the late autumn of 1196, however, the Hoysala attention was at last turned towards the Kadamba. Ballāla himself visited Hāṅgal, where Kāma-dēva was ruling. He laid siege to the place, and, camping at (?) Ārērakēri, fought an elephant battle. From this one would be justified in supposing that "Ārērakēri" was a village in some proximity to Hāṅgal or at least within the Kadamba dominions. It is still unidentified however, and some difficulties surround its very name.(2)

Page 254 n.(5) A.R. 1927-8, App.E.57 & 58; W.E.II ff.131a-132b.

Page 254 n.(6) Nareyaṅgal was ruled by the Sindas of Erambarage prior to the Sēvuna-Hoysala war. See Fleet, D.K.D.(1896 edition) pp.572, 575.

(1) A.R.1926-7, App.F.189, W.E.II f.133a(i); A.R.1928-9, App.E.187, W.E.II f.133a-b.

(2) W.E.II ff.309b-310a, Moraes, K.K.p.453-4(1196) at Hāṅgal. There are discrepancies between the two readings: the former reads: Padmayya sāhaṇi Kāma-dēvaraṅ yaruṣada 16 Naḷa-samvatsarad Āśvija-bahula...maṅgalavāradalu, śrīmatu Hoysaṅa-Ballāḷa-dēvanu Hānuṅgalla baṁdu mutti ārērakēriyalu bīdaṁ biṭṭu alleya mōhar-amaṅ nūnki kāduttire, etc. The latter reads ...vāradandu; Hoysala (wrongly); ānemōhakamaṅ (probably correctly), and a lacuna from sāhaṇi to Naḷa exclusive. But for mutti ārērakēriyalu Moraes reads Muttalakērigēriyōḷu (read -oḷu), which might on several grounds, particularly that of the natural sequence of the record, be rejected, but for the fact that the existence of a village in Bijapur district, at 75°37'15"54", about four miles south-west of Bādāmi, by name Muttalagēri, makes it appear that Ballāḷa's presence near Hāṅgal, and the elephant battle against persons unknown took place at different times, and at different places. Muttalagēri is excellently suited to a camp. It has a large tank (kere) and lies between a wooded mass to its north, and a small gap between two ranges of four to six hundred feet in height running from east to west, the gap itself being about a mile north of the Malprabha river. Such a site was very likely to have been chosen by a commander campaigning in the Sinda districts. If such was the case here, the elephant battle may have been either against the Sinda or a Sēvuna force from the north.

Of Hoysala relations with Kāma-dēva we hear no more until 1203. Certain it is, at any rate, that Kāma lived on in hostility to the new emperor.

Meanwhile, in January 1198, Vīra-Ballāla "having returned from a season of victorious expeditions to the north for the purpose of putting down the evil and upholding the good", was in the residence of Hallavūr, otherwise known as Vijayasamudra. (1) By August, however, he is represented as being again in the capital, (2) but he can hardly have remained there long, for he was, by November, in the fort of Kukkanūr, about eight miles to the north of Erambarage, once again inspecting the state of the Sindavādi. (3) He may have left the greater part of the responsibility of his kingdom in the hands of Umā-dēvi, his son Vīra-Nārasimha, and perhaps other queens such as Bammala-dēvi, for he is not known to have returned to Dōrasamudra until December 1200. (4) Meanwhile he was at Lokkigundi in April 1199, (5) Huligere in July-August of that year, (6) and at Hallavūr, obviously on his way homewards, in October November 1200. (7)

The year 1201 appears to have been totally free from military violence on a large scale, but the latent hostility of the dynasties in the north-west must have been accumulating strength. It is not surprising to learn that by 1202 Ballāla

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| (1) E.C.VI Tarikere 45(1197-8). | (2) M.A.R. 1929, 51(1198). |
| (3) EC.V Belur 77(1198). | (4) E.C.III Mandya 23(1200). |
| (5) E.C.IV Nagamangala 47(1199). | (5) E.C.V Arsikere 103(1199). |
| (7) E.C.V Hassan 139(1200). | |

had subjected Pāṇḍya, Cōla, Sinda, Sāntara, Gaṅga of Uddhara, Kadamba and Gutta, (1) but the statement itself suggests that some deliberate process of absorption and discipline was being applied to the areas in question. The Gaṅga family of Uddhara had fallen about 1193, the date of their last lithic record, and the Gutta must have lost his independence soon after the fall of Uccaṅgi, and the Muḷugunda expedition. The Sāntara dynasty appears to have lost its vitality, to judge from the rarity of its inscriptions, between those years and the time when the Sēvūna drove Ballāla from the north, so that its obscurity must have been due to Hoysala pressure.

Towards the end of the year 1202, however, activity on an important scale was resumed: Nārasimha, the Crown Prince, was ruling in Dōrasamudra in December, a fairly sure sign that the king was on campaign. (2) A battle took place at Baniyūr in this period, though nothing definite can be deduced from the fact so long as the location of the place is unknown. (3) The king was, however, in Lokkiguṇḍi at the end of the year. (4) From whatever operations were afoot there he was recalled southwards by an insurrection in the west at the beginning of 1203. In early February he attacked Uddhara, which may or may not have been occupied still by a member of the famous Gaṅga family, (5) and must have achieved his object, for at the end of the month he was again at his camp at Hallavūr. (6) It was well that

(1) A.R. 1934-5, App. E. 7, W.E. II ff. 136a-137a (1202).

(2) E.C. V Channarayapatna 186 (1202).

(3) E.C. VII Shikarpur 156 (1202): a roughly phrased vīragal, the date being in the month of Dīvāli, the year Dundumi (= -bhi) the 28th year of the Yādava emperor Ballāla. 28 is an error for 12.

(4) E.C. VI Kadur 36 (1202-3). (5) E.C. VII Shikarpur 244 (1203).

(6) E.C. VI Kadur 127 (1202).

he remained in such a point of vantage, for at once Kāma-dēva Kadamba began to assail several of Ballāla's more northerly villages. Kolligūḍḍe, for example, was attacked, and was assisted on the part of the Hoysala government by Mallana-danṇāyaka.

(1) Kolligūḍḍe is not as yet identified, but seems not to have been far from Sātēnahalli, a village about two miles north of Hāṅgal. It is of interest to note that a village so near to the Kadamba capital was in Ballāla's hands both before and after this attack by Kāma-dēva. It is unknown whether Ballāla returned to Dōrasamudra during the summer. Most probably he did. But the situation in the north still required his presence, and he was in Hallavūr at the end of 1203 and in February 1204.

(2) In May he was still busy in the area, for he was able to visit the tīrtha of the god Rāmanātha at Kuruva, which is 14 miles south of Hallavūr and six miles south-east of Belagavatti.

(3) In the summer, satisfied with the condition of his new dominions, he returned homewards, and was in Dōrasamudra in August 1204. (4) He was still there in February of the next year and appears, for once, to have enjoyed some tranquillity. An inscription of that year gives Ballāla the Bhīmarathī, which must be the Bhīmā river, as his northern boundary. (5) That his

(1) W.E.II f.150a-b, also *ibid.* 150b(ii) (1203), & 144a (1203).

(2) E.C.VII Shikarpur 225 (1203-4); W.E.II ff.144b-149b at Sātēnahalli.

(3) E.C.VII Honnali 7 (1204).

(4) E.C.VII Shimoga 65 (?1204).

(5) E.C.XII Tiptur 43 (1205): he was at vijaya-Dōrasamudra, the "victorious Dōrasamudra". He was ruling with his queen Umā-dēvi, "Umā-paramēśvari-sahita", in February 1205, according to E.C.VI Chikmagalur 40 (1205), K.T. only; but several gaudas died in the battle of Indūr, which may be Indāvāra in the west. The trouble may have been merely local - the area had a bad reputation.

troops reached the Krishna river is quite probable, and the Sēvunas may have admitted it as the boundary for the time being. That they crossed it to meet the Bhīmā at any great distance from its confluence with the Krishna is most unlikely. If they ever penetrated so far north, they must have returned soon, and no government was ever carried on by the Hoysala at any distance beyond the Krishna river.

Kāma-dēva's hostility was unabated. In March 1205 he raided Tevarateppa and Kūniteppa, villages about 15 miles south of Hāṅgal. Thus we see that he had been able to cross the Varadā and enter the sphere that had once depended from Uddhare or Bandalike. (1) It appears that he was met by a coalition under Gōparasa-dañṇāyaka, the Hoysala official at Belagāvi, and certain other elements perhaps of Sāntara origin. A battle took place at Maradi. (2) Then an inscription of doubtful interpretation appears to show that Kāva- (that is, Kāma) dēva attacked Jambūr agrahāra, which indicates, if dependable, that Kāva-dēva's success against the coalition had been considerable, as Jambūr is no less than three miles south-east of Belagāvi itself. (3)

It is not surprising therefore that Ballāla returned northwards again. In May 1205 he was at Haḷlavūr, while 'Kumāra Yādava-cakravarti Nārasiṅga-dēva' filled his place at Dōra-samudra to the best of his ability. (4) He was still there in February of the next year. (5) In March 1206 Ballāla was at Madhuvana "on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra", a place defying attempts

(1) E. C. VIII Sorab 332, 333 (1205). (2) E. C. VII Shikarpur 145, A. R. 1902, 20. Mādarasa, son of śrīmat Bīrarasa, fought and fell at Maradi. Bīrarasa was almost certainly a Sāntara. (3) M. INS. 65, p. 137, P. S. O. C. I. 197. Panapparasa(?) "skilled in conciliating the commanders of the army" ruled in Balligrāme nād.

(1) at identification. In May fighting took place in the region of Kallukere, which must have been about three miles south of Hāṅgal. (2) Apparently his forces had managed to repress Kāma-dēva for the time being, for Ballāla left the area at once, and was in Dōrasamudra in April. (3) A year's breathing-space was ample for so resilient a spirit as Kāma-dēva. At the beginning of March 1207 he commenced repeated attacks upon the districts in the west held by Ballāla. He raided Mūvaḍibīḍu, the modern Mūḍi, an important place at a ford over the Varadā, eleven miles south of Hāṅgal, his capital. (4) Gōkarna he attacked and took. On his way home, however, his forces were ambushed by Hoysala partisans. (5) This was in April: an inscription of Ballāla II dated May 1207, at the important road-junction of Hāvēri, about seventeen miles east of Hāṅgal, shows that Kāma-dēva's power was still fairly narrowly circumscribed. (6) From the statement of a record of that period that Ballāla ruled, having made a victorious expedition as far as the Heddore, we can learn nothing: (7) but his presence at Hallavūr during the year shows his anxiety plainly. (8) Meanwhile Nārasimha ruled at Dōrasamudra in April 1207: (9) his position in the state was secure, and it is not surprising to find him referred to three years later as Yuvaṅga. (10)

(1) S. I. I. IX 326, A. R. 239 of 1922, M. A. R. 1935, 49.

(2) W. E. II f. 151a (1206). The Postal Directory places Kallukere

(3) E. C. V Channarayapatna 265 (1206). near Alūr.

(4) E. C. VIII Sorab 171 (1207).

(5) E. C. VIII Sorab 79 (1207) at Hosūr agrahāra.

(6) A. R. 1932-3, App. D. 88.

(7) E. C. VI Kadur 134 (1207).

(8) M. A. R. 1910-1, para. 103 (1207). (9) E. C. V Arsikere 106 (1207).

(10) E. C. V Channarayapatna 243 (1210).

In November 1207 the Belagāvi area was raided again, probably by Kāva-dēva. (1) But as Ballāla still possessed Kalkēri, nine miles south-east of Hāṅgal on the eastern side of the Varadā, at the beginning of December, it seems that Kāva-dēva concentrated on the southern parts of the great valley, to the exclusion of those less fertile and less densely populated. (2) Ballāla was obliged to continue this oscillating movement during the years that preceded the Sēvuna attack; Kāva-dēva was a perpetual cause of anxiety. In March 1208 he raided Haya, situated between Banavāse and Uddhate. (3) Clearly the Hoysala defences south of the Varadā were inefficient. The king was at Hallāvūr in April, (4) but it does not appear that he intervened personally in the campaign against the Kadamba, though he was at Hallāvūr in January 1209 also. (5) A return to the capital during the spring was followed by another long stay at Hallāvūr between July and December. (6) He was assisted at these headquarters by his son, the minister Paṇḍit-ayya-dannāyaka.

By 1210 the unsettled condition of the north-west, together with premonitions of the coming disaster, had brought about a state of feverish watchfulness. Ballāla is said, in one of the few records of the year, to be ruling together with his wife Padmala-mahādēvi and with Nārasimha-dēva: the government needed the full co-operation of the various households within the family. (7) Nor had they long to wait.

(1) E.C.VII Shikarpur 143, A.R.1902, 19(1207). Cf. M.INS. 64, p.137.
 (2) A.R.1935-6, App.E.77, W.E.II f.151b(1207).
 (3) E.C.VIII Sorab 305(1208). (4) E.C.VI Kadur 117(1208).
 (5) E.C.V Arsikere 40(1209). (6) E.C.V Arsikere 59(1209);
 S.I.I.IX pt.1, 329, A.R.1913, 123(1209), also E.C.V Channarayapatna
 172(1209) and E.C.VI Tarikere 84(1209); E.C.V Channarayapatna
 244(1210). (7) E.C.XI Holalkere 14(1210).

In March 1211 Ballāla was at Haḷlavūr, and indeed was there until December, (1) not daring to move further to the north, or to leave the districts to themselves. For Simhana-dēva Sēvuna, son of the Jaitugi who was defeated by Ballāla nearly twenty years before, took advantage of the remarkable successes of Kāma-dēva Kadamba. Doubtless encouraged by the latter's invitation, he scorned to attack Belvola or the eastern Sinda districts, but drove straight at Banavāsenāḍ, thus outflanking all Ballāla's possessions to the north of the Tuṅgabhadra. In April 1211 he opened an attack on the Hoysala's lands in the modern Sorab tāluḡa, and thus continued, only with greater vigour, the work Kāma-dēva had commenced on his own account. (2) An incident in the fighting against Siṅgana (sic) is found in an inscription at Elavāre, (3) and an undated record mentioning an expedition against Siṅga-dēva by Mahādēva-dannāyaka ought perhaps to be attributed to this year. (4) A battle took place in August at Bilivūr, (5) and in October Ballāla-dēva's "raiders" besieged Bīraūr, only five miles west of Sorab, thus demonstrating the high degree of success attained by the Kadamba-Sēvuna combination. (6)

While this struggle was in progress in the west, far to the north the Hoysala towns were hardly disturbed. Nāgāvi was still in Ballāla's hands in October 1211. (7) In January 1212, while Ballāla was in Haḷlavūr, his wife Padmala-dēvi was ruling

(1) E.C.V Arsikere 137; E.C.VI Kadur 118(1211). Ballāla was in Haḷlavūr between March 1210 and March 1211, as shown by a vīraḡal dated Śaka 1132 Pramōdūta: E.C.VI Kadur 131(1210-1), K.T. only. (2) E.C.VIII Sorab 404(1211) at Tattūru. (4) M.A.R.1927, 156(?1211). (3) E.C.V Arsikere 137(1211). (5) E.C.VIII Sorab 4(1211) at Māvāli. (6) ibid.59(1211) at Guḡuve. (7) A.R.1926-7, App.F.22, W.E.II f.155b(ii)(1211).

parts of the northern Pāṇḍya nād, including the village of Hosa-Hadaṅgile, apparently without any anticipation of a serious threat from beyond the river.(1) In February the king seems to have taken the field, though the name of the place where he camped being incomplete, it is impossible to say whether it was northwards or westwards.(2) That the latter direction is the more probable is shown by the fact that in April Siṅgaṇa-dēva's forces attacked another area in Ballāla's western districts.(3) Clearly the Sēvūṇa, whose local partisans had advised him correctly, chose to concentrate on the fertile valley rather than fight for the scattered townships of the northern plateau, realising, without doubt, that these latter must fall easily into his hands once the Banavāse nād had been won and the Hoysala strength undermined. Thus in April 1212 Ballāla still held Lokkiḡundi,⁽⁴⁾ while in the next month Siṅgaṇa-dēva's forces seized the people and cattle of Bandalike and shut up the grain stores in that important town. This was presumably in order to force the Belagāvi district's inhabitants to submit, which they might do more readily if there had in fact been a period of drought.(5) But by February 1213 the second part of Siṅgaṇa's plan had begun to unfold. He had taken Gadag, and we shall not be rash in supposing that Erambarage, Naregal, Belaganūr and Pombulca(Hombal) had fallen too. Whether Belavaṭṭige, Madaganūr and Anṅigere were also in the Sēvūṇa's hands cannot be known, but it is highly likely.(6)

(1) S. I. I. IX pt. 1, 330, A. R. 1914, 495 (1212).

(2) E. C. V Hassan 31 at Haṅcūru. The place is Rāya...paṭṭana.

(3) E. C. VIII Sorab 376 (1212). (4) A. R. 1926-7, App. F. 52 (1212).

(5) E. C. VIII Sorab 309 (1212) at Doravaḷḷi on the Varadā, then in Sēvūṇa hands. (6) A. R. 1926-7, App. F. 9, W. E. II f. 181a-b (1213).

By March of the next year Siṅgaṇa had taken Nāgāvi, and a direct threat was opened against Huligere.(1) At the same time he must have taken Bentūr, just over seven miles west of Nāgāvi, for he is known to have ruled it in December 1214. (2) As Ballāla may well have held Lokkiguṇḍi, for he is represented as being in ...guṇḍi in April 1214, the Sēvuna must have surrounded his post on two sides at least.(3) In any case no Sēvuna penetration was effected to the south of the Tuṅgabhadra as far as we can tell, for Ballāla still occupied Māgala, an important point on a much-used ford over the river.(4)

In April, again, the chief of Bandalike, Bammi-dēvarasa, now a subject of the Sēvuna, joined by a Sēvuna officer by name Drōṇapala,(5) besieged Uddhare, which was probably holding out for the Hoysala.(6) Ballāla's forces in the area, perhaps reinforced by levies from the Sāntalige nād and by Hoysala troops coming by way of Raṭṭihalḷi, began to make some headway against the Sēvuna, and retook Bandalike.(7) So pleased was Ballāla with the success of this counter-attack that he commenced his return to the capital. The Belvola nād was probably left in the hands of one of the royal household. The king was in Dōrasamudra in August 1215,(8) and was there when he learned that Siṅgaṇa had taken advantage of his absence and captured Belagāvi.(9) At once Siṅgaṇa was proclaimed as Karṇṇāṭa-kṣiti-

(1) WE. II f. 156a(2nd $\frac{1}{2}$)(1214) at Nāgāvi. A.R. 1926-7, App. F. 23 shows that he still held it in March 1215.

(2) A.R. 1926-7, App. F. 154(1214). (3) S. I. I. IX pt. 1, 332(1214) at Muttigi. Did he stop at Virūpākṣapura (the reading is Vi...paṭṭana) on his way towards Lokkiguṇḍi (E.C. XI Holalkere 2(1214))?

Virūpākṣapura or Virūpākṣapaṭṭana has been identified - not conclusively - with Hosadurgā in Chitaldrug district. See below p. 477.

(4) S. I. I. IX pt. 1, 333(1214) at Māgala.

(5) E.C. VIII Sorab 391. (6) E.C. VII Shikarpur 243(1214) at Ban-

pāla-sainya-timira-pradhvaṃsa-tibrātapō, "a fierce sunshine in destroying the darkness that was the army of the Karnāṭa king." (1) A later record gives him the title Hoyisaṇa-rāya-Ballāla-lakṣmī-latā-kāṇḍa-sandōha-mardana-gajēndra, "a lordly elephant in crushing the abundant mass of creepers that was the fortune of Ballāla the Hoysala king." (2) Likewise Siṅgaṇa's grandson, who may actually have taken part in this war during his early youth, Kṛṣṇa, otherwise Kaṇhara or Kandhara-dēva Sēvuna, is called some years later Ballāla-sthūla-kūla-prapatana-taṭinī-pūra-ramhō..haḥ, "a ...river's raging flood in dashing upon the massive bank Ballāla." (3)

In 1216, while gifts were being made to temples in the Hoysala nād for Ballāla's victory in this war on two fronts, (4) Siṅgaṇa was in possession of Bisalahalli, between Bandaḷike, which he must have retaken, and Beḷagāvi, (5) while in April he was master of Ciṭṭūr, five miles south of Beḷagāvi, and pointing the way southwards and eastwards. (6) Hire Kabbūru, five miles north of Beḷagāvi, had long been in his hands, and Ekalarasa, descendant of the well-known Uddhare Gaṅga dynasty, which until Ballāla's victories of 1192-4 had been^a loyal Hoysala ally, was obliged to acknowledge Sēvuna supremacy, perhaps the only step that could restore the past fortunes and greatness of his house. (7)

(Page 264 n. (6) cont.) -daḷike.

Page 264 n. (7) E.C.VII Shikarpur 247 (?1215).

Page 264 n. (8) E.C.V Arsikere 180 (1215).

Page 264 n. (9) E.C.VII Shikarpur 95, W.E.II ff.183b-184b (1215).

(1) E.C.VII Shikarpur 95 (1215). See also Hēmādri, Vratākāṇḍa-praśasti in S.Srikantha Sastri's Sources of Kan.Hist.i.p.228-9.

(2) WCE.II ff.200a-205b (1238) at Tilivalli. (3) E.I.xix 3 (1250).

(4) E.C.vi Kadur 111 (?1215). (5) M.A.R.1928, 74 (1216).

(6) E.C.VIII Sorab 507 (1216). (7) ibid.398 (1216).

Nor was the Gaṅga the only potentate to change sides. The Sinda ruler of Belagavatti, Īśvara-dēva, who held such an important strategic position athwart Hoysala communications with the north that his defection could be counted a major di^saster, accepted the overlordship of the Sēvūna in April 1216.(1) But while the Kadamba Kāma-dēva and the Sinda Īśvara-dēva were by choice allies of the Sēvūna - for the repeated attacks of the Hoysala on Hāṅgal were more than ample immediate provocation, and Umā-dēvi's attacks on the Sinda's possessions a few years before did little to encourage that family's loyalty - and while the Gaṅga was perforce a member of their confederacy, Ballāla himself was not without his adherents.

South of an imaginary boundary running from Ciṭṭūr westwards to Nisarāṇi the land was held by rulers favourable to the Hoysala cause, or, at the least, hostile to the northern confederacy. An officer acting under Ballāla's orders, and doubtless supplied and reinforced from Sāntara territory, with which he had close connections,(2) invaded Jiduvalige-nāḍ in April 1216. He was Bāḷeyamma-verggāḍe, otherwise known as Bād-eyamma, and his objective was to chastise the Uddhare Gaṅga, in whose hands the best part of the Jiduvalige (otherwise Jidvalige or Jiddulige) nāḍ lay.(3) Troops from Ciṭṭūr opposed

(1) E.C.VII Hannali 48(1216) at Belagutti.

(2) He bore Sāntara-type titles: E.C.VIII Sagar 124, 125(1216) at Nāḍamañcasāle.

(3) E.C.VIII Sorab 398(1216). Bāḷeyamma was the son of the general Goṅgana and Biyabarasi, daughter of Bāḷeyamma-verggāḍe's sister Keleyabarasi, sister of Kāḷarasa, son of Bommarasa, ruler of Kunda and Koḍa-nāḍs. He was a subordinate of Ballāla II. See E.C.VIII Sagar 15(1218).

opposed this movement, (1) and Kāma-dēva ordered a large force against him. The ensuing battle was fought at Parigi, or Harige, well within Sāntara-held territory. (2) Bāleyamma not only escaped from the trap but lived to give distinguished service in the same cause three years later.

(1) EC.VIII Sorab 507(1216) at Ciṭṭūr.

(2) M.A.R.1929, 73(1216) at Kuppagaḍḍe, about 3 miles N.W. of Uddhare. The reading may be defective; but in any case the "Note" by the editor is completely misleading. The text relates; śrīmatu Kadamba-cakravartti Kāva-dēvarasaru Kēśava-dēva Bommeya mukhyavāgi palarum nāyakaram Bāleyamakke Sōdiya mēle daṇḍam bīla pēlal ēri baṇḍu Parigiya bayalali bīḍam biṭṭu --- mahā-bavaram ādalli, etc., for which the editor writes, (p.148), "It mentions a great battle near the village Parigi, when Kēśava-dēva, Bommeya and other generals of the Kadamba king were marching with an army under the king's orders to seize the places Bāleyamakki (a place near Bālehonnur in Koppa tāluḍa) and Sōde (in South Canara)." To this it is objected that though in ~~the~~ Koppa tāluḍa there are several place-names incorporating "makki", Bāleyamakki does not appear in the sheets of the Survey, and neither Koppa nor South Kanara are suitable districts in which to find the goals of an expedition sent by Kāva-dēva during this war. The distance alone makes either impossible, if the very fact of the two places suggested being in opposite directions from Kuppagaḍḍe or Ciṭṭūr did not make the absurdity apparent. A better translation of the sentence is: "When the Kadamba emperor Kāva-dēvarasa, ordering many nāyakas, of whom Kēśava-dēva and Bommeya were the chief to lead the army against Sōdi (in the war) against Bāleyama, rose and came and camped in the plain of Parigi; and when there was a great battle,...." Sōdi must have been in the neighbourhood of Uddhare, like Parigi itself.

An inscription of Siṅgaṇa at Uddhare dated in September 1217 boasts of the prowess of the Sēvuna king, a "rutting elephant in destroying the lotus-garden that was Ballāḷa-rāya", (1) and an undated record at Bijapur refers proudly to the king's victory over the Hōsaṇa. (2)

But Ballāḷa's conquests had not yet melted away. His hold upon the north-eastern parts was hardly diminished. Hāluve and Mānuve he must indeed have lost, but Siruguppe probably remained. There is no proof that Siṅgaṇa had as yet anywhere crossed the Tuṅgabhadra, and Oruvay, about thirteen miles north-west of Bellary, was certainly in Ballāḷa's hands in August 1217. (3) In June 1218 he still held Tālūru, about twelve miles south-west of Oruvay, and in October Kuḍatini, then known as Kottitōne, a place between Bellary and Doravaḍi. (4)

Towards the end of the year, while Ballāḷa remained inactive at his capital, (5) worn down, it would seem, by more than forty years of almost ceaseless warfare or preparation for war, his allies the Sāntaras kept up the struggle against the Sēvuna and his subordinates. An inscription at Kunteppa relates that Siṅgarasa and Bīrasasa raided Tevarateppa, thus making some considerable headway against the enemy. (6) Ballāḷa's relations with the Sāntaras at this period appear to have been complex, and no obvious solution of one difficulty has been

(1) E.C.VIII Sorab 135(1217). (2) A.R.1933-4, App.E.158.

(3) S.I.I.IX pt.1.334, A.R.1904, 68a.

(4) S.I.I.IX pt.1.336, A.R.1904, 52; *ibid.* 335, A.R.1922, 743.

(5) He was there in August 1217: E.C.V Belur 136(1217); and in December: *ibid.* 224(1217).

(6) E.C.VIII Sorab 339(1217).

found. Though in September 1218 Nāḍakalaṣi, about six miles north-west of the Sāntara stronghold of Hosagunda, and very close to the Sāntara boundary, was in Ballāla's own hands, (1) Nāḍamañcasāle, two miles south of Nāḍakalaṣi, was ruled two years before neither by the Hoysala nor by a Sāntara, but by a certain Jagadēva Pāṇḍya, who may perhaps have had connection of some kind with the Ālva or Ālupa dynasty. (2)

It may have been the Hoysala's success in Banavāse nāḍ, or the departure of the same ruler from the Sinda districts north of the Tuṅgabhadra, or it may have been merely the operation of a local principle of seeking a balance of power, that in 1219 induced Īśvara-dēva Sinda of Belagavaṭṭi to foresake the Sēvuna alliance. A highly damaged inscription tells that in the year Pramādi, the fifth of the bright half of the month Jyēṣṭha, in other words May 1219 (and not 1193, as RICE supposed), while a Kumāra Vīra..., perhaps Bīrarasa, was ruling Kunda & Koḍa nāḍs, and while Ballāla II with the usual titles was exercising some authority or prosecuting some scheme, certain nāyakas died fighting at a time when Īśvara-dēva of Belagavatti was in the fort of Ciṭṭūr and Bāleyamma-verggade was smashing the army. (3) This in itself would not appear to be unambiguous proof of the change in Īśvara-dēva's policy, even though it is known that, three years before, Ciṭṭūr was in Sēvuna hands, but during the next month Īśvara-dēva together with many manneyar, or superior fief-holders, with a force of ten thousand foot

(1) E. C. VIII Sagar 15(1218).

(2) *ibid.* 125(1216).

(3) E. C. VIII Sagar 4(1219). RICE is guilty of a mistranslation.

and one thousand horse, attacked Abbalūr, which lies about twenty miles to the north-west of Belagavatti, and was then in Sēvuna territory.(1)

For a while nothing further is heard of the Sēvuna war. The Sēvuna himself seems to have been well satisfied with his achievements, and it was clearly only a question of finding a suitable opportunity before advancing over the Tuṅgabhadra and stripping the Hoysala empire of its northern accretions. This must have been well understood by those living in the threatened areas. In or before July 1218 Bammi-dēva Cōla had learnt of the Hoysala's embarrassments in the west, together with the sudden increase of his obligations in the south, of which more will be said below, and guessed that Ballāla could only be weakened by these entanglements and that an opportunity would thereby be afforded him to pay off something of the score which his family owed Ballāla, particularly on account of the defeat inflicted on his father in or about 1194. He was, moreover, anxious to prevent an invasion of his elongated dominion by the Sēvuna. Accordingly he undertook the task of re-occupying certain villages in his hereditary domain from which he had been ousted, it seems, during the last Hoysala occupation. He then fortified Nidugal, which Ballāla himself had left only six months before, when he visited Bammi-dēva on a tour of inspection of the north-eastern quarter of the kingdom, and finally linked up Nidugal together with Hāne, or Hāniya, which

(1) W. E. II ff. 185b-186a(1219).

had also been refortified, (1) with the explicit object of impeding future invasions by either Hoysala or Sēvuna, both of which, he correctly foresaw, would approach, if at all they did, from the west. The work, completed in haste, (2) was apparently untouched until the conduct of Iruṅgōla-dēva of Nidugal in 1276 forced the Hoysala, tardily but finally, to crush the Cōla family. But those fortifications did not save the unfortunate Bammi-dēva from falling under the power of the Dēvagiri ruler. In or about 1220 his independence was lost temporarily to the Sēvuna. We may judge this from the gap in Cōla inscriptions between 1218 and 1247, and by the title "Cōla-rāya-diś-āpaṭṭa", or "scatterer of the Cōla king", an otherwise inexplicable title borne by Siṅgaṇa in an undated record which can hardly be later than 1247, the date of Siṅgaṇa's death. (3)

Having thus failed to control the Nidugal Cōla, or to prevent his imminent absorption into a foreign empire that was gradually increasing at his own expense, the aged Vīra-Ballāla, despite his recent failures the most successful of the Hoysalas, found himself obliged to make preparations for the succession to the throne. At the beginning of 1220 he was in the capital, (4) and it was there that he died in June or perhaps July of that year. (5) He had however taken precaution to

(1) For Hāne see above, p. 250.

(2) E.C. XI Molakalmuru 20 (1218). Ballāla was in Dōrasamudra in January 1218 (E.C. VI Kadur 129), but in Nidugal in early February (E.C. V Hassan 61). He appears to have been at the kappā of Nallūr on his way there (E.C. V Channarayapatna 211a, where the figure of the Śaka year -1080- must be a misreading, as 1157-8 is quite impossible for this śasana.). (3) W.E. II f. 221a.

(4) E.C. V Arsikere 77 (1220). (5) The last dated inscription of Ballāla II is at Kariganūr: Śaka 1142, Vikrama, Aṣṣāḍha su 8. (E.C. VII Channagiri 6).

have his son Vīra-Nārasimha crowned a few months before that event, in fact on the 18th April 1220.(1) The latter enjoyed a considerable degree of responsibility even before his coronation, his name being mentioned significantly twice,(2) and the great southern expedition, to which we are about to turn, having been left largely in his care. It is however noticeable that Nārasimha, even with the title Yuvarāja, did not exercise even a fraction of the influence upon the affairs of the kingdom that his father had done during his own period as Crown Prince.

Vīra-Ballāla appears to have maintained to within a very few years of his death the vigour and masterfulness of his early youth, and an indomitable optimism and boundless energy characterise all his ventures. His family seemingly had little initiative of their own, and consequently the decline in the dynasty's fortunes, when it came, could be laid without hesitation at the great man's door.

He passed away leaving, he supposed, an empire which despite attacks on one side, was still holding what was more truly its own, and was about to commence in the opposite direction a fresh career of conquest, with a new field of activity and with a new world in which to shine. The dreams of his grandfather had been attained, and if his ambitions in the north had not proved capable of uninterrupted realisation, the prospect that offered itself in the south exceeded Viṣṇuvaradhana's most sanguine expectations. And so:-

(1) E. C. V Channarayapatna 172(1209 & 1220)

(2) M. A. R. 1926, 53 (?1219), E. C. IV Hegadadevankote 14 (?1219), and M. A. R. 1915-6, para. 89 (?1218).

āsīd Ballāḷa-dēvē parinata-vayasi sthāpya rājyē Nṛsiṃham
 svaryātē tasya rakṣan śirasi vinihitam śāsanam sarbbam āpya
 vīra-śrī-Nārasimha-sthira-pada-kamalam samyag āśritya tiṣṭhan
 kāṅkṣ^aty āsthē(?) su-kīrttim daśa-diśi-vitatām rājya-lakṣmīm
 samagrām //

"When Ballāḷa-dēva, being of advanced age,
 went to heaven after establishing Nṛsiṃha on the throne,
 (the latter) after receiving with deferential regard every in-
 struction of Ballāḷa observed it. Taking refuge sincerely at
 the firm lotus feet of the heroic (god) Nārasimha and (thus)
 remaining, he (Narasimha) desires (?) and obtained that the
 Lakṣmī (wealth and power) of his kingdom shall, accompanied
 by fair fame, be spread in every respect over the ten quarters." (1)

Nārasimha entered upon his duties with the intention
 of carrying forward the political schemes of his father without
 modification, and his reign, as we can view it from the rather
 scanty records, shows no indication that the verse gave ex-
 pression to a mere rhetorical sentiment. Vīra-Nārasimha had
 the good fortune to take over a kingdom in a good condition.
 Throughout his father's vigorous reign the improvement in the
 level of public order and social security had risen, slowly at
 first and steadily after 1190, so that by the middle of his
 reign the greatest degree of expansion abroad was coupled with
 the highest level of public order and governmental control at
 home. But despite the comparative tranquillity in which Nāra-

(1) E.C.V Channarayapatta 211b(c1222). The R.T. of this very
 irregular verse reads a blank after Kāṅkṣa and before su-
 kīrttim instead of the ty āsthē of the K.T., āsthē being un-
 intelligible, unless the poet, who appears not to have been
 very skilful, intended it for ā - tashē. RICE's translation
 is confusing and contains one serious error.

siṃha found his kingdom, the task which he took upon his shoulders was, if a legacy from his father, still a decided departure from the previous policy of his dynasty. The object of Viṣṇuwardhana and Ballāḷa II had been to extend Hoysala rule over areas which would not only repay the effort, but by their chaotic condition and lack of vigorous leadership invited a conqueror of similar racial extraction, identical language, and customs homogeneous with their own. A political vacuum in the north-west and beyond the Tuṅgabhadra drew the Hoysala onwards, as it were, by a natural force: the establishment of a Kannada national empire based upon a more vigorous and spirited Mysorean dynasty was a reasonable and proper conclusion to the period of upheaval which had preceded the rise of the Hoysala, and had continued during his first century and a half of growth. But Ballāḷa in his old age had turned his face in another direction where neither natural force, nor reasonable ambition suggested Hoysala activity. Thus the quietness of his kingdom was in fact deceptive, for Nārasimha's ministers, court, nobles and people were saddled with the distressing responsibility of a historical aberration.

To describe the origin of this phenomenon is difficult for two reasons: firstly because, being essentially a fortuitous departure from a normal development in the history of a group, it partakes of the individual and the particular, and consequently to understand it rightly it is not sufficient to observe happenings in the broad, to gather evidences from a wide field,

or to deduce a general movement from a mass of details of diverse kinds and varying proportions. One must be a party to the secret desires of one or two men, must follow the convolutions of diplomacy in which the needs of personalities play as great a part as national aspirations. Yet, of the period in question, no personal letters, no notes of cabinet meetings, no records of family intrigues remain. Almost without exception the important evidence is missing; and the element of imagination is perforce called to aid the helpless historian. The second difficulty follows in a sense from the first: the evidence which does exist, and which presents us at every turn with faits accomplis rather than traces of policies or motives, suffers from the transfer of emphasis from the Kannada to the Tamil world. As we move from the plateau and follow the Hoysala into the southern plains we leave behind the atmosphere of historical awareness we have hitherto utilized and the structure of dynastic reality which we have been able to erect. Laconic and confused as are often the Kannada records, the Tamil records are in a still greater state of confusion, and are still less communicative. It is not therefore surprising that the Tamil inscriptions, and the highly complex political history which they conceal, have received a greater attention from scholars than their Kannada contemporaries, and very numerous articles by living or lately dead native historians have endeavoured to clarify the history of the Cōla, Pāṇḍya and other southern dynasties during the centuries with which we are here concerned. The account that follows gives due consideration to the many

interesting and ingenious theories which they have published; in the normal way Hoysala history would be expected to solve for them many of their problems: unfortunately the theory elaborated below may itself join the heap of discarded suppositions, when once more solid and reliable evidence is discovered, and when the chain of circumstances is more happily demonstrated.

In the year 1217, as will be remembered, Ballāla II had been obliged to admit that the dreams of a Hoysala empire embracing the country as far north as the Kr̥shna river were broken, at least for the time being. He may have visualized a time when the northern and north-western dynasties would rebel in their turn against the Marātha ruler of Dēvagiri, but it was clear to him that unless the Hoysala received a substantial accession of strength from some quarter, he or his successors would be unable fully to take advantage of the opportunity when it offered. It was at this critical time that he received interesting news from the country south of the ghats. Before detailing what that news was, it is necessary to give a picture of Vīra-Ballāla's own relations with the south.

Prior to the defeat of Jaitugi in 1190 the Hoysala had hardly been on equal terms, socially or politically, with the Cōla family which had ruled at various times in Oriyūr, Tañjāvūr (Tanjore) and Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-cōlapuram. The great Kulōtuṅga III was, however, by that time beginning to experience difficulty in maintaining control over the extensive Cōla dominions, and within ten years of that date was happy to

enter into intimate relations with his successful neighbour. Ballāla was pleased to have an understanding on equal terms with a descendant of the mighty rival of the Cālukya whom he was himself striving to imitate, and took one of the Cōla king's daughters, it seems, as a wife. (1) It appears that he was not satisfied with this, but actually married a daughter of his to the aged Kulōttuṅga. The facts at our disposal point to such a conclusion, although direct proof is missing. The daughter in question was Sōmala-dēvi, otherwise Sōvala. She was the daughter of Padmala-mahādēvi,⁽²⁾ the mother of Nārasimha II, and is called in one inscription narapati-Nārasimhana sa-hōdari, and in another Nārasimha-rāyan-oḍavuṭṭida, indicating that she was Nārasimha's full sister, as well as Padmala-dēviya putri. (3) She was thus a person of rather greater importance than the other female members of the family, (4) and remained close to her brother's interests even when she had been transported to the Tamil country. For not otherwise can these facts be interpreted: in two inscriptions she is pointedly termed rāṇi, which can only mean "queen". (5) As she could not have been the queen of her own brother, she must have been queen of some other king, and no other seems to fit the circumstances than Kulōttuṅga himself. She maintained some administrative rights in the Hoysala nāḍ, for an inscription which presumably

(1) E.C.V Channarayapatna 205 (cl200) tells of Cōla-mahādēvi & a village under her control. An agrahāra seems to have been named after her, namely Cōla-mahādēvipura, according to E.C.VII Honnali 90 (1290). (2) E.C.V Hassan 84, also ibid. Arsikere 123 (1236). (3) E.C.V Arsikere 123 (1236); ibid. Channarayapatna 243 (1210); AR. 1937-8, 6 (1239) calls Sōmala-mahādēvi daughter of Hoysala Ballāla. (4) She it was who was mentioned in a rather elegant Sanskrit verse in E.C.IV Krishnarajapet 63 (1237), where RICE makes the absurd error: "...Nārasimha, whose wife was Sōmala." (5) E.C.V Channarayapatna 243 (1210), ib. Arsikere 123.

belongs to 1230 speaks of a relative of Kumāri-Sōvala-dēvi's heggade:(1) in this case the title Kumāri may have survived as an affectionate "Princess" long after she had ceased, at least technically, to be a maiden. Again, another record of 1230 speaks of the resentment of Nārasimha-dēva and Sōvala-dēvi that would attend disobedience of an order.(2) Her duties in her new kingdom can have claimed only a part of her attention, and thus we feel that her marriage was either of an unusual kind or that it did not last long. Then we find it said that

vanaja-dalēkṣaṇe guṇa-man-
 dane Sōvala-dēvi Sōvi-dēvaṅge jagad-
 vinutaṅge Kūrmeyiṃ tāy
 ene permege tāne dal tavarmaney ādaḷu //

"Sōvala-dēvi, she of the eye like a lotus-leaf, adorned with good qualities, was in truth herself the native home of greatness, because she was in affection a mother to the world-famous Sōvi-dēva."(3)

Now Sōvi-dēva was Sōmēśvara, son of Nārasimha, and was of course her nephew. How was it that she was in a position to be like a mother to him? The verse quoted above is not the only instance of the expression. An inscription at Jambukēśvara in Trichinopoly tāluqa dated in the reign of Vīra-Sōmēśvara-dēva

(1) E.C.V Arsikere 78(?1230 - dated Vikrti).

(2) E.C.VI Tarikere 53(1230).RICE is in error in attributing an exactly similar sentence to ibid.55.

(3) E.C.V Arsikere 123(1236).There is a pathetic irony about the word tavarmane, the house in which a woman is born and which she leaves when she marries. Sōmala left hers for the Tamilians' court, and then had, in widowhood, to make one for herself.

registers exemption from taxation granted by the king from his sixth year on the land endowed by Avvai Sōmala-mahādēvi to the temple of Saṅgamallīśvaram-udaiyār-nāyaṅār and to the Saṅgamadēvar-maṭha at Tiruvāṅgaikkā, otherwise known as Tīru-āṅgaikkāval at the same place as Jambukēśvaram itself on the island of Śrīraṅgam. (1) This is clearly the same person as the Sōmala-mahādēvi, daughter of the Hoysala king Vīra-Vallāla-dēva, who purchased land in Pērūr Cīrudavūr otherwise Pālūr-cēri in Kīlpalāru of the Pāccil-kūrram of the Rājarāja-vala-nād in the sixth year of the "emperor of the entire earth", Vīra-Sōmēśvara-dēva. (2) Avvai means mother, though it is not, and apparently was not, strictly confined to that meaning. Again a record near Tirugōkarṇam near Pudukkōṭṭai speaks of Sōmala-dēviyār as mātā - unquestionably "mother", - of Sōmēśvara-dēvar, (3) the son of Pōsala Vīra-śrī-Nārasiṅga-dēvar of Dōraisamuttiram. Another record, of the sixth year of Sōmēśvara, at Śrīraṅgam, mentions a priest or official connected with the worship of the private deity of Sōmala-dēviyār. (4) It is seen therefore that not only was Sōmala considered Sōmēśvara's mother but that she occupied herself in the Tamil at least as much as in her native Kannaḍa country. We never hear of her having any children, for the ciruppillaigal who are said to belong to her on one occasion must have been either step-children, or, more probably, subordinate servants. (5) Thus Sōmēśvara was her only "child",

(1) A.R.1937-8,5(1239). (2) ibid.6(1239) at Jambukēśvaram.

(3) S.I.I.VII,1043(1226) in Rāmanātha's tenth year. The same inscription, Pd.183, reads 20th year of Rāmanātha, i.e.1236.

(4) S.I.I.IV,515(1238-9).

(5) S.I.I.VII 1043(1226).

and that in a certain sense only, for besides the way in which the verse quoted above is phrased, we hear that Sōmēśvara's mother was Kālala-dēvi, wife of Nārasiṃha. The first instance is in the very same record in which Sōmala-dēvi's affection is recorded: Nārasiṅga-dēvaṅgaṃ Kālala-dēvi-rāṇigaṃ Yadu-kūla-tilakaṃ Sōvi-dēva-nṛpaṇ udayisiḍaṃ, "king Sōvi-dēva was born, he the forehead-ornament of the Yādava race, to Nārasiṅga-dēva and to his queen Kālala-dēvi."(1) It was for this lady, whom he calls his ammai, "mother", for her spiritual welfare, that towards the end of his life Sōmēśvara made several gifts to temples in the Tamil country.(2)

The mystery is solved by a passage in the as yet unpublished Gadyakarṇāmṛta of Sakala-vidyā-cakravarti, which states that Sōmēśvara's mother Kalāvati, which must be a Sanskritized form of Kālala, died about three years after his birth.(3) It seems very probable that Sōmēśvara was born about 1206, for we first hear of him in the year 1216, when he was mentioned as the son of Nṛsiṃha, who was then still Yuvarāja. (4) Other circumstances of his life support such a conjecture. In that case Kālala-dēvi died in or about 1209, and Sōmala-dēvi adopted the baby soon afterwards. She was herself married to the aged Kulōttuṅga, who died and left her a widow in 1217-1218, so that she was then free to devote herself to her various interests both in her own country and that of her adoption, and

(1) E. C. V Arsikere 123(1237).

(2) S. I. I. IV 421(c1249); A. R. 1936-7, 122(1258) & 123(1260)? dates mistaken; both at Jambukēśvaram.

(3) M. A. R. 1924, para. 70-72(?c1232 or c1257)

(4) E. C. VI Kadur 111(?1216).

to the up-bringing of her nephew. It is very probable that she kept Sōmēśvara with her in the Tamil country, and that it was in his early youth that he acquired a liking for that part of the peninsula, which had so little in common with his ancestral home, and which he later made his permanent abode. There could have been no objection to the boy's remaining in the Cōla country as long as there existed ties of friendship between the countries, or rather the dynasties, and as long as Ballāla was alive and well and his son Nārasimha was waiting for his succession to the throne. It is just possible that Sōmēśvara may not have been Nārasimha's first son, and that the latter was kept at Dōrasamudra until his death, which must have occurred before 1216, but for such a conjecture no clear evidence exists.

Besides Ballāla's marriage with Cōla-mahādēvi, and his daughter's marriage to Kulōttuṅga, ^{he} thought fit to cement the dynastic alliance by a further sacrifice. He seems to have obliged Nārasimha to give one of his daughters to Kulōttuṅga's son, later Rājarāja III. That Nārasimha did so is proved by the instances where Rājēndra III, son of Rājarāja, calls Sōmēśvara māmā, "uncle".(1) That he did so during the life-time, and thus under the direction, of his father is indicated by the fact that in 1220, when Ballāla died and his son succeeded, the latter was almost thirty-eight years of age,

(1) A.R.1936-7,117; E.I.VII 24(Kielhorn's dates,33).

and only very junior daughters would still be unmarried.

When, then, the Cōla family, whose fortunes, especially in the north, had been failing for some time, began to experience severe pressure from their erstwhile vassals, the Pāṇḍyas, it was very natural for them to approach Ballāla for assistance. The first approach was very tentative. Ballāla, fancying that to the loyal support of his relations by marriage he would add the enviable function of arbitrating between the rivals, and thereby derive prestige and perhaps material profit besides, naturally agreed in principle. After the final humiliation had been effected, the unfortunate Rājarāja and his aged father demanded Hoysala aid. Ballāla's preoccupation with the Sēvūnas prevented his intervention in person, and therefore he sent Nārasimha with a large force to take his place. The position was that in 1216 Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya succeeded to the Pāṇḍya throne, or, more correctly, succeeded to the direction of Pāṇḍya policy, for there were several Pāṇḍya rulers at once, and immediately commenced a war against Kulōttuṅga in which he was completely successful. (1) After a campaign which appears to have been soon accomplished he permitted Kulōttuṅga to remain in his kingdom on the most humiliating terms. The power was to be given to his son Rājarāja. Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya then probably returned to Madura, leaving some garrisons under his own officers, if not one of his brothers, to help the Cōla, whose prestige had naturally

(1) N.K. Sastri, Cōlas II, ppl 143-147. E.I. xxii 10.

suffered as a result of the defeat, to keep his promise to pay tribute. Professor Nilakantha Sastri thinks that the Pāṇḍya did not take the fullest advantage of his victory because of the Hoysala intervention. This is not the case. The Pāṇḍya had succeeded beyond his wildest dreams, for he had liberated his family, humiliated the ruler of the enemy dynasty, and put the powerful and extensive territory of the Cōla under tribute. No mediaeval conqueror could hope for more. The Cōla's own hold over the great fief-holders was precarious enough: direct Pāṇḍya rule would have been impossible. So it was that the Hoysala's task was to liberate the Cōlas from the Pāṇḍya garrisons. In addition Rājarāja required that punishment should be inflicted upon the rulers of the Bāṇa and Adigaimān dynasties, who had actually assisted the Pāṇḍya forces against their nominal overlord. Rājarāja himself was in no position to revenge himself upon them, but a power from the plateau could easily attack both the Bāṇa, who held the regions of Āttūr, Jambai, and Tittagudi, and probably controlled as far west as Tāra-maṅgalam, (1) and the Adigaimān, whose power centred upon the valley of the Ponnaiyār, and whose capital was Tagadūr, the modern Dharmapuri, more exposed to attack from the north-west than the greater and richer parts of his dominions that stretched from Tirumalai in the north to Tiruvennainallūr in the south. (2)

(1) The Bāṇa had in ancient times held lands even as far north as Punganur tāluqa, Chittoor district (A.R.1912,327;1906,543 for example), but in the thirteenth century his power was restricted to the areas mentioned above, his hold on the eastern parts of which was always precarious; he had however managed to obtain power in districts otherwise held by the Adigaimān, e.g. Tiruvaraṅgam on the Ponnaiyār.

(2) The Adigaimān was in possession of Tirumalai (S.I.I.I,75-6) Tiruvaṅṅamalai (A.R.1902,536); Tiruvennainallūr (ibid.312); also

The Bāna and the Adigaimān had two features in common: they both originated, and held their chief cities, in the mountainous country that separated the Mysorean plateau from the Tamilian plains, and both tended constantly to move eastwards, and then, as they could, to north and south, in order to avail themselves of the comparative ease and plenty prevailing in those plains; yet both were, as dynasties, declining: both had lost the vigour and ability necessary to take advantage of the disorganization now to be seen in the affairs of their Cōla overlord. The Bāna, being the nearer of these mal-contents, had been chosen by the Pāṇḍya as chief beneficiary from his victory of 1217, as is recorded in certain verses at Tiruvānaikkāval, (1) but that arrangement had been altered when Rājarāja and his father submitted. Rājarāja's anxiety that the Bāna should be subdued is thus quite understandable. A glance at the map shows that the Hoysala was in a position to destroy the power of the Adigaimān by a march by way of Hosūr and Bairamaṅgalam to Tagadūr and then to Tiruvaṅṅāmalai, and that of the Bāna by continuing southwards from Tagadūr to Taramaṅgalam, and then striking eastwards at Attūr.

In the year 1218 Vīra-Ballāla sent his son Vīra-Nārasimha with an army to the rescue of the Cōla. How much sacrifice this and later expeditions of the kind cost the Hoysala country is seen from the special tax, Cōla-kāruṇya-biṭṭiya bhaṇḍi, imposed in the year 1217-8 for the salvation of the Cōla. (2) Nārasimha was doubtless met by the armies of the Adi-

(1) A.R.1908, 481 and 482; also E.I.xxii 10.

(2) See below, p.556-7.

gaimān and Bāna in turn. They must have had warning of his approach, but he defeated them, and gained the Kāvēri plain. There he put to flight some Pāṇḍya detachments before returning, no doubt by the same route, to the Hoysala nād.

Frequent references to his exploit are found. He is called, in an inscription of January 1219 "the only protector of the Cōla family, the uprooter of the Magadha (i.e. Bāna) king", while his father added to his already multitudinous titles those of Magara-rājya-diśāpaṭṭa Adiyama-gharaṭṭa Cōla-rājya-pratiṣṭhācārya, "scatterer of the Magara (i.e. Bāna) kingdom, mill-stone to Adiyama (i.e. the Adigaimān), architect of the establishment of the Cōla kingdom." (1)

(1) E.C.IV Nagamangala 29(1219). The famous Jagannātha-vijaya of Rudrabhatta, assigned by R.Narasimhacharya (K.K.C.i, 271) to about 1180, must have been completed in 1219, for in the opening verses the poet addresses the god in words that apply to his patron, Ballāḷa II:-

ari-Kāma-dhvaṃsi naga-vrajamaya-katakam Rāja-rāja-pratiṣṭhā-
niratam līlākramōdamcita-niravadhi-Gāṅgēyakam dviṭpura-dhvaṃ-
sa-rata-krōdham vṛṣāṅkam vibudha-nutan Umā-kāminī-jīvitēṣam
paramaiśvaryaśpadam rakṣisuge vasudheyam yuddha-raṅga-trinētram ||

"Destroyer of his enemy Kāma (i.e. the Kadamba), having a bracelet composed of a mass of snakes (or, "having a court filled with crowds of preeminent men"), devoted to the establishment of emperors (or, "(the Cōla) Rājarāja"), he who has the unbounded Ganges thrown upwards in playful fashion, whose wrath is expended in the destruction of enemy cities, whose mark is the bull (or, "virtue"), praised by the learned, husband of the affectionate Umā, receptacle of overwhelming might, - may that Trinētra (Siva) on the battle-field protect the earth!"

A record of 1220 tells how Nārasimha acquired a multitude of elephants, incidentally showing what is otherwise without evidence, that on his expedition to the south Nārasimha came into contact with the Kāḍava ruler of the Vṛddhācalam district, who had recently grown in power at the expense of the Adigaimān, ⁽¹⁾ and now seems to have been attempting to take over responsibility for the northern half of the Cōla country out of Pāṇḍya hands.

Magaregan ājiyoḷ sugidu koḷv(read koḷv) ibham int ivu Cōlan
 negaḷ ivu Pāṇḍ[y]anaṃ seḷadu(read seḷadu) Kāḍava-rāyanuv itta
 stigaḷ ivu nōḍim endu Narasimhana balmege mecci nōḍuvar
 vvageyolaḡ alki Simhanana Lāḷana Gaḷana rāyabhārigaḷ //

"These elephants he took after looting the Magara king (i. e. the Bāṇa) in war; these elephants the Cōla sent; these furious elephants were given by the Kāḍava king after beating the Pāṇḍya - look ! " So spoke the ambassadors of the kings of Ceylon, Gujerat and Bengal, shuddering in their minds, as they watched, admiring Nārasimha's might."

āneya-nāyakanga nerad-āneya-nāyakan allad ānan emb
 ī-nuḍi yēvud endu Narasimha-mahīpati nūru-gāvudam /
 tān irad etti mūḍana-diśāvarad uddhataram poraḷci nūr-
 āneyan oḍḍid ā-Magaran-ānegalaṃ piḍi tandan aśvaḍim //

"King Nārasimha, saying, "What expression is this, that he did not command sufficient elephants for a (real) elephant-commander, and so was not (one) ?", himself setting out without hesitation for a hundred gavūdas (about 1,000 miles) bowled

(1) A.R.1918,74.

over the haughty ones in the eastern quarter, seized the elephants of the (famous) Magara, who had arrayed a hundred elephants, and brought them in with his horse." (1)

Further references are to be found in the title virōdhi-Magara-bala-jalanidhi- baḍavānaḷa , "submarine fire to the ocean which was the forces of the enemy Magara", and Cōla-rājya-pratiṣṭhācārya in a record that may be dated about 1220,(2) and the title "pursuer after kings" in one of 1220.(3) Moreover, a certain Kuvāra (i.e.Kumāra) Lakṣma claimed to have conquered the world for Ballāla as far as the southern ocean, a claim which suggests that before 1220 he had taken part in a southern campaign. It must have been that of 1218.(4)

(1) E.C.VII Channagiri 72(1220). The text displays some curious irregularities: kol and sels are not regular forms for kol and sele. ālki is mistakenly read for alki. The K.T. reads iu for ivu and eud for evud; vage is an unusual form for bage. The phrase Pāṇḍyanam seladu grammatically follows Kāḍava, and has been so translated, but it must not be lost sight of that by an awkward choice of words the poet perhaps hides from us that it was Nārasimha who beat the Pāṇḍya. 1,000 miles is an exaggeration.

(2) E.C.V Arsikere 76(1220).

(3) E.C.V Belur 85(1220).

(4) E.C.V Belur 112(?1220). N.K.Sastri's view of the circumstances of the first Hoysala intervention is here accepted, with the proviso that the Hoysala's part ended before the beginning of 1219. K.S.Vaidyanathan in Q.J.M.S.1947, p.125 ff. takes the view that the Hoysala did not intervene before Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya was faced with the revolt of Kulaśekhara Pāṇḍya supported by the Cōla, and then took the Cōla's part, while Māravarman had on his side the Kāḍava-rāya, Bāna and Singhalese. This may to some extent have been the case in 1222, but not in 1218. However Vaidyanathan is correct concerning the part played by the Bāna. The account given by Krishnaswami Aiyangar in C.H.I.iii, p.481 is now out of date; incidentally, his statement as to the power and extent of territory of Vīra-Sōmēśvara on p.481-2 is completely wrong, the misstatement concerning the Tamil country being for him less excusable than the slip about Pandharpur.

Now, it would have been possible for Nārasimha, after his coronation in 1220, to have concentrated on the task of defence against the Sēvuna, and to have left the powers in the south to work out for themselves a solution to their complex rivalries. But the campaign of 1218 had demonstrated the practical advantages of "mediating" in those struggles, and Nārasimha was inclined to pursue the course he had begun. A short account in Sanskrit, from an undated record, to be ascribed to 1220-1, tells us that after his coronation, intent upon conquest in every direction, he first went to the east, and, taking action against him, uprooted the Magara king, then set up the kingdom of the Cōla who had taken refuge with him, then saw the god Allālanātha (at Kāñci), and stationed there a body of Bhēruṇḍas (picked troops) to uproot the evil element, returned, entered the ratnakūṭa (jewel-pinnacled) capital and was at peace.(1)

The second of the interventions of Nārasimha thus consisted of another attack upon the Magara on the outward journey, the rescue of the Cōla from further persecution of a kind similar to that of 1218, and a return journey, showing the flag, as it were, through the northern provinces of the Cōla, through the territories of the Kāḍava and the Adigaimān, the Yādavarāya and others, ending at Kāñci. This town was within

(1) E.C.V Channarayapatna 211b(c1221). tataḥ paṭṭābhiṣiktō vīra-Nārasimha-bhūpaḥ sakāla-dig-jayārttham pravṛttaḥ pūrvvaṃ pūrvva-diśā-varam gatvā pratipravṛttaḥ Magara-rājam nirmmūlya śaranāgata-Cōla-rājyam pratiṣṭhāpya śrīmad-Allālanātham drṣṭvā dustā-nirmmūlanārttham tatra Bhēruṇḍa-varggaṃ sthāpayitvā nivarṭtya sukhēna ratnakūṭa-rajadhānīm praviṣṭē sati, etc. Rice was quite wrong in translating pratipravṛttaḥ "having been surrounded".

the sphere of influence of the Telugu Pottapic-Cōla Manumāsiddhi Tirukkālatti-dēvan, otherwise Gaṇḍagōpālan, who was nominally a dependant of Rājarāja, and also of the Telugu dynasty of Wārangal, which, though not at the time in direct control of the neighbourhood of Kāñci, always exercised influence and held interests there. The loyalty of the Telugu family of Nellore, that of Gaṇḍagōpāla, being by no means certain, as Rājarāja's prestige was at a very low ebb at the time, and Nārasimha having undertaken to quieten his royal son-in-law's apprehensions, the Hoysala was thus obliged either to remain in the neighbourhood of Kāñci until the situation was clarified, or to return himself to his more pressing affairs at Dōrasamudra and leave a detachment with a political agent in the plain. He at length chose the latter course, but only after a stay which lasted up to September 1221 at the earliest; and thus began a long association between the Hoysalas and Kāñci.(1)

In the previous February a certain Mādhava-danṇāyaka who had been occupied in the south of the Hoysala-nāḍ and then in the north of the Cōla country, had marched against Vajradēva, and a battle took place at Kanari. It is not possible at present to identify either the person or the place: it may well have been an incident in a struggle between the Hoysala and Gaṇḍagōpāla, as such a struggle could hardly have been avoided.⁽²⁾

Naturally, the power of the Cōla Rājarāja, supported by such fleeting expeditions, could hardly stand for long. His

(1) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 150(1221), K.T. only, another record which RICE did not think worthy of transliteration and translation, contains but a few words, but they are very valuable. The king, bearing among others the title samasta-bhuvanāśraya, was ruling the kingdom of the world Cōlu-rājyadali, "in the

most vigorous enemy, Kōpperuñjiṅga of the Kāḍava family, set upon him in concert with the Pāṇḍya from the south and the Bāṇa from the north-west. While Rājarāja was escaping with his court, he actually captured ^{him} at Tellāru, about thirty miles south of Kāñci, where apparently he was on his way to seek the aid of loyalists and Hoysala officials in that city. The Cōla country naturally fell into the hands of the conspirators. A detachment of Kaṇṇadar, clearly Hoysala troops, engaged with Kōpperuñjiṅga, but apparently without making any impression. (1) And so it was that Nārasimha felt himself obliged to commence the third expedition into the Tamil country.

This, the third intervention, was of a different character to the previous two. The Hoysala, being now in a position to exact substantial rewards for his assistance, entered the scramble for power in the rich lands of the plain with redoubled enthusiasm, and by so doing, as it turned out, brought about the downfall of his dynasty in return for very indifferent gains.

In September 1222 Nārasimha marched in the direction of Śrīraṅgam, that is, in all probability, by the Kāvēri valley route, and on his way fought a battle in Biligūr nād. (2) His campaigns then developed in two distinct phases. A rapid movement to Śrīraṅgam disposed of Adigaimān and Bāṇa obstruction and defeated a Pāṇḍya contingent. An equally brisk march north-

Cōla kingdom," during the month Āśvāyuja of the year Viṣu. Page 289 n. (2) E. C. V Hassan 106 (1221) At about the same time the Kāḍava fought Vīra-Nārasimha Yādava-rāya at Uratti: A.R. 1904, 271. Care should be taken not to confuse this ruler with the Hoysala.

(1) A.R. 1922, 418; E. I. xxiii 27 (c1222). N. K. Sastri, Cōlas III, p. 777.
 (2) E. C. VI Chikmagalur 56 (1222). N. K. Sastri, Cōlas II, p. 148, says

wards released the Cōla, defeating the Kādava Kōpperuñjīga and reestablishing relations with the powers in the neighbourhood of Kāñci. The Cōla was thus "set up" in a more thorough manner than before, but this time Nārasimha did not make the mistake of leaving him entirely to his own resources. Arrangements were made for Hoysala officials to remain at the Cōla court and at Kāñci, and doubtless bodies of troops were stationed with them. Events in the north recalled Nārasimha himself to Dōrasamudra, where he had returned by March 1223, but his subordinates continued the work of supporting the Cōla in his absence. Naturally his son-in-law showed his gratitude, and an inscription relates that he ruled at his capital in the enjoyment of the victory-won wealth consisting of a multitude of elephants, horses, jewels, and articles never before acquired through his victories in the eastern region. (1) The same record gives him the titles Magarādhirāja-laya-kālam, Cōla-nistārakam Magara-rājya-nirmūlanam, Pāṇḍya-disāpaṭṭanam, Cōla-rājya-pratiṣṭhācārya, "Kāla in destroying the Magara ruler, saviour of the Cōla, the uprooter of the Magara kingdom and scatterer of the Pāṇḍya; the architect of the setting up of the Cōla kingdom." The last three titles are found also in a record of December 1222. (2)

As his business in Dōrasamudra claimed less attention than the novel situation in the south, a call from Rājarāja

the date is 1217; see also J.I.H.vi p.205 & E.I.vii p.162 & n.10.

(1) E.C.V Channarayapatna 197 (March 1223): pūrva-dig-vijayadol apūrvasādhita-kari-turaga-ratna-vastu-vistārīta-vijaya-lakṣmī-vilāsam eṣeye.

(2) S. I. I. IX pt. 1, 339 (1222).

brought him again to the Tamil country in October 1223, to complete the second phase of that third campaign.

He had already much to his credit: he was called Cōla-kula-kamala-kañja-priya, "a lotus-lover (i.e. Sun) to the lotus the Cōla family." Moreover it is said of him:-

Adiyama-Cēra-Pāṇḍya-Makarōddhata-Kāḍavaram kavartte-gon-
dudan adan ēke baṇṇisuve baṇṇisu Cōlanan eḷtarakke dan- /
dudan ele Sētu-muṭṭe besakeydudan ā-Tri-Kaḷiṅga-bhūpar a-
tṭida kari-sāle vokka asama-sāhasamaṃ Narasiṃha-rāyanā //

"Why should I describe how he plundered the Adiyama, Cēra, Pāṇḍya, Makara and haughty Kāḍava? Describe thou, the raising of the Cōla to a high position, the submission of the earth as far as Sētu. Unequaled is the prowess of Nārasimha, is it not, that penetrated the multitude of elephants sent by the (famous) Tri-Kaḷiṅga (i.e. Teliṅgāna) kings?" (1)

A brush with the Cēra and Kākatīya may have occurred while he was engaged with the Pāṇḍya and Gaṇḍagōpāla respectively, but, as we know nothing further of such operations we should not suppose that the Hoysala's successes against either were very great, or that the operations themselves were either extensive or important. It is of interest, on the other hand, to note that during this period, or that immediately following it, the Kākatīya ruler of Teliṅgāna, Gaṇapati-dēva, gained some success against the Hoysala, however minor, so as to enable him

(1) E.C.V Channarayapatna 203a (October 1223). The translation of Rice is in several respects inexact. He states that Nārasimha "captured" Adiyama and the rest.

to claim, in a record, of 1231, that he had easily subdued the lords Cōla, Kaliṅga, Sēvaṇa (i. e. Yāḍava of Dēvagiri), the great Karnāṭa (which must be Nārasimha) and Lāṭa. (1)

At the time of the record from which the verse quoted above is taken Nārasimha was actually marching against Magara, that is, the Bāṇa, and had paused at a place called the koppa of Cūḍavādi, so far unidentified, and there held a festival on adding to his necklace the emerald which had come from Munivarāditya. (2)

On arrival in the plain he appears to have completed his task with exceptional vigour, as several records from the end of 1223 onwards testify. An inscription at Tiruvaḍatturai, on the Vellār about ten miles south-west of Vṛddhācalam, relates how in 1226 an official set up three images of the gods, to replace those taken away when the Hoysala king Nārasimha had destroyed the country and the temples, a desecration almost certainly committed in 1223. (3) A vīragal exists at Belatikere, Kadur tāluḡa, referring to the death of a warrior in fighting in November 1223, and the battle in question can hardly have taken place otherwise than in this campaign. (4) The actions thus referred to must have been part of a scheme to extirpate the Bāṇa from this land, which was further eastward than his hereditary territories, and to which he had been striving during the disturbances of the past years. The conjecture is to

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- (1) E.I.iii 15(1231) at Gaṇapēśvaram, Bandar tāluḡa, Kistna dist.
 (2) E.C.V Channarayapatna 203a(1223).
 (3) A.R.228 of 1928-9, N.K.Sastri, Cōlas III, p.733. 10th year of Rājarāja. One is put in mind of A.R.1913, 35; see above p.133.
 (4) E.C.VI Kadur 82(1223), K.T. only.

some extent supported by the fact that the official who restored the temple was named Vānarājan, that is, in the TAMILIAN style, a protege of the Bāṇa king.

Again, Nārasimha is called a wild fire to the forest that was the Kādava, a mill-stone to Adiyama, a cage to the Cēra, the chaser of the Magara, and, if the reading may be depended upon, seizer of the Avuṭa king, whom we know nothing more about, and a lion to the antelope that was the Koṅga king, and finally emperor of the south.(1)

Again:-

kaḍad Amarādriyim kaḍalan andu surāsurar onde dantiyaṃ
paḍedar adarkke Pāṇḍya-Makarēdhata-Kādava-sainyav emba her- /
ggaḍalan aḷurkkeyinde bhujā-Mandaradiṃ kaḍed unmadēbhamam
paḍedan anēkamam Yadu-kulābharanam Narasimha-vallabham //

"When the gods and demons churned the ocean with the mountain of the immortals they thus obtained only one elephant: the emperor Nārasimha, ornament of the Yādava race, having encompassed the great ocean that comprised the armies of Pāṇḍya Makara and haughty Kādava, churned it with the Mandara that was his arm, and obtained many ferocious elephants."(2)

In the same inscription, along with titles of the same purport as those already mentioned, we find Kādava-rāya-Kaiṭabha-Janārdhana, which signifies that he destroyed the Kādava as did Viṣṇu a particular demon. Yet another record, of

(1) MA.R.1914-5, para.82(1224).

(2) E.C.XI Davangere 25(1224) at Harihara.

1227, tells how Nārasimha protected the Cōla, looted and uprooted Magara, and reduced the Pāṇḍya and Pallava kings to the condition of servants. The Pallava was the Kādava Kōpperuñjiṅga.

(1) The same series of events is referred to by a record of March 1226, which gives the king the titles Cōlarāya-rājōddhāraka, Magarādhirāya-sainya-saṁhāraka, Cōla-nallūra-pura-kālāgni-Rudra, Āraḷūrtaḷa-durga-nīrada-layānila, Draviḷa-maṇḍala-nirddhūma-dhāma, Bāṇodareya-gaja-ghaṭaśahita, "upholder of the Cōla Rāyarāja (error for Rājarāja), destroyer of the army of the Magara king, Rudra of the fire of the last day to the city of Cōla-nallūr (unidentified), wind to scatter the clouds of the fort below, or based on Āraḷūr (perhaps Āragalūr, east of Ārrūr, or Āttūr, in Magadai-maṇḍalam), a smokeless home, that is, utter destruction, to the Draviḷa, or Tamil country, accompanied by the troop of the elephants of the Bāṇa ruler."(2)

As a result of these successes Nārasimha was involved more firmly than ever in the affairs of the south and east. He appears to have received from Rājarāja a stretch of territory for himself on the western bank of the Kāvēri river. Sōmēśvara, his son, then about 18 years old, is found ruling over Tiṅgalūr in that region in 1224-5.(3) Later, as we shall see, he took on greater responsibilities, and consolidated the Hoysala influence in the area.

(1) E.C.V Belur 151(1227).

(2) S.I.I.IX pt.1, 343, A.R.1925, 280(1226). Bāṇodare is an odd form, as also Bāṇōdara below. Is odara or odāre an alternative for oḍeyar, or uḍaiyar? Or is this an attempt to represent the man's name?

(3) A. R.1905, 602(1224-5).

As early as 1221 a Hoysala *dannāyaka*, Rāhutta-rāya Mācappa, bearing a Tamil cognomen, made a grant to the temple at Alagarkoyil in Madura *tāluqa*, hardly more than ten miles north of the Pāṇḍya capital, Madura itself. (1) In 1224-5 a *Seṭṭi* from Kaivāra-nāḍ in the Hoysala country made a grant to the temple of Śrīraṅgam. (2) Two years later Bācala-dēvi, daughter of Bhūtadēya-nāyaka of Dōrasamudra, made the gift of a $\frac{1}{2}$ lamp in a temple at Kāñci. (3) The activity of Hoysala subjects in the Tamil districts was to increase.

In the meanwhile however, and actually while the second phase of the last Magara campaign was opening, (4) the Sēvuna ruler's grandson, Kṛṣṇa, otherwise Kandhara (Kaṅhara), took advantage of the Hoysala's preoccupation with the south, and invaded the Hoysala country from the Tuṅgabhadra valley. It is open to question just what power the Sēvuna had in the districts south and east of the river. We have already found it likely that the Cōla of Nidugal was overcome by him during the period after 1220, but Hoysala inscriptions are found in that area as follows: at Kottūr, fifteen miles north-east of Uccaṅgi, in 1221; Anājigere, two miles north of Uccaṅgi, in 1222; Nilagunda, eleven miles north-west of Uccaṅgi, in 1224; and Sōgi, twenty-five miles north of Uccaṅgi, in 1226. (5) So in fact it would be fairly safe to believe that the Hoysala held the eastern bank during the greater part of the period. The Sēvuna, for his part, held areas all round: his records at Mēvundi in 1223, at Dampetla in 1225, and Hāvēri in 1228 (6) merely confirm the impression already obtained, that the

(1) A.R. 1929-30, 324. (2) A.R. 1936-7, 63. (3) A.R. 1919, 349. N.K. Sastri, Cōlas III, p. 733. (4) E.C. XI Davangere 25 (1224) says

Hoysala possessions in the north were confined to the Pāṇḍya nāḍ, and the Sāntara districts. The claim, made in this period, that Nārasimha ruled the 7½ lakh country, that is the country formerly ruled by the Cālukyas, was merely a formality. (1)

Krṣṇa Sēvuna intended to make a thrust direct for Dōrasamudra, and to subdue the Hoysala at one blow. However, Pōlālva and other daṇṇāyakas so successfully counter-attacked that the Sēvuna menace was postponed indefinitely. "On his expedition to the north the Tuṅgabhadra was filled to the banks with blood, and by his slaughter of Vikramapāla, Pāvusa and others he filled the abodes of the celestial nymphs." (2) "He defeated Poṃsa in battle". (3) Againī-

jātā Vikramapāla-Pāṃsa-Makara-prōddanda-Hoysāryamā
yad-yajñē paśavaś śarāḥ paridhayaḥ saṅgrāma-bhūr maṇṭapaḥ /
sva-krōdhō'raṇir idhmam unmada-ripu-grāmāḥ pratāpō'nalō
mantraḥ kōpa-karāla-karkaśa-vacaś Cōla-pratiṣṭhā phalaṃ //

"Vikramapāla, Pāṃsa, Makara and the fierce Hoysāryamā became animals for his sacrifice; his arrows the enclosures for the sacrificial fires; the battle-field his sacrificial hall; his anger the kindling wood; the hosts of his furious enemies the fuel; the fire being his prowess; the rough, harsh words of his wrath the mantra: the fruit (of the sacrifice) was the setting up of the Cōla." (4)

"while Bāṇodara was being defeated there, Pōlālva-daṇṇāyaka guarded the whole of the Hoysala empire here." It was said that "his sword which he had soiled with the brains of Vikramapāla and Pāvusa he cleansed with the hot blood of Makara." Page 296 n. (5) S. I. I. IX pt. 1, 338, 339, 340, 341. (6) A. R. 1927-8, App. E. 55; S. I. I. IX pt. 1, 366; A. R. 1932-3, App. D. 90; there are many more records for the Banavāse and Hāṅgal districts.

(1) E. C. VI Tarikere 61 (?1226), ibid. 83 (?1230). Fleet, D. K. D. (1896 edition) p. 298 n. 2., and else where: Raṭṭavādi.

idir ānt uddhata-Sēvuṇādhīpana sēnā-nātharam kaṇḍu kō-
pade dōr-ggarbbad agurvvan illi merevem bhai bhaiy enutt āgaḷ ē-
rida mat ta-dvipamaṃ Nṛsimha-mahipam biṭṭ ikki kondaṃ raṇōn-
madaram Vikramapāḷa-Pāvusaran antas-sāraram śūraram //

"When King Nṛsimha saw arrayed against him the
leaders of the army of the haughty Sēvuna king, saying in anger
"Here will I make clear the terror of the pride of my arm.
Ah! Ah!", he mounted then an infuriated elephant, set to, and
smote the war-mad heroes Vikramapāḷa and Pāvusa, who contained
treasure (? of valour) within them."(1)

modaloḷ Vikramapāḷa-Pāvusaran ittal kondaṃ attal poraḷ-
cidan ā-Kādava-rāyanam Magaranam Pāṇḍyēśanam kondaṃ un- /
mada-gandhēbhaman oldu paṭṭaman adam Cōlaṅge mund iṭṭu kaṭ-
ṭidan ā-Sētuvinoḷ Nṛsimham adatiṃ naṭṭam jaya-stambhamam //

"First he slew Vikramapāḷa and Pāvusa in one direc-
tion: then in the other he rolled over the (famous) Kādava king,
the Magara, and the Pāṇḍya lord. He captured proud rutting
elephants. Wishing him well, he placed the Cōla before him and
bound upon him the diadem. At the (famous) Sētu did Nṛsimha set
up by his valour a pillar of victory."

Page 297 n.(2) E.C.V Hassan 84(1223). (3) M.A.R.1914-5 para.
82(1224). Page 297 n.(4) E.C.IX Bangalore 6(1253).

(1) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 20(1249). It is not necessary to suppose
merely from this verse that Nārasimha was actually present at
the time of the campaign against Kṛṣṇa Sēvuna. A later refer-
ence would likewise make it appear that Sōmēśvara too was
present: but these poetical compositions must be interpreted
with more than ordinary caution. We can say that it was only
just possible, and unlikely, because the two were most pro-
bably engaged at the time in the south.

javarā tū jagad-ēka-vīru majha dēvā rōhakū bāpu Jā-
dava-Nārāyanu Nārasiṅgu bhalay end aṅginge tām mecchi tū- /
guvavol Vikramapāḷa-Pāvusa śiraḥ-kañjaṅgaḷ allāḍut ir-
dduvu tann āneya honna-ḍeñṭeyada cañcat-kētu-danḍaṅgalol //

"The lotus heads of Vikramapāḷa and Pāvusa dangled among the quivering flag-poles of his elephant's golden howdah, as if nodding in approval of his valour, saying, "You are Yamarāja (the lord of the dead, or "a very devil"), the only hero in the world, the restrainer of my king, sire !, the Yādava-Nārāyaṇa, Nārasiṅga, bravo !"(1)

Thus the unfortunate generals of the Sēvūṇa, whom we know only from this episode, Vikramapāḷa and Pāvusa or Pāṃsa, were actually killed when the Sēvūṇa attack was repulsed. It is interesting to note that their severed heads are ironically depicted as praising their enemy in disjointed phrases of Marāthi. Of Pāvusa we can add only that a Pavasariya (? read Pavasa-rāya) Hari-dēva was the adhikāri, or official, of Pāṇḍya-nāḍ under the Sēvūṇa Rāmacandra in 1282, and was thus very probably a Marātha, and perhaps a relative of the Pāṃsa who died in 1223. That the Sēvūṇa had sent southwards a contingent of Muslim mercenaries under a Muslim commander from one or other of the small principalities of Gujerat or Rajasthan is the only probable explanation of the fact that we hear from this period references to the Turuṣka as a defeated enemy. For

(1) E.C.XI Davangere 25(1224).RICE's translation is defective in places; in the second verse he is surely wrong to print in the R.T.Yādava for Jādava in the second line. These have a claim to be two of the earliest Marāthi lines.

example, the Turuṣka is said to have carried a light as a subject prince to dispel the darkness for Nārasimha.(1) Hoys-āryamā, probably for Hoysa-sūrya, is otherwise unknown. It is of interest to note that the Kannada power referred to the Marātha invaders as Āryas: we learn that Nārasimha trampled down the Āryas with his elephant.(2)

There is no evidence that Nārasimha followed up his northern victory by retaking any of the lost towns north and west of the Tuṅgabhadra; on the contrary, his control of his own dominions seems to have begun to deteriorate perceptibly. During 1224 there were disturbances in Kadur and Mysore districts. In the latter case a certain Hoyseya-nāyaka, who may conceivably have had some connection with the Hoysa supposed above, invaded a part of the Kabbahu-nāḍ, and had to be expelled by military action, at the beginning of the year.(3) Moreover in the eastern parts of the Hoysala nāḍ a certain Kūtt-āḍun-dēvar, of Tamilian origin, had begun to set himself up as the independent ruler of Iḷavañji-nāḍ, centred upon Āvaṇi, about twelve miles east of Kolar, with the title Jayaṅḡḇa-Cōla-Iḷavañjiya-rāyar. One record at Āvaṇi of 1225 and another of about the same time at Gaṭṭu-Kamadēnahalli, about seven miles south of Āvaṇi, testify to his success.(4) We hear in 1228 of his wife Caṅgālvār, daughter of Vāsudēvar Nulambāda-rāya of Āvaṇi-nāḍ,(5) and Iḷavañjiya-rāya himself was still active in 1229.(6) It seems, indeed, that soon afterwards his power was

(1) E.C.III Mandya 121(1235). (2) M.A.R.1910-1, para.106(1265), mistakenly attributed by the editor to Nārasimha I. (3) M.A.R.1914-5, para.82b, being a revision of E.C.IV Krishnarajapet 7. See also the fighting depicted between nayakas in E.C.V Belur 174(1225), K.T. only. (4) E.C.X Mulbagal 56a; M.A.R.1910-1, para.111. (5) E.C.X Mulbagal 73(1228). (6) ibid.71(1229).

suppressed, but the family was clearly not extinguished, for his son Vāsudēvar appears to have been alive and ruling independently in 1254,(1) and the dynasty, if it were worthy of the name, flourished from 1260 apparently without interruption until 1312, ruling an area of approximately four hundred square miles including Kurudumale, Bētamaṅḡala and Madivāla besides the places already mentioned.(2) The specially interesting feature of this success on the part of the Iḷavañjiya-rāya, which was in fact only an outstanding example of the tendency in the Kolar region during this period, is that the Hoysala made no attempt to keep under close control the Naṅḡali route to Kāñci. We may perhaps exclude the years 1229-1254, for within them we can not be sure that the Hoysala had not regained the mastery of the area; but the general conclusion distinctly supports the view, here upheld, that Nārasimha preferred to enter the Tamil country by way of the Kāvēri valley, thus leaving the region east of Kolar in a kind of backwater.

But, however equivocal Nārasimha's successes on the plateau, his son's progress in the plains was continuous.

In 1228, with all the titles of his father, samastabhuvanāśraya, śrī-prthvī-vallabha, mahārājādhirāja, paramēśvara, parama-bhaṭṭāraka, Dvārāvati-puravarādhīśvara, Yādava-kulāmbara-dyumani, sarbbajña-cūdāmani, male-rāja-rāja, maleparoj gaṇḍa, gaṇḍa-bhēruṇḍa, kadana-pracaṇḍa, ēkāṅga-vīra, asahāya-śūra, śanivāra-siddhi, giri-durgga-malla, calad-aṅka-Rāma, Magara-

(1) E.C.X Mulbagal 61(?1254).

(2) E.C.X Mulbagal, 178(1260); ibid. Bowringpet 32(1262); ibid. 34(1269); Mulbagal 184(1273); Bowringpet 7b(1275); Mulbagal 186(1277); 189(1298); 57a(1306); and 181a(1312).

rājya-nirmūlana, Cōla-rājya-pratiṣṭhācārya, Pāṇḍya-rājya-nirddhūma-dhāma, niśśanka-pratāpa-cakravartti, Poysaḷa-Vīra-Sōmēśvara-dēvarasa was ruling the realm at Kaṇṇanūr in the Cōla kingdom. (1) The reasons for choosing "Cōla-rājyada-Kaṇṇanūr" as the seat of his government require to be stated. There was, it seems, at Kaṇṇanūr in 1228 no large town, or fine temple, or stately palace, only a small village, which even in later times was referred to merely as the "koppa". Its name was in no respect distinguishing, as very many such koppas in the surrounding country bore the same. It seems to have been chosen by the Hoysaḷa for a capital city on account of its geographical position. From the point of view of traditional Kannada strategy, it is true, it had nothing to recommend it. There was no fort, no substantial hill for miles. It lay exposed to attack from every side, ^{while} the Kāvēri river, which lay three miles to the south, afforded it no protection. These considerations were not of so much moment, however, to a ruler in Sōmēśvara's position. His father had apparently enabled him to occupy this village as his own representative in the Tamil country, on condition that the Cōla king yielded to the Hoysaḷa government not only some lands to the west of the Kāvēri, as has already been noticed, but also to the north of that river, including the area in which Kaṇṇanūr itself lay, perhaps recently taken out of the hands of the Bāṇa; adding to that grant the necessary facilities for the raising of a large standing army, to be officered by Kannada daṇḍanāyakas. From the teeming population

(1) E.C.III Nanjangud 36(1228). The R.T. reads nirddhūma-hōma, which is absurd, and the K.T. nirddhūma-dūma, which is gibberish, for the correct reading: nirddhūma-dhāma.

of the plains there would be little difficulty in recruiting a large establishment, which, stiffened by a mixed Kannada and Tamilian cavalry mounted on Arab horses and perhaps a few companies of Muslim mercenaries, would provide not only a sufficient bulwark against the Pāṇḍya, if it were stationed in the land to the north of the Kāvēri, but also a useful means of preventing any further revival on the part of the Bāṇa or the Kādava. For Kaṇṇanūr enjoyed this geographical advantage that it lay on the vital communications from Madura to Cidambaram, by way of Ālattūr, Uraiyūr, Śrīraṅgam, and Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-cōlapuram; from Madura to Āttūr(Ārrūr) by way of Perambalūr; from the south to Vṛddhācalam, Tiruvaṅṅāmalai, Kāñci and Nellore; and most important of all, it had a distinctly central position in the plains, while it lay within the most direct and easy reach of the Hoysala-nāḍ by way of Mahādānapuram, Nāmakkal and Tāramaṅgalam.

Sōmēśvara, a lad of about 20 or 22 years, thus remained at Kaṇṇanūr in the enjoyment of easily earned revenues, and at hand to preserve his Cōla brother-in-law from both internal and external foes. It is possible that one of his first tasks was to tackle the irrepressible Kādava. Kōperuñjiṅga had evidently been attempting to absorb territory to the south of Cidambaram, which, by the multitude of Kādava inscriptions there, seems to have been the chief town in his dominions, and to the neighbourhood of which he had perhaps been confined after 1223. The year 1228-9 has, however, been chosen by a competent

scholar as the first year of Manavāla-perumāḷ, the father of the second and more famous Kōpperuñjiṅga, who commenced his own reign in 1243-4. (1) If this be the case, then soon after Sōmēśvara's removal to Kaṇṇanūr, the new ruler attempted to penetrate south of the Kāvēri, and we learn from a record dated in the 33rd year of Perumāḷ Śrī-vallabha-dēva, a so far unidentified Pāṇḍya prince, at the village of Tiruveṅkāḍu in the modern Shiyali tāluqa, that the festivals of the temple had not been conducted up to the 32nd year of the king, commencing from the time when Kōpperuñjiṅga-dēva was fighting against the Kannadigas who were building forts on the north bank of the river Kāvēri. It is clear that the Hoysala forces, having marched no less than sixty miles down the river, had attempted to prevent the Kāḍava armies crossing it, but without success, as the disturbances at Tiruveṅkāḍu, ten miles south of the river, indicate. (2)

In March 1229 Sōmēśvara's father was at Kāñci. There had clearly been cause for his presence, but the absence of evidence leaves the matter open for unaided conjecture. (3) Whatever it was, it was of some importance, such ^{as} an invasion, or something equally urgent, for when the presence of the king was required at Dōrasamudra, he ordered Sōmēśvara to go there. Sōmēśvara was there in January 1230. He was given the titles "he to the root the Kāḍava king, splitter of the skull of the Magara king, a valiant arm in smiting the pride of the Sēvula (i. e. Sēvuna) king", and he was given credit for personally acting in the Sēvuna campaign of 1223: "First fighting against

(1) K. S. Vaidyanathan: The growth of the independence of the Kāḍava-rāyas: Q. J. M. S. 1947, p. 131-4. (2) A. R. 1918, 514. (3) E. C. XII Tiptur 42 (1229).

the famous Kṛṣṇa Kandhara, who like you penetrated into the Cōla country and subdued it ? Who pursued after the Pāṇḍya king and captured his elephants ? Who of the kings of the Sōma line established the Cōla in his traditional kingdom ?" He ruled, it is said, from Kāñci to Vēlāvura (Belūr) and from Bayal-nād to the Krishna river, the last of which boundaries is, of course, quite impossible for the period.(1)

As his father was at Horanūr-paṭṭaṇa in October 1230, (2) and may have been at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, to judge from an undated record which states that he was there,(3) it seems that Sōmēśvara's stay at Dōrasamudra was prolonged. There was some fighting, perhaps in the Hoysala nād itself, in 1231 while Sōmēśvara, called in the damaged vīragal "vīra-Nārasīṅga-dēvarasa's son", was still at the capital.(4)

Perhaps while Nārasimha was at Dōrasamudra during the early summer of that year, preparing to celebrate Sōmēśvara's marriage, if we may rely upon the Gadyakarnāmrta,(5) he learned of the advantage taken by the conspirators in the Tamil country of the absence of the two rulers. That the country was stripped of Hoysala officers is most unlikely, but the absence of the two courts and their attendant armies, together with the greater likelihood of their Tamilian troops being corruptible, encouraged the Pāṇḍyas to renew their alliance with the Bāna and the Kāḍava, and to commence an invasion of

(1) E.C.IV Nagamangala 98(1230) also E.C.III Mandya 122(1230).

(2) M.A.R.1936,19(1230). (3) M.A.R.1927,20 at Bikanahalli, Chikmagalur tāluqa.

(4) E.C.V Arsikere 36(1231),K.T.only, dated only Śaka 1153. Khara.

(5) Gadyakarnāmrta of Sakalavidyācakraṇvartī: M.R.Kavi in Tirumalai Sri Venkatesvara vi, pp. 677 ff. See N.K.Sastri, Cōlas II, pp.179-183.

the southern Cōla provinces from three sides at once. The Cōla Rājarāja fled for the second time, and was overtaken by the Kāḍava and captured at Sēndamaṅgalam. The Sēndamaṅgalam in the modern Tirukkoyilur tāluqa, about twelve miles west of Tiruvadigai and thirteen miles north of Vṛddhācalam has been suggested as Kōpperuñjiṅga's capital.(1) That a particular Sēndamaṅgalam was in fact his capital is to a slight extent supported by a Pāṇḍya record which states that Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya besieged the prosperous city of Sēndamaṅgalam and fought several battles to frighten the Pallava.(2) But the identification of the Sēndamaṅgalam here in question is difficult. That in Tindivanam tāluqa, forty-eight miles east of Tiruvannāmalai and about twenty miles from Tellāru, where the Cōla was first captured, possesses four inscriptions of Kōpperuñjiṅga (whether the first or second of that name we can not say) in his 2nd., 9th., 17th., and 19th., years.(3) The Sēndamaṅgalam preferred by Hultzsch possesses, according to the epigraphical reports up to and including 1938, no Kāḍava inscriptions, and, although nearer the general scene of the Kāḍava's activities, is very probably not the scene of the Hoysala enterprise of 1231.(4)

From the point where Nārasimha learnt of the capture of the Cōla at Jayantamaṅgala, otherwise Sēndamaṅgalam, the story of the Gadyakarnāmrta is supplemented by an inscription at Tiruvēndipuram in the South Arcot district, near the sea coast, about twenty miles north of Cidambaram.(5)

(1) E.g. Hultzsch in E.I.vii, p.167. (2) A.R.1894,166(1257).
 (3) A.R.1903,70,71,69,76. (4) The Sēndamaṅgalam to the north of Nāmakkal should be borne in mind when considering operations in which Bāna or Hoysala were engaged. The Kāḍava himself does

It appears that the king, hearing that Kōpperuñjīnga had captured the Cōla emperor at Sēdamāṅgalam, and had destroyed the kingdom with his army, and that the temples of the god (Śiva) and the places of Viṣṇu were destroyed, exclaimed, according to the Tamil inscription, "This trumpet shall not be blown unless I maintain my reputation of being the establisher of the Cōla country." He then started from Dōrasamudra, uprooted once again the Magara kingdom, seizing the king, his women and treasures, and then halted at Pāccūr. This place is less than a mile north of the northern branch of the Kāvēri as it passes the island of Śrīraṅgam, and about four and a half miles west-south-west of Kaṅṅanūr.(1) The great army clearly camped near the capital which Sōmēśvara had vacated during the previous eighteen months; and, having to face opposition from the Pāṇḍya and not wishing to show the latter the Hoysala rear, Nārasimha did not propose to go himself northwards, but sent a strong contingent under two general officers. Thus, to continue with the inscription's story, the king was pleased to order, "Destroy the country of Kōpperuñjīnga and liberate the Cōla emperor", and the great minister, particular confidant, daṇḍanāyaka Appana, who bore the titles "controller of the army" and "sole champion of the world", together with Samudra-Goppayya-daṇḍāka (i. e. daṇḍāyaka), took leave of the king and started northwards. The inscription then gives a chronicle of their adventures, which are here accompanied with a ██████████ commentary.

not help us; he is usually said to be "of Kūdal".

Page 306 n. (5) E. I. vii (1902-3) pp. 167-8, A. R. 1902, 142.

(1) Hultzsch's location of Pāccūr is in several respects faulty e. g. 9½ miles west by south of Kaṅṅanūr. He is certainly wrong in supposing that Nārasimha left his dominions by the Gujalhatti pass. There is no evidence that this pass was used by Nārasimha at any time.

They moved parallel with the north bank of the Kāvēri or Coleroon river until they reached the southern limits of the territory recently acquired by the Kādava Kōpperuñjiṅga in the Cidambaram district. Their first considerable capture was Ellēri, which they destroyed; next fell Kalliyūrmalai, about four miles north of Ellēri, Kōpperuñjiṅga himself escaping only just in time. They then took and destroyed Toludagaiyūr, where Sōlakōṇ was staying. This Toludagaiyūr, in default of villages nearer to Cidambaram, must be identified, tentatively, with Toludūr, about forty-five miles up the Vellār river. It is quite possible that the Hoysala force in order to reach Cidambaram, a town which Kōpperuñjiṅga was justly proud of possessing, was obliged to meet and defeat large forces deployed at intervals in the districts of Vṛddhācalam and to the westwards, where, as for example at Toludagaiyūr, the Kādava could count upon loyal assistance from the Bāna. It is clear at any rate that the entry into Cidambaram was not easily effected, for in addition to the Sōlakōṇ whom they defeated at Toludagaiyūr, and whom Hultsch rightly associates with a high Kādava officer of that name, they killed among the king's officers Vīra-Gaṅga-nāḍālvāṇ and Cīnatta-rāyan, and, if the damaged reading may be relied upon, four others, including Parākrama-
bāhu, king of Īlam, or Ceylon, although the significance may be

that it was an officer or emissary of Parākrama-bāhu who was
 (1) E. I. vii p. 167. Text line 6: Īlattu rājā Parāk [k] i [da] (ra)ma
 bah=u[ll] i [t] ta [mu] dali [4] pērai yum ko [n] ru, etc. e to
 (1) E. I. vii p. 167. Text line 6: Īlattu rājā Parāk [k] i [da] (ra)ma
 bah=u[ll] i [t] ta [mu] dali [4] pērai yum ko [n] ru, etc.

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the Hoysala cause, for the Ceylon ruler had been intervening on behalf of a faction among the Pāṇḍya princes for a number of years, and was probably, on the Pāṇḍya side, a party to the confederacy against the Cōla. The defences of the Kādava being at length broken, the daṇḍanāyakas entered Cidambaram, or, as the inscription puts it, worshipped the god of Ponnambalam; next, they proceeded northwards, and destroyed rich places including Tondaimānallūr, which can hardly be the Tondaimānallūr about nine miles south of Tiruvaṅṅāmalai, but must be represented by the modern Tondamānattam, near the road from Vāddhācalam to Kūḍalūr, about fifteen miles north of Cidambaram. They caused forests to be cut down in that area and halted at Tirupādiri-puliyūr, about seven miles north of Tondamānattam. Kōpperuñjiṅga must have fled before them, for they next entered and destroyed Tiruvadigai, or Tiruvādi, just over ten miles west of their last halting-place, before crossing the Ponnaiyār and the Varāhanadi and reaching Tiruvakkarai. The trail of destruction continued northwards until they reached the coast in the Kādava's home territory, where they burnt and destroyed port-towns on the shore and the crops (1) to the east of Sēndamaṅgalam, that is between that town and the sea. These activities are said to have been south of the Vāraṇavāsi river. This N.K. Sastri, following Hultzsch, identifies with the Gaḍilam, an untenable identification, as the Sēndamaṅgalam to which Kōpperuñjiṅga fled, and where Rājarāja was held, was that in the modern Tindivanam tāluqa, so that the Vāraṇavāsi may have been

(1) So N.K. Sastri, Cōlas II p. 182, for Hultzsch's "drinking channels".

either the great Pālār, or the small Oṅgūr river. When Appaṇa and Goppaya were on the point of advancing against Sēḍamaṅgalam itself ^{Kōpperuñjiṅga} offered to the king (Nārasimha) to release the Cōla emperor. It appears that the Kādava sought and obtained a respite from the marauding operations of the daṇḍanāyakas while Nārasimha's approval was sought to the terms offered. As the release of Rājarāja was one of the chief war-aims, no other terms, so far as we know, were exacted, and Kōpperuñjiṅga released the Cōla emperor; and the Hoysala daṇḍanāyakas, claiming the credit for this release, accompanied him some distance and allowed him to enter his kingdom.(1) It is supposed that on arriving at Tiruvēndipuram on their southward journey the Hoysala officers' and the Cōla's ways parted. It is very likely that the latter presented them with valuable gifts, while they had the remarkable inscription put up to commemorate their achievement.

Goppaya-daṇḍāyaka, bearing the titles daṇḍinagōpa and jagadobbagaṇḍa, like Appaṇa, presented the village of Tiraiyālam in Elavūr-nāḍ, a subdivision of Eyil-nāḍ, to the god Allālanātha of Kāñci in the 15th year of Rājarāja, that is, 1231. It was almost certainly a part of the reward he received for his zeal on behalf of the Cōla. In his gift he was following the example of another Hoysala officer, Ammaṇa-daṇḍāyaka, who made a grant for a lamp in the same temple during the previous year.(2)

(1) E.I.vii p.167. Text, line 9: rājyattē puga viṭṭadu.
 (2) A.R.1919, 404(1231); ibid. 408(1230).

The Gadyakarṇāmṛta tells us, according to the report, that Appana and Goppaya slew the Kādava king called Nigēhu. But it is probably certain that they did not kill Kōpperuñjiṅga himself, while it is quite possible that they may have killed one of his family. The heroic rather than historical nature of this Sanskrit work is amply displayed by its relating that Nārasimha himself went to Jayantamaṅgala. Of Nārasimha's actual movements after camping at Pāccūr we have no really trustworthy contemporary evidence, but it is very unlikely that he visited Kōpperuñjiṅga personally, or that he could have had occasion to go to Sēndamaṅgalam. A later record tells us that previously the king was in Ravitadāna's kuppa "in order to make a victorious expedition over Pāṇḍya".(1) This event may safely be dated in 1231-2, but as long as the place in question remains unidentified no more precise fact can be ascertained from the statement.

The Gadyakarṇāmṛta then tells us, so far as may be gathered from the summary, how Nārasimha engaged the combined army of Pāṇḍya, Kādava, and perhaps Bāṇa forces, with the Kādava's mleccha or vaidēśika allies, who might be either from Ceylon, or perhaps Muslim mercenaries, for a period of ninety days. The scene of this extended conflict was the plain near Śrīraṅgam, perhaps on the south side of the river. The result was the defeat of the confederates, and the submission of the Pāṇḍya princes. Sakalavidyācakraṇvarti says that they became tributary vassals to the Hoysala, a statement which may be

(1) E.C.V Arsikere 123(1236).

dismissed as windy rhetoric. Nārasimha's eulogists, however, soon garlanded him with epithets. He is called "the setter up of the Cōla-rāya, day of judgement to Makara and other kings, confiner within narrow limits of the Pāṇḍya empire." (1) In January 1234 he has the titles Magara-maṇḍalika-bhūri-bhūruha-kathōra-kuthāra, Adiyama-prabala-bala-pannaga-Vainatēya, Kāḍava-rāya-mada-marāla-mēghārava, uddaṇḍa-prabala-bala-Pāṇḍya-gaṇḍa-garbbha-parvvata-Pākaśāsana, "a hard axe to the mighty tree, the Magara ruler; a Garuḍa to the snake, the powerful might of Adiyama; thundering in the clouds to the infatuated flamingo, the Kāḍava king; an Indra to (split) the mountain, the pride of the champion Pāṇḍya with haughty powerful might." (2) Again, in a record put up two years later:-

Magarōrvvīpāla-nirmūlakan atula-balaṃ Cōla-rājya-pratiṣṭhā-pakan int ī-Nārasimha-kṣitipati bare sarvasvamam Pāṇḍya-bhūpālakar tett ālāge bāl end ulidapud enisitt ādam udvṛtta-matsya-prakarōgra-grāha-nakra-kramaṇa-janita-nirbhvāna-raudraṃ samudraṃ //

"When the uprooter of the Magara king, setter up of the Cōla king, Nārasimha the king of unequalled might came (there), the ocean, roaring with the noise produced by the movement of crocodiles, multitudinous fierce sharks, and fishes come to the surface, took voice and cried, "O Pāṇḍya princes, pay up all you have, become servants, and live !" (3)

(1) E.C.VI Kadur 12a(1233). (2) E.C.V Arsikere 82(1234).
 (3) E.C.V Arsikere 123(1236). The R.T. has bhūpālaka ttett; the KT. macchya for matsya, perhaps rightly.

Even a certain Ballaya-dañṇāyaka claimed credit for his master's success in a couplet in which he says that it was through him, in battle, that Nārasimha acquired the legendary victories that were renowned throughout the circle of the quarters. (1) The danḍanāyakas that released the Cōḷa were not forgotten in their native land, where however they did not think fit to have so lengthy a record put up, but were satisfied with a brief resume of their defeating of the Kādava and escorting of the Cōḷa, both of which are mentioned in a record of April 1233. (2)

Nārasimha did not leave the Cōḷa country immediately after his success. He seems to have spent some time in arranging the Hoysala affairs there to his satisfaction. He was in Pāñcala "in the Cōḷa nād" in November 1233. (3) It may be conjectured that Pāñcala is to-day represented by Pāñcālam in the Tindivanam tāluqa, about twenty miles south west of Sēndamaṅgalam.

Sōmēśvara was now in a position to resume his duties at Kaṇṇanūr, and did so soon after his father's victory, but with this difference that he ruled as the sovereign of some part of the Cōḷa country, enjoying a status far superior to that allowed him five years before. He was, naturally, in fact still subordinate to his father, and indeed Nārasimha himself was recognized as ruler at Śrīraṅgam in November of that year, but (4) from 1233 he commenced the era of his reign which was used for

(1) S. I. I. v 659, A. R. 1895, 98 (cl235). diṇmaṅḍala-khyāta-jayāpadānaś sri-Nārasimhas samarēṣu yēna / Dūtārbhakō yēna vibhāti putrī jīyād asau Vallaya-dañḍanāthah // The record is at Tirumalavādi on the Kāvēri, 12 miles east of Kaṇṇanūr. (2) E. C. XII Gubbi 45 (1233). (3) E. C. VII Channagiri 52 (1233). (4) S. I. I. IV 501, A. R. 1892, 54 (1233).

dating his records in the Tamil country. The Cōla and Pāṇḍya rulers habitually dated their śāsanas in the year of their reign, with such modification as might be necessary to particularize the day of that year and with certain peculiar features of specification of the total of the years themselves, which is not yet in fact fully comprehended and is unnecessary to describe here. Sōmēśvara for his part, while not adopting all the peculiarities of this method, did not care to introduce the Śaka era and Jupiter cycle, which was actually brought into the south by his grandson, Ballāla III, but did not become usual until the advent of the Vijayanagara empire. (1) Sōmēśvara was certainly settled at Kannanūr in July 1233. (2)

While the Hoysala was improving his hold upon the Cōla country, and was attempting to derive thence consolation for the failure of his family's ambitions in the north, no progress was made towards recovering from the Sēvūnas lands captured by them from Nārasimha himself and from his father, or even preventing Sēvūna penetration south of the Tuṅgabhadra. No major offensive was made or withstood, but it is clear that the continuous diplomatic and other activity formerly kept up by the Hoysala in the north-west was in this reign almost entirely abandoned, with results that will become evident when the reign of Nārasimha III is described.

Vīra-Nārasimha must have died in December 1235: his last dated inscription is of that month. (3) His son was in

(1) Proof that 1233-4 was the first regnal year of Sōmēśvara is provided by the following coincidences of cyclic year and regnal year: 17th year, Sādhāraṇa (A.R.1910,204 at Adhamankōṭṭai); 21st Ananda (E.C.III Seringapatam 110); 5th, Vikāri (E.C.VI Tarikere 87). (2) E.C.VI Kadur 12a(1233). (3) E.C.V Channarayapatna 221b. E.C.IX Bangalore 139a(?1237) is a retrospective grant.

Vīradānada-kuppa, which may have been on the route between Kaṇṇanūr and Dōrasamudra, in August 1235.(1) That he went to the capital is clear: it may have been during his father's illness.(2) It is interesting to see that very shortly after his father's death he was again on his way to the south: "having marched towards the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya kingdom (i.e. the Kaṇṇanūr principality, which partook of both spheres), he was in the residence of <?Aruṇa>samudra".(3)

So it was that, at the age of fifty-three, Nāra-siṃha II died, and in him the last traces of the traditions inherited from the great Viṣṇuwardhana. With the accession of Sōmēśvara the Hoysala dynasty entered upon a decline which led steadily, if not quite inevitably, to the collapse of 1343.

(1) E.C.V Channarayapatna 203b(1235).

(2) M.A.R.1909-10(1235).

(3) E.C.XI Jagalur 33, dated Śaka 1157, Manmatha,.....saṅkrānti.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE DECLINE

The reigns of Sōmēśvara, Rāmanātha and
Nārasimha III

CHAPTER FIVE:THE DECLINE.The reigns of Sōmēśvara, Rāmanātha and Nārasimha III.

Of all the reigns of Hoysala kings, that of Sōmēśvara seems to have been the most tragic. Ill-success often dogged the movements of the sons of Ereyāṅga; Ballāla's closing years were encompassed by disappointment and error; Nārasimha II's life's work was largely devoted to a misguided course and a futile end; Sōmēśvara's son Nārasimha enjoyed triumphs amid distress and victories where the victors suffered equally with the vanquished; and, again, his son Ballāla witnessed, after panic-stricken convulsions inspired by folly or genius by turns, the utter hopelessness of his cause, and paid for his incompetence with his life. But none of these experienced the hopes or the opportunities of Sōmēśvara; none shouldered such responsibilities or betrayed them so thoroughly; none had such occasions for self-congratulation, or was obliged to accept such humiliations, as this unfortunate monarch. Had we sufficient records surviving, doubtless as fine a tragedy as a treatise on state-craft could be composed out of the events of his life, crowded as it was with incidents and vicissitudes of an equally violent character.

Sōmēśvara's preoccupation with the south would have harmed the Hoysala country, and so the Hoysala dynasty, very little, had he been able to maintain a firm and efficient hold

over the details of internal affairs on the plateau, had there been no danger of a governmental breakdown from within as well as foreign attack from without, and had the presence of Hoysala officials and troops in the south been rewarded by a continuous and highly profitable return. As it turned out, the riches which the Hoysala acquired at first served only to encourage and enhance the desires of the courtiers, and to prejudice the prosperity of the Hoysala nād itself, while the position which Sōmēśvara felt it necessary to maintain in the Tamil districts soon commenced to cost more than it produced. Stronger efforts to keep a hold on Kaṇṇanūr, even when it was plain that the venture was a failure, only rendered defeat more costly, while the constant attention paid by the sovereign to the affairs of the plains tended to alienate from the dynasty the loyalties of many influential persons on the plateau.

Sōmēśvara himself doubtless imagined that his policy was very astute. The aid he had been able to afford to the Cōla had purchased not only a limited territorial sovereignty in the Kāvēri valley, but also the diplomatic as well as geographical opportunity to keep a kind of balance of power between the ancient enemies, Cōla and Pāṇḍya, in the hope that each would turn to him for assistance against the other. Had there been, in fact, only three parties to this little project, all might have been well. But the Cōla had other allies, who had their own reasons for deprecating the dismemberment of the Cōla empire. With the Pāṇḍyas on one side, Sōmēśvara had to cope on the other with the Kādava, the Telugu ruler of Nellore, other-

wise the Cōḍa Tikka Gaṇḍagōpāla, who had a son with the same title, and beyond him the resources of the Kākatīya Ganapati, who might or might not support his southern neighbour - all these besides the Cōḷa. And the Cōḷa court was not of one mind. The feeble Rājarāja III was bound by many obligations to his brother-in-law: not so Rājēndra. This Cōḷa prince, who later became Rājēndra III, commencing to rule in his own right in 1246, was probably Rājarāja's son, though the precise relationship between them is not certain. (1) He had ambitions and energy much exceeding those of Rājarāja, and it was not long before he began to resent the presence of the Hoysala in the Cōḷa country.

In 1236, however, Sōmēśvara was fairly well established there. He was in a position to remit taxes, in return for a lump payment, on land belonging to the temple at Jambukēśvaram on the island of Śrīraṅgam and to the shrines of Vīra-Cōḷīśvara, Padumalīśvara, Vīra-Nāraṅgiśvara, and Sōmalīśvara. (2) We can not be certain, but it seems likely that it was Sōmēśvara himself who set up these images in memory of his foster-mother Sōmala-dēvi (then still alive), his father, his grandmother and grandfather. The title Vīra-Cōḷa is very intriguing: it seems to refer to Ballāla II, but we have no other evidence of Ballāla's assuming the title "hero amongst, or in respect of, the Cōḷas", although the events of 1218 may well have justified it.

Before the month of May 1236 Sōmēśvara, on the Cōḷas behalf as well as his own, faced a full-scale Pāṇḍya invasion,

(1) The view that he was Rājarāja's younger brother does not conform to the scheme of matrimonial alliances between Hoysala and Cōḷa as narrated here. (2) A.R.1936-7. 119(1236).

himself crossed the Kāvēri, and moving southwards occupied certain areas in the Pāṇḍya maṇḍala.(1) He is described in a reliable record as residing in the Pāṇḍya country which he had acquired by his strength and valour.(2) At the time of the grant his ministers Bōganna and Mallanna were at Rāmēśvaram, a sure attraction for visitors during an invasion of the Pāṇḍya country. It is submitted that the occasion for this movement by Sōmēśvara was the invasion by Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya which is referred to in the second part of the historical praśasti of the famous inscription at Tinnevely, which relates that when the Cōla king, resolving not to remain submissive and refusing to pay tribute, thinking that the Punal-nād (the part of the Cōla country which centres on the Kāvēri river) belonged to its ruler, sent a large army, the Pāṇḍya destroyed that force, took the Cōla country, entered Muḍikoṇḍacōlapuram and performed the ceremony of the anointing of heroes.(3) It is clear from the statements themselves that Māravarman Sundara's movement was a hasty one and of little substantial effect compared with his success of twenty years before. Naturally the Cōla king no longer considered the settlement of 1216 valid, and in the action that the inscription describes we can recognize the hand of the prince Rājendra.

Sōmēśvara's part in the task of repairing the damage done by Rājendra's hasty action seems to have been extensive. His troops appear to have ravaged Pāṇḍya territory over a wide

(1) A vīragal belonging to this campaign is to be found in the fragmentary but valuable E.C.V Belur 152(1236), K.T. only.

(2) E.C.IV Krishnarajapet 63(1236).

(3) E.I.xxii 10(?1238). See also N.K.Sastri, Cōlas II, 144-6. The site of Muḍikoṇḍacōlapuram is still unknown.

area, if one may judge from a record of 1239, which tells of the confiscation of lands belonging to persons guilty of having broken into the treasury of the temple at Tāruppattūr, Rāmnād district, and having slaughtered some Brahmans during the troublous times of the Hoysala invasion. (1)

The Hoysala next faced the Kādava, who must have marched southwards to attack him in the rear, true to his alliance with the Pāṇdyas. In December 1236 Sōmēśvara was himself at Maṅgalada-koppa on a victorious expedition against the Kādava-rāya. (2) This action was necessitated by the success that Kōpperuñjiṅga had already obtained over his forces. Kēśava, Harihara and other daṇṇāyakas of the Hoysala were killed, and the Kādava was obliged to make a gift to the temple at Vrddh-ācalam as expiation for the slaughter of these Brahmans at Perumbalūr, about twenty miles north of Kaṇṇanūr, and for the seizure of their women and treasure. Sōmēśvara however succeeded in obtaining the title Kādava-rāyana-benkonḍa-gaṇḍa, "the champion who pursued the Kādava king."

harāṇa-bharāṇa-kṣamaṇ rāyarol ī-kali-Sōvi-dēvan urad āntire saṅgaradol bēriṁ kiltaṁ saraṇ ene Rājēndra-Cōlanam pālisidam //

"This hero Sōvi-dēva, practised in destroying and supporting (like Hara and Hari) among kings, without hesitation plucked (them) up by the root in war, and protected Rājēndra Cōla as a suppliant." (4)

(1) A.R. 1935-6, 170 (1239). That the Hoysala suffered some losses at Pāṇḍya hands is not impossible and is supported by A.R. 1927, 29 at Tinnevely, which is an inscription of Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya (? Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara, see N.K. Sastri, Pāṇḍyas, p. 155) of 1238. He built the high prakāra wall of the Śiva temple from booty obtained from the Kērala, Cōla and Hoysala kings.

(2) E.C.V. Arsikere 123 (1236). (3) A.R. 73 of 1918, N.K. Sastri,

With the treasures acquired by himself and by his officers Sōmēśvara's success was announced far and wide. The king himself sent an embassy northwards, across the plateau, to make gifts of gold in his name to the gods Virūpākṣa of Hampe, later the famous city Vijayanagara, and Viṭṭhala of Pandharpur.(1) It is of interest to note that the Sēvūṇa ruler of Dēvagiri put no effective obstacle in the way of the Hoysala embassy's reaching the latter place. It has been supposed, quite wrongly, of course, that the existence of these inscriptions implies some authority on the Hoysala's part in the area at the time.(2) Meanwhile Vallaya-daṇṇāyaka made a grant at Tirumalavādi; certain officials of Sōmala-dēvi at Tirugōkarnam; Pōlālva-daṇṇāyaka at Kāñci; and Sōmala-dēvi herself at Śrīraṅgam. A grant at Kāñci, left unfinished, but probably mentioning the Yādava Sōmēśvara and his queen Dēvikā is probably of this year.(3)

Sōmēśvara's power and position seemed assured.

Hoysala officers penetrated at will all parts of the Tamil country, and the king himself meditated an alliance with the Pāṇḍya.(4) For all this an inscription of 1237 makes but modest

Page 320 n.(3) cont.:Cōlas III,771.

Page 320 n.(4) E.C.V Arsikere 123(1236).Rice here makes a serious error, and mistranslates: "Sōvi-dēva having uprooted him in the field of battle, when he claimed refuge protected Rājendra Cōla."

(1) M.A.R.1920,para.75,A.R.1934-5,355(1236).Bombay Arch.Report 1897-8,p.5(1236-7).

(2) Krishnaswami Aiyangar in his introduction to Habib's translation of Khusrau's *Khazā'in ul Futūh* says, (p.xxx) "Pandarpur was probably the frontier station, and that was the government of Parsu devo Dalvi. We have reference to an inscription of the Hoysala vira-Sōmēśvara discovered there. It is therefore clear that Pandarpur was the frontier between the two kingdoms of Ballāla and Yādava." This was, on the face of it, unlikely: in Chapter Six, p.318-2 below it is shown to have been impossible.

(3) S.I.I.v 659(1236);S.I.I.vii 1043,Pd.183(1236);A.R.1919,369 &

claims: his boundaries were given as Śrīraṅgam in the south, Sāvi<male> in the north and Na<ṅgili> on the east. Thus it is plain that in that year Sōmēśvara's southern kingdom did not extend beyond the Kāvēri into the Cōla provinces in the modern Trichinopoly or Tanjore districts or into the Pāṇḍya country that lay to the south of these; nor in the east did he hold any rights in the country of the Cōḍa in the neighbourhood of Kāñci; in the north again his claims had shrunk, as indeed they should, to the limits claimed by Viṣṇuwardhana in his early years. It is unlikely that Sōmēśvara's rule extended to the Tuṅgabhadra for more than a few miles east of the point where the river turns eastwards. The Sēvuna certainly held the north bank of the river, as a record of 1236 at Harti shows. (2)

Sōmēśvara himself was on campaign in the autumn of 1237, but it is not certain in which direction or against whom. He was at Docale, an unidentified place, in October. It may be that he was on his way to deal with an outbreak of fighting in the eastern part of the Hoysala dominion in which apparently one of the nād-ālvaṃs of the eastern nāds, who were, like Ilavañjiya-rāya, of Cōla origin or associations and never fully accommodated to the Hoysala style of government, and ever ready to seek independence, had engaged in conflict with regular Hoysala officials. (3) This conflict presaged more of the same and similar kinds that were to come in the future.

616-7(1236); A.R.1936-7, 72, *ibid.* para. 48, p. 79(1236); and A.R.1919 602(?1236).

Page 321 n.(4) To this period perhaps belongs A.R.1929-30, 433 (c1237) which shows Kēśava- daṇḍanāyaka in some way concerned with affairs in Kuḍa-nād. The record is of an unidentified ruler whose titles began with samastabhuvanāśraya, and is at Āttūr, Tiruccendūr tāluqa, Tinnevely district; no inscriptions have been found further south mentioning Hoysala officers.

(1), (2) & (3) over.

In December 1238 Sōmēśvara was said to be happily ruling at Vijaya-rājēndra-pura in the Cōla kingdom, a city which he had created.(1) It is open to question where this city was, but the probably most reasonable suggestion yet made is that it was either Kannanūr itself, which later acquired the name Vikramapura in the same way, or somewhere in the vicinity. There is, however, something very curious about the choice of the name: it was natural enough to choose another designation for a Hoysala capital otherwise known by such a common and insignificant name as Kannanūr, but what diplomatic connection with the Cōla court accounted for the flattering reference to Rājēndra has yet to be discovered. In the following year Sōmēśvara was said to be ruling in the Cōla kingdom "having taken it", a statement which implies, not without truth, that his presence at Kannanūr was the result as much of pressure upon the Cōla, if not blackmail, as of any direct invitation by the latter to remain.(2) His relations with Rājarāja and Rājēndra must, however, have been tolerably good, for, when in 1239 Hoysala troops were attacked by Gaṇḍa-gōpāla's forces in the region about seventy miles north of Kannanūr, he was able to embark on a protracted campaign against him, in which the Cōla must have furnished some assistance, and was at least in a position to attack the tiny Hoysala kingdom

Page 322 n.(1) M.A.R. 1909-10, para.80(1237) at Vaidyanāthapura.

Page 322 n.(2) A.R.1926-7, App.F.58(1236).

Page 322 n.(3) M.A.R.1925, 46(1237). E.C.XII Tiptur 21(1237).

(1) M.A.R.1912-3, para.81a & b, at Ellēśapura, Hole-narsipur tāluqā.
 (2) E.C.III Tirumakudal-Narsipur 103(1239): Cōla-rājyan koṇḍu aṅgē prathivī-rājyam pannānirka, etc.

while its ruler was marching northwards. (1) The circumstances seem to be that Gaṇḍagōpāla, nominally a subordinate of Rājarāja was engaged in an expedition, perhaps of conquest or merely of preliminary exploration with that end in view, from his own territories in the modern Nallore, Chittoor and Chingleput districts, towards the land held by Kōpperuñjīga. An inscription at Jambai, no less than fifty miles south-west of Kāñci, tells how "Nāyanār Gaṇḍagōpālar was pleased to go out, and having stabbed Vallāla-dēva proceeded to (?) Cambai". The record is dated in the twenty-third year of Rājarāja, the month Cittirai, otherwise April-May 1239. (2) Sōmēśvara's officer was probably

(1) Another circumstance strengthens this conclusion. Between 1237 and 1240 there are a number of grants which show that when Hoysala officers made religious endowments in the Tamil country their records quoted the indigenous rather than the Hoysala ruler's era. Thus we have, of the 22nd year of Rājarāja (1237), an inscription at Jambai recording a grant by Dēvaṇṇa... son of a daṇḍanāyaka of Sōmēśvara-dēva (A.R. 1937-8, 435); of the same year (1238), at Kāñci, a grant by Vallaya-daṇḍanāyaka, son of Dūdapillai-daṇḍanāyaka of Araṇaippuram, a jana-pradhāni of Sōmēśvara (A.R. 1919, 366); of the 24th year of Rājarāja (1239) at Śrīraṅgam itself, a grant by Viṭṭaya a sēnabōva of Bhīmaṇṇa-daṇḍanāyaka, minister of Sōmēśvara (A.R. 1936-7, 30); of the same year, at Jambukēśvaram a mention of Bōgaya-daṇḍanāyaka in connection with a grant (A.R. 1937-8, 14); of the same year a grant by three persons including daṇḍinagōpa Sōmaiya-daṇḍanāyaka at Karuvūr, Trichinopoly district (A.R. 1905, 138); of the same year gifts of cattle for a lamp at Kāñci by Mallaya-daṇḍanāyaka, son of Appaya-daṇḍanāyaka, brother of the mahāpradhāni daṇḍinagōpa (?) by Kēśava son of Appaya (?) and by Goppaya-daṇḍanāyaka, younger brother of Mallaya-daṇḍanāyaka son of Appaya (A.R. 1919, 611, 612 & 615).

(2) A.R. 1937-8, 439. The editor, on p. 94, says that Vallāla is Narasimha II. His ground is that Vallāla was the common name of all the Hoysala rulers. The suggestion is absurd because (a) Vallāla was a common name amongst the Kannaḍa people generally, bal and āla, "a strong man", and (b) because the term "the Ballālas" or "the nine Ballālas" only came into use in the seventeenth century, and was derived from the lingering fame of the third, not the second Ballāla.

not the only important casualty in the campaign, for Gaṇḍa-
gōpāla was bent on achieving something by his enterprise,
and, approaching Rājarāja or Rājēndra with promises of support
against the overpowerful Kādava and Hoysala, persisted in hos-
tile activity in the area of the Pennaiyār river. Sōmēśvara was
actually marching against Gaṇḍagōpāla in August 1240 while, in
camp with the Māpeya army (or the army in or at Māpe) he "ob-
tained the birth of a son." (1) The result of the campaign was
unsatisfactory to Sōmēśvara, if we may judge from the state-
ments of a contemporary Telugu poet, who was in a good position
to know the facts, even if he did not chose to tell all of them.
Tikkana Sōmayāji in the opening verses of his Nirvacanōttara
Rāmāyaṇamu wrote of the achievements of Tikka nrpati, the
father of his patron Manumasiddhi. Both these rulers held the
titles Potappiccōlan Tirukkālatti-dēvan Gaṇḍagōpālan, and it
is with the former that Sōmēśvara first came into contact.

Tikkana portrays Tikka nrpati as a loyal subordinate
of Rājarāja, who by his warfare against Śamburāja, Kāñci,
Cēdimāṇḍala and the Kādava king enlarged his own supremacy, and
by his victory over the Karnāṭa ruler Sōmēśvara earned for him-
self the title Cōlasthāpanācārya.

kamalāpta-pratimāna-mūrti-yagunā-Karṇāṭa-Sōmēśu-du-
rdama-dōr-garvamu rūpu māpi nija-darpambum bratiṣṭimci li-/
lameyin Jōḷuni bhūmipai nilipi Cōla-sthāpanācāryanā-
mamu dakkamgoni Tikka-bhūvibhuḍu sāmartyambu cellimpadē //

"King Tikka made good his power by spoiling the
arrogance of the untameable arm of the Karnāṭaka Sōmēśvara,

(1) E.C.VI Kadur 100(1240). This was Nārasimha. His upanayana was

who had an appearance resembling the Sun; by consecrating his own pride; by establishing upon the earth the Cōla as if in sport; and by acquiring the title "architect of the setting up of the Cōla."(1)

It is at any rate clear that while in 1240 Sōmēśvara suffered no considerable blow at the hands of the jealous Rājēndra, the Nellore Cōda not only harmed his prestige but encouraged the Cōla to expect aid from another quarter. Even the blow dealt by Gaṇḍagōpāla at the Kādava, though apparently advantageous to the Hoysala's cause, in fact added to Sōmēśvara's discomfiture. It was chiefly the presence of the ambitious Kōpperuñjīga, ever striving towards Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and beyond Cidambaram, that had kept Rājarāja in mind of his dependence upon the Hoysala.

However, life seems to have gone on as usual at Kannaṇūr. Sōmēśvara's foster-mother endowed the temple of Sangamallīśvaram-udaiyār-nāyanār at Tiruvānaikkā with land bought for the purpose in Pērūr Ciruḍavūr or Pālūrccēri.(2) A record at Tiruvasi near Śrīraṅgam of about this period refers to the disposal of land in various nāds within Rājarājavaḷa-nād, and is signed in Grantha characters with the word Malaparulu-gaṇḍa, a form of Maleparol gaṇḍa, the Hoysala king's vernacular signature.(3) Of about this period must be the record at Ālambākkam also, in Trichinopoly tāluqa, which tells of

performed in 1255, i. e. at the age of 15, which is suitable to the caste to which the Hoysalas belonged. Rāmanātha was, one may be right in guessing, younger, and born in the month Cittirai: (E.C.X Chintamani 88(1294)).

(1) Nirvacanōttara Rāmāyanamu, verse 34(p.4) Cf. verse 33, last 4 lines. See N.K. Sastri, Cōlas II, p.200-1.

(2) A.R.1937-8, 5 & 6(1239). (3) S.I.I. IV 435, A.R.1891, 34(c1240).

services to the temple there by Viṭṭappa-dandanāyaka, son of a general of Nārasimha-dēva and a native of a village near Madhurāntakam in Tondaimaṇḍalam, well to the north of the Cōla areas normally within Sōmēśvara's supervision at this time. (1) Yet another record of Sōmēśvara's reign at Periyakorukkai in Lalgudi tāluqa, and thus on the north bank of the Kāvēri, refers to a gift of land to the Brahmans of Cirrambala-caturvēdimāṅgalam, presumably at that place. The period of the inscription may be about 1240. (2)

Meanwhile, Hoysala affairs on the plateau were progressing without glory if without disgrace. Sōmēśvara still enjoyed some authority, surprisingly enough, in the Sāntara territory. In 1239 a Sēvuna officer by name Lakhanapāla was attacked by Bīrarasa Sāntara, ruler of the Sāntalige 1,000 in Hosagunda, at Kuppagaḍḍe. (3) The Sēvuna had taken advantage of the divisions between the inhabitants of this distracted quarter, in remarkable contrast to the supine attitude of Sōmēśvara, and had taken Gutti in that year. Despite constant opposition from the Sāntara Bīrarasa, who although claiming Hoysala protection received no substantial support from the Hoysala, Laksmipāla, to give him an alternative form of his name, ruled the Nāgarakhanda division and a good portion of the Banavāse 12,000 until 1248. The years were filled with activity and fighting either between the maṇḍalikas and manneyar themselves or between them and their Sēvuna overlord, the Sāntara not only managing to keep out of the Dēvagiri imperial net, but also achieving marvellous

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- (1) A.R.1909, 713 (? c1240), V.R. Trichy. 311.
 (2) A.R.1926, 269 (c1240).
 (3) E.C.VIII Sorab 492 (1239) at Barige.

successes. (1) The Hoysala did nothing to assist these sturdy recusants. In January 1238 a Sēvuna officer by name Vīcana, who claims to have taken a large part in the conquests of his ruler, Simhana II, procured a grant which was engraved on copper-plates and includes this phrase:

helāsādhita-Raṭṭa-Koṅkaṇa-kanat-Kādamba-Gutt[y]ō (read u)llasat-Pāṇdyoḍḍa (read ḍḍā) mara-Hosa (read Hoysa) nādi-vividha-kṣmāpāla-bhūmaṇḍalah //

"He who acquired in sport the territories of various kings including the Koṅkaṇ (famous on account) of the Raṭṭas, Gutti (once belonging to) the glorious Kadambas, the Pāṇḍya and the turbulent Hoysana." (2)

(1) In April 1244 Bīrarasa was actually in Belagavatti (E.C.VII Honnali 49(1244)); in March 1245 Sōyi-dēva of Gutti fought against him (E.C.VIII Sorab 521(1245) K.T. only; read Gutti for Satti); Kūdali was under siege in June 1245 (E.C.VII Honnali 54 (1245)). See also E.C.VIII Sagar 27(1241), 1(1241) and cf. E.C.VII Honnali 55(1247). Bīrarasa still had Belagavatti in his power in 1247: E.C.VII Honnali 58(1247), K.T. only, and ibid. 56 & 57 (April 1247) at Kuḷahaḷḷi. The last, also found in the K.T. only, is an important record which seems to prove Bīrasasa's connection with the Hoysala cause: <ka>dana-pracaṇḍa maleparol gaṇḍa.... Cōḷa-rāyapraṭiṣṭhācārya <Hoysala-dēva-pādā> rādha Bīra-dēvarasa ruling at Belagavatti. It is not known whether in fact, late in his campaigns in the east, Bīrarasa was forced to accept Hoysala overlordship: it seems more likely that he needed Hoysala support to make headway against the Sēvuna and other enemies, but it is pretty clear that he received little.

(2) J.B.B.R.A.S. xv 384-90. The text is corrected by Fleet in order to conform to that provided by the inscription he published in J.B.B.R.A.S. xii 42-50 (1253, at Bēhaṭṭi). He translates it, "having acquired with ease the territories of various kings, commencing with the Raṭṭas, the Kadambas who are glorious in the Koṅkaṇa, Pāṇḍya who shines at Gutti, and the turbulent Hoysana." This translation is rendered impossible by the fact that no Pāṇḍya was ever associated with Gutti, although the Kadamba certainly was. Were it not for the text of J.B.B.R.A.S. xii 42-50 (1253), we should be amply justified in rejecting Fleet's emendation, and reading Guttōlassat Pāṇḍya, "the shining Pāṇḍya and the Gutta", a translation consistent with the grammar and the history of the period. No facsimiles are available. The word uddāmara likewise gives trouble. Perhaps one might render "the Hoysana who was turbulent over, or in respect of the Pāṇḍya."

Putting aside the not altogether unjustified claim against the Hoysala, the mention of the Pāṇḍya arouses interest. The reference in the same copper-plate grant to the erection of pillars of victory near the Tuṅgabhadra suggests that the Pāṇḍya in question was either north of that river or not far from it. Thus he may well have been a descendant of the Pāṇḍyas of Uccaṅgi, lingering on in the ancestral territories, and a certain Pāṇḍya-dēva of Haluvāgilu was active in 1235, (1) and may well be the one mentioned. On the other hand, it will be remembered that the difficult Sanskrit phrase above speaks of bhū-maṇḍalas rather than particular rulers, and thus it would be possible to suppose that the reference was to the Pāṇḍya-nāḍ, which certainly retained its name long after the decay of the Pāṇḍya dynasty. (2) If this is a correct solution, the culpability of Sōmēśvara is amply demonstrated. The last Hoysala inscription in the Pāṇḍya-nāḍ is at Bāgali, dated 1232, (3) while the first Sēvuna record there is at the same place, and dated 1250. (4) Sōmēśvara had thus ample opportunity to strengthen it against the invader. Claims to the discredit of the Hoysala are continued during his reign, even though they look back for the most part to the pre-1220 period; but Sōmēśvara was too pre-occupied with the task of securing wealth in the south to spend any effort in achieving that purpose for which the wealth itself was originally desired. (5)

(1) A.R.1932-3, App.D.127(1235). (2) E.C.V Arsikere 106(1207); S.I.I.IX pt.1.341(1226); ibid.380(1282). (3) S.I.I.IX pt.1.351(1232). (4) ibid.368(1250). (5) W.E.II ff.200a-205b(1238); Hoyisaṇa-rāya-Ballāla-laksmī-latākāṇḍa-sandōha-mārdana-gajēndra (quoted above, p.265). A mutilated reference of a similar kind is found in W.E.II f.217a(?1244); moreover in W.E.II ff.218b-9b(1247) at Puligere a minister of Simhapa-dēva Sēvuna is called Hoyisaṇa-rāya-samucchātana-caṭulā, "lightning in destroying the Hoysala king."

He was at Kaṇṇanūr in September 1241 "having gone to the Cōla kingdom." (1) While he was there an extraordinary occurrence took place - extraordinary because unprecedented in the history of the Hoysala dynasty. A danḍanāyaka became too powerful, and commenced and maintained a policy of aggression against him, escaping his vengeance only to fall a victim to a determined enemy of both. Siṅgana-danḍāyaka, the nephew of the powerful Kambaya-danḍāyaka, and possibly the son of Sōmaya-danḍāyaka, (2) commenced his career by attacking territory in the region of Vēdāranyam, at the extreme eastern edge of the southern part of Rājarāja's dominions, (3) and about seventy miles south-east of Kaṇṇanūr. He followed this action, of which the objective remains doubtful, by attacking the Kabahu-nāḍ in the Hoysala dominions proper. (4) It may be that he acted as an agent of Sōmēśvara in both cases, attempting to subdue seditious elements: but the Kabahu-nāḍ incident makes it appear that his activity was personal in origin and hostile to the interests of his sovereign. It may even be that the battle of Māl-aṅgi-Māvinahaḷḷi took place during the upheaval of this period. (5) At any rate the disturbances seem to have affected Sōmēśvara's movements, for at some time during 1242 he was at Dīra-samudra, honouring the capital with one of his very rare visits (6)

(1) E.C.VI Kadur 83(1241).

(2) A.R. 1902, 498 & Pd. 666(1255). It is possible that he may have been the son of Śaṅkara-dēva-danḍāyaka. This Kambaya-danḍāyaka was the man, described as one of the mahāpradhānas of Vīra-Sōmēśvara-dēva (for it was before Rāmanātha's elevation) and given the cognomen Tiruv-Ēgambam-uḍaiyān (a name of Śiva at Kāñci), that in the 26th year (of Rājarāja, obviously) -1242-, made a gift of land to the temple at Mannārguḍi; the place is 45 miles south-east of Kaṇṇanūr: S.I.I.vi 49, A.R. 1897, 97.

(3) A.R. 501 of 1904, N.K. Sastri, Cōlas III, 758(1246). An invasion by Siṅganna took place in the 25th year of Rājarāja (1241).

(4) E.C.IV Krishnarajapet 8 revised by M.A.R. 1914-5, para. 83,

And whereas he was again in the Cōla country in September 1242, he was in camp at Pācale, of unknown situation, in December. (1)

Sōmēśvara returned to Kannanūr sometime before June 1243, and seems to have enjoyed a year's peace. (2) But such quiet as he enjoyed was delusive. Siṅgaṇa-dañṇāyaka had plans afoot, for he is the most likely person to have been at the bottom of the invasion of a certain village in the modern Yelandur tāluqa, to the south of Talakād, (3) which appears to have occurred in 1244, while in the same year two Hoysala dandanāyakas commenced hostilities against each other in the modern Belur tāluqa, thus actually embarrassing the very centre of the government of the Hoysala country, Dōrasamudra. (4) This struggle continued into May 1245, and was accompanied by fighting in other parts of the Hoysala country. (5) The king remained at Kannanūr, and appears to have been there still in October (6) 1246. Some success seems to have crowned his efforts there, for an inscription at Damaḷceruvu, Wandiwash tāluqa, is dated in his 13th year, a phenomenon inexplicable except upon the supposition

where the editor wrongly identifies "Sigala" with Siṅgaṇa Sēvuna Page 330 n. (5) M.A.R. 1911-2, para. 90 (?1241 -Plava, Aśvayuja ba 2. Page 330 n. (6) M.A.R. 1909-10, para. 81 (1242) at Muddēnahalli, Chiknayakanhalli tāluqa. It is very interesting to note that he claims to rule only Gaṅgavāḍi, Nonambavāḍi and the Cōla country.

(1) E.C. IV Krishnarajapṛst 76 (1242); M.A.R. 1925, 47 (1242) at Paṭṭanaṅgere, Kadur tāluqa. Is this Pācale a misreading for Do-cale, or vice versa?

(2) E.C. IV Nagamangala 55 (1243).

(3) M.A.R. 1917, para. 149 dated Krōdhi, 120 years from the foundation of Āgara agrahāra by Kulōttuṅga Cōla. The area was not very close to Kabahu-nād, which was on the north of the Kāvēri, if as is almost certain Kabahu-nād is identical with Kabbuhu-nād (No. 27 on Map 'A').

(4) M.A.R. 1910-1, para. 105 (1244) at Cikkoli.

(5) Five vīragals at Candanahalli, Belur tāluqa: M.A.R. 1910-1, para. 105 (1245); *ibid.* 1909-10 para. 81 at Bhaṭṭanahalli; *ibid.* 1926, 15 (1245) at Tagare.

(6) M.A.R. 1910-1, para. 105 (1245); E.C. XII Tiptur 23 (1246). Doubtless E.C. VII Shimoga 87 belongs to this year.

that the Hoysala had been able to extract further land grants from Rājarāja in consideration of services against the Kādeva or, more probably, Gaṇḍagōpāla.(1) Meanwhile a civil war proceeded in the eastern nāds of the Hoysala country, probably continuing into 1247, as an inscription at Maḍivāla is a grant for the success of the arm and sword of (?) Iḷavañjiya-rāyar.(2)

Under the weight of these conflicting claims upon his attention Sōmēśvara appears to have handed over a large portion of his responsibilities to an important subordinate by name Sōmaya-daṇḍāyaka, who was probably the father of the famous Siṅgana. A record of the king's fifteenth year, 1247-8 announces the remission of taxes on temples in Tagadai and Puramalai nāds on behalf of the health of the king and Sōmaya.(3) The situation of this inscription, in the corridor between the plateau and the Cōla country, and in the old Adigaimān territory, within a few miles of Tagadūr and Kambayanallūr, leads us to suppose that valuable and strategically vital parts of the Hoysala dominions were in the hands of over-powerful daṇḍanāyakas, who soon attempted to overshadow the ruler himself. Of these Siṅgana was an extreme example: there seems little doubt that Kambaya and Sōmaya belonged to the category. Meanwhile Bhōgayya, who had fought Sōvi-dēva in the heart of the Hoysala nād in 1244, as narrated above, oppressed districts not ten miles south of the capital, and the damage was partly repaired in 1248.(4)

(1) A.R.1921,179(1245-6) Damalceruvu is not in the survey, but cannot be far from Tellāru.

(2) E.C.XII Tiptur 23(1246); E.C.IX Bangalore 68(1247).

(3) A.R.1910,205(?1248) at Adhamankōṭṭai. It remains to be proved that grants "for the health of..." imply actual contemporary sickness on the part of the supposed beneficiary.

(4) M.A.R.1926,46(1248) at Sālagāme. Cf. M.A.R.1910-1, para.105(1244)

Despite these confused incidents, the uncertainty of the loyalty of his subordinates on the plateau, and the doubtfulness of his tenure of the principality in the plains, and despite the many other considerations which required his attention, Sōmēśvara felt it his duty at this time to commence an entirely new course of policy in the south. Rājēndra had long been an unwilling spectator of the Hoysala progress in his country, and the prosperity of the Pāṇdyas, together with their alliance with Kōpperuñjiṅga II, who had recently acquired the Kādava throne, inspired his energetic mind to take the initiative. Without consulting Sōmēśvara, or obtaining his approval, he sent an army southwards against the Pāṇḍya princes.

The Hoysala's traditional alliance with the Cōla against the Pāṇdyas was at once abandoned, and Sōmēśvara sent his forces to intercept the Cōla. He was completely successful, and the mortified Rājēndra had the misfortune to see a movement from the north joining the conspiracy to his disadvantage. Sōmēśvara's detachment seems to have marched far into the Pāṇḍya country, and the outcome of the event was apparently quite sufficiently profitable. In February 1248 Sōmēśvara bore the title Pāṇḍya-kula-samrakṣaṇa-dakṣa-dakṣiṇa-bhujam, " a skilled right arm to protect the Pāṇḍya family." (1)

It is of interest to speculate on the extent to which the overt hostility of Rājēndra, or the cautious planning of the foreign-affairs ministry, had already pledged the Hoysala to assist the Pāṇdyas in such a contingency. There is

(1) E.C.V Arkaḷgud 12(1248).

evidence that Sōmēśvara had related himself to a Pāṇḍya prince by marriage even a few years before the Cōla attack. Mārṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II, in a record believed to belong to the year 1247, remitted at the request of his māmaḍi the taxes on the village Tirukkōṭṭiyūr in Kēraḷa-siṅga-vala-nāḍ, for offerings and other expenses of the service called Pōsala-Vīra-Sōmi-dēvaṅ-sandi instituted in that temple in the name of Sōmēśvara.(1) In the same year the same ruler, claiming, incidentally, hereditary supremacy over various kings including the Pōsalaṅ, sanctioned that certain lands in and near Kūḍalūr near Tinnevely should be measured and assessed with a view to the establishment of the Pōsala-Vīra-Sōmi-dēva-caturvēdi-maṅgalam, on the suggestion of the king's māmaḍi after whom it was named.(2) This same agrahāra is mentioned, some years later, in a record of the 14th year of Jaṭāvarman Tribhuvanacakravarti Vīra-Pāṇḍya, which, according to the calculation of Professor Nilakantha Sastri, should be in the region of 1267, and again in another of the same ruler of about 1274. Sōmēśvara was clearly so interested in committing his relative to some sort of responsibility for his own spiritual welfare, that he caused agrahāras and services to be endowed well within Pāṇḍya frontiers. It remains to decide upon the relationship implied by the word māmaḍi. It can signify either a maternal uncle, a father's sister's husband, or a father-in-law. It has usually been translated "uncle,"(4) and upon that ground it has been held that

(1) A.R.1929-30,291(?1247) at Alagarkoyil.

(2) E.I.xxiv,22;S.I.I.v 446(?1247) at Tinnevely.

(3) A.R. 1906,435(?1267);A.R.1927,72(?1274) at Murappunādu & Tinnevely respectively.

(4) E.I.xxiv,22 for example.

Nārasimha Hoysala must have married a daughter to Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya's father, whoever he was. No historical theory so far evolved upon the basis of Hoysala materials can account for such an action on Nārasimha's part, and we must accordingly suppose that the word signifies "father-in-law", and that during the period 1240-7 Sōmēśvara gave Māṛavarman Sundara a daughter of his in marriage. Some further complications seem to have involved the Hoysala-Pāṇḍya relations in the period before the 1247-8 war. In the seventh year of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya a dispute between Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas had stopped the worship in both the temples at Tirumayyam, just over forty miles south of Kannaṇūr, and about the same distance north-east of Madura. The district was in Pāṇḍya territory and under Pāṇḍya sovereignty, but was actually administered by Ravi-dēva, a daṇḍanāyaka of Sōmēśvara. His brother-in-law Appanna-daṇḍanāyaka presided over a meeting which ultimately composed the disputes. The interesting feature is that the Hoysala daṇḍanāyaka Ravi-dēva was described as having "taken" Viruda-rāja-bhayaṅkara-vala-nāḍ, corresponding roughly to the modern Tirumayyam tāluqa. It is not necessary to translate the word "take" into either "seize", "capture", or "conquer", and the most likely explanation is that the nāḍ was invaded in or about 1245 by Rājēndra's subordinates, in an attempt to probe the Pāṇḍya defences on the south of the Vellār river, which was probably the frontier, (1) and Ravi-dēva was sent to eject them. He then "took over" the nāḍ on the Pāṇḍya's behalf, and so laid the foundation for the brief Hoysala-Pāṇḍya alliance. (2)

(1) The Cōla almost certainly held Tirugōkarnam: Pd. 183(1236).

So it was that, after the campaign of 1247-8, with one or two negligible exceptions, (1) the Hoysala title "scatterer of the Pāṇḍya king" was officially and permanently changed to Pāṇḍya-rājya-nistāraka, "saviour of the Pāṇḍya kingdom", and expressions of similar meaning. (2) A reference to Sōmēśvara's military operations in the south in defence of the Pāṇḍyas is contained in the statement of a record of February 1249 that "his elephants pierced the clouds and so filled the Tāmbraparni river". His general Brahma says of himself that his enemies "with their towns, villages and chattras ruined took refuge under the trees in Lulāya-lakṣma-nagara." (3)

While Sōmēśvara was at Kaṇṇanūr, the unfortunate Rājarāja lost his overlordship of Kāñci, which was taken out of the hands of Gaṇḍagōpāla in June 1249 by Gaṇapati Kākatīya, who sent a certain Sāmanta Bhōja to govern it. (4) The years 1250 and 1251 Sōmēśvara seems to have spent in peaceful inactivity, fondly imagining, no doubt, that the balance of power he had achieved was to continue indefinitely. In 1250 Sōmaya-dannāyaka made a grant at Adhamankōṭṭai for his king's health, so it is quite possible that Sōmēśvara was undergoing a serious illness. (5) The same consideration may have prompted him to give away large sums in religious donations. He ordered gifts to be made to the god Pōsalīśvaram-uḍaiyār, the image of whom he had set

Page 335 n. (2) Pd. 340, 341; A.R. 1906, 387. N.K. Sastri Cōlas II, 199, where he says, without authority, that Kāna-nāda had been captured "some years before". The text reads: svasti śrīmar prātāpacakravatti Bhōcala-śrī-Vīra-Somīśvaradevar (sic) dandanāyak-karkaḷil i[n]nāḍu piḍitta Iravi-dēvar dandanāyakkar maithunan Appanna-dandanāyakkar munnilaiy āga, etc.

(1) e.g. E.C.VI Kadur 101 (1252).

(2) In February 1249 Sōmēśvara was in Kaṇṇanūr bearing this title: E.C.VI Chikmagalur 20 (1249). (3) E.C.V Channarayapatna 238 (1249). (4) I.A. xxi p. 200-2 (1249) at Kāñci. (5) A.R. 1910, 204 (1250) - similar is ibid. 203, undated, at the same place.

up at Tiruvānaikkāval, for services for the benefit of the soul of his long-dead mother Kālala-dēvi.(1) Another grant of a similar nature, bearing the title Pāṇḍya-kula-samuddharaṃ, "supporter of the Pāṇḍya family", is found nearby.(2) A further grant of the same period comprehends further endowments for the gods Vallālīśvaram, Vīra-Nāraśiṅgīśvaram, and [So]malīśvaram set up by him at Tiruvānaikkāval, and for Pōsalīśvaram set up at Vikkiramapura, that is, Vikramapura, "the town of prowess", or Kaṇṇanūr.(3) Meanwhile his foster-mother, bearing several pleasant titles, "an embodied Parvvati", Sōmala-mahādēvi, made gifts of land on her own part to the temple of Tiruvānaikkāval for the worship, of the gods Vallālīśvaram, Padumalīśvaram, Nāraśiṅgīśvaram and Sōmalīśvaram, and for a yearly service instituted in her own name.(4) Others follow their example. Māraya-nāyaka, with the title Gaṇḍaragūli, son of the mahāpradhāna Sōmaya-daṇṇāyaka, gave land and irrigation rights to the temple of Alāgiya-Tiruc-Cirrambalam-uḍaiyār-nāyanār at Sattravāda, which seems to be in the vicinity of Puttūr in Dindigul tāluqa, in which case it is about forty miles south-west of Kaṇṇanūr.(5) A Kannada inscription at Tinnevely itself records the gift of money for two lamps in the great temple there by

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- (1) S.I.I.IV 421, A.R.1891, 20(c1250): uḍaiyār Tiruvānaikkāvuḍaiyār koyir dānattārkku nam ammai Kālala-dēviyārkku nanrāga nam elundaruluvitta uḍaiyār Posalīśvaram uḍaiyārkku irupattelāvadu karmudal nām iṭṭa dēvadānaṅgalil uḍal konḍu --- konnom.
 (2) S.I.I.IV 420, A.R.1891, 19(c1250). (3) ibid. 419, A.R.1891, 18.
 (4) ibid. 423, A.R.1891, 22. The editor dates it 1258, which is impossible on account of the events of that year, and V.Rangacari says it is dated in the 25th year of Vīra-Sōmēśvara (Tp. 407), but the figure "25" has nothing whatever to do with the date!
 (5) A.R.1911, 391(c1250).

Vāmaṇṇa, brother-in-law of Varadaṇa-dannāyaka, a śrī-karaṇa or treasury official of the Hoysala-dēva Vīra-Sōmēśvara-dēvarasa. Perhaps this gift was made at the time of Sōmēśvara's southern expedition of 1247-8, or during the ensuing alliance.

(1)

In 1252 the political situation assumed another aspect: Rājēndra's hostility broke out at last. After about six years of enlarged governmental responsibility, Rājēndra chose 1252 for an attack upon his māma or māmaḍi. In the previous year relations between Sōmēśvara and his connection by marriage must have worsened, but no trace of the circumstances or of the actual provocation to warfare survive. An inscription of the fourth year of Rājēndra (1250) at Sivayam in the Kāvēri valley, about twenty miles west-south-west of Kaṇṇanūr, speaks of a committee of enquiry into the affairs of the temple of Tirumānikka-malaiy-uḍaiya-nāyanār, which included Aliya Sōmaya-dandanāyaka, who is called maṇḍalika-murāri and may have been a son-in-law of the Hoysala king, and Sōmanātha Viṭṭaya, a servant in the palace of Sōmēśvara-dēva. Clearly there was still much cooperation in the area, as Rājēndra's regnal year was used for dating the record. (2) Again, at Mahādānapuram on the Kāvēri, about twenty-six miles west of Kaṇṇanūr, there is a record of 1251 dated in the fifth year of Rājēndra by which Sōmaya-dannāyaka, an officer of Vīra-Sōmēśvara-dēva, made a grant of land to the temple of Madhurāntaka-Cōlīśvaram; (3)

(1) A.R.1912,15. A similar doubt surrounds a Hoysala grant mentioned in A.R.1929-30,308 at Alagarkoyil.

(2) A.R. 1913,49.N.K.Sastri,Cōlas III,762.

(3) S.I.I.VIII 703,A.R.1903,387,N.K.Sastri Cōlas III,763.

in the same year, perhaps more significantly, the king Rājendra granted as a tax-free dēvadāna lands in seven villages for worship in the temple of Pōsalīśvaram-udaiyār built by his māmaḍi Vīra-Sōmēśvara at Kannaṇūr in Pāccir-kūrram. (1) In the same year, again, the fifth of Rājendra, Siṃhana-dañḍanāyaka, after a victory, made a grant of the village Vakulaḍaḷḷi, or Magulampūṇḍi, to the god Śiva at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. (2)

The circumstances of this last grant may perhaps provide a clue to the question of Rājendra's choice of 1252 for his sudden attack on Sōmēśvara. The Siṃhana-dañḍanāyaka was that Siṃhana to whom reference has already been made. His action may or may not have been sponsored by Sōmēśvara, but his success in 1251 consisted in conquering Prthvī-Gaṅga, a service against a turbulent but obviously minor subordinate which he may well have performed for Rājendra himself. This Siṃhana had already acted in a manner reminiscent of a robber-baron, and was probably glad to undertake campaigns for his own profit without being particular for whom the service was performed. He had the title maṇḍalika-Yama-rāja, "king Death to maṇḍalikas". It seems that his uncle Kampaya-dañḍanāyaka (otherwise Kambaya) had recently died, perhaps on the same exploit. (3) If the reconstruction here offered is in fact the case, Rājendra's vindictive designs against Sōmēśvara must have been greatly encouraged by this powerful general's recent acquisition of strength, and by

his (1) A.R. 1936-7, 1117 (1251). (2) S.I.I. viii 88, A.R. 1902, 498

(3) ibid. It contains these crude Sanskrit verses:-

(1) 1117 (1251). (2) S.I.I. viii 88, A.R. 1902, 498.

(3) ibid. It contains these crude Sanskrit verses:-

(over)

However, be this as it may, in 1252 Sōmēśvara was in Dōrasamudra; it is more than likely that he was obliged to retire there on account of direct pressure from the Cōla. An inscription which Kielhorn dated 25th December 1252 gives Rājēndra the titles Kannariga-rāja-pra [ti] kūla-kāla-daṇḍa, "rod of death to the enemy Kannāḍa king", and Vīra-Sōmēśvara-kar-āmukta-pāda-vīrābharāṇa, "he who wore the ornament of a hero on his leg, placed there by the hand of Vīra-Sōmēśvara (or, removed from the arm of Vīra-Sōmēśvara)." (1) Rājēndra claims at the same time to have supported the Manu race, and to have defeated Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa. Clearly 1252 was the year of a strong Cōla revival. In the next year Rājēndra is, more emphatically, called māma-Sōmēśvara-pratikūla-kāla-daṇḍa. The fact that both this and the previous inscription are at Śrīraṅgam shows that Hoysala resistance in the very near neighbourhood of Kaṇṇanūr must have been negligible at the time.(2)

Of Sōmēśvara's doings between 1252 and 1253 we know little. He was in Dōrasamudra in 1252, but the month is unknown. (3) In January of that year he went to Rāmanāthapura, in the modern Arkalgud tāluḡa, in the south of his dominions on the plateau, and made some religious grants and provisions.(4) In June 1252 he was in Dōrasamudra, "having marched to Halagere and returned." Halagere is not as yet identified, but the reference is almost certainly to some internal conflict on the

Svastyastu / Kampaya-camūpati-bhāginēyō gōsthāpagāharāṇa
 Simhāṇa-dāṇḍanāthah //
 śrī-Śōṇasailapataye bhuvi Prthvi-Kaṅkam jitvā dadau Vakulavallim
 akhaṇḍabhōgaiḥ //
 śrī-Śōṇādri-patēr ddatvā Vakulākhyapura [m]mahat
 vijitvā Prthivī-Kaṅkam ja [ya]-stambham ivā karōt //
 Śōṇādri is Arunācalaṃ or Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. (cont.)

(1) to (4) over.

plateau. (1)

It was probably while he was at Dōrasamudra that the unhappy exile from his favourite Kannaṇūr was entertained with the compilation of Mallikārjuna, the father of Kēśi-rāja the grammarian, entitled the Sūktisudhārṇava. This florilegium, containing as it does much material invaluable to the student of Old Kannada, is formed after the pattern of a classical mahā-kāvya, and is characterized throughout by a tone of rejoicing and prosperity quite incongruous with both the contemporary condition of the Hoysala kingdom and with its reasonable expectations for the future. Historically speaking the work can be described as a splendid example of gross, if unconscious irony.

Each chapter makes a reference to the king, and most contain several references, of a more or less direct nature, to Sōmēśvara, his father Nārasimha, or his grandfather Ballāla. The section entitled Nāyakābhyudaya-varṇanam, or "the description of the ruler's prosperity", ends with the verse

ōrante meccidaṃ kṛti-
sāraṃ nrpa-vijaya-rājya-pulakam śubhadā-
kāraṃ Hoysala-vaṃśōd-
dhāraṃ chaledaṃka-rāma Sōma-nrpālam //26//

"As always, he approved the substance of the poem, which is the delight of a kingdom victorious over kings, an embodi-

A record of the 6th year of Tribhuvanacakravarti Rājendra-dēva (1251-2) gives the king the title "who revived the Manu dynasty and wore the legitimate crown", and records that Siṅgaṇṇa-daṇḍa-nāyaka purchased land in Pāccil (read Pāccir)-kūrṇam and gave it for the worship of the god Cidēviśvaram-udāiyār erected and consecrated for him at Jambukēśvaram: (A.R. 1937-8, 73).

ment of good fortune, he the uplifter of the Hoysala race,
a Rāma in firmness of character, the king Sōma."(1)

The section entitled Kumārōdaya-varṇanam, or "the birth of a
prince", ends thus:-

ōraṇte meccidam kṛti-
sāraṃ suta-varṇanakke Hoysala-vaṃśōd-
dhāraṃ Narasiṃha-sutaṃ
Dōrasamudrādhināyakam Sōma-nṛpaṃ //79//

"As always, he approved the substance of the poem on
account of the description of the son, he the uplifter of the
Hoysala line, the son of Narasiṃha, king Sōma the overlord of
Dōrasamudra."(2)

And again the Sūryōdaya-varṇanam, or "description of the sun-
rise", thus:-

halacitu sūryōdayam ī-
sthalak ellam kāvya-sāradolag endudu Ho-
ysala-vaṃśa-Mēru Yādava-
kulāmbara-dyumaṇi Sōyi-dēva-nṛpālam //83//

"The sun-rise, that is king Sōyi-dēva, the sun to the
sky of the Yādava race, has struck the Meru which is the Hoysala
lineage: this is what is told in all these places in the sub-

But S.I.I.IV 511, A.R.1892, 64, has Kannāḍa-rājya etc.

Page 340 n. (2) E.I.vii 24 (Kielhorn's Cōla dates, 83); A.R.1892, 65

Page 340 n. (3) M.A.R.1907, para.23(1252).

Page 340 n. (4) E.C.V Arkalgud 53(1252). Page 341 n. (1): E.C.VI

Kadur 101.

(1) Sūktisudhārṇava p.97.

(2) Ibid. p.132.

stance of the poem."(1)

The general style of the compilation, which is given some coherence by verses of the compiler's own composition, can be gathered from a few specimen verses. The Nāyakābhyudaya-varṇanam commences:-

munisind āntaran ikki bhūvalayamaṃ niṣkaṇṭakam māḍiki-
rti-nijājñā-sahitam diśā-valayamaṃ talt appi saṅgītamam /
jananātham mudadindam oḷagadol ettam kēldu tām tyāgavar-
dhanamaṃ mālpudu Nāyakābhyudayam emb aṅgam mahākāvyaḍol //1//

"By smiting opponents in his rage he has cleared the circumference of the earth of its thorns; grasping the circle of the quarters that follows his own glorious commands, he embraces it; may this lord of men, who hears with joy music everywhere in his court, himself turn into an occasion for an increase of his bounty that part of (my) great poem which is named "The Prosperity of Princes!"

gelaviṃ Bhūmije kaige varpude phalam Rāmaṅge mumpōda bhū-
tala-rājyam kramadinde barpude phalam Dharmātmajam ārpinim /
sale rāgōtsava-siddhi sārvede phalam śrī-Khēcaraṅg antarim
phalayōga-sthiti Nāyakābhyudayam emb aṅgam mahākāvyaḍol //2//

"As fruit of his victory Rāma, that came first, received Sītā, the Earth-born, into his arms; to Yuddhiṣṭhira, son of Dharma, in succession, came as fruit the sovereignty over the wide world; to him who through his valour justly succeeds in the festivals of passion, to the Sky-voyager, Sōma (the Moon), in that wise accrues as fruit that which makes the

(1) Sūktisudhārṇava, p. 233. The ending of the Yātraṅga-varṇanam is similar.

attainment of fruits lasting - the part of my great poem called "The Prosperity of Princes".(1)

The vast mass of laudatory and highly auspicious material, culled from ancient and then-contemporary authors alike, contains many verses such as the following:-

paḍivāt eṃ Sōyi-dēva-kṣitipati pora-vīḍiṅge sūlaisa vēl eṃ -
 doḍe dhāṃdhāṃ dhāṃ dhaḷaṃ bikkida kuḍuhina nissāḷa-ghōsake
 keḍedar pāḍalidar oragidar pallaṭambōduv ettam
 sidid āśā-danti tūguyyale vol alugutirdattu munnira pūraṃ //

"What was like it, when king Sōyi-dēva said, "Order the outer encampment to make a din."? Kings fell down, lost their proper state, and bowed low, at the drum-roll of the sticks that stuttered out the roar dhāṃ-dhāṃ-dhāṃ; in every direction the elephants of the quarters took to flight in confusion; and the ocean-flood before them became agitated like a swing in motion."(2)

and this, that closely follows it:-

anituṃ dik-cakramam parvidud arasuva vōl oḍid urvīśaram saṃ-
 da nṛpāḷa-srēṅig ā saggame guri perat ill emba vōl abhramam
 kane suttitt eyde Sōmēśvara-samara-bhēri-nināḍam dadhāṃ dhāṃ-
 dani-nidrā-bhaṅgaḍiṃḍam gaman uḍuguvinam kharparakk ādi-kūrmam

"The roar of the war-drum of Sōmēśvara swiftly, in truth, enveloped the sky, with the whole circle of the quarters spread out (for it) as if it were running in search of kings (for him to conquer), as if saying, "Heaven alone and nothing else is the aim of the row of famous kings", until the primeval Tortoise shrank into his shell, because his sleep was broken by the noise dadhāṃ-dhāṃ!"(3)

(1) Ibid.p.93. (2) Ibid.p.381. (3) Ibid.p.383.

How much this work contributed to the raising of the level of the morale of the Hoysala court can hardly be conjectured, but at any rate soon after the time when it is supposed to have been offered to the king for his delight, (1) Sōmēśvara gathered together a force for a descent into the Tamil country, and recaptured Kaṅṅanūr. It is supposed that premonitions of trouble from the Pāṅḍyas and bad news from the Kāñci area helped to persuade Rājēndra to adopt a more conciliatory policy towards his Karnāṭaka māmaḍi. At any rate, by 1253 he had ceased to cause hostile references to the Hoysala to be engraved on temple walls. The feud in fact appeared to have been forgotten. Sōmēśvara for his part was, in March 1253, living in the "great capital called Vikramapura, which he had created for his pleasure in the Cōla-maṅḍala that he had conquered by the might of his own arm", and making a grant for the spiritual welfare of Sōmala-dēvi, one of his queens, who seems to have died in that year. (2)

There are, however, signs that this diplomatic success was really fruitless. Sōmēśvara himself appears to have acquired a sudden enthusiasm for Jainism: he is said to have "set up an order in the four frontier provinces to honour the mukkoḍe (triple parasol) of Vijaya-Tīrthādhinātha to show that

(1) Vīra-Hoysala-Sōyi-dēva-vinōḍākaraṇa --- Paramacidānanda Mallikārjuna-kāvīśvara-saṃyōjitamum appa Sūktisudhārṇava. Ibid. p. 14.

(2) E.C.IX Bangalore 6 (1253) also E.I.iii p. 8 (the record is on copper-plates in the Bangalore Museum, originating from a village called Mattikaṭṭu): śrī-Sōmēśvarō bhūmipālah sva-bhuja-balavīnirjita-Cōla-maṅḍalē sva-manō-vinōḍaya vinīrmitām Vikramapura-nāmadhēyām mahārājadhānim adhivasan Paridhāvi-saṃvatsarasya --- Mattikaṭṭa-nāmadhēyam puram svasya paṭṭa-mahisyāḥ Sōmala-dēvyāḥ śrēyo'rtham Sōmalāpurāpara-nāmakam kṛtvā, etc.

he was lord of the earth." His son Nārasimha made an offering to Vijaya-Pārśva in December 1254, having already made a grant to the god Cenna-Kēśava of Belūr in the previous March. The movement towards outstanding patronage of the now unfashionable Jaina faith was emphasised by another gift to a basadi by the prince Nārasimha on the occasion of his upanayana, or investiture with the sacred thread, towards the end of February 1255.(1) This curious fact, combined with the probably simultaneous elevation of two sons of the king to regal status in 1254, powerfully suggests that Sōmēśvara had again been afflicted by some severe malady. Nārasimha, Sōmēśvara's son by Bijjalamahādēvi, was hardly fifteen when he assumed the kingship of the Hoysala nād,(2) and Rāmanātha, his son by the Cālukya princess Dēvalā or Dēvika-mahādēvi,(3) can hardly have been much, if at all, older. That he was a little older is possible, as this would account very simply for the subsequent rivalry between the half-brothers, but there is no evidence for it. Yet Nārasimha was reigning at Dōrasamudra in April 1255, while Rāmanātha's first year must have been 1254, as his second year, in which his earliest records are dated, commenced in the spring of 1255.(4) In that year Rāmanātha was recognized at Śrīraṅgam,

(1) E.C.V Belur 125(1254), 73(1254), 126(1255). It is open to question whether Sōmēśvara himself returned to Dōrasamudra sometime before April 1254: the date of E.C.XII Tiptur 78 is doubtful, but this year seems more probable than 1232, the only reasonable alternative.

(2) E.C.V Channrayapatna 269(1276) tells how Sōmēśvara's pleasure at Nārasimha's prowess in the gymnastics of his infancy led to the latter's taking up the protection of the Hoysala-rājya. (3) She is mentioned in A.R.1919, 602(c1240); S.I.I.IV 501(1233) and 504(1265). (4) E.C.V Arkalgud 38 and E.C.I 6(1255), two copies of the same inscription.

(5) His 29th year was Subhānu (1283-4), E.C.IX Bangalore 43; 30th. Tāraṇa(solstice 1284-5), E.C.X Chintamani 91; 32nd Vijaya(Dec.

with the titles sārvaḥauma-śrīmat-pratāpa-cakravattigal Poysala śrī-Vīra-Rāmanātha-dēva, (1) thus copying the titles of his father, who was likewise called "emperor of the entire earth" in inscriptions of the period in the Tamil country. (2)

The year 1255, then, which saw the commencement of a movement soon to overturn the whole political structure of the plain, saw the Hoysala government in three hands at once, one of the rulers probably being unable to take a full share of the responsibilities of his office, and the others being little more than children. The ubiquitous Siṅgaṇa-dañṇāyaka, whose relations with Sōmēśvara and Rājēndra were extremely ambiguous, seems to have been active and prosperous. His gifts to temples in 1251-2 have already been noticed. In the third year of Rāmanātha he established a śālai, or dispensary, at Śrīraṅgam, and in the twenty-third year of Sōmēśvara took part in the making of a grant of land to the god at Tirumalavāḍi, nearly twenty miles east of Kaṇṇanūr. He was not permitted more than a year to enjoy the fruits of his beneficence. (3)

(1) S.I.I.IV 514(1255).

(2) S.I.I.IV 429, A.R.1891, 28(1253) at Tiruvānaikkāval; A.R.1914, 176(1253) at Ratnagiri; A.R.1936-7, 118 at Jambukēśvaram; but not in A.R.1924, 407(1254) at Melur, nor in S.I.I.V 629, A.R.1895, 72.

(3) A.S.I.1936-7, p.107, para.3(1256); S.I.I.V 629, 1895, 72(1255). He is almost certainly the Siṅgaṇa who is referred to on p.12 of the Koyilolugu as having made a kaṅkariyam, or service, to the temple of Śrīraṅgam, under the title Gaṅgai-dēvar Siṅgaṇa-dañḍayanāyakkar (sic). Cf. above, p.339: his defeat of Prthvi-Gaṅga.

1286-7), E.C.X Kolar 95; 34th Sarvadhāri (Oct.1288-9), E.C.X Srinivasapur 36; 35th Virōdhi (April 1289-90), E.C.X Chintamani 117; also E.C.X Kolar 92; 36th Vikṛti(1290-1), E.C.X Chintamani 84; and so on.

Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I had just come to the direction of Pāṇḍya affairs, and with his accession a new spirit entered Pāṇḍya policy. The obvious weaknesses of the Cōla-Hoysala alliance were observed, and the degree of competition between Kādava and Hoysala, Cōla and Kādava, all of these and Tikka's son Gandagōpāla, and the latter with the Kākatīya Ganapati, was in each case weighed up. In midsummer 1255 the Pāṇḍyas sent an exploratory expedition northwards.(1)

An inscription at Ālattūr seems to show that Sōmēśvara sent a force to protect the Cōla country south of the Kāvēri; the first Pāṇḍya onslaught was repulsed with losses, and the Hoysala forces were able to pursue the extended Pāṇḍya lines and to capture booty.(2) The Pāṇḍyas then invited communications from other parties north of the Kāvēri who had grievances against the Hoysala-Cōla alliance, and soon entered into an understanding with the Bāna. This at least is the most likely interpretation of an inscription which speaks of the death of a Hoysala nāyaka from the plateau, who went under orders against Magare, which must have been an equivalent for Magadai, the Bāna kingdom of Āttūr, and fought in the battle of .ttōḍu-maṅgala in the month of September 1256.(3) For the

(1) In January 1255 Sōmēśvara held Jambukēśvaram (A.R.1936-7, 118); at that time old claims were revived: that he made the Magara king roll on the ground, struck Kādava in the face and killed him, plucked up Pāṇḍya by the root, and set up Cōla again in his kingdom. He was then in Kaṇṇanūr (E.C.V Arsikere 108(1255), where he still was in June 1255 (E.C.IV Heggadadevan-kote 10) and held Ālattūr, just under 30 miles south of Kaṇṇanūr in July (Pd. 666).

(2) Pd 666(1255).E.C.VI Kadur 115 is a damaged vīragal, but the sense of this stanza is sufficiently plain:

vistāram tanag āge Pāṇḍya-nrpanam bonkoṇḍa śrī-Vikramam
duṣṭārātiya geldu koṇḍan adhikam śrīyam jaya-śrīyumam //
The date is given plainly as Śaka 1179 Rākṣasa Śrāvana, which

Hoysala had been obliged, after a long interval, to reopen hostilities with the Bāna.

In the meanwhile Sōmēśvara's illness had increased in violence, and he was expected to die at any moment. In April a hereditary henchman, of a family which had acquired the rank of sāmanta in what had been a frontier province of the early Hoysala kingdom, performed a complicated ceremony of self-sacrifice, in which not only the sāmanta himself, but his wives and servants male and female committed suicide. It is clear that he was expected to precede his master into the next world. The king, however, recovered, and the sacrifice was ill-timed.

(1)

Within a few months of Sōmēśvara's contact with the Bāna, in which the latter probably came to terms with his more powerful neighbour in the absence of opportune Pāṇḍya support, Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I invaded the Cōla country in force.

Sōmēśvara and Rāmanātha fled before him. The Cōla government collapsed. To the victories which Sundara had already won over the rulers of the Kērala country and Ceylon he was able to add ^{others over} the Bāna, the Kādava, the Telugu Cōḍa, the Kākatīya and even the Sēvuṇa as well. The whole of the Tamil country and a portion of the Telugu lands were subjected to Pāṇḍya rule.

must be supposed to be July-August 1255. This may be the occasion which the panegyrist had in mind when he said, many years later, that Nārasimha III, "born with rejoicing (i.e. not long after his birth) speedily subdued the Cōla king and the pūrvva rāyar, or foremost kings, of the Pāṇḍya ruler". The defeat of the Cōla must be the 1254 incident. The reference to rāyar of the Pāṇḍya king must be accepted as a supplementary proof of the simultaneous rule of several Pāṇḍyas under one principal ruler: (E.C.VI Kadur 125(1272). Page 348 n.(3) E.C.V Arsikere 166(1256) Magareya mēle hēlikēy āge hōḍa. Rice is probably wrong in translating hēlikēy āge as "with a message".

(1) E.C.IV Krishnarajapet 9(1256). See M.A.R.1914-5, p.20, plate ix.

Together with Vikrama Pāṇḍya(1), Jaṭāvarman Sundara loaded the more famous temples in the country with a proportion of the immense hoards of wealth which he had acquired from his unprecedented series of victories, and set up from Śrīraṅgam in the south to Nellore in the north no less than twenty inscriptions, in Tamil and Sanskrit of varying qualities, which bear eloquent and diffuse witness to his amazing success. A few examples will here be quoted, particular attention being paid to the Pāṇḍya's success against the Hoysala.

Sundara Pāṇḍya, emmandalaṅkonḍu koyilponmēynda perumāl, "the lord who having taken every country covered the temple with gold", was one of the greatest benefactors of the great shrine at Śrīraṅgam, and his gifts of gold and jewels, and his large architectural alterations and improvements, his fabulous tulābharāṇas, where he was weighed against gold actually seated in full array upon an elephant, are fully recorded, erroneously under two headings, in the Koyilolugu, a Tamil prose account of the temple and its benefactors probably composed in the sixteenth or seventeenth century from much earlier documentary material.(2) The temple itself contains two of his Sanskrit inscriptions which are of interest. The first contains these verses:-

yēnāsau karuṇām anīyata daśām śrī-Raṅga-padmākaraḥ
 kṛtvā tam bhuvanāntara-praṇayinaṃ Karṇāṭa-dōṣākaram /
 bhūyō'py atra jagattrayī-bahumatām Lakṣmīm avasthāpayan
 dēvas Sundara-Pāṇḍya-bhānur udayam lēbhē pratāpōṣmaḷam //

(1) It is here supposed that Vikrama was not identical with Sundara. (2) Koyilolugu, p.12-14, commencing: Sundara-Pāṇḍya-dēvar Cēraṅ Cōlan Vallāla-dēvan mudalānārai jayittu emmandalaṅkonḍa perumāl enru. N.B. Vallāla, instead of Sōmēśvara or Hoysala.

"Having caused to long for the other world (i.e. to set, or languish) that Moon of the Karnāṭa (Sōma), by whom this lotus pond of Śrīraṅga had been reduced to a pitiabile state; reinstating there Lakṣmī who is worshipped by the three worlds - king Sundara-Pāṇḍya arose, full of brilliance, like the Sun."

kōśādāttām kṣitipati-raviḥ Kāṭhaka-kṣōṇibharttur
mālām prādān marakatamayīm śārṅginē Raṅgadhāmnē /
līnā tasyōrasi mahati yā līlayōpētya paścād ālim gantyaḥ
parikalayatē dōrllatāsāmyam urvvyāḥ //

"The sun among kings gave to Viṣṇu who resides at Raṅga a garland of emeralds which he had taken from the treasure of the Kāṭhaka king, which clinging to his broad breast bears resemblance to the tender arms of the Earth who has sportively approached from behind to embrace him." (1)

The second these:-

jētā Sundara-Pāṇḍya-dēva-nṛpati [r]bhūmēr dvitīyān tulām
āruhya pradadau hiraṇya-nicayam śrī-Raṅginē Śārṅginē/
yēnāśēṣa-hiraṇmayas sa bhagavān haimē vimānē vasan
bhāsan-maṇḍala-madhya-vāsa-janitām Lakṣmīn nijām puṣyati //

"The victorious Sundara-Pāṇḍya-dēva, king of the Earth, having ascended a second balance gave to Viṣṇu of Śrīraṅgam a heap of gold; through him he, the lord, being entirely of gold, shining as he lives in a golden hall, nourishes his own Lakṣmī, who was born in the dwelling at the centre of his illustrious realm."

(1) E.I.iii 2, verses 1 & 4 : verse 3 also contains a reference to the wealth of the city of the Kāṭhaka, or Kādava.

ājau Simhanam unmadasya kariṇō datvā parārtthan tatō
 dr̥ṣṭvā Rāma-mahīpatēh praśamita-Kṣēmābhiṣaṅgo bhuvah /
 vīras Sundara-Pāṇḍya-bhūpatir asau bhūyas tulārōhanād
 Raṅgēndram girim aindranīlam akarōd dhanyaḥ suvarṇācalaṃ //

"Having given in battle Simhaṇa to a mad elephant,
 and having, as an unselfish act, caused to be quelled Kṣēma,
 who had been an evil influence over the earth to the disadvan-
 tage of king Rāma (1), the hero king Sundara Pāṇḍya, the
 fortunate one, moreover, by ascending the balance made the
 sapphire hill, which has Raṅga as its lord, into a mountain
 of gold."

maḥṣṭa-cayair vvijitya Yadu-Kēraḷa-Cōla-nṛpāṃs
 tad upahr̥tair balād vir(?)adhirūdhi tulābharitaiḥ /
 kanaka-mayaṃ vimānam akhilaṃ śayanañ ca harēr
 iha sukṛtādarād akṛta Sundara-Pāṇḍya-nṛpa[h] //

"Having conquered the Yādava, Kēraḷa and Cōla,
 with the heap of crowns torn from them by force, having ascended
 (?) again, and been weighed against them placed in the balance,
 king Sundara Pāṇḍya here with beneficent care made for Viṣṇu
 the whole golden hall and bed-chamber."

ārūdhis sakalā vijitya kakubhō Raṅgē dvitīyān tulām
 artthaiḥ Kēraḷa-Cōla-Hoysaḷa-kula-kṣōnībhṛtām āhr̥taiḥ /
 śayyā-vēśma-bhujanga-rāja-śayana-dvāraṃ vitānam bahis
 sālam Sundara-Pāṇḍya-dēva-nṛpati [r] haimāni cakrē harēh //

"After conquering all the peaks, and ascending a
 second balance at Raṅga, with the wealth of the kings of the

(1) This line is capable of other renderings. This however is
 subtle irony not inconsistent with the style of these compos-
 itions. It is quite possible that the Sēvuna officer Kṣēma was
 commissioned to embarrass the Hoysaḷa amongst others.

Kērala, Cōla and Hoysala families that he had snatched away king Sundara-Pāṇḍya-dēva made for Viṣṇu a sleeping-chamber, a bed consisting in the King of Snakes, a door, an awning and an outside wall."(1)

At Tiruppundurutti, further down the Coleroon river, is to be seen a fine Tamil inscription with a historical praśasti of unusual length and complexity. It recounts how Sundara left the Cēra and his army dead on the field of battle, and destroyed the Malai-nāḍ, which probably represents Malabar rather than the hilly parts of Cīmbatore and Coorg which are frequently referred to in Kannada inscriptions as the male-nāḍ. He then compelled the payment of tribute by the Cōla, who came of a great dynasty of rulers and possessed great fighting strength. The praśasti proceeds:-

tindōl-valiyir

Ponni-nāṭṭup Pōsalatt araisar
 kaḷaippurisiy [iv] adaittup poṅgu vīrappuraviyuñ
 ceru-viṛal ānamai Siṅgaṇan mudalāya
 daṇḍat talaivarun tānaiyum aḷipadat
 tuṇḍitt aḷavil cōri-veṅgalip
 perum-piṇak kunram iruṅgan niraittup
 paruntuñ kāgamum pārun [da] caiyu
 arunti magilndāl amarkkaḷam eḍuppak
 kam<ā>naiyuṅgalaip puraviyuñ campor
 kuvaiyun tigaḷ kadir maṇiyu maḍantaiya-
 r āramārpumudan kavarnḍ aruḷi

(1) S.I.I. IV 507, A.R. 1892, 60 and Gopinatha Rao, in Sen Tamil IV p. 495-6, 512-3; the latter version contains several errors. The former reads hiraṇya-mayas and haimānni.

mudu gidu Pōsalan ran nōdu munaiyum adu
 tavaren rannai por perri nadadu
 pōl udpagaiyāy ninra
 Cemanaik konru cina<nda>...nirund aruli
 nannudal pirarāl ennudark ariya
 Kannanūr-koppattaik kaikkonḍ arulip
 Ponni cūl celvap Puna-nāttaik
 Kanni-nāḍ enak kāttaruḷ ceyyap
 peruvaraiy aranir pinnagaruk kākkiya
 Karunaḍa-rācanaik kaliru-tirai konḍu
 tulaḥ koli maniyuḥ cūl vēlamu-
 m Ilaṅkai kāvalanaiy irai konḍ aruli ---

"Reaching by the strength of his own shoulders the splendid fortification of the Hoysala kings who were in the Ponni-nāḍ (i.e. the Kāvēri country), he butchered the restive warriors' horses and the army in the rout, together with the generals such as the manly Siṅgaṇa, brave in battle, until he covered the great rocks with hills of corpses (amid) hot floods of blood, while kites, crows and vultures having eaten flesh rejoiced. (?Passing) aloft (?over) the battlefield he graciously seized elephants, horses, heaps of superior gold, brilliant-shining gems, and women with sandal-paste on their breasts. He (?) showed conduct like an elder brother as regards every fault (produced from) the enmity towards him of the Hoysala who had fled, and killed Cēma (i.e. Kṣēma) who stood forth like an inveterate enemy in valour (or ?"falsehood"), and became enraged.

Graciously being....., he graciously captured Kannanūr-koppam, which was difficult for strangers to think of approaching, and, of his favour protected the rich Puna-nād(i. e. the Cōla country) that surrounds the Ponni(Kāvēri), just like the Kanni-nād (i. e. Pāṇḍya country; having taken a tribute of elephants from the king of Karnāṭaka, who had taken refuge in the city to the rear which belonged to the lord of the great mountain (i. e.?? Śiva), he graciously took tribute from the king of Ceylon, consisting of elephants surrounded by bright gems (or "bells") swaying from side to side." (1)

Though it is open to question how much consideration was in fact shown to Sōmēśvara and Rāmanātha, this passage proves both their flight and the death of the disloyal Siṅgaṇa daṇṇāyaka. It is not certain that the Hoysalas retired to the plateau, and indeed the expression "city in the rear," etc. strongly suggests that they fled to such a place as Tiruvaṇṇāmaḱi.

(1) The text of this inscription is found in S.I.I.V 459, A.R. 1894, 166, but what is obviously a copy of the same inscription is published by T.A.Gopinatha Rao in Sen Tamil IV, 514-6 apparently as if from Tiruppuḱkūi. However, both texts have several errors, though the S.I.I. text is on the whole better. Yet Gopinatha Rao's reading Cēma is very much better than the official reading Cēra. I am indebted to Mr.M.S.H.Thompson for the conjecture daccāi instead of kacai (armour), which is unacceptable. The gaps are the chief reason for the inadequacies of the translation of Krishnaswami Aiyangar, which appears in his work, South India and her Muslim Invaders, pp.217-221, and which is in many respects very faulty. It reads for example: "but desisted from pursuing the fleeing Hoysala in the conviction that it was unfair to do so. Putting to death the Cēra, who, while pretending to conduct himself towards him with an affection exceeding that of a mother, was actually inimical at heart and proved a traitor, he captured Kannanūr-koppam, --- he then put under a tribute of elephants the Hoysala (Karunada-rāja) who fled for protection to his city protected by hill-like elephants ---".

Amongst the many inscriptions set up by Sundara Pāṇḍya at Cidambaram, a place which benefited at least as largely as Śrī-raṅgam from the conqueror's munificence, there appear two Tamil verses which deserve quotation. Their style is however, so extremely ambiguous that the translations appended must be understood to be little more than tentative.

maṅpaṭṭa mēni moli paitodi
 Koṅgai parakka vaivēr
 kaṅpaṭṭa mutta-vadañ kaṅduñ
 kākkilan Kāḍavarkō-
 n enpaṭṭa sēnaiy edir paṭṭo-
 luga vēlunda punnar
 viṅ paṭṭ alaiyap padai totṭa
 Sundara-Mīnavanē.

"Sundara Pāṇḍya sent forth his army: (then) bedecked with jewels and with a golden bracelet at his wrist (he went) while his sharp spear flew against the Koṅga; the Kāḍava king seeing the string of pearls that attracted his eye was unable to defend himself, while his army of repute came to oppose (the Pāṇḍya), and the wounded men rose up and wandered about after gaining heaven." (1)

(1) Gopinatha Rao, in *Sen Tamil IV* p.491. This may form part of the record referred to in A.R.1913,332(ii).

The attack on the Koṅga could not have taken place until after the capitulation of the Hoysala; as the verse states, it preceded the attack on the Kāḍava. Sundara moved systematically from south to north.

vaṭṭa veṅkuḍai mannar tam pugala koṇḍu
 māmuḍi koṇḍu pōr maru koṇḍ elu
 Pōsalaṅ tadai koṇḍu Vāṅaṅ aṅaim pugata
 toṭṭa vempāḍai vīraṅ verri punaina
 Sundara Māraṅ mun cūla viṭṭa Teliṅgar
 sēnai mel tuṅittu venra kaḷattu mēl
 vitta vempari paṭṭa pōṭelu cōri-vāriyaiy
 okku nēr mel midanda niṅap perun tiral
 veṅṅurait tiral okku mun patta veṅga-
 riy anda vāri paḍinda māmuḡil okkum vīl
 paru maṅik kuḍaiy aṅgu vand elu paruti-
 maṅḍalam okkumē.

"Sundara Pāṅḍya, the hero who had decked himself
 with victory over the ferocious army of one like the Bāṅa,
 who had begun to enter (his territory), after he had obstructed
 the Hoysala, who rose opposing (him) in battle, after he (the
 Hoysala), a king with a round white parasol, had gained his
 own glory and won a great crown; (Sundara) having been victor-
 ious over the army of the Teliṅgar who had previously beset
 (him), cutting it up, appears as he comes from under his heavy
 sinking jewelled umbrella, like the disk of the sun that rises
 (from behind) the ferocious elephants which had attacked him
 (or "came in front") and were like a great cloud that had sunk
 down in that ocean, straight upon which floated a great multitu-
 de of corpses like white froth, like an ocean of blood, which
 arose as soon as he slew the ferocious horses that were left
 (sc. by the Teliṅgar) upon the battle field." (1)

(1) Gopinatha Rao, in Sen Tamil IV p. 491. This almost certainly is
 A.R. 1913, 340, which is supposed to glorify the prowess of

Another inscription at the same place may stand as an example of the whole of the Sanskrit category:-

hatvā Cēram apāsyā Hoysala-patim vidrāvya Cōlēśvaraṅ
 jitvā Kāthaka-Gaṇḍagōpa-Gaṇapatyādīn arātīn api /
 vīras Sundara-Pāṇḍya-dēva-nṛpatiḥ kṛtvā tulārōhanaṅ
 cakre Tāṇḍavinaś śasāṭha kalikācūḍasya haimīm sabhām //

"Having beaten the Cēra, driven away the Hoysala lord, and caused the Cōla king to run away; having conquered the Kāthaka also and other enemy kings including Gaṇḍagōpāla and Gaṇapati; the hero king Sundara Pāṇḍya performed a tulābhāra (i. e. weighed himself against gold) and made (and) adorned a golden council-hall for Śiva who bears the moon's digit in his crest."

citram Sundara-Pāṇḍya-dēva [vima]lē tvat khaṭga-dhārājalē
 magnāḥ Kēraḷa-Kāthakāṇḍhra-Magadha-Kṣēmais samam Sēvunāḥ /
 unmajjanti surāṅganā-parivṛtē Svārājya-simhāsanē
 Paulōmī-kara-tālavṛnta-pavana-preṅkhōḷa-dōrmālikāḥ //

"It is wonderful, o king Sundara Pāṇḍya; the Sēvunas together with the Kēraḷa, Kāthaka, Āṇḍhra, Magadha and Kṣēma, having been submerged in the pure water (blade) of your sword, emerge by the throne of the celestial realm which is surrounded by heavenly damsels and (there) they (the Sēvunas, etc.) have the garlands on their arms fluttering in the breeze of the fan in the hands of Paulōmī (wife of Indra)." (1)

Sundara Māraṅ "who annihilated the forces of the Teliṅgas that surrounded him and drove the Bāṇa chief into the forest."

(1) S.I.I. IV 627, 1892, 179; first two verses. In the first Dr. Barnett suggests that śasāṭha may be a mistake for śasāṅka, but the latter word is not likely to be corrupted easily, while the use of the rare root sath 3 is quite in accordance with the recherche style of these compositions.

From the other records, taken as a whole, we obtain further information, not necessary to particularize here, which shows clearly that the Hoysala was for the first time, in defeat, in the company of the Bāna and the Kādava, the latter referred to above as Kāthaka, as well as the Cōla. Sundara Pāṇḍya's triumph over the Kādava Kōpperuñjiṅga was complete, as also his discomfiture of Gaṇḍagōpāla. His relations with the Kākatīya, whom he claims to have defeated, require further investigation which is outside the scope of this work, but it is clear that he spent some time not only at Kāñci, where both he and Vikrama Pāṇḍya, if indeed they were two separate persons, held coronation ceremonies, but also as far north as Nellore. More curious is the question of the Sēvuna, with whom we have reason to believe Kṣēma, ⁱⁿ Tamil Cēma, was closely connected. Very probably he was a Sēvuna officer in command of a detachment from the districts ruled by the Dēvagiri family, who had somehow become mixed up in the general turmoil of 1257. He can hardly have faced the Pāṇḍya on the Hoysala's behalf, and we have seen from a quotation above that Sundara Pāṇḍya considered, or pretended to consider, that Kṣēma was an evil influence from Rāmanātha's point of view. It seems therefore most likely that an occasion arose when the Sēvuna decided to assist the Kākatīya, whom he is well known to have instated in his place, and explore the possibilities of harming the Hoysala at the same time. An account of this campaign of the Pāṇḍya king speaks of the "Teluṅgas and their allies the Āryas", and this greatly supports this conjecture. (1)

(1) N.K.Sastry, Pandyas, p. 168, quoting A.R. 1914 pt. ii, para. 18.

But thorough as was the Pāṇḍya's conquest, (1) he could still not expect to govern the entire Tamil country solely by Pāṇḍya machinery. The Hoysala territories in the Kāvēri valley and to the west of the river were, of course, a very minor part of the whole, but the Hoysala ruler was ⁱⁿ a position to balance other disaffected elements in the country, and thus when the time came for Sundara Pāṇḍya to consider the appointment of viceroys in the Cōla country he was not disinclined to allow the Hoysala exiles to return. (2)

There is evidence that his decision to do so was accelerated by commotions against his government fomented in the west. We have heard that the Bāna "had begun to enter" Pāṇḍya territory: to this period, then, with more probability than any other, may be attributed the series of inscriptions at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, and at Nārattāmpundi in the Polur tāluqa of the North Arcot district, about ten miles north of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, which were composed in praise of the Bāna king. Those at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai consist of two laudatory compositions one in Tamil, the other in Sanskrit. The Tamil appears to be two attempts at the viruttam verse-form and one, the last, at a venba, but the condition of the record is so bad that no connected intelligible translation may be made of it. It is however clear that it mentions the Pāṇḍya king or kings, (3), the Cōla and some obstacle provided by the latter, (4) and the Magadai king Bāna's contact with them; (5) enmity (6) the whole of Madura of the

(1) The collection of Pāṇḍya inscriptions of 1257 is besides those already quoted: of Sundara, A.R. 1913, 361, 363 (see Gopinatha Rao, Sen Tamil IV p. 492-3) 332, 336-8, 354; S.I.I. IV 629, A.R. 1892, 181; *ibid.* 630, A.R. 1892, 182 and G. Rao, Sen Tamil IV p. 495 (lacunae and errors); *ibid.* 626, A.R. 1892, 178 and G. Rao, *ibid.*; *ibid.* 625, A.R. 1892, 177; *ibid.* 865, A.R. 1893, 52 and G. Rao, *ibid.* p. 513;

handsome Pāṇḍya, and the dry land of Tiruccendūr in Tinnevely district (1), and it would be rational to gather that in some action in which the Cōla offered opposition to someone the Bāna managed to penetrate into the Pāṇḍya nād and inflict losses on the conqueror's homeland. The fact that this and other inscriptions of the same Bāna are so far north as Tiruvaṅṅāmalai and Nārattāmpundi shows that from his success at the expense of the ruler of the entire Tamil country he had been able to achieve an ambition long frustrated. This explanation is borne out by the Sanskrit inscription at Tiruvaṅṅāmalai, which commences with an amusing self-introduction by the poet.

likhatu bhujā-sahasraṃ Kārttavīryārjjuniyaṃ
 paṭhatu mukha-samūhaḥ Kādraveyādhipasya /
 kavayati kavirājaḥ kāmadhēnuḥ kavīnām
 sapadi Sakalavidyācakravartī kavīndrah //1//

"Let a thousand arms write the story of a Kārtta-
 vīryārjuna; (2) let the multitude of faces of the lord of ser-
 pents read (it): (for) the excellent poet Sakalavidyācakravarti,
 king of poets, a cow of plenty to poets, is composing quickly!"

S.I.I.VII 429, A.R.1901, 216, where he has the title Karṇṇāṭa-
 rāja-vidrāvaṇa; N.D.I.Nellore 61, p.831; of Vikrama Pāṇḍya, S.I.I
 VIII 751, A.R.1903, 435, where he has the title Karṇṇāṭa-kari-
 kaḷabha-kaṇḍī (read kaṇṭhī)rava; ; ibid.356, A.R.1903, 78; A.R.1913,
 ?336, 365. The latter must be in G.Rao, Sen Tamil IV pp.492-3.
 Page 360 n.(2) An inscription of the 5th year of Tribhuvana-
 cakravarti Kōnerinmaikondān Vikrama Pāṇḍya-dēva at Avūr, about
 12 miles south-east of Tiruvaṅṅāmalai, a record which probably
 belongs to c1260 tells of Mallaya-dannāyaka ordering a grant of
 of land. He must almost certainly have been a Kannāḍiga, and
 probably an ex-Hoysala official whom this Pāṇḍya found useful
 in his civil service. Page 360 n.(3) S.I.I.VIII 134, A.R.1902,
 543. It is illspelled as well as misread and damaged. Airāpadam
 may be an alternative rather than a misreading for airāvadam.
 valutiyaruṅ; (4) cembiyanin (for the incorrect -un) taḍai
 udāne itar ("hostile", for the text's unintelligible icar) enra
 (5) perumānai Magadaiyar tam perumānai Vānanai ni (for the
 text's ni) pecuvāye.; (6) pagai.

pūrvam pañcakam adya caikam amara-kṣmāpāla-garvva-dhuhah
 Pāṇḍyāt samyati samhṛtāni makuṭāny ētēsu Bānēśvara /
 ekañ Cōla-kṛtē vitīrṇnam aparāny ady-ārunākhyāya tē
 śailendrāya samarpitāni bhavatā kim vārtthine dāsyatē //2//

"Formerly there were five crowns, to-day one(only).
 From the Pāṇḍya who threatened the pride of Indra the diadems
 have been snatched away in battle. Of these, O Bāṇa king, one
 has been granted (or "saved") for the sake of the Cōla; the
 others have been set up on your great mountain called Aruṇa
 (i.e.Arunācalam). "But what will you give to a petitioner ?"

jitvā bāhu-balēna bāhuja-balāny ācchidya nīvī-dhanan
 tēna svarṇṇa-mayēśvarāya racite Bān-Ārunādrau tvayā /
 sambhrāntyā bhuvanasya kim tribhuvana-bhrānti-pratikṣēpakah
 pūṣā bhrāmyati Mēru-bhūdhara-dhiyā savya-prayānōdyatah //3//

"Having conquered by the strength of your arm the
 forces of the arm-born (Kṣatriyas), and snatched hostages and
 booty, with the latter you made, O Bāṇa, a tawny hill (Arunādri
 is Arunacālam, otherwise Tiruvaṇṇāmalai) for a golden Śiva;
 can it be that in wandering over the earth the Sun, intent on
 his southward journey is mistaken in thinking (this mountain) to
 be Mēru, and neglects to travel over the three worlds ?" (1)

Page 361 n.(1) ēr (instead of the text's er) celiyar Madurāpuri
 muluduñ Cendi vilaiya. Ēr, "beautiful", is a hint at "Sundara."
 Page 361 n.(2) On Kārtavīryārjuna see Paraśu-Rāma-Vijaya, No.
 891 on p.207 of vol.iii of Taylor's catalogue of the Mackenzie
 Collection.

(1) S.I.I.VIII 135, A.R.1902, 544. The author has very nearly
 succeeded in writing in such a manner as to puzzle the reader.
 In verse 2 the text has Pāṇḍyan. Dr.Barnett has suggested the
 very necessary correction.

At Nārattāmpundi, we are told, there are eight verses in Tamil or Sanskrit respectively, one of which praises the Bāna chief's victories over the Southern King - here clearly the Pāṇḍya. The Bāna lord's liberality, heroism and devotion, and the terror inspired in his enemies are extolled; in another he is said to have taken Kāñci and Vañji, the latter of which may be Karūr, capital of the Cēra country, in which case the meaning can only be that the Bāna defeated Sundara's Cēra allies; he is also said to have killed Vaṅgāratuṅga, who may have been a Pāṇḍya general. He is said in another inscription at the same place to have "covered with gold", thus imitating his enemy. The temple he covered must have been Tiruvaṅṅāmalai, thus explaining the third verse of the Sanskrit poem quoted above. Two of the verses of the Nārattāmpundi records are explicitly stated to have been composed by Sakalavidyācakraṇvarti, otherwise kavi-cakraṇvarti, or "emperor among poets", who is said to have been rewarded by a gift of elephants. He of course was the author of the Sanskrit verses quoted above.(1)

Again, one is tempted, in the absence of certain proof, to assign to the same period, and to the author of the Nārattāmpundi Tamil verses, four similar Tamil verses at Kudumiyāmalai on the Vellār river, actually no less than twenty five miles south of the Kāvēri. They are accompanied by two verses concerning Vīra-Māgadan Rājarāja-dēvaṅ Ponparappināṅ, lord of Magadai.(2) Even if the expression which attributes to

(1) A.R.1925, 367-374.

(2) The latter of these two is A.R.1906, 383. The texts of all six are printed, uncritically it seems, as Pd.673-678 inclusive.

the Bāna king the defeat of the king of Madura, just as Indra cut off the wings of the mountains, (1) were not sufficient to link these laudatory records with a Pāṇḍya defeat at the hands of the Bāna, the unprecedented phenomenon of Bāna records so far south prove the point almost beyond question. Moreover, the theory is corroborated by the fact that they are situated on the Vellār river and not south of it. The Vellār, as has been noticed already, was probably the Cōla-Pāṇḍya boundary in the 1240-50 period, so that in fact the Bāna's adventures in the direction of Madura and Tiruccendūr must have been either purely rhetorical flourishes or expeditions of unusual swiftness and shortness of duration. In the year 1257-8 the Pāṇḍyas would have found it difficult to prevent a penetration for a relatively short distance south of the Vellār river, but the fifty odd miles between Kudumiyāmalai and Madura would have been contested strongly and there would have been no leisure on the Bāna's part for the erecting of monuments or inscribing such verses in that region.

The dating of these records does to some degree hang not merely upon the peculiar conditions of the year 1257-8, which only, as far as is at present known, could have permitted such an unparalleled success on the part of a nearly effete dynasty, but upon the fact that the Sanskrit verses were composed by Sakalavidyācakravartī, "the emperor of all knowledge", who bore the same titles as he who, as we know from the prose Gadyakarnāmrta, bore also the titles kavirāja, abhinava-Bhaṭṭa-Bāna, kalikāla-Kālidāsa, Kāhala-kavi-sārvabhauma, kāla-kavi-

(1) The critical verse is highly damaged (Pd. 675), but the following words are clear: Madurāpuri kāvalare maṭṭuyar tār kaṇṇaṇ varkaḷar kalla malaic-ciraku veṭṭi....

kalabha. These titles are not inconsistent with those found in the Sanskrit verse at Tiruvaṅṅāmalai, and it is quite possible, despite theories as to the existence of a number of Sakalavidyācakravartis, to identify the two writers as the same person. There is no pressing reason for doubting that the Gadyakarnāmr̥ta may have been written at a time of despondency and defeat rather than during the triumphs of the times which it describes. The defeat of the Pāṇdyas by Sōmēśvara's father in the ninety days' battle, and the connection of these events with the marriage of Sōmēśvara himself, would have had in more than one respect an agreeable effect on the ears of the king when driven from the principality of the Kāvēri valley by the Pāṇḍya and beset by many pressing anxieties.(1) There is moreover a certain date for Sakalavidyācakravarti. He is mentioned in an inscription of 1269, the 15th year of the "glorious emperor of the entire earth" Vīra-Rāmanātha-dēva, which is to be found at Śrīraṅgam. Here he appears with his own personal name and occupational designation, both of which, as it happens, require further investigation, as the donor of various implements for the temple, which had themselves been gifts to him by the king Vīra-Pāṇḍya-dēva. This king may be identified with Jaṭavarman Vīra-Pāṇḍya, whom Nilakantha Sastri assigns to the lifetime of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, and states to have been his assistant.(2) In ten years many circumstances may have in-

(1) M.A.R.1924, para 70-72. The statement that "no inscription of the Hoysalas fails to mention the part played by the kings of this line in putting down the Pāṇḍyas and rendering the power of the Cōlas firm" is very misleading, and unfounded.

(2) N.K.Sastri, Pandyas p.159 ff. The Śrīraṅgam record of Sakalavidyācakravarti is S.I.I.iv 499, A.R.1892, 52: Pādagattuc Cokka-

duced the poet to transfer his panegyrical activities from the Bāna to a Pāṇḍya court - at any rate, the Bāna sank rapidly into obscurity and is hardly heard of again.

It may well have been with the help of the Bāna and of the Koṅga rulers that Sōmēśvara and Rāmanātha returned to the Kāvēri valley. The Cōla Rājendra accompanied them. We gather from two rather unreliable sources that Sōmēśvara was ruling there in his 25th and 27th years. One inscription at Jambukēśvaram in the year 25, if indeed it is not the 25th year of Rājarāja or Rājendra, (which latter is highly improbable) seems to show that Sundara Pāṇḍya had permitted the Hoysalas to return by 1258, so that their exile from Kaṇṇanūr was of a comparatively short duration. (1) Another record at the same place, and one at Ūttattūr (Ūrrattūr), just over ten miles north-east of Kaṇṇanūr, make it appear that Sōmēśvara was still there in 1259-60. The dating of the latter is more plausible because it states distinctly that the gift made by the king was for the merit of his grandson Viśvanātha-dēva, who was none other than the son of Rāmanātha, who followed that unhappy monarch to the throne of the Eastern Kingdom. It is to be supposed that the year 1259-60 was that of his birth. (2) On the other hand the record at Jambukēśvaram alleged to be dated in the 27th year, and concerning gifts for the merit of his mother Kālala-dēvi, who had been dead perhaps fifty years, is suspect because the

(1) A.R.1936-7, 122.

(2) A.R.1912, 519.

villi-bhaṭṭarāna mudaliyār Kariyamari Sakalavidyācakravarttigal tamakkup perumāḷ Vīra-Pāṇḍiya-dēvar kuḍutta vaiyāy perumāḷlukkut tandu, etc. He would appear to have belonged to a particular sect of bhaṭṭas, that is, either Brahmans in general or bards or panegyrists in particular, connected with a Viṣṇu shrine at Kāñci. But the interpretation is uncertain.

notice which is all we have to inform us of its contents seems to argue an unusual similarity to another inscription of much earlier date.(1) However, broadly speaking, Sōmēśvara's reign ended in 1257, and it is a matter of no consequence for how long he was able to linger on at Kaṇṇanūr.(2) His son Rāmanātha assumed active control of what was left of Hoysala policy in the south, and the progress of Hoysala affairs in that region can be attributed to his guidance.

Rāmanātha's activity was at first entirely confined to the Tamil country, and to that part of it which lies in or closely adjoining the Kāvēri valley. An inscription purporting to be of the third year of Rāmanātha at Cammēnahalli in the modern Anekal tāluqa of the Bangalore district is probably misdated, and should be assigned to some later year, perhaps his twenty-third.(3)

From his 6th year (1260) Rāmanātha's inscriptions begin to appear. Until 1262 they are confined to a small area near Kaṇṇanūr, with the exception of one at Adhamankōṭṭai on the route between Kaṇṇanūr and the Hoysala nād.(4) The sovereignty which he enjoyed was circumscribed by two facts: that he was there by permission of the Pāṇḍya, and that he shared his very qualified good fortune with the Cōla. Rājēndra ruled on until 1279, according to Nilakantha Sastri,(5) with confined dominions

(1) A.R.1936-7,123.Cf.S.I.I.IV 421. Among the mass of inscriptions at Jambukēśvaram there is ample room for confusion.

(2) N.K.Sastri is certainly wrong when he says (Cōlas,II,206) that Sōmēśvara was defeated and killed in a battle fought near Kaṇṇanūr in 1264. There are other erroneous views on the topic.

(3) E.C.IX Anekal 30(?1277). Nārasimha III possessed Hosahalli in Kankanhalli tāluqa in 1259(E.C.IX Kankanhalli 71), so that, though it is not impossible that Rāmanātha had partisans on the plateau so early, it is unlikely.

(4) A.R.1920,45(1260) at Tirumalavādi; A.R.1937-8,12(1260) at

as well as diminished prestige. His records between 1257 and 1262 are comparatively rare.(1) The oppressive influence of the Pāṇḍya still pervaded the atmosphere, and the Hoysalas themselves were clearly not given a free hand at once. A record at Samayapuram, in the immediate vicinity of Kaṇṇanūr, of the twelfth year of Jaṭāvarman <Sundara> Pāṇḍya speaks of a cirupillai of Vīra-Sō[mī]śvara-dēva, and its date is probably 1261-1262.(2) Two inscriptions of Rāmanātha have been found at Tiruccatturai, about twenty miles east of Kaṇṇanūr, which show the administrative association of Sōmēśvara's reign continuing; the one bears as dates the twentieth year of Rājēndra Cōla(1266) & the tenth year of Rāmanātha(1264), showing that both eras were in use concurrently, while the second bears the dates 1271 and 1269 in like manner, being respectively the twenty-fifth year of Rājēndra and the fifteenth of Rāmanātha. As Rājēndra's first is here held to be 1246, in both cases a discrepancy of two years is observed. When the texts of the inscriptions are published a solution may be found for this difficulty. In any case Nilakantha Sastri's conclusion, that there was "the closest possible alliance between the two rulers, if not actually their joint rule over the territory where the inscriptions are found", is not proved by the evidence available.(3) It is much more

Jambukēśvaram; A.R. 1909, 748 (c1260) at Samayavaram; A.R. 1910, 202-3 (1260 & undated - the latter records a gift of land for the merit of Vīra-Sōmēśvara and Sōmaiya-dannākkar, and mentions Siṅgaya-dannākkar) at Adhamankōṭṭai; A.R. 1910, 92 (c1260) at Jambukēśvaram; S.I.I. iv 427, A.R. 1891, 26 (1261) at Tiruvānaikkāval; and A.R. 1936-7, 62, 64, 65 and 70 (1262) at Srīraṅgam. It was probably in this period that Kambaya-dannāyaka did notable services for the temple of Srīraṅgam as recorded on p. 16 of the Koyilolugu. He is there described as Vallāla-dēvaṅ vagaiyil pratāpa-cakravartti Rāmanātha-dēvaruḍaiya prādāni Kampayar-dandayanāyakkār, "a minister of the glorious emperor Rāmanātha-dēva of the line

likely that the strongest rivalry existed between the Hoysala and the Cōla.

Between 1264 and 1274 no event of political importance seems to have occurred within the sphere of Rāmanātha. The aggressive activity of the Pāṇḍya may have abated a little after the death of Sundara Pāṇḍya, which is held to have occurred about 1270. If, as is likely, he is the Tribhuvanacakravarti Kōnerinmaikondān of the inscription at Tiruppārkadal in North Arcot, he was himself at Kannanūr in his fourteenth year, which would be equivalent to 1264-5. (1) Rāmanātha was not, as far as can be known at present, absent from the town at the time, and it is possible that Sundara was on a state visit to the capital city of this one of his dependants.

Rāmanātha's rule was recognized at Sendalai, near Tanjore, in that year, (2) and in the record in question we meet a personage whose political importance still remains to be assessed. (3) The Ādicandēśvara-dēva there mentioned as a Mūla-

of Ballāla-dēva." He probably contributed largely to the building of the thousand-pillared mandapam there: A.R.1937-8, 114 shows his name on ten of the pillars. He was also the founder of Kambaya-nallūr on the plateau, one suspects.

Page 367 n. (5) N.K.Sastri, Cōlas II, 207.

Page 368 n. (1) A.R.1908, 202(1257), 206(1258), 207(1259) all at Kovilūr, Pattukkottai tāluqa, Tanjore district; A.R.1914, 93(1260) at Kamarasavalli, Udayarpalayam tāluqa, Trichinopoly district.

Page 368 n. (2) A.R.1929-30, 242.

Page 368 n. (3) A.R.1931, 207 & 208. N.K.Sastri, Cōlas II, 206.

(1) A.R.1904, 702.

(2) A.R.1897, p. 4.

(3) S.I.I.VI 6, A.R.1897, 57.

bhr̥tya (mūlabradhya in the text), or hereditary servant, of Tribuvanapati, is certainly the same as the Ādicandēśvara-dēva mentioned in records of 1249, 1250 and 1261 at Udaiyarkoil, Tanjore tāluqa, Anbil, Trichinopoly tāluqa and Tiruvānaikkāval respectively, all of which places were within Sōmēśvara's and Rāmanātha's sphere of influence. (1) In no case does he appear in person, being mentioned only as the master of various officials. The Tribuvanapati of whom he was the hereditary servant remains to be identified. He may be the Cōla, but that is hardly more than possible.

Between 1264 and 1274 Rāmanātha's rule was acknowledged at Kārgudi, in the ~~modern~~ modern Musiri tāluqa; at Koyil-Dēvarāyanpettai, in Papanasam tāluqa; Nattamāngudi, in Lalgudi tāluqa; Tirummalavādi, Udayarpalayam tāluqa; Kandırādittam, in the same tāluqa; Āragalūr, in Attur tāluqa; Tirunedungalam, in Trichinopoly tāluqa; Taramangalam, in Omalur tāluqa; Śivayam Kulittalai tāluqa; Ūttattūr, Lalgudi tāluqa; Tirumanañjēri, Alangudi tāluqa; and Paruttippalli, Tiruccengode tāluqa, besides Kaṇṇanūr, Śrīraṅgam and other places associated with his father.

(2) Now it is clear from this list and from details already given that Rāmanātha's territory during the period extended from about Kāmarasavalli in the east to Adhamankōttai in the north, being a tract of varying width on both sides of the Kāvēri river; in the east the total width hardly exceeded ten

(1) A.R.1902, 406; ibid. 596; S.I.I. IV 427, A.R.1891, 26.

(2) A.R.1913, 40; A.R.1923, 280; A.R.1928-9, 152 & 150; S.I.I.v 658, A.R.1895, 97; ibid. 627, A.R.1895, 70; ibid. 634, A.R.1895, 76; A.R.1920, 21; S.I.I.VII 20, A.R.1900, 20; ibid. 26, A.R.1900, 26; A.R.1928-9, 203; A.R.1913, 414; A.R.1909, 669; A.R.1913, 44; A.R.1912, 527; Pd. 668; A.R.1915, 152.

miles; in the centre the river-side tracts widened to enclose areas more than twenty miles from the Kāvēri. Thus Tirumanañ-jēri may well have been included among the continuous and contiguous Hoysala possessions in the area, and Ūttattūr likewise. That Perambalūr was in fact Hoysala property is not proved, and thus the possession of Āragalūr may have been due to a grant of lands in that area to Rāmanātha by the Bāna, of whose relations with the Hoysala more will be said below. Tāramangalam and Paruttippalli certainly belonged to the broad valley which was the Hoysala's route to the plateau, the whole of which route must have been in Rāmanātha's hands, though it is uncertain whether he retained control of the lands on the west bank of the river. Hence it is seen that though the Hoysala possessions were valuable commercially and no doubt profitable to their ruler, they provided politically nothing more honourable than a gigantic buffer between the north and the south Tamil districts, between the Pāṇḍya on the one side and their untrustworthy dependants on the other. Moreover, apart from the western division, it had no natural, linguistic, or racial frontiers, and had all the marks of an ephemeral state. Perhaps the ten years of quiet enabled Rāmanātha to observe the true condition of his kingdom, and spurred him to undertake the only course likely to remedy its defects. He endeavoured to obtain a part of his half-brother Nārasimha's kingdom.

Now, by 1274 Nārasimha III was in the midst of a task of some difficulty and magnitude. At the time of his accession, as a lad of 15, he had found the country in a state

of unrest and discontent. A decline in the value of money is plainly shown by comparison of records, and there had been a very remarkable lowering of the rate of interest which a man might obtain for a deposit. This had reacted badly among all the influential communities, and a poor standard of public order added to the confusion.(1) The fall in prosperity seems never to have been compensated for, despite the amputation of the Kaṅṅanūr kingdom, which had been the prime cause of the trouble. It seems unlikely that Nārasimha ever provided a subsidy for his half-brother, so that we might have expected that a return to the policies of 1220 and before would have checked the fall in public prosperity. Yet, whatever chance there might otherwise have been of a recovery on the plateau was certainly frustrated by the events of 1274 to 1297.

In January 1259, Nārasimha was involved in fighting. (2) In May 1260 he was obliged to march against the "hill army" which may have been a band of Koṅga rebels.(3) Some dealings with the southern neighbours of his country seem to be indicated by the title Cēru-rājya-pratiṣṭhāyā which is found in a record of the early part of his reign. A claim to have set up the Cēra, if this is not a mistake, requires some substantiating, but no evidence is available.(4)

However, some of his compatriots rallied around him and provided his government with the strength it needed. This they did largely perhaps out of pleasure at the occupation of

(1) In 1060 the rate was .625%(E.C.XI Davangere 140); in 1159 it was 3.75%(E.C.VI Chikmagalur 141); in 1169 it was 75%(E.C. IX Channagiri 88b) -N.B.in 1172 in the N.Pāndya country it was (?) .25% - in 1194 it was 30%(E.C.V Arsikerē 174); in 1206 it was 12½%(E.C.II 333); from 1217 to 1283 it was stable at 2½% (E.C.VI Kadur 55a;M.A.R.1931,3;M.A.R.1911-2,para.92;E.C.X Bow-

Dōrasamudra once more by a royal prince. A record of 1261 says that Vīra-Nārasimha-dēvarasa was residing "in his own Hoysala country, in the proper capital Dōrasamudra, filled with all the wealth, which his father had with affection stored with the riches of the kingdom", a statement which implies that before 1257 Sōmēśvara had actually endeavoured to maintain a full establishment and treasury at Dōrasamudra in anticipation of the inevitable collapse of his southern kingdom, which, if a correct interpretation, shows that the king had more foresight than he was able to implement. A later record speaks of Nārasimha as then ruling in the "modern Dvārāvati of the south, his own royal city Dōrasamudra." (1)

In 1262, late in the year, the king was engaged in "striking down from Nirakal in the east to.....", which suggests that [REDACTED] Nārasimha had at last been able to tackle the problem of the eastern nāyakas who had been defying Hoysala authority. (2) So successful does he seem to have been, that two years later he triumphantly (3) reentered the field of north-

ringpet 32; M.A.R. 1920 para. 76); in 1285 it was 10% (E.C.V Belur 161); but in 1297 or thereabouts it was at the lowest rate in this series: $\frac{1}{2}$ % (E.C.VI Tarikere 89). There is no certainty as to the universality of these rates of interest which a depositor might obtain, but in prosperous times the variations from place to place can have been very little. On public order see below, p. 305.

Page 372 n. (2) M.A.R. 1937, 9 (1259) at Cik Kodihalli.

Page 372 n. (3) E.C. IV Nagamangala 97 (1260).

Page 372 n. (4) E.C. VI Tarikere 7 (cl 260).

(1) E.C.V Belur 74 (1261) at Belūr. A similar remark is found in E.C.V Belur 87 (cl 265); E.C.XI Davangere 36, W.E. II 354a-356b (1268) at Harihara.

(2) E.C.VI Tarikere 71 (1262) mūdāṇa-diśāvarada Nirukhallimge vadevallā, etc.

(3) Perhaps his success is to some degree reflected in the statement in an inscription of 1265 (M.A.R. 1910-1, para. 106) that Nārasimha graciously established the Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya kings on their thrones, and ruled from Hima to Setu.

western politics which his father had abandoned many years before. By this time the Uddhare Gaṅga family, which had been weakened by Ballāla II despite its record of faithfulness to the Hoysala dynasty, had disappeared from view; Kumāra Bomma-dēvarasa, son of Bīrarasa, ruled in Hosagunda as a dependant of the Sēvuna, an humiliation doubtless due to the effects of family intrigues. (1) A Sēvuna officer however yet found work to do, as there were still powers in the north-west hostile to the Dēvagiri emperor, if not strong enough to resist a force to which Kadamba and Sāntara alike had fallen prey. A certain Kala or Kalla-veggade of Uruvatti, probably an officer of one such maṇḍalika or nāyaka, came to blows with him. Nārasimha determined to make the most even of this unpromising situation, and sent Siṅgayya-dañṇāyaka to raid the Sāntara territory. (2) The same officer fought on behalf of Nārasimha, his "oḍeya" or ruler, against a village named Haṇaje with the object of destroying Kaduvūr, which was in the possession of the Sāntara. He appears to have had his headquarters at Kūḍali. (3) All this he could achieve with some safety as Bommarasa Sāntara was occupied at the opposite edge of his kingdom, against Malali. (4) No sooner, however, had the Hoysala taken upon himself to rescue some parts of the north-west from Sēvuna aggrandisement, than serious opposition broke out in the east. The rulers of the modern Bangalore and Kolar districts, as has already been

(1) E.C.VIII Sagar 140(1265).

(2) W.E.II ff.248b-249a(1264); E.C.VIII Sagar 139(1264); E.C.XI Davangere 87(1264).

(3) E.C.VIII Sagar 140(1265) at Hosagunda. The spelling Saṅga is an error.

(4) E.C.VIII Sagar 78(1265).

noticed, had in many cases ancient Cōla connections: they welcomed the uncertainty about the claims of Rāmanātha and Nārasimha to take the revenue from them, and decided to turn it to their advantage. One of their number, called Cōla-Kakala-nād-āluva, revolted and Nārasimha had to fight against him in July 1265.(1)

The unrest of that year had hardly subsided when the prevailing weakness of the authority at Dōrasamudra encouraged the ruler of Nidugal to invade Hoysala territory. In 1269 Iruṅgōla-dēva himself attacked villages in the modern Tumkur district(2) The days of the power of Ballāla II were clearly past. Iruṅgōla, son of Bommi-dēva, son of Bhōga-dēva, ruled in Nidugal, while Tripurāntaka, son of Iruṅgōla, or Iruṅgōla himself, ruled in the fort of Hāniya or Hāne.(3) Meanwhile the Sāntara seems to have returned to the attack, and in 1270 showed great activity against a certain Anṇama-veggade, who was very probably a Hoysala agent.(4) Perhaps he was stimulated by the news that the Sēvuna emperor himself was on the point of marching southwards. Mahādēva did apparently come in or before March 1271, but, having brought an insufficient or unwilling force, was obliged to retire.

madavad-udagra-vairi-mada-marddana-Vīra-Nṛsiṃha-bhūbhujāṅ
adirate bandu Sēvuna-mahā-mahipaṃ Mahadēva-rāṇeyam /
kadanadol āntu nittarisal ārade biṭṭu turaṅgamaṅgalaṃ
bedare palāyanam kuśalam end irad ōḍidan onde rātriyol //

(1) E.C.XII Tiptur 22(1265).Kakala is Kakkala, Karkkala or Karkkata: see above, p. 82 n.(1).

(2) E.C.XII Tumkur 49(1269). (3) E.C.XII Sira 11(1256); 34(1262).

(4) E.C.VIII Sagar 138(1269) & 137(1270).

"The great Sēvuna king, Mahādēva-rāṇe, having come without fear of king Vīra-Nṛsimha, who crushes the pride of intoxicated fierce enemies, met (him) in battle, was not able to endure (it), abandoned his horses, and thinking in fear that flight was safest, did not stay, but fled in one night."(1)

The discomfiture of the Sēvuna caused the Sāntara to rely for the while upon local tactics to preserve his frontiers. By¹²⁷³ fighting had apparently taken place between Vīra-Bammarasa Sāntara and an agent of Nārasimha.(2) The accession of Rāmacandra, however, to the Sēvuna throne about two years before that date, brought a more vigorous spirit to the Sēvuna policies, and this soon manifested itself in a series of attacks launched against the Hoysala, with the object not only of putting an end to Hoysala intrigues in the north-west, but also of conquering the Hoysala nāḍ itself.(3)

It was at this critical moment, while Nārasimha III was preparing the resources of his diminished kingdom for a severe struggle on the northern frontier, that his half-brother Rāmanātha chose to order an invasion of the plateau. The exact circumstances amid which the conflict commenced, as well as the immediate provocation, or even the identity of the aggressor, are unknown. It is, however, clear that it would not have been in Nārasimha's interests to provoke a quarrel at this particular time, and thus the ultimate responsibility rests by impli-

(1) E.C.IV Nagamangala 39(1271). Cf. E.C.V Channarayapatna 269 (1276) where the same verse has bedari wrongly. The former is, in the R.T., wrongly divided: Mahādēvar āṇeyam (!). There is an undated inscription at Devikere near Hassan which states that a warrior fell in battle in the reign of Mahādēvarasa. The

cation upon Rāmanātha. By December 1274 the civil war had begun. It is highly likely that the initial battles were fought between the nāyakas and Nād-ālvās of the once-Cōla districts at the south-eastern extremity of the plateau and emissaries of the Dōrasamudra government. The former claimed the protection of Rāmanātha, whose background generally had more in common with their own than that of Nārasimha, and thus the government at Kaṇṇanūr found an opportunity to take an active part in the politics of the plateau. In 1274 Tribhuvanamalla [Pūrvā] darāyar, later one of the outstanding partisans of Rāmanātha, was engaged in battle, very probably against an agent of Nārasimha. (1)

Progress must have been very speedy, for at Saṇṇēnahalli in the modern Channarayapatna tāluqa quite 130 miles west of Rāmanātha's chief supporters' towns in the east, is an inscription, unquestionably dated in January 1275, which relates that while the glorious emperor Hoysala-Vīra-Rāmanāthadēva was in the residence of Kaṇṇanūr, ruling the kingdom of the earth, etc., a certain gauda of that village and others fell in a battle in which Rāmanātha, that is to say rather his forces, took part. (2) As the record is attributed to Rāmanātha's reign, the latter must clearly have won Saṇṇēnahalli itself, a town only 28½ miles from the capital. Another sign of his

vīragal is damaged and it is probable that, if in fact the very period has been correctly identified, it actually recorded a death in battle against Mahādēva or Mahādēva Yādava (Sēvuṇa): M.A.R. 1908-9, para. 88.

Page 376 n. (2) E.C.VIII Sorab 223(1273) at Geṇḍla. See also ib. 520(?1274), K.T. only, at Pura, which may be a badly damaged Hoysala record. Is the Pāndya-ma<hārāya> mentioned there the Alupa ruler? Page 376 n. (3) SEWELL, H.I.S.I. p. 405: "Mahādēva lost his possessions in Mysore. They were recovered by the

success is to be found in the records of September 1275 and September 1276 as far north as Kōgali, more than 25 miles north of Uccaṅgi. Although it is said that the Yādava-Nārāyaṇa Rāmanātha-dēva was ruling a settled kingdom, it is not to be supposed that the whole of the Hoysala nād between Bangalore and Hadagalli tāluḡas was under his sway. A more likely view is that emissaries of his found at Kōgali an oasis where the Sēvuna occupation was dreaded and the effective power of Nārasimha absent, and where officers who came originally to bring offerings to the shrines found it convenient to stay and collect the revenue. (1) In 1275 and 1276 Rāmacandra Sēvuna was recognized as far south at Bhānuvalli, about 6 miles south of Harihara; further occupation there must have been, for in 1279 he was recognized at Kallēdēvarapura, and in the next year at Bennehalli, eleven miles ■ south of Kōgali itself: (2) yet there is no evidence that Rāmanātha did anything to dispute Rāmacandra's forward progress. A record of 1276 meanwhile, at

Hoysala king Nārasimha III". This is nonsense.

Page 377 n. (1) E.C.IX Anekal 45 (1274). Perumāle-dannāyaka invested Dēvanahalli in December 1274, and fighting took place at Santeyūr: M.A.R. 1932, 50 (1274).

Page 377 n. (2) E.C.V Channarayapatna 231 (1275).

(1) S.I.I.IX 346 (1275) & 347 (1276). If vīra-Rāmanātha were a recognized form of the name of the Yādava emperor it would be simple to transfer these inscriptions to that dynasty.

(2) E.C.XI Davangere 70 (1275); E.C.XI Jagalur 30 (1279); S.I.I.IX 379, A.R. 1918, 205 (1280).

Cikka Balligere in the modern Kankanhalli tāluqa, relates how the government and a religious body joined in creating an endowment for a temple and for services for "victory to the arm and sword of the emperor of the whole world, Poyisala Vīra-Irāmanāda-dēvar", and for the continued increase of his prosperity, a set of phrases that were to become familiar throughout the eastern districts.(1)

Meanwhile the first battles of the long-impending war with the Sēvuna Rāmacandra-dēva had taken place. In April 1275 Jōya-nāyaka of Hāvēri, about eight miles south-east of Baṅkāpura, a town that had long been in Sēvuna hands, marched against the nakara, that is, the merchants, of Dōrasamudra and died fighting in the presence of the Sēvuna commander Jayadalavaya.(2) In the same month Bommarasa found his adherence to the Sēvuna cause very costly. An account is found of his bitter and unsuccessful struggle.(3) Between May and June Mallidēva-dannāyaka, a minister and general of Nārasimha III, fought in the .sagunda fort, which must have been Hosagunda itself.(4) The confused and sporadic warfare of the year seems to have satisfied both sides about equally. Nārasimha bears the as yet inexplicable title Timmaṇa-rāya-māna-marddana,(5) and the Sēvuna rejoiced in the title "putter to flight of the Hoysala king".(6) The critical moment came, however, in January of the

(1) E.C.IX Kankanhalli 13(1276): saruva-buvanac-cakkiravattigaḷ Poyisala-Vīra-Irāmanāda-dēvarkku tōḷukkum vāḷukkum ceyim āga.

(2) A.R.1932-3, App.D.77 at Hāvēri.

(3) E.C.VIII Sagar 134(1275).

(4) E.C.IX Channapatna 46(1275) at Hoṅganūr.

(5) E.C.V Belur 186(1275): Timmaṇa has not been identified.

(6) M.A.R.1910-1, para.95(1275) at Cikka Māgaḍi. Cf. S.I.I. IX pt.1, 380, A.R.1918, 224(1282), also E.C.VII Honnali 17(1286); W.E.II ff.262b-263a(1286).

next year. A battle took place at Belavāḍi, which is only four and a half miles north of Dōrasamudra. A vīragal dated in May 1276 refers to an event which is unintelligible, when Sāluva-Tikkama and Mali-dēva-dannāyaka were encamped (?) in Belavāḍi, and another of April 1276 refers to a war with a general, who must be the same Tikkama, who came, it is said, by order of the Sēvuna rāya.(1) Two inscriptions, both of the same day in May 1276, give further information. The first relates that in the name of the Sēvuna king Rāma-dēva, his general Sāluva-Tikkama came and encamped at Belavāḍi; then the Sāluva himself, saying "I will take Dōrasamudra in one moment only", came suddenly with the brave Jeyi-dēva and Haripāḷa and Iruṅgūḷa's army and laid siege to the fort. Kumāra Cikḷa Kēteya, a relative of the royal family, said "Who will conquer the enemy?", and his son Ankeya drove them out of the country of Belavāḍi, and chased Tikkama as far as Dummi without leaving him time for moving his camp or taking a meal.(2) The second tells a similar story of the prowess of Nañjeya and Gullaya.(3) Another inscription at Belūr describes how Sāluva-Tikkama, general of the Sēvuna army, marched upon Dōrasamudra, the capital of Vira-Nārasinga-rāya. When Sāluva heroically gave his word to the Sēvuna king, and marching with his troops attacked Dōrasamudra a certain warrior went to battle, smote an army of 12,000 horse, pursuing them as far as Dummi, while the Yadu king Nārasimha praised him. Further, when Sāluva was chased, encountered

(1) E.C.V Belur 167(1276); ibid. 120(1276). The text should read sri-Vira-Nārasimha-dēvarasara .. mahāpradhānam Mali-dēva-dannāyakar ā-Yādava-rāya-Rāma-dēvana ma... mukhya-dalavāyya Sāluva ... Tikkamanu Belavāḍiyalu biṭṭalli, etc., where the R.T. & K.T. alike have the absurd reading Mali-dēva-dannāyaka-rāya-dēva-rāya-Rāma-dēvana, etc. E.C.V Hesson 49(1276).

and pierced, Haripāla marched to battle and a certain Khandeya-rāya-rāṇeya attacked Haripāla and another Rāṇe fell in the battle.(1)

It is interesting to note in passing the part played by the Nidugal Cōla in the campaign. Iruṅōla had clearly committed himself to a policy hostile to the Hoysala, and the latter's revenge had to be delayed for nearly ten years.

Moreover, we know that Khandeya-rāya-rāṇe was the son of Mummudi Siṅgaya-nāyaka, who was a thorn in the flesh of the Sēvunas for many years. His name and title both reflect the Marātha influence under which he was brought up, and he probably entered the Hoysala service much as would a soldier of fortune.⁽²⁾

The Hoysala success in driving the Marātha general as far as Dummi, or Dumme, was certainly admirable, seeing how near to capture the capital itself had been. But that Dummi was chosen as the point beyond which the Sēvuna forces were not to be followed shows that the Pāṇḍya as well as the Cōla nād was largely held by the enemy. The Sāntara on the other hand thought the Hoysala success a sufficient encouragement to rebel against the Dēvagiri power, and in September 1276 Rāmacandra had to order an officer to attack him. This apparently met with little success, as in June 1277 Bommarasa of Hosagunda recognized no superior, and organized an expedition against Hāneya, a place about 14 miles south-west of Hosagunda and eight miles west of Pomburccha. The town may have been held by the growing power of

Page 380 n.(2) E.C.V Belur 165(1276). Jeyi-dēva may have been the same as Jaya-dalavāya, or there may be a misreading for Joyi = Jovi. (3) E.C.V Belur 164(1276).

(1) M.A.R.1937,23(1276).

(2) E.C.XI Davangere 26(1300).

the Sētu family, which was domiciled, we know, within comparatively few miles of that place, and the Sântara had doubtless good reasons to fear its growth.(1) But the extent of the Hoysala success can not disguise the fact that the weakness of the defences of the capital had been demonstrated once again, and that the invader was in a position to carry away with him large quantities of spoil. At Harihara, a town that had been in Hoysala hands since the time of Ballāla II until about two years before his attack, Sāluva Tikkama began to build a temple of Lakṣmi-Nārāyaṇa "with the spoils he brought, having in a victorious expedition to the south invaded Dōrasamudra and brought a tribute of all kinds of wealth, especially elephants and horses." The golden kalāṣa of the temple was put on in 1280.(2) Tikkama calls himself the scatterer of the Hoysalā rāya, and Rāmacandra, his master, was said to be a powerful arm in seizing the wealth of the Hoysalā-rāya's empire.(3)

It may well have been during this campaign that Perumāle, a well-known and well-rewarded henchman of Nārasimha, obtained the title Javanike-Nārāyaṇa because, it is said, he captured the javanike, or "screen", of Ratnapāla, a Sēvuna officer, and offered up his head with his sword to the Lakṣmī of Victory.(4)

(1) E.C.VIII Sagar 69-70(1276); E.C.VIII Nagar 20a(1277).

(2) EC. XI Davangere 59, M.INS.26, p.44, 46, P.S.O.C.I.125, W.E.II 258a-261a(1280). His praenomen is Sāluva, Sāliya, or Sāleya.

(3) A further reference to Sāliveya Tikama (sic) is found in SII.IX 387(1297), where his chief minister is mentioned.

(4) E.C.V Channarayapatna 269(1276); MAR.1912-3, para.83(1276); E.C.IV Nagamangala 38(1284); E.C.XI Chitaldrug 12(1286); E.C.III Tirumakudal-narsipur 27(1290), where the victim's name is misspelt Narapāla.

Now Rāmanātha did nothing to assist in the war against Rāmacandra, and can claim no share in the credit for the victory. On the contrary, he did his utmost to impede his brother's progress in the now urgent task of reconstructing the resources and integrity of the Hoysala nād . Taking advantage of the weakness inevitably resulting from the efforts of the past three years, he renewed his own aggressions with vigour. The contestants were fairly evenly matched, and the struggle continued with hardly an interruption for twenty years.

In November 1277 Kumāra Dorabhakkare-dañṇāyaka ruled the kingdom in the east on behalf of Nārasimha III at Halkūr in the modern Kankanhalli tāluḡa, which must have been near the frontier between his lands and those of Rāmanātha.(1) In December a vīragal was put up at Marusu, probably to a soldier killed in the east, and fighting was then still going on at Kundatūr, likewise in Kankanhalli tāluḡa, if the date is read correctly.(2) Cikka Kēteya-dañṇāyaka returned from a successful expedition with the army of the eastern kingdom, and made a grant in February 1278.(3) This important officer's success is shown by his making a grant in 1278 for the success of Nārasimha's sword and arm as far east as Bannērghatta, which is about thirty miles south-west of Kolar. It is to be presumed that this took place after he marched from Hoṅganūr and suffered
(4)
an attack at Hode. Hoṅganūr is about 27 miles south-west of

(1) E.C.IX Kankanhalli 72(1277).

(2) E.C.V Hassan 48(1277); E.C.IX Kankanhalli 87(?1277).

(3) E.C.III Mandya 1(1277).

(4) M.A.R.1908, para.48; E.C.IX Channapatna 13(1278).

Bannērgaṭṭa.

The tide of fortune turned, however, and in 1279 Cikka-Kēteya fell from favour, (1) for in the meantime Rāmanātha had made surprising gains. In June 1278 some higher officers of one of his chief subordinates, Pūrvvādirāya, "came and camped in Honnavāra and did obeisance to the god Cūdanātha and departed; Cikka-Kēteya then presented a village and some taxes to the same god, presumably to counteract the meritorious efforts of the enemy. (2) But it availed him little, for by October 1278 Rāmanātha's rule had extended even into the modern Arsikere tāluḡa, and some authorities, whether forced to do so, or choosing to do so out of partiality for Rāmanātha, actually recognized his reign at a distance of no more than eighteen miles from Dōrasamudra. (3) By September 1279 Rāmanātha appears to have been within a little of ruling over Śītakallu in the modern Tumkur tāluḡa; the record however makes a point of remarking ī-dharmavanu vīra-Nārasīṅga-dēvaru pṛthvī-rājyava nōḡalu, "(he gave) this work of merit while Nārasīṅga-dēva was looking after the ruling of the earth." (4)

Meanwhile Nārasimha was embarrassed by other problems. In October a battle was fought at Kabbu, in the north-west: a certain Ballaha-dēva, who may have been the Immadi-Ballaha-dēvarasa of the Sētu kingdom, "went to Dōrasamudra to war with Vīra-Nārasimha-dēvarasa". A rāṇe, who may have been either a Sēvuna officer or one of Nārasimha's mercenaries,

(1) E.C.V Belur 166(1279).

(2) E.C.IX Channapatna 65(1278) at Yeliyūr; cf. E.C.IX Anekal 94 (1316).

(3) E.C.V Arsikere 149(1278). Rāmanātha was fighting in Mannana-Kōgil and killed Siṅgeya-dañṇāyaka.

(4) E.C.XII Tumkur 56(1279).

camped at Hosavūr, and a battle followed in which a Sāntara took part.(1) Similarly in 1279, it appears likely, an attack was made upon a hamlet of Antaravalli in Kelale-nād by a certain Nārasīṅga-dēva of Hebbatṭa.(2)

In February 1280 Mummudi Siṅgeya-nāyaka, who appears, like his son, to have been allied for the while to the Hoysala cause, suffered an attack by Cāvundarasa, son of Caṭṭarasa, from the southern parts of the Sēvuna empire north of the Tuṅgabhadra who marched to Doravade in Kurugōdu nād for the purpose. It is thus plain that Mummudi Siṅgeya-nāyaka held a small principality in the region of Kampili(3), and we have no doubt that he was an independent adventurer. In October 1281 he fought with Saṅgeya-nāyaka in front of Vētaṇḍakal; in March 1282 Kannara-dēva marched against him to Doravaḍi and fought; and he was still active in 1287. But there is no evidence that Nārasimha was able to send him any effective support or otherwise utilized his hostility to the Sēvuna.(4)

In the war between Rāmanātha and Nārasimha a curious event took place in December 1280. It is unfortunate that the record that gives several interesting and suggestive hints is too damaged to admit of a complete understanding of its contents. It appears that while Nārasimha was ruling Rāmanātha was joined by a person called ..<ara>saru Gajapati, and they fought Nārasimha at Soleūr, with a result unfavourable to the latter. Both the kings then did something in which Nārasimha took a part. No

(1) E.C.VIII Nagar 9(1278). Perhaps because of this the Hoysala attacked Sētū in 1296.

(2) M.A.R.1920, Para.76(?1279). For Hebbatṭa cf. p.228 above.

(3) E.C.VII Channagiri 24(1280); M.A.R.1935, 39(1282) and E.C.XI Holalkere 37(1281 misdated by Rice); A.R.1935-6 App.E 23.

(4) See Map 'B'.

further evidence clarifies the issue, but the mention of Gajapati is curious, as no important bearers of the title were active, as far as is known, in Mysore during this period. A conjectural correction to Gaṇapati has some plausibility.(1) This could not be the famous Gaṇapati Kākatīya, as he had been dead for twenty years.

Between 1281 and 1283 the warfare between the brothers continued. Rāmanātha's influence over the eastern nāyakas does not seem to have been very strong, and they not infrequently fought each other - while seldom caring to recognize Rāmanātha's sovereignty.(2) He was however able to engage with Nārasimha, (3) although the latter seems to have gained ground steadily. In 1285 fighting continued in the neighbourhood of Talavi,(4) and about this time Nārasimha himself was able to go to Hoṅganūr (5) in Kelale nād, perhaps then stopping at .rtivūru "when he was fighting with Rāmanātha-dēvarasa". (6) Feeling sufficiently relieved of the pressure from the east, he moved northwards and attacked Nidugal, the great hill-fort of the Cōlas, to wipe out the disgrace of their invasion with Sāluva-Tikkama in 1276. On the way he destroyed Bāgeyakere, and finally took the fort of Nidugal itself, no mean achievement.(7) He could approach this task the more readily because Rāmanātha was obliged to interest himself in affairs in the Cōla country once more.

(1) E.C.V Belur 187(1280). After the date it reads: śrīmatu pratāpa-cakravartti.... (one line missing).. <?ara>saru gajapati Hoysala-Rāmanātha-dēva ... kūḍi Soleūra Kāle <gada>le Nārasimharāyana mēle kālaga bilalu ubhaya-rāyaru .calu krama Vira-Nārasimha-dēvara saṃmateyā <śrīmanu>mahā-pasāyataru, etc. The K.T. has koḍi for kūḍi and has several more syllables in the lacunae than the R.T. It is not essential to divide dēvara saṃmateya: dēvarasam mateya is equally possible, thus removing the idea of consent, as in Rice's translation.

If we can rely upon the accuracy of the inscription of 1286 which gives Rāmanātha the title Makara-rājya-pratiṣṭhācārya, he must have extended his protection to the Bāna, in whose country he was likely to have had an interest, as it so closely adjoined his line of communications with the plateau.(1) His claim to be the supporter of the Pāṇḍya family (2) does not seem to have saved him from expulsion from Kaṇṇanūr, and for that the Pāṇḍyas were either directly or indirectly responsible, as they were the only great power left in the Tamil districts. In 1287 Rāmanātha was already ruling in Kundāṇi, otherwise Kundāni, a spot which a glance at the map shows to have had very little to recommend it to anyone but a fugitive.(3) It stood, it is true, in direct communication with the Kāvēri valley, but was as remote from Kaṇṇanūr as was possible without actually entering the Kolar plain. It was on the plateau, but so closely surrounded by wooded mountains as to be almost completely shut off to access from either east or west.(4) A small opening from this retreat permitted communication with Kolar and the lands of the Nād-ālvas to the north and north-east. This was the capital from which Rāmanātha chose to survey the collapse of his Tamil empire and the progress of his long-drawn-out attempt to acquire one in the Karnāṭaka country at his brother's expense.

Page 386 n.(2) E.C.X Chintamani 38(1289), ibid. Kolar 48(1280).
Mention of Ilavañjiya-rāya.

Page 386 n.(3) M.A.R.1908-9, para.86(1281);? M.A.R.1937, 11(?1282);
E.C.V Hassan 47(1282).

Page 386 n.(4) E.C.IX Channapatna 6(1285). (5) M.A.R.1908-9, para.
86(c1285). (6) E.C.V Channarayapatna 206(c1285). (7) E.C.V Ar-
ikere 151(1286); M.A.R.1908-9, para.86.

(1) E.C.X Kolar 27(1286) at Madivāla: the old title Makara-rāja-nirmūlana is found in E.C.IX Devanhalli 45(1291), Nela-mangala 38b(1292) and others. (2) E.C.X Kolar 27, Chintamani 88(1281)

It is very significant that not a single inscription of Rāmanātha's dating from after 1277 is to be found in the Kāvēri valley districts that were once in his hands. (1) His power had evidently waned abruptly after then, and he had been obliged to retire to Kundāni as a means of securing his very livelihood. He then began to amplify the domain which he already possessed there. In the Bangalore and Kolar districts he had been recognized for some time, and since 1281 his inscriptions had begun to be frequent. (2) In 1284 so many are found to have been set up that it seems likely that the transference of the headquarters of the eastern kingdom from Kannanūr to Kundāni took place in the year 1283-4. In his thirty-first year, that is to say 1285, Rāmanātha possessed Bairamaṅgalam, about twelve miles south-west of Kundāni, on the other side of the Ponnaiyār river and on one of the chief routes to the south, from Hosūr to Tagadūr and Adhamankōṭṭai. The process of absorbing the lands to the east and north progressed steadily, behind the fluctuating frontier which separated them from those of the dependants and officials of the Dōrasamudra government. In 1286, in addition to activity under his rule in

Page 387 n. (3) E.C.XII Tumkur 17(1287) and 27(1287). The place is also known as Hale-Kundāni. Hesar-Kundāni was an honorific way of referring to it.

Page 387 n. (4) It was referred to as guddagaḷa aramanē, "the palace in the mountains": E.C.IX Nelamangala 63(1288).

(1) The last is at Nallur, about 35 miles east of Kannanūr: A.R. 1911, 43.

(2) E.g. E.C.IX Anekal 45(?1274) at Mayisandra; E.C.IX Kanakanhalli 13(1276) at Cikka Balligere; E.C.IX Anekal 30(?1277 -3rd. year must be an error for 23rd) at Cammēnahalli; E.C.X Malur 45(?1281 - 16th year (damaged) an error for 26th) at Bannahalli; ibid. 37 (c1281) at Ullērahalli; E.C.IX Bangalore 43(1283) at Hagadūru.

(3) E.C.X Bowringpet 82(?1284) at Sūlukunte; Chintamani 91(1284) at Kaivāra; Kolar 98(1284) at Bellūr; Malur 38(1284) at Cambe: all these places are within thirty-five miles of Kundāni, and

the area already occupied, (1) a movement was made to fresh ground, which had one feature in common with some of the parts of Bangalore and Kolar districts: it had been neglected previously and was probably hardly cultivated or even populated before Rāmanātha's arrival at Kundāni. (2) Rāmanātha's income now depending upon the productivity of the eastern half of the plateau, which was comparatively poorly favoured by nature, he made it part of his policy to further development schemes and to subsidize the building of new tanks and the repair of ancient and breached ones, thereby making an enormous contribution to the increase of the general fertility and prosperity of the country. One of his agents who is observed carrying out this policy is Kambaya-dañṇāyaka, probably not the famous Kambaya of Sōmēśvara's day, but the donor to the temple of Śrīraṅgam. (3)

It appears to have been his duty to endeavour to accustom the western parts of the new kingdom to union with the Tamil-speaking Nāḍ-ālvas under a throne that had for so long dedicated itself to a hopeless mission among the alien inhabitants of the plains. The event showed that a considerable measure of success followed the efforts of the motley band of ministers and adherents that assisted Rāmanātha in this unpromising task, and among them Kambaya held a high rank, as this little pair of verses tries to show:

śrī-Rāmanātha-kṣitipāla-mauli-mālā-dyōtita-pāda-pīṭhaḥ
avyāhatājñādhipatīm aśēsām ānamdayaty ambudhi-mēkhalāṃtām //

all but one within twenty-five.

(1) E.C.X Kolar 27(1286) at Madivāla; ibid. 95(1286) and M.A.R. Hu. 1913-4, para. 86(1286) at Bellūr; E.C.IX Nelamangala 36(1286) at Huskūr; M.A.R. 1909-10, para. 83(1286) at Sītī-betta.
(2) E.C.XII Maddagiri 47(1286) at Kodlahalli. (3) over.

tasyāmātyō mahā-tējāḥ Kamba-dandādhināyakaḥ

ā-candraabimbam ā-tāraṃ prajā-sādhaka-takṣitā //

"The foot-stool that is brightened by the jewels in the festoons in the crown of king Rāmanātha gladdens the entire ocean-girdled (earth) that is ruled (by him) with unimpeded orders. His minister, the general Kamba of great glory, is the contriver of helpful (measures) for the subjects for as long as moon and stars." (1)

Of the thirty-one inscriptions of Rāmanātha dated between 1287 and his death in December 1295 the greater number are to be found in the central and southern portions of the modern Kolar district, with one exception at Puṅganūr in the modern Chittoor district, about ten miles north of Naṅgili, and in the northern and eastern portions of the modern Bangalore district, to which his borderer's forces at length managed to confine him. The plain between the Ponnaiyār and Arkāvati rivers was his, including Bannērghaṭṭa, from which Cikka-Kēteya had been forced to withdraw. West of the Arkāvati his possessions seem to have been more scattered, and were doubtless held more precariously. (2)

Page 389 n.(3) E.C.XII Tumkur 17(1287) at Mulukunte; ibid. 27(1287) at Rāyapura; ibid. 28, 29, 33(1287) at Haralūru and Bairasandra. It is interesting to note that the records are in Kannada; and all refer to Rāmanātha ruling at Kundāni.

(1) E.C.XII Tumkur 29(1287). The K.T. reads dyōdita; abyāhat; āṃ dvipatim; Kambe, for dyōtita, avyāhat, ādhipatim and Kamba of the R.T., but fills the gap left by the latter between tāraṃ and kṣitim. The R.T. on the other hand absurdly separates mekhalām tām. The R.T....ksitim and K.T.sadhakataksitim are equally unintelligible. A hasty reader might well mistake kṣitā for kṣitim as the characters can be very similar. The rare word takṣitā is very appropriate, as its primary meaning, "wood-cutter, carpenter", suits the function of one who, to settling new villages, is obliged to destroy much jungle.

(2) E.C.XII Kunigal 14, 16(1292) at Begūr; E.C.IX Nelamangala 38b (1292) at Ayigandapura. The Puṅganūr record is A.R.1931-2, 210.

Rāmanātha had much to contend with besides the civil war which he had brought about within the body of the Hoysala state. His henchmen, as might have been anticipated, were ready to fight amongst themselves. Their varying degrees of loyalty to the government at Kundāni were no obstacle to schemes of individual aggrandisement. In 1291 Mañjiya or Mañjaya-māvuttar, who had acquired the title Kumāra, (1) fought Ilavañjiya-rāyar at Vir̥cunai. (2) In addition to these two causes of anxiety he seems to have suffered from poor health, which may in itself have been a strongly contributory factor in the decision to remove from Kaṇṇanūr to Kundāni. Gifts for his health, and for his success in battle, or both together, abound throughout his domain from about 1281 or a year or so later to 1295, the year of his death. Although the precise significance of these gifts remains to be proved, it is very probable that, just as we know that he was constantly at war with Nārasimha, if only on a moderate scale for much of the period, and therefore in a position to benefit from gifts to various gods for his success in battle, so likewise he may have been ill at the time that gifts were made with the object of fostering by supernatural means the health of his tiru-mēni or "sacred body". (3)

Nārasimha too was hampered in his war with Rāmanātha
Relations with the Sēvuna were not good: in July 1283 a quarrel

(1) E.C.X Bowringpet 23(1293), where Rice (almost certainly) wrongly calls him "son of Rāmanātha".

(2) E.C.X Kolar 239(1291) at Sahapūra.

(3) Such gifts are recorded in E.C.X Malur 38(1284) at Cambe; M.A.R. 1909-10, para. 83(1286) at Sītibeṭṭa; E.C.X Kolar 140(1287) at Colaghaṭṭa; E.C.IX Devanahalli 53(1281) at Bayanahalli; E.C.X Kolar 28(1291) at Madivāla; E.C.X Malur 43(1291) at Mākārahalli; E.C.X Chintamani 88(1294) at Kaivāra; E.C.X Kolar 18(1294) at Kalluhalli; E.C.IX Bangalore 100(1294) at Hoṅgasandra; E.C.X Bowringpet 25a & b(1295).

broke out on the northern frontier.(1) The Sāntara, now freed from Sēvuna control very largely through Hoysala valour, had become predatory at the expense of all alike. Bommarasa of Hos-
(2)
agunda attacked Kūḍali in February 1287. Worse still, an ever-present menace that his ancestors had successfully restrained burst upon the Hoysala. Bēḍar, hill-dwelling part-time hunters and full-time robbers, raided on the same day, the 22nd of July 1287, two villages more than twenty miles apart.(3) Many other such incidents must have passed unrecorded.

In fighting against Rāmanātha and in activity of a similarly protective nature (4) the last years of Nārasimha were spent. There were some operations in February 1288 in the south east. Ammalī "below the ghats" was visited by an army.(5) On the 1st of September 1289 Nārasimha's forces were apparently investing Biṭṭada-kōṭe, and Rāmanātha marched to its defence, and thus a battle took place.(6) Of about the same period must be the stone now in the National Museum of Copenhagen. It states that Bereya-dañṇāyaka Rāhuta died in attempting to seize the elephants of Māyi-sāhani in a battle in which Nārasimha and Rāmanātha were engaged.(7) In December 1289 Rāmanātha's forces made an attack on a scale that can not now be estimated.(8) At the commencement of the year 1290 Lankeya-dañṇāyaka marched against (?) Nāmiya-dañṇāyaka in the direction of the gaṭṭada-nāḍ or hill country. In a battle that followed Hoysala officers

(1) E.C.XI Davangere 137(1283) at Mayigonda.

(2) E.C.VII Shimoga 61, 62(1287).

(3) E.C.VI Tarikere 48, 49(1287) & M.A.R.1927, 27(1287): Amṛtāpura and Arasinaguppe in Kadur district.

(4) It is interesting to note in connection with the doubtful loyalty and security of the Pāṇḍya-nāḍ that in the spring of 1288 Gaṅga-Perumāle-dēvarasā, ruler of Koḷiganagaṭṭa-vṛtti in that nāḍ, a northern feudatory of the Hoysala, went

were on both sides, and a karttuga, which may have signified, as Rice says, an agent, of Rāmanātha offered a boon to a warrior, who fought and fell. The record has two interesting features: the first that Rāmanātha had an agent in Kadaba, which was close by the spot where the record was found, in the east of the Tumkur district, thus to some degree delimiting Rāmanātha's forward possessions;(1) the second that the ruler in whose reign the battle took place was the "glorious emperor Hoyisana Vīra-Ballāla-dēvarasa, ruling at Dōrasamudra." This was Vīra-Ballāla, later Ballāla III, son of Nārasimha by Paṭṭamahādēvi, a queen who may have been of Cālukyan stock, as her son is once called Cālukya-kulōdbhavam.(2) He is mentioned in the genealogy of the dynasty twice in the year 1286, and was held by some to have commenced his (effective) reign from 1288.⁽³⁾ In June and December 1291 Ballāla is found ruling the kingdom,⁽⁴⁾ while in November 1291 he bears all the imperial titles, and is said to be in his own capital Dōrasamudra gaining praise in carrying on the government in peace, a statement that seems to imply that the war with Rāmanātha had temporarily subsided, owing

Page 392 n.(5) E.C.IX Channapatna 66(1288).

Page 392 n.(6) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 11, revised by M:A.R.1915-6, para.90 and *ibid.* 1932,7(1289). (7) A.R.1908, p.91-2(1289).

Page 392 n.(8) E.C.V Channarayapatna 232(1289).

(1) E.C.XII Gubbi 58(1290): Kadabada Rāmanātha-karttuga vara hāriḡe yembali Hoyisana-parivāra meccalu hoyidāḡi, etc. The suggestion that the Rāmanātha referred to was in some way connected with Kadaba is not as attractive as it is grammatically possible; however, even so it would have to read Kadabada Rāmanāthana karttuga. Should Lankeya be read Ankeya? La and a are alike.

(2) E.C.XI Holalkere 136(1307).

(3) E.C.XII Tiptur 123(1286); also E.C.VI Chikmagalur 146, which Rice misdates 1226. According to A.R.1933-4, 65(?1341) Ballāla III began to reign in 1288, for Vikrama is called his 53rd year.

(4) E.C.IV Nagamangala 1; E.C.IX Kankanhalli 64.

to the weakness and insufficiency of the kingdom which Ballāla had inherited. In the September previous to this the king's henchman at Agnāra-Bācahalli committed suicide with part of his family, and it is reasonable to suppose that Nārasimha III died in that month.(1)

He left to his son a realm weaker than it had ever been: it was not only divided against itself and enfeebled by wars of doubtful success against foes of greater or more apt strength, but was suffering from a relaxed morale and a reduced economic condition. It had neither the stout, severe and adventurous spirits of Vinayāditya's day, nor the material resources and markets to repay the less aggressive subjects of his degenerate successors.

(1) E.C.IV Krishnarajapet 10(1291) as revised by M.A.R.1914-5, para.84.

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CHAPTER SIX

THE COLLAPSE.

The reigns of Ballāla III (Vira-Ballāla II) &
Ballāla IV or Vira-Virupākṣa-
Ballāla.

THE COLLAPSE.The reigns of Ballāla III (Vīra-Ballāla II) &
Ballāla IV or Vīra-Virūpākṣa-
Ballāla.

Ballāla came to the throne of the western Hoysala kingdom at or about the age of twenty-eight. (1) He had been in public life since he was mature, and had probably gained a fairly sound experience of the way in which his country was governed. His reign was to be the longest of all the reigns of the dynasty, and he is to be counted, for all the purposes of historical judgement, as the last of the Hoysalas. His senility and death epitomize in a remarkable way the old age and collapse of the dynasty: an old age of prolonged and agonizing ineptitude with an ending as abrupt and complete as it was dramatic.

The struggles of the first ten years show plainly the weakness of the kingdom, and the personal vitality of its ruler, which was ^{no} less worthy of notice for its inability to solve the problems that challenged it. In his first year a curious quarrel broke out in the west. It has already been noticed that the Hoysalas had never laid claims to the country on the western side of the mountains from which their line had emerged; the inhabitants of the Ālva-khēda and the Konkan had felt the Hoysala sword in the days of the great Viṣṇuvardhana, despite the fact that they were some miles to the north and to the west of the Hoysala nāḍ, because they were in close contact with the Sāntaras and Kadambas, in whose districts the Hoysala was then (interested.

(1) Ballāla's age when he died is settled within a year or so by the occasions when he is mentioned before 1291, and by the remark of Ibn Battūtah (see below, p. 496).

But the Bārakanūr or Bārakūr ghat had always been considered the western boundary of the Hoysala empire, and the teeming plains between the sources of the Hālādi, Sītānadi and Svarnanadi rivers and the valuable coast which stretched from Kundapur and Basrūr to Maṅgalūr had never been an object of Hoysala imperialistic ambitions. The important trade routes over the mountains passed, however, once over the Tuṅga river, within Hoysala territory, and a rich direct and indirect revenue was drawn from this traffic. In the days of Hoysala greatness the roads had been held by families under the imperial control, but since the time of Sōmēśvara others had commenced to profit from the traffic, towards which they contributed little or no service.

Like the castle of a robber-band, at a strategic point on a main artery, lived a family which was of origin not unlike that of the Hoysalas themselves, and apparently claimed descent likewise from the Lunar race, ruling a confined and backward principality from the village of Kaḷaṣa. Inscriptions of the dynasty, hitherto inarticulate, commence in 1246, and the general picture of the line gives the impression that it was matrilinear in constitution, an impression likewise derived from a rapid survey of the records of the Ālupa dynasty that ruled on the further side of the ranges. Kālala-dēvi, who calls herself, in the language of the Kannada peoples of the plateau, "the senior crowned queen", but who probably held a position more independent even than those exalted and well-trusted personages, ruled at Kaḷaṣa at least within the years 1270 and 1281. (1) Her son, Vīra-Pāṇḍya-dēva, was ruling at the same place

(1) EC.VI Mudgere 71a(1270); 67(1277); 71b(1277); 72(1279); 73(1281).

in 1297, (1) and the family existed, and, as far as we can tell, prospered for some while longer, although eclipsed temporarily by Hoysala pressure, which the first Vijayanagara dynasty were sensible enough to continue. For in 1292, Ballāla III's first year, in fact on the first of February, and within a few weeks of his coronation, Marakāla of the house of Samudra Pāṇḍya, clearly a rival claimant to the title of ruler of Kalāṣa and doubtless a successful applicant for a grant of authority from Ballāla, went and demanded the Khāṇḍya agrahāra. Now Khāṇḍya was a place intermediate between effective Hoysala control and Kalāṣa itself, and was moreover a place of importance, probably a customs post of more than ordinary profit. The chief administrative unit was probably the agrahāra there, and thus the record refers to it in that fashion. The demand was therefore a test. Pāṇḍya-dēva-mahādēva came to Khāṇḍya, seized the place and killed Marakāla. This was followed by a rising in the neighbouring Hoysala nāḍs, who sent contingents against Pāṇḍya-dēva, and a cavalry battle took place close beside the Honnūr river, perhaps one of the few level stretches in the area. Of the outcome this only is certain, that Pāṇḍya-dēva was not displaced at the time, and it may well be that his contumacy went unpunished, though his wealth was certainly diminished by Ballāla's measures after an interval of about five years. (2)

The accession of Ballāla seems to have given Rāma-nātha reneVI Chikmagalur 108(1292) at Halasubālu and 35(?1292), K.T. so 36(1292) at Indāvāra. Talige-nāḍ, Dēvalige-nāḍ and (1) EC.VI Hire-nāḍ took part.
 (2) EC.VI Chikmagalur 108(1292) at Halasubālu and 35(?1292), K.T. only, also 36(1292) at Indāvāra. Talige-nāḍ, Dēvalige-nāḍ and perhaps Hire-nāḍ took part.

Bangalore district then held by Ballāla.(1) A partisan of his, Ranna-oḍeyar, evidently the same as the Rāja-Ranna against whom there was some fighting in 1286, engaged with Hoysala forces in September 1293, a large part in the campaign being sustained by Kāvēri-vallabha Mādiga-dēva, who held large fiefs in the southern districts.(2) In March 1294 Rāmanātha's forces took, but apparently lost again, Hiriya-Gaṅgavāḍi in the modern Channapatna tāluqa. An offensive in strength was developing, but it is worthy of note that the parts held by Rāmanātha did not include the most highly populated and therefore most valuable agriculturally, which were to the south of Hiriya-Gaṅgavāḍi.(3) In March 1295 Rāmanātha attacked Kunigil, which he was now in a position to outflank both to the north and the south-east.(4) His success in the north is evidenced by the fact that he must have been in possession of Haridāli in Sīranāḍ when it was attacked by Ballāla III in November of this year. A man and his three sons had gone to help or work for Rāmanātha and came back only to lose their lives in the siege of the place.(5)

After this year no further records are found of fighting between Ballāla and his uncle. The unfortunate Viśvanātha inherited the Eastern Kingdom after Rāmanātha's death,(6) and appears in fact to have commenced to exercise regal functions from 1294. Only six inscriptions have so far been discovered of Viśvanātha, and a certain amount of mystery surrounds his end.

- (1) E.C.IX Kankanhalli 28(1292). (2) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 146 (1286). E.C.IX Kankanhalli 107(1293) at Kallahalli; ibid.46 (1293) at Purusagondahalli - both dated the same day.
 (3) E.C.IX Channapatna 183(1294) at Doḍḍa-Gaṅgavāḍi.
 (4) E.C.IX Channapatna 179(1295) at Talavāḍi.
 (5) E.C.XI Chiknayakanhalli 33(1295) at Siḡebāgi.
 (6) The last inscription of Rāmanātha is E.C.X Bowringpet 25b

The records however, few as they are, give some information about him. His first is at Kambayanallūr on the Ponnaiyār in the plain below the first range of the ghats; another at Tirupatūr, at the north-eastern edge of the same plain, reinforces the impression that Viśvanātha's ministers concentrated on deriving revenue from the areas where there was little to impede their demands.(1) The other records, including one at Kundāni itself, show that his authority was recognized within a limited range of that capital, or, alternatively, that other districts depending on Kundāni were too impoverished by the war to indulge in the setting up of works of merit that might be commemorated by inscriptions.(2)

After the year Hēvalāmbi nothing further is heard of Pōsala-Vīra-Viśvanātha-dēvar. As there is no direct evidence that Ballāla III invaded the eastern kingdom in force, or indeed that he absorbed it rapidly, it is not permissible to suppose that Viśvanātha died at the hand of Ballāla himself or his agents. He may have died of disease, or been shut up in a fortress by rebellious subordinates. However it may have been, a certain cohesion and resistance in the eastern districts themselves prevented Ballāla's reoccupation of the area until after 1301; it can not be said that that resistance was organized by or in favour of Viśvanātha.

Meanwhile several miscellaneous activities were on foot which are worthy of mention.

at Madivāla: dated in his 41st year, which must have been Manmatha, and the month Ārpasi, or October-November 1295.

- (1) S. I. I. VII 9, 10, A.R. 1900, 9 & 10 (1295); A.R. 1909, 250 (1297).
 (2) AR. 1911, 204 (cl296) at Devar Kundāni; E.C. X Chintamani 45 (1296-7) at Kurubūr; M.A.R. 1919, para. 80 (cl297) at Jinnagara; E.C. IX Hoskote 136 & 138 (1297) at Paramanahalli.

Sometime during 1294 or the previous year Ballāla III sent Beṭṭarasa-dannāyaka to Pālpāre, which seems to have been the headquarters of a Caṅgāḷva ruler. There he "ruined Caṅgāḷva-mahādēva and built a city at Pālpāre and made it his capital". He was not, however permitted to enjoy his acquisition in peace, for Caṅgāḷva Penma Vīrappā, Nandi-dēva of Bādaguṇḍa and Udeyāditya of Kuruca and others the koḍagas of all the nāḍs united, and attacked Pālpāre, fought Beṭṭarasa, and worsted him. Beṭṭarasa must have retained part at least of the territory Ballāla had offered him, for he was able to make a nettaru-koḍagi for a warrior out of it. (1) This story, like that of Khāṇḍya, shows well the degraded condition of the Hoysala power.

In February 1294, according to a not very reliable source of which the genuineness may well be called in question, the famous Pratāpa Rudra, most renowned of the Kākatīyas, reached Muḷukunṭe, about sixty-five miles east of Dōrasemudra and about the same distance from Kolar, while on an armed tour of the tirthas in the east. The part he is said to have entered was between the localities belonging to Ballāla and to Rāmanātha, and he doubtless kept clear of both of them. (2)

In 1298 it is interesting to note that Khaṇḍeya-rāya, son of Mummudi Siṅgeya-nāyaka, was in Ballāla's service. He appears to have been normally resident at the capital rather than with his pugnacious father in their wild retreats between the mass of Kummaṭa and the plain on the further side of the Tuṅgabhadra, for in that year he joined with Sōmeya-dannāyaka in renewing the wood-work of the famous Cenna-Kēśava temple at

(1) E.C.IV Hunsur 20(1294) at Hiṭṭa Hebbāgilu.

(2) E.C.XII Tumkur 14(?1294).

(1) E.C.IV Hunsur 20(1294) at Hiṭṭa Hebbāgilu.

(2) E.C.XII Tumkur 14(?1294).

Belūr.(1)

From 1296 Ballāla III had recommenced the interference in the affairs of the north-west which his father had revived after a long lapse in the tradition. In 1292 the Sāntara dominions had been racked by civil war. A certain Kōṭi-nāyaka, whose career was one of the most brilliant of the age, was ruling in Hosagunda on behalf of Bommarasa.(2) His position was precarious as he had survived an attack by the Sēvuna emperor Rāmacandra only to fall a victim to intestine intrigues. He remained in Hosagunda in 1293, and had to face a conflict with Parasurāma-dēva, a dalavāyi of Rāmacandra.(3) Meanwhile a certain Immadi-Sōyi-dēva was ruling at Sētu, and in April 1296 Dēvarasa of that place came into contact with Māyi-dēva, a dalavāyi of Ballāla III at Muttūr. Clearly while the ruler of Hosagunda, now the most powerful of the representatives of the Sāntara line, was engaged with the Sēvuna, the Hoysala was endeavouring to profit at his expense, and the Sētu ruler had no sympathy with the claims of either.(4) In the same year

(1) E.C.V Belur 24, A.R.1902, 57(1298).

(2) He was minister to Bommarasa Sāntara 1282: E.C.VIII Sagar 67, 86; allied to Tammarasa 1284: E.C.VIII Nagar 31; allied to Tamasi Sōma-nāyaka 1287: E.C.VIII Sagar 77; allied to the same 1288: E.C.VIII Nagar 61, W.E.II f.359b(I); with Sōma-nāyaka rules the 18 kampana 1290: E.C.VIII Sagar 31; rules alone with the title Vīra 1292: E.C.VIII Sagar 110, 94(K.T.only); with mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Bhīma-dēva rules the Sāntalige 1000 1292: E.C.VIII Sagar 89; rules Sāntalige on behalf of Bommarasa 1292: E.C.VIII Sagar 97; rules alone, having subdued the Sāntara nāyakas 1293: E.C.VIII Sagar 102; rules alone with the title mahāmaṇḍalēśvara 1296: M.A.R.1931, 73; E.C.VIII ~~Sagar~~ Sorab 114(K.T.only); rules together with Tammeya-sāvanta 1298: E.C.VIII Sagar 99; rules as mahāmaṇḍalika, and marches with Bommarasa to Hosagunda 1299: E.C.VIII Sorab 122, Sagar 96; captured by Ballāla III 1300: E.C.VIII Sagar 45; (? the same man or his son) as mahāmaṇḍalēśvara rules Sētu kingdom 1320: E.C.VIII Nagar 19; his son falls in Ballāla's service 1329: E.C.VIII Sagar 104. See also MAR.1931, 66(pl284). (4) M.A.R.1931, 71(1296).

(3) E.C.VIII Sagar 102(1293).

Kōṭi-nāyaka had had to face Abbara-nāyaka, a Sēvuna dalavāyi who may have been a subordinate of Paraśurāma-dēva.(1) Hoysala diplomacy at the time is obscure: but by 1299 Ballāla III had occupied Hosagunda and united the Sāntaras against him. He subsequently managed to detach one at least of their number, but in 1299 Bommarasa, Kōṭi-nāyaka and Karatāla Kālatamma with their sāmantas advanced against him with the intention of taking Ballāla's own elephant, and in May of that year a battle took place.(2) No doubt the Hoysala was the victor, for by December 1300 he had captured both Kōṭi-nāyaka himself and his elephants without losing Hosagunda. He followed up this achievement by moving northwards into the Kadamba territory, and, turning westwards, encamped at Sirisi, about ten miles west of Banavāse. That he moved there can be explained by two suppositions only: that the main body of the Kadamba districts then owing nominal allegiance to the Sēvuna was occupied on the latter's behalf by a strong force; and that by camping at Sirisi he could for a period drain off much of the revenue of the Kadamba by collecting the tariffs on the trade routes that converged on Sirisi before passing to Hāṅgal and the north. The Kadamba Kāva-dēvarasa's minister Jagadāla Gaṅgeya-sāhani, who had already refused Ballāla's demand for tribute, attacked him and inflicted heavy losses at the Kalugāra stream, which is so far unidentified.(3) Retiring southwards, Ballāla left a nāyaka at Uddhare, that strategically important place that had more

(1) M.A.R.1931,73(1296). His name is there spelt Ebhar-ap. In E.C.VIII Nagar 27(1302) it is given as Abbara-nāyaka; in M.A.R.1931,72(1302) as Yēbara-nāyaka.

(2) E.C.VIII Sagar 96(1299) at Nādamaduvu.

(3) E.C.VIII Sagar 45(1300) at Baradavali.

than once played a large part in the history of the north-west. There in February 1301 Gaṅgeya-sāhani attacked him, and in the siege Tōya Siṅgeya-dannāyaka lost his life.(1) Until three years later nothing further is heard of Ballāla's activity in this region. The most probable reason is that he began to dissipate what little resources he once had over a number of ventures simultaneously.

His first duty was clearly to reunite the traditional members of the Hoysala kingdom. Before 1301 not a single record of Ballāla was set up in Kolar or in the east or north of Bangalore districts. However, we can not be sure that military activity was not afoot, if perhaps on no very vigorous scale. But in the month of December 1301 a decisive step was taken by the government at Dōrasamudra to win the support not only of Heaven but of the religious potentates of Viśvanātha's former realm, with a view to facilitating the reabsorption of those districts into a single Hoysala kingdom. The object was achieved, and a pronounced increase in the influence and power of Ballāla is perceptible in the area after 1301. A proclamation was issued to the heads of mathas and sthānas in the temples situated in the Kundāni or Hesar-Kundāni, that is "the well-known Kundāni", kingdom, consisting of Virivi-nāḍ, Murasu-nāḍ, Māsandi-nāḍ, Cokkanāyan-parru, Pennāiyāṇḍārmada-nāḍ, Aimbulugūr-nāḍ, Elavūr-nāḍ, Kuvalāla-nāḍ, Kaivāra-nāḍ, Ilaippākka-nāḍ, Tēkkal-nāḍ, Ambaḍakki, Nonḍanguli, Veppūr, Erumaṛai-nāḍ, Eyiil-nāḍ, Tagaḍai-nāḍ, Puramalai or Adigaimā-nāḍ, Paiyyūr-parru, Pulliyūr-nāḍ and "all others", amongst which list may at once be recognized,

(1) E. C. VII Shikarpur, 212(1301).

if by name only, all the parts of Rāmanātha's and Viśvanātha's kingdom since 1287 both on the plateau and on the plains immediately beneath the first range-mass. Each copy of the inscription relates that lands have been granted to the god in question or taxes remitted, especially taxes on gifts to the temples, a levy which must have made the Kundāni government unpopular among the clerics. In return for these concessions the dignitaries addressed were instructed to undertake that worship should be conducted properly for the benefit of "ourself and our kingdom", that temple repairs be executed, and prayers uttered for "our prosperity".(1)

That the efforts of the king were not confined to such proclamations is shown by a grant at Sīti for the success of the sword and arm of Vallāla.(2) An illustration of the effect of the civil war may be seen in an inscription at Jigaṇi, Anekal tāluqa, which refers to the restoration of a breached tank there;(3) though it is a well-known fact that tanks breach on account of excessive rain, the deliberate damaging of irrigation channels and such necessary works was a regular part of the long-drawn-out and futile warfare of the period.

But Ballāla's energies were not restricted to this field alone: he was embroiled in the north on two fronts, and appears to have been engaged in operations of an unfortunately nebulous nature in the east and south-east. In at least two of these cases his action was voluntary and premeditated, and for the absurd dispersal of his forces and the consequent deterioration of the resources of his kingdom he and his advisers must

(1) E.C.X Malur 71(1301) at Lakkūr; ibid.100(1301) at Madivāla; M.A.R.1910-1, para.109(1301) at Domlūr; E.C.IX Nelamangala 38(1301) at Ayigandapura; ibid.Bangalore 51(1301) at Gaṅjūr; ibid.65(1301)

bear heavy blame.

In 1303 Sōmeya-dannāyaka, husband of Ballāla's sister, normally resident at Bematūrkalu, the modern Chitaldrug, marched to Holalkere, twelve miles to the south-west of Chitaldrug, and there fought with Kampila-dēva, a general in the Sēvuna army, until he died in battle. The episode is mentioned in two inscriptions of the year. (1) A question now arises, as to who this Kampila was. There seems to be no objection to the theory that this was the son of Mummuḍi Siṅgeya-nāyaka who subsequently ruled at Kampili in the dominions of his father, (2) and who therefore must have been an officer of the Sēvuna before he took over the Kampili, or, as the Muslims term it, the Kampilah kingdom. (3) Thus the family had a remarkable career; a father at war with one ruler and in a state of uneasy alliance with that ruler's enemy, while one son served one of the rivals and another served the other. The geographical position of the kingdom probably accounts for the anomaly.

In the meantime Sōdala-dēva of the Sāntara family fought under Ballāla's orders in Salūr with Abbara-nāyaka, the Sēvuna officer. Thus while the Sēvuna was able to make deep thrusts into the northern parts of the Hoysala-nāḍ, a Hoysala ally fought with one of the enemy generals on a flank. (4)

at Madivāla; E.C.IX ChikBallapura 20(1301) at Nandi.
Page 404 n.(2) M.A.R.1909-10, para.84(1302) at Siti.
Page 404 n.(3) E.C.IX Anekal 80(1302), but cf.M.A.R.1910-1, para 109(1303) at Kalkere, Bangalore tāluqa.

(1) In one of them, MAR.1911-2, para.93(1303) at Cittanhalli, Krishnarajapet tāluqa, the enemy is incorrectly described as "Lenkam-pela of Holalkere"; which must be corrected to "Kampila in Holalkere." M.A.R.1912-3, para.85(1303) at Bāgavālu, HoleNarsipur tāluqa.

(2) Rama Sharma, The Exploits of King Kampila and Kumara Ramana-natha, p.2. Saletore, Theories concerning the Origin of Vijaya-

Ballāla III took part in the war against the Sēvūna in person, for an inscription of 1304 relates that he was at Dōrasamudra "after having led an expedition against the Āriyas in the north, destroyed the fort of Nākkigundi and achieved victory." (1) Besides the record which informs us of this, others of about 1305 and 1306, repeat the motif of grants for the sword and arm of Vīra-Vallāla-dēva, and for the benefit of his "sacred body". (2) In February 1305, then, Ballāla marched against the Yādava king Rāma-dēva. Rice from the damaged record obtains the meaning, "on his (Rāma-dēva's) issuing an order for the battle, saying "You must take the king of the Karṇāṭakas, and seize and give me that tiger's cub", making no hesitation ... performed various exploits." (3)

Not content with these exacting activities, and with the maintenance of forces in the Sāntara country, as the record at Māḍadūru, seven miles south of Malalā, shows, (4) Ballāla III had begun operations in the east. Having penetrated the eastern nāḍs, his emissaries came into contact with the powers of the plain, and attempts seem to have been made to revive interest in the Hoysala dynasty among the remaining royal families in the Tamil country, then totally under the sway of the various members of the Pāṇḍya dynasty. In 1303 Ballāla was called "set-

nagara, Vijayanagara Sexc. Com. Volume, p. 150 n. 54, says: "In the Channa Basava Purāna (63, 77) we are told the Kampila, son of Mummudi Siṅga, occupied the fortress of Hosamale-durga etc." In the Mangalore (1851) text of the Canna Basava Purāna the verse C. 63, v. 77 gives no such information. If however it is found anywhere in that work, the information is of interest as Hosamale was adjacent to Kumbaṭa. Kumbaṭa must have served as the mountain retreat for the princes of Kampili. See Map 'B'. Page 405 n. (3) In S. II. IX 334 (1217) it is spelt (? correctly) Kampile. Page 405 n. (4) M. A. R. 1931, 72 (1302).

- (1) E. C. IX Bangalore 53 (1304). Nākkigundi is unidentified.
 (2) M. A. R. 1908, para. 50 (cl 305) at Bannērgaṭṭa; ibid. 1913-4 para. 87 (1306).

ter-up of a stone pillar at Kāñci", as well as the unexplained "Agastya to the ocean of the eighteen forts".(1) In 1307 he is called Kāñci-kāñcana-kanna-pūra, "he who has Kāñci for a golden ear-ornament", in addition to the titles Kāḍava-rāya-kulāntaka and Pāṇḍya-disāpaṭṭa, which are very significant, as the former appears to be a revival of an old title that had fallen out of use, and the second is a strange contrast to the titles referring to the setting-up and supporting of the Pāṇḍya which had been usual since 1248.(2) Muslim writers bear witness to this renewed interest in the south-east.(3)

Fighting on an undefined scale continued in 1307 and 1309. Grants were made in the east for the king's success.(4) In this connection we first find mention of Vallappa, or Ballappa-dannāyaka, a relation by marriage of the king, who was one of his principal lieutenants in the modern Bangalore district, and soon to become one of the foremost in the kingdom.(5)

The tale of incompetence and extravagance would not be complete without a brief notice of the fact that between 1304 and 1306 a remarkable activity developed on the part of an association called the Vīra-Pañcālas. Upper-class artisans formed, under royal charters, a type of society not dissimilar to that

Page 406 n.(3) E.C.VIII Sagar 156(1305) at Māḍadūru: Karnāṭak-arasan ā karasi huliya mariyahiḍa koḍa bēk endū kālag-akke nēmavam koṭṭalli, etc. Rice absurdly introduces the syllable 'ta' into the title Gumma-nātha-dēvara divya-srī-pāda-padm-ārādhakam, so as to make Ballāḷa a worshipper of the Jaina colossus at Sravaṇa Belgōḷa. Gumma-nātha, of course, is a name of Śiva. (4) *ibid.*

(1) What were the 18 forts? 18 was apparently a favourite number: 18 kampana, 18 castes. It is doubtful whether they were specific forts. M.A.R.1937, 47(1303). (2) E.C.IX Channapatna 76. (3) See below, pp.422, 487. (4) E.C.IX Bangalore 133(1307). M.A.R.1913-4, para.37, a completion of E.C.X Malur 83. M.A.R. 1909-10, para 84(1309) at Sīti.

of the Vīra-Banañjas, the merchant union, which received special privileges in at least the expanding eastern part of the country. The previous military and administrative classes were now balanced by a pair of strong associations of trade guilds that could both resist unscrupulous oppression and could to some degree take in society the place which the convulsions of the period and the impoverishment of the land-holding classes had put within their reach.(1)

In the spring of 1310 the king was ruling in a kingdom which the extreme paucity of inscriptions reveals as exhausted and enfeebled. One record shows him sharing the function of rule with two general officers, Mēdagi-dēva-dañṇāyaka and Aliya-Mācaya-dañṇāyaka. This very rare feature is a clear indication of the weak condition of the administration.(2)

Then, at a moment when in all its chequered history the Hoysala kingdom was least prepared to receive such a visitation, Ballāla III was obliged to entertain a guest as terrible as he was unexpected. Dēvagiri and Wāraṅgal, which had suffered in turn from the attentions of the Muslims, were both far off, and the echoes of the Muslim triumphs can not have failed to counter-balance in Ballāla's mind the respect thus aroused for Muslim arms with satisfaction at the downfall of rival monarchs, of whom one at least had been a dangerous and pertinacious enemy. The sudden arrival of Malik Nāīb must then have been a very distasteful shock.

Page 407 n.(5) E.C.IX Bangalore 133(1307).

(1) For example, E.C.IX Kankanhalli 81 & 110(1306); ibid. Dod-Ballapur 52(1306); ibid. Magadi 19(1341), 15(1315).

(2) E.C.XI Chitaldrug 1(1310) The stone is defective.

The circumstances which surrounded the first expedition from Delhi to the Karnāṭaka country are recounted in a more or less full form by several contemporary and later writers in the Persian language. Their readers were interested to learn of the fabulous wealth acquired by the Sultān 'Alā' ud dīn of Delhi in the south, and of the efforts made by that adventurous ruler to spread Islam over the vast unbelieving masses of the Peninsula. Later expeditions to the south are also reported by many Persian historians, but the glamour and notoriety attaching to that of 1310-1 exceeded that of all the rest combined. The accounts of contemporary writers differ in several respects from each other, but a comparison enables a fairly just chronicle to be compiled; to that picture may be added some slight features derived from later sources, which may, and probably do, preserve contemporary traditions which the early writers neglected. Alive in 1310 were Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī, 'Iṣāmī, 'Abd Allāh Shirāzī Waṣṣāf, and Diyā ud dīn Baranī. Their accounts deserve to be quoted in extenso, although in the case of our principal Persian authority, Amīr Khusrau, it will not be necessary to quote certain poetical or highly rhetorical passages which add nothing to the historical value of the account. These passages are far fewer than has been thought by various critics who have misjudged Khusrau's objects in composing this remarkable example of Indianized Persian.

Amīr Khusrau's contribution is of unusual value because he may have been present during the expedition, accompanying Malik Kāfūr Hazār-dīnārī, otherwise Malik Nāib or Bārbek,

the Sultān's representative, on his journey from Delhi to Ma'bār, that is to say the Cōla-Pāṇḍya country, by way of Dēvagiri and Dōrasamudra. 'Abd ul Qādir Ibn i Mulūk Shāh al Badāonī says in his Muntakhab ut Tawārīkh: "And in the year 710 the country of Ma'bār including Dhōr Samund came into the possession of the Muslims; and in the year 711 Malik Nāib brought to the court and presented his spoils, consisting of 312 elephants, 20,000 horses, 96,000 maunds of gold, and many chests of jewels and pearls besides other booty beyond the limits of computation; Amīr Khusrau, who was with that army, has given full particulars in the Khazāin ul Futūh." ⁽¹⁾ Amīr Khusrau's contribution is fortunately greater: in addition to the florid, artificial, and difficult Khazāin ul Futūh, a shorter account is found in his Duwal Rānī i Khadir Khān, with which this series of quotations commences.

After describing the defeat of Laddar Dēv (Rudra, that is, Pratāpa Rudra-dēva of Wāraṅgal) the Rai of Tilang, or Teliṅgāna, he continues:-

"After that, Bārbek was further ordered to make the elephants of Ma'bār food for falcons; he should make the heroes throughout the army on every side drunk with Ma'bari blood; he was to grasp the shores up to the territory of Lanka (i.e. Cey-

(1) Muntakhab ut Tawārīkh, p.197.

The expression

ولایات معبر تا دهور سمنر is vague, and Ba-

dāonī probably knew little of the geographical relationship between Ma'bār, the plain country, and Dhōr Samund(ar), the plateau. That the Karnāṭaka country was termed Dhōr Samundar by the Muslims of the north is plain from the statement of Amīr Khusrau himself in the third Sipihr of his Nūh Sipihr (718/1318) that every province has a peculiar idiom of its own, and he lists several including Ma'bāri (Tamil) and Dhōr-Samundri (Kannada). See M.W.Mirza's "Life and works of Amir Khusrau", p.185, where the note "i.e. the language of Dharva-samudra" contains an ob-

lon), and to seize the surface of the ocean in one drop; all the earth of the coasts up to Sarāndīp (Ceylon) he was to make fragrant, as if with ambergris, with the scent of the Faith; and he should cast the heads of the evil doers with his sword one after another before the feet of Adam, ⁽¹⁾ The army started out with Victory as a fellow-traveller, so as to raise dust up from the sea to the moon. It arrived within the territory of the Rāī-rāyān; ⁽²⁾ the earth disappeared beneath the quadrupeds. As the master of Dēvagīr was Rām ⁽³⁾ (or "had become quiet, or submissive") they set out quickly for the other Dēvs. When the army was further advanced from there, the shaking of the earth produced an earthquake at the boundaries of Dēvagīr."

"In those parts there was another, entitled "Rāī", whose name was Balāl, a champion in battle (or "of the period): with his crushing force and his elephants, both of the choicest, ⁽⁴⁾ the (rulers) of Dēvagīr and Ma'bār had both been worsted by him.

vious error. It was, however, usual for the Muslims to name tracts after their administrative capital. Amīr Khusrau, etc:

و امیر خسرو کہ در ان لشکر بود خصوصاً میان این احوال در خزائن الفتوح نوشته +

The statement is, however, open to question.

(1) Adam's Peak, the well-known landmark and place of pilgrimage in Ceylon. The translation follows the reading سر as in S.O.A.S. 18729, p.84; I.O.2796 f.30 = 38a, l.15; and I.O.188 f.30b, l.10. If one reads بسر as in the printed text, p.70 l.19, one must render it "he had to cast to their end the evil-doers in front of the feet of Adam", but it is strained and unlikely.

(2) Rāī-rāyān, or "king of kings," was the title bestowed upon the Sēvūṇa ruler of Dēvagiri by 'Alā'ud dīn, Sultān of Delhi, after his submission. (3) This is a pun on the name of Rāma-dēva or Rāmacandra-dēva, the Sēvūṇa emperor. He was, we learn, either dying or dead when Malik Nāīb arrived.

(4) بدانجا نیز رای بود با نام بلالش نام و نام آورد ایام
بمالش زور و زپیش سری هم ز بونش دیوگیری معبری هم

I.O.2796 reads شری for سری; and دیوگیری. The latter reading is shared by S.O.A.S. 18729.

The army first took booty thereabouts - they found his (Bār-bek's) hint sufficient - from the elephants and property and horses which he (Balāl) had in his possession. The Shāh's army received finances for its subsistence. That clever Rāī did not become a hero in war; he came out without delay from his fort. While that auspicious Victory was progressing well, the army's face turned to the chief task. He (Bārbek) made ready all the equipment and provisions; the iron mountain set out in the direction of the ocean. This army raised a wind through that land, so that by it stones flew about like shavings. When the riders of the wind brought their hands to that quarter, the boats were all broken by the wind. The shore of the ocean, coast after coast began to seethe - likewise the villages and towns and the stages of the route."

"In that territory there was a Rāī also, a viceroy (or "heir apparent"): in the Hindu crown he was the priceless pearl. (1) His commands were fulfilled over sea and land; the Brahmans called him Bīr Pandyā. Many were his cities on the land and amid the sea: he had beautified Patan and Barhatpūrī. (2) Patan

(1)

دران حرنیزرای بود والال بتاج هنروان لولوی لال

He was, of course, Vīra-Pāṇḍya, the deputy of his father Kula-sēkhara until the latter's murder by Sundara Pāṇḍya.

(2) S.O.A.S. 18729 reads *مرهت بری* absurdly, and I.O.

2796 reads Fatan *فتن*, which was probably the original reading and *مرهت بری* which may be transliterated Marhamatbarī or

-purī. I.O. 138 also reads Fatan in the second place, but *Khatan* in the first; also *مرهت پیری* and *در مرهت کری* instead of

مرهت پوری and the same name repeated. Marhatkarī or Marmatpīrī are no more intelligible than the other readings: in any case the syllable "ma" is a misreading for "ba", cf. *Khazāin ul Futūh* below. The corruption is not uncommon, cf. the I.O. Ms. of 'Iṣāmī;

he had made his own residence: there were many devils (Buts) and devil-houses in Barhatpūrī. He had raised out of gold a devil-house up against the moon: Saturn he had banished with those devils. A certain devil in it was drowned in rubies and precious stones, so that a single city might feed on (the price of) each jewel. His army was numerous and his ships innumerable: Musulmans as well as Hindus were his attendants. (1) Before him were a thousand mad Ma'bār elephants: the quantity of his fiery horses was infinite."

"When the army of the Shāh came within the limits of Patan, the misguided Rāi lost his way through terror. Within a forest where few ants crept, like an ant he crawled despite his considerable strength. His subjects, grieving, wandered in all directions: the army and the elephants, having lost their head, wandered too. Do not say "an army", when the head of the army is missing; what use is in a body when it has lost its head?" (2)

It is unnecessary to pursue any further the account contained in the Duwal Rānī i Khadir Khān, which continues to describe the submission to Malik Nāib of Vira-Pāṇḍya's Muslim troops, and Malik Nāib's eventual return to Delhi. The account of the Khazāin ul Futūh is very full, though, as will be shown, it is not as sincere as it is vivid. With sundry omissions, as has been stated, the whole account is reproduced here in order to enable the story, as far as it concerns this history, to be examined in the fullest appreciation of the style and method of our authority.

which reads Mandrak for Hosadrug. The Patan may not be the Fatah of Ibn Battūṭah and Rashīd ud dīn: the latter was certainly a port.

(1) The printed text has فندرة for فندرة. (2) The Duwal Rānī i Khadir Khān was composed in 715/1315, four years after the

After relating how the Imperial army, under Malik Nāib Bārbek, left Delhi on Tuesday, the 26th of Jamādi ul Akhir 710, otherwise November 20th 1310, and moved across the country in a south-westerly direction, he continues:- (1)

"When the day of Jupiter became bright after the descent of Venus, and the date of the month Ramazān was exceeding the middle of the fast - that is, Thursday the 13th of the month, 710 (2) (otherwise the 4th February 1311) -"

"Here is a description of dēvs (i. e. devils) and fairies."

"- the umbrella of Solomon cast its shade upon the neighbourhood of Dēvagīr, so that the land of Dēvagīr was by the aid of heaven held by ranks of angels, and the army of humanity though it is jin-like, decided to bring together out of that locality, for the fortress of Balāl-dēv and the other dēvs, a store of shooting-star spears and four-feathered arrows. The Rāi-rāyān, Rām-dēv, as from the drum of the fear of Muhammad the veritable voice of Satan was heard, that dēv made himself submit (rām) to that court through his opinion upon saving one's life by keeping quiet."

"Here is concerning counsel (rāi) and device"

"That Rāi of good family with true counsel, in order to praise and to submit to the envoys of the court, both by arrangement of necessaries for the army against the forts of the evil-doers, and by providing (as foundation) policies (or devices) against the Bīr (3) and Dhōr-samundar, became entirely an embodiment of judgement (or counsel)."

Khazāin ul Futūh, which was written immediately after the events it narrated. The passage quoted here is from the printed text, B.M. 14797. f. 6 (1917), p. 70, commencing at line 15.

(1) The passages translated occur on pp. 132-152 of the printed text; ff. 60b-69a of B.M. Add. 16, 838; and ff. 67b-78a of B.M. Or. 1700.

"This example of his time, namely the Rāi-rāyān, in order to please the servants of the Shāh, tricked out a letter of submission with the writing of sincerity, and ordered the city of Dēvagīr to be adorned with the ornaments of paradise. He ordered that supplies ready for the use of the army should be placed in the bazaar; if anything like the feathers of the Simorgh should be needed for the arrows of the Rastams of the Shāh, incessant attempts should be made to acquire them, until the point when the illustrious company of Irān and Turān might be prepared, so that it might slay every kind of mighty dev from the regions of Dhōr-samundar and Ma'bar, just as did Rastam in Māzandarān."

"Next here is about stars."

"----- The Rāi-rāyān had explained to a Hindū dalvay whose reservoir was on the main road to the Bīr and Dhōr-samundar, that at the end of a few days there would be a tethering drawn out for the caravan of the army's troops by the watering place of that habitation. And the dalvay(bucket), having his mouth open like a bucket, watched the road of the host of Islam and wanted, in order to obey (wet) the nobles of the Ka'bah of the religion, to draw out the whole of Dhōr-samundar by the bucket."

"About the army and heavenly aid."

"The flourishing army remained for three days at the before-mentioned fortress (Dēvagīr) to put the divisions into order."

Page 414 n.(2) Given by the chronogram: *يعنى) كه پنجشنبه و ايامه سيزده*
i.e. 697 + 13.
Page 414 n.(3) Krishnaswami Aiyangar is wrong in thinking that this is Bhir in Nizam's State. It must be Vira, the king.

"On dates astrological!" (abridged)

"On Tuesday, the 17th of Ramazān - "

"About arrows straight as Mercury."

"- the servants of the faith of Muḥammad, each one with his bow strung, concerning himself with the sharpening of arrows to the extremities of the edge (or "country"), moved off with the umbrella of the allḥighest accompanying them."

"On water and land delicate as water."

"From the felicitous camp of Dēvagīr to the evil dwelling of Paras-dēv-dalvay, the army, under the command like that of Solomon, had to cross three rivers by five marches. One the Sīnī was such that the breast of the ocean appeared like a heart and thorax, and its water was above thirty long reeds (in width); another, the Gōdāvari, had of its own a plain of such wide surface, that it carried away the ball of dispute throughout the globe of the world. And the third was the Bhīnūr whose breast was no less than the Sīnī.(1) And they crossed other rivers of awe-inspiring sound in a smooth ship (like) larks in flight - until, after five days, they dismounted at the stage of Bāndrī (in) a fief of Paras-dēv-dalvay.(2) The dalvay, who was a bucket drawn up by the servants of the Presence, and wanted some water from the Bīr of Dhōr and Bīr Bāndyā, wished to put both the bīrs (wells) together with the ocean (or "their waters") into (his) water-pot.(3) Then the army of the Oxus arrived."

(1) There is an error here. The Bhīnūr, or Bhīnavar (read in B.M Or.1700 as Bīhanūr) must be the Bhima river, which is joined by the Sīna on its left bank, thus the Sīnī was certainly passed before the Bhīnūr, but the Godāveri precedes both and must have been the first large river crossed after leaving Dēvagiri.

(2) Paraśurāma-dēva-dalavāi had evidently been moved from the south where he held a command in 1293 (E.C.VIII Sagar 102), but

"Again about watchers of the heavens".

"That dalvay, who had remained dried up in that water-less place, saw by consequence of the revolution of the (heavenly) wheel his own prosperity in the ascendant and all his stability in the (heavenly) mansion. Eventually he came to meet the auspicious stars of Islam, and became for the army a guide for its proper encampment like the sphere of the heavens. When the day of Jupiter became bright with the heart of the sun, the Master of the East (Malik Nāib), to illuminate news ahead, frequently caused fire-footed messengers to become early risers and was engaged upon investigation and enquiry upon all sides; until it became known, from those that came from advanced stage as follows:- two Rāis of Ma'bar, who had been of one mind in union, had been more strongly joined than the twin-faced (stars the Furqān, when Sundar Pandyā, the younger brother, with a view to the elements (that is, the four elements of nature, or "mothers") of the interests of the country (or, "government") dyed the palms of his own hands with the blood of his fathers (or "the nine heavens") and recognized their heads to be an impediment to (the proverb) "seize what you find".(1) The elder brother, the Rāi Bīr Pandyā, had made a gathering of several thousand Hindus like Saturn, and leaving two cities empty, became swift of journeying for the purpose of flaying him (or, as it were, "eclipsing him"), while Balāl-dēvā,⁽²⁾ the Rāi of Dhōr-

Bāndrī remains unidentified. It may not have been Pandharpur, as says Krishnaswami Aiyangar, but must have been somewhere nearby. A possible identification may be Bāramati, 22 miles S. of the Bhīma river in Bhīmthadi tāluḡa of the Poona district, at about $74^{\circ}35'18''10'$. Page 416 n.(3) Although supported by B.M. Or.1700, Syed MoinulHaq is wrong in bracketing the first پنجواست p.137 of the text.

(1) It is well worthy of note that the victim of Sundara Pāṇḍya

samundar, as soon as he heard that the cities were empty of their Mahārāi, formed the intention of making his one camp on the left (or northern) side of both the cities for the purpose of plundering the Mahājans. (1) Suddenly, like a splitting noise from heaven, he heard from the drums of the victorious army "Behold our army, they are the victorious ones" (2) and, remaining at a loss through the conquests of "They placed their fingers in their ears at the thunder-claps, for fear of death", and from that awe, like Saturn reversed, in an ill condition and reversed fortune, returned towards his own unlucky mansion. And the great bird was trapped by the moving planets and the (constellation) Eagle (or, "was trapped by the moving stars, the army, and the Canopy") and arrived at his own low house."

"Concerning fruit pips, roasted and fresh."

"The Malik grasped the weight (fruit) of all this news in entirety and full ripeness; then, when Sunday became bright through the Sun of the World and the number of the month of the Fast had produced for the thirsty warriors a single grape (the number "23") from the disk of the sky, that is, twenty-three had passed away from the month -(3) in consultation

is spoken of deliberately in the plural. This may mean little, as the figure is happier so, but may also signify either that Sundara's father and uncle ('little-father' locally) were killed, or that Khusrau knew and many of his readers would recognize the local habit of putting titles of relation, etc., in an honorific plural: cf. Ibn Battūtaḥ, "These are the king!", below, p. 496. Page 417 n. (2) B.M.ADD.16,838 reads بلال ديوا as also the text,

but B.M.Or.1700 reads the same with the alif erased, dēv.

(1) B.M.Add.16,838 reads مهاجن, but Or.1700 مهاجن Mahajan. The word must mean 'merchants'; it could hardly mean Brahmans.

(2) Q.xxxvii 173. (3) 23rd Ramazān is equivalent to 14th February 1311.

with the great chiefs who held the weight of momentous decisions, he picked from the complete trunks and branches of the army one tumān (10,000) of choice (otherwise "cucumber") warriors, and had a muster called. There were javelin throwers who could for the bewildered spectators make a thousand reticulations in a poppy-seed, and swordsmen who, having given one blow with their blade, could cut a mountain in two like a nut."

"Next about uneven roads."

"For the space of twelve days soft-mouthed ones swift of hoof, soft-going ones with patient breasts, and soft hearted ones unwearied with toil travelled through ascents and declivities..... When the day of Jupiter with favourable portent joined the base of the pinnacle in the presence (or, "to the disadvantage") of the moon, that is Thursday, and also the fifth of the month <Shuwwāl> -"

"Next the foundation, concerning the fort".

"- the king's fort-taking army, at the even moment when the disk of the sun had made the earth into a blazing oven, bound a cordon around the fort of Dhōr-samundar. The fortress was such that from seeing it the sky did not come into view. It was not Dhōr-samundar, but a pool named Bīr, having become an ocean surrounding on every side a perfidious Bīr(or "a well of a pond").(1) You would say that it had its firm foundation in the middle of the round sun, its destruction being small despite the passing round of full cups."

(1) Khusrau is never tired of making puns about Bīr. The "Vīra" is quite probably a way in which Ballāla and Vīra-Pāṇḍya were referred to by their subjects. Dōrasamudra was situated between a large stretch of water and three smaller lakes: M.A.R.1930, plate VIII.

"Look at the water-creatures !"

"The belief of the inhabitants of that fort was based on watery customs. Through the body of all, on account of the confusion caused by the army, there arose a trembling of the arms and legs; and from an apprehension of the hurlers of arrow-shafts (they were) like fish having their entrails full of thorns (fish-bones); and these terrified fish together thumb to thumb (or, "fish-hook to fish-hook", or, "with sacred threads entwined") having bound their shields on their backs, and put on their coats of mail, began to seethe and move up and down like the commotion of the penitents in that water-tank.(1) The Rāī, Balāl-dēv, turning pale like drowning men from terror of the flood of the Sultān's heart (army), his heart palpitated from fear like the dewlap of a frog, and, as he crept within the Bīr (well), he made to fly windy babblings in his outlandish speech, "What answer should I give to the heart of the Shāh ?"

"Look ! Description of a fire, like the garden of Abraham."

"And if that fire-worshipper wished not to send up breath and smoke, the handful of straw which was around him (or "Brahmans") blew upon him, and kept (him) occupied,(2) saying:- "There need be many days while the mass of the smoke of us fire-worshippers must rise in Dhōr-samundar.(3) There is

(1) Reading *چون تپاک آن آیان در آن آبگیر*; B.M.Add.16,838 has *داران آبگیر*, and is followed by the printed text; B.M.Or.1700 however has *سماک* for *تپاک* an interesting reading, for it means "a platform", or "fishes".

(2) Of the many scores of clever puns and double-meanings that Khusrāu employs this is surely one of the subtlest: *پیرامن او* Pirāman e ū :around him, but plainly also Brahmans of his.

(3) To be interpreted alternatively, (a) "it will be a long time

nothing like us (or, "we have no doubt about it"). It appears from the fire and is in Dhōr-samundar (or, "The Salamandar comes forth from the fire and is for (all) ages").(1) When the army of the Turk, which is a river of fire, arrives for the burning of our straw-built towns, this fire will have a foundation for making a stone fort also into lime (or "like nought"). But then, this fort, which they call the Bīr of Dhōr-samundar, (2) has water near itself, and always the gate of this land has been by water. When the tongues of the swords of the Turks start to work, if it is not possible to extinguish all of them, it would be less (that is, preferable) than giving an answer to the chief of wild beasts, (3) for we should not die, since we are to be burnt, at any rate without water (honour)."

The Rāi became hot through their vapourings, and displayed the fire in his insides: "Before now our fire-worshipping ancestors, since the lamp of their heart was bright, have made it clear that the Hindu can never have brightness before the Turk, nor fire before water. Since this is so, nothing else is possible for us to do before the flaming arrow-tips of the Turk, except turn the face. One must not cast any water (honour) which may become oil on their torches and make us food for fire through all our lives. Therefore I put fiery opposition entirely from my head, and will go forward wallowing over the face of the dust, with the humility of water. It may be that the fire of the wrath of the Turk may submit to a degree of quietening."

before we are burnt" & (b) "our worship will continue for a long time yet." Note that the word for "our smoke" means not only "our anguish", but also "the race, or tribe", so that it is possible to render, "Our tribe will flourish for long yet."

(1)

(2) Reading *دوخانی* for the text's *دوخانی*.

(3) Here is an alternative explanation for *Khusrau's* use of the word *Bir*: it is unsupported by local evidence.

The torchbearers of sedition from this circumstance became a little cool after being heated and on the part of (or, "on the side of") the Bīr and Dhōr-samundar made their hearts rivers, and agreed that they should open the gate of the Bīr.⁽¹⁾ "About table-wine which causes drunkenness(pride)".

"When in the early morning the Cup-bearer had taken out the red disk from the bottom of the goblet of a clear sky, the chief scout of the army went around that stone fortress, which had been protected from damage by the Ma'bari by two defeats (inflicted on him),⁽²⁾ and he fancied all those goblets full to the brim that were all round about the fortress to be a wine glass of red-wine (or, "a plain for bay horses"). And he (Malik Nāib) organizing the besieging parties of drunk and heavy-headed lions together with sober lion-tamers, company by company, and himself with the array of the chiefs took up his stand before the gate of the fort. The noise of the tumult from the blood-drinking lions went up, and from the noise (hemp-juice -Hindi-) of drums of the warriors a clamour (gurgling of liquor, or chirping of intoxicated birds) descended upon the head.⁽³⁾ The Sufi-tempered sword of the men of pure religion poured down the blood of the rebels for the sake of God, like wine, to such an extent that the flood ran as far as the ditch of the fortress, and offered up a prayer (or, "fire") for wickedness. From the heat of the torches of the messengers (or, "arrows") the blood in the body of the Hindus became water and poured off them as sweat. The company of chiefs decided to


(1) * *دروازہ بیر یکشایندر*. Darwāzah however means pass, boundary, and castle as well as gate.

(2) * *آن قلعہ سنگین کہ معبری از آسیب آن دو بار شکستہ بود*. Literally, "That fortress of stone, from the damage of which the Ma'bari had twice been routed. There is a misconception here. (3) B.M.Or.1700 reads *در بیر افتاد*, "on the Bīr".

fling stones at the door of that fort as if at the hat of a dēv (devil), or give a sign to the lancers of the army to turn it upside down with the tips of their lances like an empty glass, so that the rebels, caught (or, "satiated") with blood might fly out of that seething Bīr like flies from the mouth of a vat. But for the moment, for the sake of expediency, it desisted from the points (dots) of magnificence (ornament), and employed deliberation, in order to offer them the one assembly of Islam or the infidel-tax. If they accepted, well: otherwise, to the glory of God, they would smash that fort with western-stones (1) like china."

"Behold, here is about infidelity and Islam."

"When Balāl-dēv perceived that the call to prayer would be uttered in his oratory, and that they would make the devil-house prostrate itself, and that where had been placed a dēv by the name of Balāl, (b) the stature of Muezzins would rise upwards, and that preachers would make the sword of the niche (or, "sword of the dogma", or "sword curved like the arch of the niche") an assistant to the tongue (2) - when Thursday night, having thrown the black cloak of evening over its shoulder, had risen over the stone pulpit for the mountain - that Balāl, who had a dēv as his attendant, after the bed-time prayers sent Kēsav Mal to spy out the army of Islam. As soon as he arrived at the ring of the orthodox he became deaf like the Devil from hearing the sound of the Qurān. He saw the purity of the readers forming a ring round about the fort and being attentive (or,

(1) , "western" or "wonderful" stones: the technical name for the projectile of a particular kind of catapult. (1a) There must have been a shrine of Ballālēśvara, ? set up by Ballāla II in the great Hoysalēśvara temple, or in another near by. But no Ballālēśvara shrine is known at Halebid to-day: M.A.R 1930, page. 34-61.

"knowing the Qurān by heart"), until, when the dawn of the blessed day of Friday should adorn with a veil of light the whole world (or "the Friday mosque"), that band of zealots according to the doctrine should carry on the battle of the holy war, and should flatten out his fortress for the Dēv, like prayer-mats in a row upon the face of the ground of a sanctuary, and enter that dēv-house with ranks of angels."

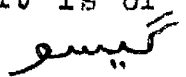
"Behold ! About hair like fine hair."


"Kēsav Mal, when, through the curly hair (1) of the net of night he saw completely the soldiers more numerous than the hair on the venerable head of God, from terror of it, the hair on his body stood on end like a Hindu comb, and like hair that is twisted, he turned on himself and twisting (or, "being quick") he fell all together on the nape of the neck (or "retreated"). He hastened until he arrived near the woolly Rāī; as soon as he had released the tooth of information upon his thick hair by the presence of the army, it was almost the case that the combs of the opinion of prudence were broken. Through his bereavement he (the Rāī) began to open out his hair."

"Again watch ! About dēvs and fairies." (2)

"After that, he (Balāl) taught all the charms and magic that he knew to Bālak-dēv-nāyak, who was equal in devilishness and shrewdness to a hundred thousand dēvs, and sent him

Page 423 n.(2) It is of interest to note that according to Lane's Egyptians vol.1, p.107, the sword held before the niche during the sermon was of painted wood.

(1) It is of interest to note that Kēsava means "hairy-headed", and  a head of hair.

(2) Besides "look!"  can also mean "cunning" and "the city", both of which fit the grammatical position better. But the grammar of these titles is odd.

towards the army of the Jamshīd-like Shāh. This shadow of the Household demanded a safe-conduct, and arrived before the Imperial Canopy. He requested for the sinner Balāl-dēv his life and livelihood, and upon his tongue was the intention which he (Balāl) held in his heart: "I, Balāl-dēv (otherwise, "Balāl-dēv, the slave"), like Ladar-dēv and Rām-dēv, am submissive to the commands of the Jamshīd-like Shāh, and bow to whatever the Solomon of the age commands. If he make a signal to bring out fleet horses as large as devs, elephants like giants, or other valuables, behold - they are here ready! And if the object of the tumult is the destruction of these four walls, the walls can be removed from before you. The fortress is the fortress of the king - take it. (It is true) that I, Balāl-dēv, have cast a few stones from the top of the fort, but God forbid that those stones of a dēv should be able to damage men! Then, what can be better than that I should keep my stones to myself? Like the Hindus of Dēvagīr, I should not place my head in misery. A Hindu, after the burning, becomes a dēv: as long as the flame of the Hindi sword of the Turk has not reached me it is not wise to make myself a dēv (or, "to set myself up as a Dēva, i. e. a Rāi"). Behold how many spirits of Hindu dēvs are twirling, having become whirlwinds, in the dust of the king army! They have given their lives to the wind out of disobedience to this dēv-restraining Solomon, and inevitably after their death appear all of them to be earth-bound. If I, Balāl-dēv, am a descendant of mighty dēvs, nevertheless I put aside all the devilishness which I had, before the minister with the counsel of Āṣaf, who is the transmitter of the commands of the court of

Solomon, and place my living body under the protection of the army that has the wings of angels, dense rank by rank, that are to aid on right and left flank, and, like a devil in Ramazān, submit my neck to the chain of obedience."

"Next about counsel and judgement"

"When the exalted minister heard the purport of the submissive message of the Rāī, even though the light of his intelligence had illumined perfectly the interior of the Rāī, in spite of that he pronounced the instruction of the Khalīfah of Islam: "Concerning the Rāī Balāl-dēv and the other Rāīs the command of the Imperial Court amounts to this: I am to hold the two-tongued candle of the creed commencing with Lā (No) first of all before them; it may be that from the light of both they may find illumination by day and night. But if the curtain of destiny becomes an impediment before the gaze of their clear-sightedness, so that they do not see that light, by order of the Rope of God I must make an offer of the yoke of the zimmah (tribute) upon the neck of their submission. If they are obstinate in rejecting this also, and are not able to pay the account, I will place no burden upon their necks, but will relieve their necks even of the burden of their heads. Which of these three conditions contents the Rāī Balāl-dēv? We, too, together with the counsellors of the army will weigh (the matter) in that scale of realism: the answer must be weighed according to a well-balanced judgement. Thou also must weigh thy opinion in the balance of truth."

"Next allusions right and straight as an arrow."

"The messengers of the Rāī, who were almost distract-

ted by the arrow of this message, said from their broken spirits: "We are Hindu messengers (or "arrow-heads"), and these messages which are straighter than an arrow, since the Hindus have not a right faith (or "a straight quiver"), perhaps may suffer crookedness to enter them. In company with us straight-faced persons must also be sent, so that the message which leaps from the force of your arm may in any case pierce the interior of the Rai, so that your entire designs may be achieved."

To send such people offered only gain to the Malik, as he was contented without a shooting-contest; and he discharged along with the two or three travellers several chamberlains who were Hindu Barmārs, who were, like Turkish arrows, snakes with wings of dēvs, and of great strength. These messengers, through the strength of the arm of the one that had despatched them, flew like arrows (or "terribly") so that they passed through the fort in the twinkling of an eye, and commenced to wound the Rai with their tongues. The Rāī, as if driven mad by the mere hearing of that gall-bladder-splitting noise, jumped up from his place and threw himself on the protection of paradise. Although he wished to say "Bravo!", a knot came into his tongue. It took long before the notch of his mouth was arranged. When to some extent his heart, which had been put to flight by that stroke of terror (or "the arrow"), had returned again to its place, like an arrow of submission, with hands folded ^{he} stood up and said: "All the portions which from the grasp of Fate have fallen to the lot of me, Balāl, whether they be silent or articulate, all are at the service of the Court which has the protection of Heaven. In Balāl I am also one of those who have

surrendered themselves.(1) In the morning, before the shooting-stars and their candle the moon have gone down, I shall keep with me not even a twisted (or "powerful") thread, besides the broken faith of the Hindus which is a wound-up thread, and the girdle of that faith which I wear on myself; and I will pay all tribute to the faith of Muhammad. And if by the scale of the zimmah every year they place all together the lot upon my neck, like an arrow I will bind up my loins and draw a knot upon my belly, and will satisfy the desires of the servants of the Court. By God, who has given such weight to the arrows of the warriors that they can outweigh the heavy hearts of the heathen, I shall not depart from this contract."

"Allusions to the bow and about bow-strings."

"The messengers, when they had mended the humility of the Rāî, who was like a mere practice-bow through distraction, in the confidence that his distraction was quite durable, dragged him to his feet, and brought their tense bow before the Malik. He consigned to the archers of the army the offerings of the submission of the one who had suffered a warp, presents which were the subject of a 'bravo' (or "bow-string"). When it became clear to the Malik that that utter fanatic was content to be a sacrifice (that is "a devotee", otherwise "a bow-case") for himself, he laid aside the knot of anger from his brow and rested the bow of his rage in its rack."(2)

(1) This seems the only likely meaning of دوانگان.

(2) If اشکجه can mean a bow-case in which the bow is kept under tension. Otherwise we must render, "rested his bow that had been tortured in rage".

"In the morning when the day of Venus and the number of the month were bright from the middle of Sagittarius (or "the bow"), otherwise Friday and the sixth of the month, and a bright sky had covered its feet in light that bore the appearance of a net (?), the intermediaries coming hard behind, they who were like bows settling down crookedly but straight in speech, such as Bālak-dēv-nāyak (1) and Māin-dēv (2) and Jētmal and a group of some twenty others, came out with folded hands. They presented their tokens of submission before the exalted Canopy for their performance of obeisance, like bows that have discharged arrows, and made a speech of tasteful sound that flew from a bow-string; and said: "The Rāī, who is straighter than the string of a bow, informs you in truth that he, the slave Balāl, for the sake of his own safety, became more bent than a Hindu bow of shaven appearance, when he discovered that the Turks, wherever they see long nocks (or "notches"), draw the bow in season, and submits himself as one of the number of special dependants (3), before they put a string round his neck and take him within their grasp, and surrenders his person to all the many orders which they let fall, and will place in retirement the bow-bending archers of his fort."

Amīr Khusrāu proceeds to describe the elephants that Ballāla gave to Malik Nāib. The latter was supposed to have valued them as a means of conquering the "iron hills of Ma'bar".(4) He then speaks of the horses which Ballāla gave

(1) So B.M.Add 16,838 f.68a, but it is most interesting to observe that B.M.Or.1700 f.76b reads "danāyak" with the syllable "da" partly erased.

(2) B.M.Or.1700 reads ناراین دیو, Nārāyan-dēv, a very plausible, if not certainly the correct reading. Elliot agrees, p.89, Nārāin Deo. (3) دوانگان. (4) Text, p.151; Add.16,838 f.69a.

him on the Tuesday in wildly extravagant terms, following this description by the final account of Ballāla himself.

"Allusions to things celestial".

"When the sun of a new day brightened over the horizon, Balāl-dēv the sun worshipper contemplated the rays of the sword of Islam over his head; prostrating himself he ran forth from his fortress (or "mansion"), came before the Canopy of God's shadow, and wallowed in the dust of submission like a trembling lifeless shade. And he sunk the forehead of service in the ground of disgrace. After acquiring the light of good fortune, he passed back towards the mansion of his residence at a sign from the High Chamberlain, in order to fetch the pearly stars of his treasures (1), and to bring forth his treasures and buried valuables. All night he hauled up the treasures which, like the Sun, he had plundered from the heart of the night, until the Hindu night cast out the treasure of the Sun from under the earth. He sent all the treasures like the Sun, on the heads of which dust had been cast by his hand, to the royal Court, with a gesture of reckless indifference (literally "casting out his skirt"), and they were handed over to the officers of the public treasury. He (Malik Nāib) spent a period of twelve days in that city, which for four months has (?) an area of four cities like it (or "is the arena of four moons"), (2) until the light cavalry of his forces which had remained behind had come up. Then the

(1) ? women.

(2) Text, p. 154: "که چهار ماه را عرصه چهار شهر اوست"

elephants of Dhōr-samundar he despatched to the court of the Khalīfah with a gentle breeze, like the clouds which move towards the Qiblah on the east wind."

On Wednesday, the 18th of Shuwwāl Malik Nāib left for Ma'bar. Five days later he reached the frontier, where he used two passes called Talmalī and Tābar respectively. (1) It seems that they attacked and took a city called Mardī. (2) On Thursday the 5th of Zīl Qa'da they started from the river Kānūbarī (3) towards Bīrdhūl. (4) The Hindus made a stand there

(1) B.M.Add.16,838 f.71a. Text, p.155. Habib, p.95, reads Tarmalī and Tābar, and Elliot, p.90, has Sarmalī. B.M.Or.1700 has, on f.80a, Sharmalī. The names seem to represent Talaimalai and Tāvare. There is a Talai at the foot of the hills in Hosur tāluqa, and the army is known to have chosen an unusual route. But the room for conjecture is almost infinite.

(2) B.M.Add.16,838 f.71b. Text, p.157. Elliot ignores this. It may be Marudippatti about twenty miles east of Dharmapuri. It certainly does not represent Madura.

(3) The corruption from Kāvēri is easily traced. B.M.Or.1700 on f.81a reads كانوبرى; Add.16,838 f.71b reads كانورى, so also

the Text, p.157. Habib reads Kanaurī, which is misleading, while Elliot has Kānobarī. The original must have been correctly

كانويرى or كانويرى.

(4) Bīrdhūl or Bīrdhōl is the reading of both the Mss, the printed Text and the translations. Abu'l Fidā in his Taqwīm ul Buldān (p.355) says that Biyyirdāwal (or Biyyardāwul) was then, the middle of the 14th century, the capital of Ma'bar. The Index by Mu'īn ud Dīn to the Nuzhat ul Khawātir of the modern writer 'Abd al Haiy shows Bihīrwal as a small village in Southern India in the province of Madras, and the map places it in the immediate neighbourhood of Kānci, which is impossible. From Khusrau's account it is clear that it was at some, but no great distance from Kannanūr, probably north of the Kāvēri. It was probably not Śrīraṅgam, which was in the Kāvēri and may have been one of the "two cities" vacated by Vīra Pāṇḍya in 1310-1; as well as the Patan which Khusrau mentions in the Dawal Rānī; it can not however be put aside completely. Though it is still open to conjecture, Krishnaswami Aiyangar's guess, Jayaṅḡḡa-cōlapuram, or alterantively Gaṅgaikōṅḡa-cōlapuram, is very suitable. K.Aiyangar's statement that Bīrdhūl is equivalent to Vīra-Cōla is very doubtful.

but the Rāī, whom he calls the Rāī of Rāīs, otherwise Bīr, fled first to Kandūr and then to the forests. (1) A body of Muslims in the service of Bīr deserted to Malik Nāīb. (2) The Muslim forces were much hampered by rains in their search for the Rāī, who eventually fled back to Kandūr, which was stormed and taken, but he escaped. His elephants to the number of 250 were captured at Barmatpuri (3) where the army went for the purpose. They also destroyed the golden temple there, of which a florid description is given. The army returned to Bīrdhūl on Sunday, the eleventh of Zil Qa'da, and the temples of that place were destroyed. (4) On Thursday, the 15th Zil Qa'da the army arrived from Bīrdhūl at Kupam, (5) arriving five days later at the

(1) B.M.Add.16,838 f.73b. Text, p.161. B.M.Or.1700 f.83a. There is no dispute as to the reading of Kandūr. It is Kaṇṇanūr.

(2) These Muslim mercenaries are mentioned by Friar John of Monte Corvino in a letter dated 22nd. December, 129(?3): Yule, Cathay and the way thither, vol.iii, p.64.

(3) The printed Text, p.169, has *برمت بری* Barmatbari or Barmatpuri: B.M.Add.16,838 has the same; Or.1700 has *برمت پری* Elliot, p.90, has Brahmastpūrī, which looks like a correction of the editor or translator. Krishnaswami Aiyangar says that it is equivalent to Brahmapurī, and that the place was Cidambaram. The identification is correct, as there were only three "golden temples" in Ma'bar: Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, Cidambaram and Śrīraṅgam. The former was too far off, the latter too near for the troops to have made a considerable journey from Kaṇṇanūr, and would not have elephants stabled near it on the island in the midst of land held by the enemy.

(4) B.M.Add 16,838 f.79a; Text, p.173; Or.1700 f.89b. The two former read Bīrdhūr, and the latter only Bīrdhūl.

(5) The printed Text had Gīm, but Add.16,838 f.79a has Kīm. Or.1700 has, on f.89b, Kham; so also Elliot, p.91. Krishnaswami Aiyangar suggested that this was Kaḍambavanam, 60 miles from Cidambaram. But the obvious correction is Kupam: *کپم* or *کتیم*, later misread as *کیم*, *گیم* and *کیم*. Kaṇṇanūr was also a kuppam or koppa, but is referred to in this work as Kandūr; so another Kuppam has to be found. The name is very common, and a fully satisfactory identification is difficult. That in Karur tāluqa of the Trichinopoly district is far from impos-

city of Mathrā, (1) the dwelling place of the Rāi's brother, Sundar Pandyā. He, however, had fled, but two or three of his elephants were taken, and the temple of Jaganāt was burnt. (2) Altogether 512 elephants were taken by Malik Nāib. (3) The return journey to the capital was commenced on Sunday, the 4th of Zīl Hijjah, 710. (4)

Of the account of Amīr Khusrau the principal characteristics are fidelity in detail and artificiality in the broad. Many references to the customs of the southern Hindus and the geography of the country bear witness to firsthand knowledge as the source of his book, and lend support to Bādāonī's statement that Khusrau accompanied the expedition.

But the whole scheme of the work is directed to the praise of 'Alā'ud dīn on the one hand, and on the other to the display of Khusrau's own abilities as a writer of highly elaborate and artificial prose. Thus, not only may the facts be suspected of having been chosen with discretion, but the form in which they appear must be prevented from enhancing their real value or obscuring their real significance. Khusrau's story in fact amounts to no more than this: Malik Nāib's object was the looting of their wealth from the Rāis of Ma'bar, and incidentally to destroy the temples and to uphold Islam.

ible and would account, by being to the north of a mountainous and less used route, for the length of time it took Malik Nāib to reach Madura from there. It is a place of strategic and commercial importance.

(1) So the printed Text, not following Add. 16, 838 f. 79a which reads Matharah, which is read by Or. 1700 f. 89b also. It was the Pāndya capital Madura. The Mss. reading may be better.

(2) So the printed Text. Add. 16, 838 has Chakanār and Or. 1700 has Jakanār. It represents Jagannātha.

(3) The number is given clearly:

(4) Text, p. 180.

He reached Dēvagiri on the 4th of February 1311, and there received every support from the Marātha emperor, who was happy to assist him against Ballāla, and sent him forward recommending him to the guidance of Paraśurāma-dēva, a Sēvuna dalavāi, who from his service in the south had special qualifications for advising Malik Nāib on the route through the country bordering on the Hoysala dominions. The Malik reached Paraśurāma's territory eight days later, having completed a journey of about 150 miles at an almost incredible speed. It was while making a general reconnaissance at that point that he was informed of the murder of Mānavarman Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya by Sundara Pāṇḍya, the movement of his brother Vīra-Pāṇḍya against Sundara, and the plans of Ballāla III to go southwards to take advantage of these events. This he chose as the right moment to attack Ballāla. With a picked body he pushed on and after twelve days journeying over rough ground, the last stages of which would be steeper and more difficult, reached Dōrasamudra on the 26th of February. Ballāla offered resistance for a short while, then asked the invader's terms; he was required to accept Islam or to pay the infidel tax, and to the latter he committed himself, and submitted to Malik Nāib unconditionally. After receiving Ballāla's elephants, horses and treasure, and remaining twelve days to gather and equip his forces - the period indicating that he ordered the remainder of his force to join him immediately he arrived at Dōrasamudra - Malik Nāib left on the 11th of March for Ma'bar, hoping to take it by surprise, to judge from his haste, as had been the case with the

Hoysala. There, however, he failed to capture either of the two Rāis, Vīra or Sundara Pāṇḍya, but took much booty and destroyed the temples of Cidambaram, and Bīrdhūl, which may be Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-cōlapuram. After a visit to Madura he returned towards Delhi from Ma'bar on the 25th of April 1311.

So much we gather from Amir Khusrau. To this picture much may be added. 'Isāmī, a writer who by his residence in the south was in a position to avail himself of local tradition, (1) and who being quite free from any obligation to the Khaljī dynasty had no reason to obscure certain important features in the story, relates the circumstances as follows:-

"Malik Nāib's departure towards Ma'bar and the destruction of the golden temple under the guidance of Balāl-rāi of Dhōr-samund."

"Another time, when the Shāh of Hindostan was free from troubles in respect of the infidels, he ordered every commander, together with his army, to make his way towards his own country. And after that he ordered the bold (2) Malik Nāib, the obedient general, to drive his army against Balāl; he was to trample his country right under foot; from there he should move directly towards Ma'bar, and draw his single country-conquering sword, until he should take the entire realm of Ma'bar and receive the whole of it, together with his adviser. I have heard that in that land there is a temple, the fame of which is legendary through every quarter, built by the ancient Hindus who were of the truly genuine religion, (3) out of pure gold from

(1) C.A.Storey, Persian Literature, Sect. II p. 433, No. 612. The work was composed in 750/1349-50, dedicated to the first ruler of the Bahmani dynasty. The portion quoted extends from f. 166a to 168b of I.O. 3089.

(2) Reading ملک نایب راد; the suggested راورا is not so accep-

summit to base: the edifice within was constructed (with) walls and doors, studded inside with brilliant pearls, and crowned outside with liquid rubies. It resembled the rose-garden of Shaddād of 'Ād, (1) and was a refuge and resort for that country. In appearance it was devoid of mortar or beams or bricks; in the judgement of the Hindus it was a dream of heaven. "In short, when thou comest, O exalted one, to that country, thou shalt first of all, empty-handed by reason of any plundering foray, destroy first that house of the devil", - for the destruction of the temple was (his) aim - "thou shouldst (then) take from there gold to thy fill: there are many with empty hands within the country. Thou wilt find many stern (2) ones in those regions: from that silver and gold thou must afford help to everyone. Next lead on thy army from that place, and direct thyself towards the house of the throne." I hear that the renowned Malik Nāib, when he heard the order of the Prince, led his army forthwith from the palace, and in one movement passed from Dēvagīr. And from there he arrived at the territory of Balāl, and utterly ravaged his border lands. They brought this news to Balāl :

"The Turks are arrived with attack and retreat; the soldiers approach by the aid of devils; they are all bearing nooses and are able to throw down lions. They bring the dust from remote districts: they whole country has become a house of affliction!" I hear that when the Rāī heard this tale, he said to himself:

table, as no other instance of a Muslim officer bearing the title Rao is found in this period.

Page 435 n. (3)

که بود نرد در دین خود مستقیم; this curious remark is probably prompted by a desire to imitate Firdausi in a rhetorical flourish.

(1) Shaddād was an impious king, founder of the garden of Iram.

"This impetuous army destroys in whichever direction it gallops; as if in sport it breaks the ranks of the Hindus. Laddar-dēv (1), that Rāī, did not come out to war against this people, nor yet did the houndreds of thousands of Telang. Such was the case, in the cradle of Hindostan, with that Rāī, a Sun in glory, Rām-dēv, who was the sovereign in the country of the Marhattas, that he hardly saved his life by turning away from (the onslaught of) this people: he did not for long come out to war with this host, but presented his head in submission without delay. If it comes, but I turn away from (i.e. am uncooperative towards) this company, it will not change a single intention (?) as if the weight of a mountain.(2) Surely it is better that I should place my head in obedience, and make the best of the destruction which they are doing. With gold I will buy off my country, and drive away these sellers of peoples."(3)

"The next day, when the vault of calamity for the Rāī had removed the veil from the face of day, Balāl paid great homage with both Horses and jewels and elephants and goods. He departed towards the special deputy of the Shāh, and kissed his feet in the middle of the way. When the exalted Malik Nāib saw him, Malik Nāib that was vanquisher of his enemies and (withal) hospitable, he soothed him with a hundred inquiries and apologies and elevated him like those who wear turbans of rank. He accepted from him all his tokens of homage, and made him con-

'Ād was a probably mythical nation or place often identified with Iram, and destroyed by heavenly wrath.

Page 436 n.(2) I.O.3089 f.166b line 6. The reading is held to be بسیل, "stern" through virtue or bravery, and not پیل "elephants."

Page 436 n.(3) زه گیدان; زه could mean "bow-string".

(1) Reading لدر دیو for the Ms.'s کردیو; Pratāpa Rudra.

tented with many promises. He gave a precious robe of honour to him, in graciousness and condescension with a sincere countenance."

"The joining of Balāl, the Rāi of Dhōr-samund, with Malik Nāib, and his guiding him to Ma'bar." (1)

"After a week that fortunate one said to him:

"O glory of the standards of Hindostan, when from thy heart and mind thou becomest our ally, may they heart and mind know our familiar society! Now listen, O glory of Hindustan: thus is the order of the Shāh of the World: that thou shouldst become an ally in accompanying the army, and shouldst beat the drum and go in the direction of Ma'bar; that no one of the people on the way should be aware of it, and the army should fall suddenly upon Ma'bar. Thou must guide the army of the Shāh on its way towards the black resort." (2) When these words reached the ear of Balāl, he saw no escape besides obedience. He accepted the command of the Shāh of the World, and for the sake of accompanying (Malik Nāib) firmly bound his loins. On the following day the deputy of the Shāh caused the army to set out in the direction of Ma'bar."

Page 437 n.(2) f.167a line 1: گرایر و نکه تا بم سری ز این گروه نانا بر یکی برک که بار کوه

Page 437 n.(3) Reading, f.167a line 3: این قوم فروش را; but there is some doubt whether the reading should not be فروشیش "this idle, or erroneous, people".

(1) Read: پیوستن بلال رای دهور سمندر بر ملک نایب و رهبری معبر بردن

(2) There seems to be some corruption in the text: (f.167a line 18), (or ? سپاه) سپاه را بمعبر سپاه (سپاه) کفی لشکر شاه را رهبری براهی سپه را بمعبر سپاه (سپاه) The last two words may have been copied in error from the preceding line.

"The making of apologies by Abāji Mughal to Malik Nāib in the territory of Ma'bar and his capture."

"I hear that when the fortunate Naib started out according to the order of the Shāh of the World, he took (with him) suitable men delegated (for the purpose) from the Court of that powerful emperor. Like Bahrām of the Ass in the killing of the crocodile, like Mahmūd in pride with intelligence and guile, (1) a Mughal leader also, in his army, was obedient to him according to the command of the Shāh. Every day from chosen men belonging to that nation, whom the Shāh had appointed to go with the Nāib himself, one went on ahead for the sake of news: he brought information of all kinds both good and bad. He took with him a certain interpreter, who was skilled in all tongues. The perfidious man Abāji, on that day when his conversion took place, separated together with his army from the host: he produced a certain excuse, this faithless man. He said to himself: "I will go to the Rāi of Ma'bar, and be agreed with him from my heart and soul. I will tell him the news of the armies of the Turks, and raise soldiers from that ill-fated land. I will make a night attack upon the armies of the Turks, and throw the head of the Shāh's deputy in the dust." And after that he called on that interpreter to move off from the army in company with him. He said to him, "O wise interpreter, - for all languages have their seat on thy tongue - to-day (we will be) with ^{thy} ~~the~~ sole guidance. (3) When the army of Ma'bar comes into sight, say to

(1) The rendering is tentative; f.167b line 7:

چو بهرام کوه چو قتل نینک چو محمود سرتیه با لوش و سنک

(2) Reading, f.167b line 9:

(3) A tentative rendering of (ib. line 19)

بهر روز ازین پنج مرد گزین

یک امروز با یکن رهبری

them in the style of Ma'bar: "This Turk is seeking your friendship. Lead him towards your ruler and tell your Rāī of his disposition." When Abājī had professed some excuse, he withdrew several parasangs of distance from the army. A commotion and tumult suddenly arose: a horde of Hindus caused it (coming out) from an ambush. At that moment an arrow from a Hindi bow struck the breast of the interpreter, and at the same instant the interpreter gave up his life, and destruction fell upon the army of Abājī. Then on the third day that worthless man, like one struck with amazement, joined the (main) army. When Malik Nāib heard of this occurrence he seized him and dragged him, like thieves, on a rope. At any rate when the wise Malik Nāib ~~had~~ had put an end to the excuses of Abājī (1), he galloped from there to the fief of Ma'bar, and raised aloft the standards of Islam. He was going along happily with good fortune, and Balāl's loins were girt to guide him on the way. On the next day he arrived in the country of Ma'bar, by a route that no one at all observed. First he came to the golden temple, in order that the command of the emperor might be fulfilled. I hear that he destroyed the golden temple: an infinite amount of gold came into his hands. After that he ordered them to set fire (to it) and to dig up the walls from their foundations. When that man of energy was free from that work, he laid his hand on the quarters of the country. All the people from (all) quarters, from fear of the drums, had sought asylum

(1) This appears to be the sense of *ابا جي عذرا ڪرد بنر* (f.168a).

at Kōban and Bīrdhōl.(1) I hear that Ma'bar in those days was not within the grasp of a single prince. In it there were five persons who enforced commands: that group they call the Five Pandyah.(2) Born of one mother and one father, all five sought to please one another. When they saw that the Turk had lit up fires, and was burning together the land and the country and the temples, that the women and children were carried off, and peaceable folk were being vexed, they did not see themselves as leaders on the battle-field, and all five put their heads in flight.(3) The army galloped (on) in all righteousness, and their entire country fell into the hands of the Turks. A wise man knows that when an army comes suddenly into a country, the people of the army make acquisitions in that land, especially when they have experienced many toils on the way. I hear that in those days they attained their goal in the shape of elephants like mountains. They gathered them all (?) with the gold, and set out from there for Madrā.(4) The army drove towards the

(1) The text actually reads (f.168a line 17): -

Kōban must be Kannanūr.

(2) The text reads (f.168a line 19): -

(3) It is of great interest to note that 'Isāmī believed in the "Five Pāṇḍyas" tradition, which has received such little credence amongst modern historians. We know that there were at least three Pāṇḍyas ruling together in 1309: Māravarman Kulasēkhara, Jaṭāvarman Sundara and Jaṭāvarman Vīra. Firīstah tells us that two Pāṇḍyas were interviewed by Malik Nāib; that then makes up the five. They may easily have been five in number during this period, under a single head, and a greater or smaller number at other times. Marco Polo who was in Ma'bar about 1290 repeatedly mentions the five brothers: Book III Ch.16(p.177-8 of Benedetto's text); Ch.17(p.180); Ch.18(p.187); Ch.21(p.195). Rashīd ud dīn (1247-1318) says (Jāmī ut Tawārīkh, I.O.3524 f.375b; B.M.Add.7628 f.381a; ib.18,878, f.118a) that Sundar Pandi had three brothers; "each had obtained overlordship over one part". This was Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II.

(4) There is a textual corruption here: the text actually reads Karā; but in shekastah

مررا could be mistaken for کرا .

بنه جست در کون و ببرد هقول

که خوانند پنج بنریه ان قوم را

capital: day by day the way grew less. When it had seen many mountains and plains it turned its head towards Delhi."

"In short, when the exalted Malik Nāib arrived at the Presence with a hundred courtesies, he brought to the Shāh many elephants and valuables: to kiss the Shāh's foot he brought the Rāi Balāl. The Shāh smiled like the rose of the dawn (i.e. the Sun) and gave a special robe of honour to Malik Nāib. The Shāh ordered that to the exalted Balāl, because he had been the guide in front of the army, they should give a parasol together with a special robe of honour, and should place an imperial turban on his head. To him he gave a gratuity of ten lakhs of tankahs, and, showing him honour, made him many promises. And after that he sent him back to his country and gave him his land and its produce as a free gift."

From this account we learn that Ballāla not only submitted to Malik Nāib but actually led him to the Tamil country, enabling him to arrive there in secrecy and to attack his own enemy Vira-Pāṇḍya by surprise. Ballāla helped the Muslims to ravage the Kāvēri valley strip, and we are left to imagine whether or not he accompanied Malik Nāib to Madura. He appears by this account to have returned with Malik Nāib to Delhi, and there received his country from 'Alā'ud dīn's hands as a gift.(1) 'Iṣāmī agrees that Malik Nāib stripped Ballāla of the greater part of his goods, and we can suppose that the Hoysala country's finances were put to a great additional strain in serving to supply and assist in the maintenance of

(1) Venkataramanayya, V.C.E.p.11-12, forgot that there was a third course open to the Muslims besides allowing Ballāla to remain free and making him a prisoner of war."Amīr Khusrau ...

the Muslim army while on its way to and from the plains. These sacrifices Ballāla must have made the more readily because he anticipated sharing in the plunder obtained by his warlike and successful ally in the Pāṇḍya country. It is worthy of remark that ten lakhs of tankahs was just five times the yearly stipend of a Khān, that is, the highest rank in the service of the Sulanate, at the time of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh. (1)

To the invaluable information supplied by 'Iṣāmī Waṣṣāf again has material to add, and with that material he provides us with what are apparently his own or his informant's views on the facts. Waṣṣāf did not, as far as we know, himself visit India, but it is clear that he had access to first-hand knowledge of events there. The part of his work from which the follow quotation and references are taken was completed in or soon after the year 713/1313, and thus the facts he narrates were quite fresh in the memory of his Indian contemporaries. (2)

It is to be remarked in the first place that Waṣṣāf may not have enjoyed as clear a conception of the relative positions of Teliṅgāna, Dōrasamudra and the Tamil country as most of the Persian authorities. He is therefore not to be censured too severely for a less correct account of the campaigns of Malik Nāib Kāfūr than is seen in the pages of Khusrau or Baranī. This is doubtless the only explanation for his separate treatment of the conquest of Dōrasamudra and Ma'bar. He passes from a brief description of the conquest of Teliṅgāna in the year 709/1309 to an account of the campaign against Dōr-saman, as he calls

...does not even remotely suggest the capture of Ballāla." No, indeed: he says that Ballāla offered abject submission.

(1) Masālik ul Absār fi Mumālik ul Amsār, p. 182 of Notices des MSS., Tome XIII (1838). (2) Storey, op. cit. p. 267-8.

the realm of Ballāla III.(1)

"From that stage the army set out for Dōr-saman. The Rāi at first (2) avoided the issue (3) and asked for support for his army from Ma'bar; when, after the slaying of their father, a dispute had arisen between the brothers Bīrah Pandah and Sundar Pandah, Bīrah Pandah had sent an army of foot and horse to the support of the Rāi of Telang. (But) once again the Rai travelled the royal road of felicity and took possession of the realm of self-control. And the land and the realm, without and need of a battle being joined, was surrendered to the "And his temper became mild" (that is "to the angry one - Malik Nāib"), on the basis that the jizyah (poll-tax) should be paid and that a treasure should be sacrificed which the tongue of (the wildest) suppositions is incapable of recording." (4) These treasures included 55 fine elephants.

It is of considerable incidental interest to notice what Waṣṣāf has to tell further concerning the enmity between the two Pāṇḍya brothers, of which we heard something from Khusrau, but which 'Isāmi ignored. These events clearly had a bearing on both the movements and policy of Ballāla and the success of his unwelcome ally, Malik Nāib.

Waṣṣāf states that the expedition for Ma'bar left Delhi in Rajab 710, that is December 1310, and that certain towns were captured there through the hostility that arose

(1) This appears on p.527 of the printed text (Bombay 1853).

(2) Read رای با بتر. Elliot wrongly translates (p.49): Rāi Pandyā (thus saddling Waṣṣāf with a serious error), though the printed text and also B.M.Add.23,517 concur in the reading shown here. (3) امتناع نمود. (4) Elliot's translation is in

many respects defective, but the omission of the mention of Telang, and the invention of a place 'Arikanna are the worst

between the two brothers, but that Malik Nāib, whom he refers to as Malik Nabū, was forced to withdraw by the pressure of a large army attended by numerous elephants.

Of the hostility between the brothers he recounts as follows: Kulesh-dēvar, the ruler of Ma'bar, enjoyed a prosperous reign of more than forty years free from foreign invasion; there was an enormous mass of wealth in his treasury at Mardī; he had two sons, one, the elder, Sundar Bandī, who was legitimate, and the other, the younger, Bīrah Bandī, who was not. Bīrah Bandī was however chosen for his abilities as his father's successor. His brother Sundar Bandī, enraged at this ^{en}suppression, killed his father towards the end of the year 709, that is, the spring of 1310 A.D., and had himself crowned in the city of Māravī. He conveyed some of the royal treasure there to the city of Mankūr and went there himself in state. Bīrah Bandī gave battle to him near a lake locally known as Balācī (1); both opponents fled, but Bīrah Bandī was wounded, and his equipment and treasure fell into the hands of Sundar Bandī. Alkī-manār-barmāl, daughter (or grand-daughter)(2) of Kulesh-dēvar, assisted Bīrah Bandī with material and men, but nevertheless Sundar Bandī got possession of the army, country and treasures. During the year 710(1310-1 A.D.) Bīrah Bandī launched an attack, and Sundar fled and sought the protection

blemishes. The text in the latter case reads:-

و مملکت و ولایت بی احتیاج بمهرکه تسلیم کرد) و لانت عرگنه
 the word "کرد" being found in B.M.Add.23,517 f.434a, but not in the printed text. The use of Arabic quotations in either manner is common in Waṣṣāf.

(1) It is highly likely that this represents the lake now known as the Pulicat Lake, north of Madras. The existence of a place Palacci requires to be investigated.

(2) No such princess is as yet known. It may be pointed out

of the hosts of 'Alā'ud dīn of Delhi, while Bīrah in turn inherited the country and reigned independently. (1)

From this account we see that Māravarma Kulaśekhara Pāṇḍya I was murdered by Sundara Pāṇḍya before the arrival of Malik Nāib at Dōrasamudra, which was fairly clear already, and in fact some months before he had even left Delhi for Ma'bar. The arrival of that force from Delhi appeared, then, to offer support for one party in the perennial rivalries in the Pāṇḍya kingdom against the other. Doubtless Sundara's original intention was to enlist the aid of Ballāla III, who was not only in an excellent geographical position to attack Vīra-Pāṇḍya, whose headquarters we know from the Muslim accounts, and from the area in which his inscriptions are found, to have been in the north, but also had considered an invasion of the plain, and had actually attempted some such project. If, as can be believed, Vīra Pāṇḍya occupied Kaṇṇanūr, Ballāla would have seemed to Sundara a very promising ally, as the Hoysala king's first goal would naturally be that city. Thus at the time of Malik Nāib's arrival within Hoysala territory Ballāla was, as Khusrau tells us, on the point of leading an expedition to take both Kaṇṇanūr and Śrīraṅgam and perhaps Gaṅgaikonda-cōlapuram or Jayaṅḍa-cōlapuram as well. Sundara must have regained control of Madura,

that it is odd that a Tamilian lady should have a name of which two parts seem to be manār-perumāl, both clearly masculine. Perhaps Waṣṣāf was misinformed as to the sex of the ally of Vīra.

(1) Elliot and Dowson III p.52 ff. B.M.Add.23,517 f.435a-437b; Bombay text p.528-9. The Ms. reads Bandī in this section; the text Bandah. The latter reads Pīrah occasionally. While both read Mardi in the first instance, both read Māravi, which may easily be a corruption for Mārdaī, in the second. The city of Mankūr (unidentified) is called by Elliot Mankūl, a likely variant. The lake is called Balāji in the Ms. and Tālāci by Elliot. Both text and Ms. clearly give the erroneous date 700 for the 710 preserved in Elliot. Elliot omits the mention of the

for when in fact Ballāla and the Muslim army reached the plain, and the former was busily occupied in ravaging Vira-Pāṇḍya's possessions in the old Hoysala tract beside the Kāvēri, the Muslim went to Madura and impartially plundered the other Pāṇḍya. (1) It is, moreover, of interest to note that Vira-Pāṇḍya had in 1310 attempted to assist Pratāpa Rudra - and therefore, though Waṣṣāf does not say so, was unwilling to risk another failure - and that Ballāla first considered asking his aid; but this may not be a correct interpretation of the facts.

It remains to quote Baranī's account of the achievement of Malik Nāib Kāfūr in the south, to review the local records of the invasion, and to summarize the contributions offered by later historians.

Pāṇḍya princess's part in the war; mistakes the fate of Bira Bandī, whom he wrongly calls Tira Pandī; and wrongly translates "took refuge under the protection of 'Alā'ud dīn of Delhi", which has led scholars to suppose that Sundara Pāṇḍya embarked on the six months' journey to Delhi, while the text reads clearly:

در دامن حمایت لشکر سلطان علاء الدین دلی او نیران

On the question of the spelling of Vira's name, Elliot has

thrown doubt on the quality of Waṣṣāf's source by upholding the bad reading Tira by discovering the pun "tira-bakht". This is however a case of تجنیس خطی, a sight-pun.

(1) N.K. Sastri, in his work on the Pāṇḍyas of Madura, is sceptical of the murder of Kulaśēkhara. He says, p.204, "neither Amīr Khusrau nor Baranī has anything to say about the murder". Of course, Khusrau not only says that Sundara murdered his father but hints that he murdered another person, possibly an uncle, as well. Sastri gives Jaṭāvarman Vira-Pāṇḍya the accession

date c1296, and Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (?III) c 1303: A.R.1915, 608 makes śaka 1236 (A.D.1314-5) his 12th year. If this be so, the resentment of Sundara was a matter of longer standing than Waṣṣāf's account seems to suggest. Unfortunately A.R.1906, 46 makes the 34th year of Kulaśēkhara equivalent to 1301 (I.A.xliv p.198), and his records appear to range up to his 44th year (A.R.1916, para.30). This would be current in 1311, which causes a discrepancy of at least nine months, if he were murdered in

Baranī's description proceeds as follows:-

"Then Sultān 'Alā'ud dīn despatched Malik Nāib with well-equipped armies towards Dhōr-samundar and Ma'bar; and Malik Nāib and Khwajah Hāji, the Muster-master, left the city, taking leave of the Sultān, and went through Rāprī, (1) and collected their armies. They moved forward and stage by stage arrived at Dēvagir. Rām-dēv had gone to Hell. From Dēvagīr Malik Nāib by a forced march came to the frontier lands of Dhōr-samundar, and in the first very onslaught Balāl-dēv, the Rāi of Dhōr-samundar, fell into the hands of the army of Islam. Dhōr-samundar was captured and thirty-six elephants and all the treasures of Dhōr-samundar fell into their hands, and a despatch of victory reached Delhi. Malik Nāib led the army from Dhōr-samundar towards Ma'bar, and as they went conquered all of it, and caused the golden temples of Ma'bar to be destroyed, and broke the golden idols which had been the divinities of the Hindus of that land for centuries, and all the gold of the temple and the broken golden idols and incrustations beyond the limit of computation he placed among the treasures of the army. In the country of Ma'bar there were two Rāis: from both of the Rāis of Ma'bar he took all their elephants and treasure!"

He continues to describe the booty with which Malik Nāib returned to Delhi in the early months of 711 (Summer 1311):

the spring of 1310. Such a discrepancy however, is of little moment, seeing the chaotic condition of the Pāndya dynastic history, and the account given by Waṣṣāf is here upheld. A.R. 1916, 106 may in fact belong to Māravarman Kulasēkhara II.

(1) Rāprī is in Shikohabad tahsil, Mainpuri district, United Provinces, where after his return from Ma'bar Malik Kāfūr built an 'Idgah in 1311 A.D. E.I-M.1917-8, p.30, plate X(a).

312 elephants, 96,000 maunds of gold, and several chests of jewels and pearls and 20,000 horses.(1) It is of interest to note that the elephants taken from Ballāla is given as 36, against Waṣṣāf's 55.

There are three contemporary inscriptions which refer to Malik Nāib Kāfūr's attack upon the Hoysala country prior to Ballāla's submission. The first is at Hosahalli in Honnali tāluqa, very near the Malik's route of approach to the Hoysala capital and seventy miles north of that city; the second is at Dudda, and the third at Belūr, both places close to the capital. The first, dated in the middle of February of the year Sādhāraṇa, mentions a movement in the direction of Dōrasamudra, the fighting of Bommaya-nāyaka, and the Turaka or Muslims, and records the death of a warrior in battle.(2) The second relates that while Vīra-Vallāla-dēvar was ruling, when the Turks came and attacked Dōrasamudra, a certain person fought to the admiration of both armies and fell.(3) This record is wrongly dated Saumya Māgha su 5 Sō, in other words Monday the fifth tithi of the bright half of the month Māgha of the year Saumya, which would correspond with a day in January 1310, which is very improbable. The record may not have been set up until

(1) *Tārīkh i Firōz Shāhī* (text of 1862) p. 332-3; I.O. 177 f. 215b; B.M.Or. 2039 f. 165a; Bodleian, Elliot 352 f. 129b; B.M.Or. 6376 f. 153b. Both I.O. 177, B.M.Or. 6376 and Or. 2039 read:-

در این کثرت که ملک نایب با لشکرها در دیوکیر رسید رام دیو
 which shows that Rāmacandra was held by Baranī to have died at the very time that Malik Nāib reached Dēvagiri, and is therefore a superior reading to that of the 1862 text. The first two Mss. likewise read خزاین رای دهور سمندر indicating that the treasures were of the Rāi of Dhōr-samundar rather than of the place: this accords better with our other authorities and is to be preferred. B.M.Or. 2039 omits the sentence on Balāl, while I.O. 177 omits the name Balāl, reading هم در لگام ریز اول رای دهور سمندر

(2) E.C.VII Honnali 116 (Feb. 1311), K.T. only. Rice neglected this

well on into the year Virōdhikṛt, which began in March 1311, and the author had probably forgotten that the previous year was Sādhāraṇa and not Saumya. The date January-February accords well with Khusrau's date for the arrival of Malik Nāib at Dōrasmaudra.

The third says that on Sunday the 14th lunar day of the bright half of Phālguna in the year Sādhāraṇa, that is, the 4th of March 1311, while Vīra-Ballāla-dēvarasa was ruling and the Turks "were about" (?) a certain warrior fought on horse-back. (1)

There are no further Kannada records on the subject. As Ballāla abandoned the struggle within a week or ten days, it can be readily understood.

The later writers, with the exception of Firishtaḥ, provide little that is of comparable value. Khawājah Nizām ud dīn Ahmad wrote of the expedition in 1592. His brief account tells that Rām-dēv was only just dead when Malik Nāib arrived at Dēvagīr, but the story is in other respects in exact agreement with Baranī. (2) Yāhyā bin Ahmad bin 'Abdullāh Sirhindī in 1428 ignored the Dōrasamudra campaign. (3) On the other hand Muḥammad

valuable record. The dating in 1311 is certain, for neither of the other possible years, 1131, 1191, or even 1251, provide a suitable period for the information supplied.

Page 449 n. (3) E.C.V Hassan 51(1311): turakaru Dōrasamudrakke yetti bandalli, etc.

(1) M.A.R. 1936, 11(1311). The words Turukāyāvāgidalu, which the editor fails to translate, could be a misreading for Turukar yāvāg idalu, "when the period of the Turks was". The editor's final remark is most inexact. He says, "Thus the present record belongs to the series of inscriptions (E.C.V Hassan 51, Arsikere 31, etc.) which relate to the brave fight which the last Hoysala kings Ballāla III and Ballāla IV put up against the Mussalman invasions of the Khilji generals of Delhi." Apart from the fact that the fight was not a particularly brave one, being quickly

Bihāmad Khāni, writing in or about 1438, speaks of Malik Nāib's many victories, and among them mentions Dhōr-samund and Ma'bar and the destruction of the idolaters' golden temples in the latter place.(1) Amīn Ahmad Rāzī, writing in 1594, speaks of Malik Nāib's attack on Wāraṅgal and the taking of tribute from the Rāis of Ma'bar, but neglects to mention Dhōr-samundar or the part played by Balāl.(2) In his Hadīqat ul Aqālīm Murtazā Husain, writing in 1788, tells not only of Malik Nāib's dealings with Dēvagiri and Śaṅkara-dēva, the son of Rāmacandra, but also of his campaign against Dhōr-samund and of his acquisitions from the Karnātak.(3)

The two versions of Firīshṭah, however, add many details that are omitted by contemporary writers: too great a divergence from the scheme adopted above, on the other hand, renders his statements suspect occasionally, and liable to rejection. Both versions are here reproduced in extenso to enable the whole account to be submitted to examination. The first, which we will call version A, generally known as the Gulshan i Ibrāhīmī, proceeds as follows:-(4)

"In the year 710, the king again sent Malik Nāib and Khwājah Hājī with a great army to reduce Dhōr-samundar and Ma'bar, whose temples were very rich in gold and jewels, and of which parts the Rāis' treasury had great renown. Having reached

abandoned, and that there is no evidence that Ballāla IV ever fought the Muslims, there is no real series of records. Arsikere 31 is of the year 1331, when the Khalji dynasty had already been for some years extinct.

Page 450 n.(2) Tabaqāt i Akbarī, Calcutta text (1927)p.167. Storey, op.cit.p.433.

Page 450 n.(3) Tārīkh i Mubārak shāhī, Calcutta text(1931)p.78-Storey, op.cit.p.512.

(1) Tārīkh i Muḥammadi, B.M.Or.137 f.389a, where the reading is, corruptly, Dhōr-mahand. (2) Haft Iqlīm, I.O.49 f.160b-161a; also I.O.3143. (3) & (4) over.

Dēvagīr, they found that Rām-dēv was dead and that his son Sankul-dēv had succeeded him, but was not living in obedience and submission like his father. As caution dictated, they kept their head-quarters near the town of Jālnehpūr (1) which is situated on the bank of the Ganges.(2) They went on and strove more than they had ever done in the slaughter of the infidels of Gurah.(3) With this juggling and diplomacy they proceeded,

Page 451 n.(3) Hadīqat ul Aqālim, I.O.2643 f.166a-b.

Page 451 n.(4) B.M.Add.6569 f. 134b line 10; B.M.Egerton 1000 f.102b line 11; R.A.S.P.61; Bombay text (1831)p.209 line 1; Nawal Kishor's text p.119 line 10. Storey, op.cit.p.446.

(1) Both the Bombay text and B.M.Egerton 1,000 read something incomprehensible for Jālnehpūr, in the first place appearing like Par, in the second Habar. The text of Kishor reads Jāl-tahpūr. R.A.S.P.61 reads **پتن** which one would naturally transliterate "pattan", but Briggs curiously enough transliterates "Peitun", and says that it is on the Godavery, though his own specially collated text says clearly: **کہ براب کنک است**. Jalna is actually a short distance only from Dēvagiri-Daulatābād, being but 38 miles east of Aurangabad. It is near the Dudna river, a tributary of the Godavari.

(2) No town having the remotest connection with the dominions of Dēvagiri could be on the Ganges. See version B, p.455 below.

(3) The style of this passage is very incoherent and troublesome. The printed texts read **کنہرہ**, Kanharah, but B.M.Add. 6569 has **کزہ**, while Egerton 1,000 omits it altogether. One is very much tempted to read **کرہ** Karah or Garah, as in Mas-ālik ul Absār fi Mumālik ul Amsār, Chapter 1, in Notices des Mss.Tome xiii(1838) p.151 ff., where that place is noted among the provinces ruled by Muhammad bin Tughluq Shah in 1333. It is noticed by Quatremère that Abūlfazl in his Akbarnāmeḥ says it was on the bank of the Ganges; Waṣṣāf mentions it together with Oudh; it occurs in the Haft **کنہرہ** Aqālim; but was identical with "Gurrah" in Mālwa. However that may be, Gura on the left bank of the Penganga river, and only a short distance east of Jālne, seems to be the most likely place. Version B, however, arouses further considerations, and the matter is still open to fuller examination.

until, after three months, they arrived at the before-mentioned cities. (1) Having captured Balāḥ-dēv, Rājah of the Karnātak, they ravaged his territory and smashed the temples. All the encrusted idols were captured. They built a small mosque of plaster and stone, and the Muḥammadan call to prayer was recited there and the Khutbah was read in the name of 'Alā'ud dīn. This mosque exists at the time of writing in the region of Sēt-band-Rāmēsar, and it is known as the 'Alā'ī mosque. (2) And from this it is clear that the port (or city) of Dhōr-samundar, which was on the shore of the sea of Umān has been destroyed at the present time by the water. (3) And some say that the infidels have preserved God's sanctuary and have not smashed that mosque, and others say that it is written in their books that those regions, nay, the whole inhabited earth will eventually belong to the kings of Islam, and for that reason their learned men will not give an order to smash it. And in any case, when Malik Nāib had got possession of the treasures and wealth of the Rāis of those regions he wished to return."

(1) Three months, we presume he means, after leaving Delhi. That is, of course, if the goal in question were the Hoysala country. If it were Ma'bar, then it could conceivably be three months from Dēvagiri, but we know from the contemporary authorities that the whole expedition was over in about three months after Malik Nāib left Dēvagiri. بنادر means "ports" as well as "cities", but there is no occasion to translate it so here.

(2) Kishor's text wrongly reads راعسير. Both the Bombay text and Egerton 1,000 have the correct reading, but B.M.Add.6569 has the common corruption سيت بن وراميسر. It stands, of course, for Sēt-bandha-(Tamil: banda) Rāmēśvaram, an odd expression but clearly signifying the Rāmēśvaram that is connected with the Sēt-bandha, or bridge ~~xx~~(Sēt) to Ceylon, i.e. the famous one.

(3) This nonsensical interruption of the account of the mosque is not to be found either in B.M.Add.6569 or Egerton 1,000. The absurd sentence may perhaps be traced to Khusrāu's puns on the word Bīr, and to the fact that Dōras^{am}udra did lie between several

"The night before his intended march, a quarrel arose among some Brahmans who had escaped the swordsmen and had taken refuge in his camp, over buried treasure which lay under those temples and of which a quantity had been removed and divided up. They began to shout, and one of the Muslims learning of this dispute communicated it to the Kōtwāl (or magistrate), who seized the Brahmans and carried them to Malik Kāfūr. Despite the tortures to which they were subjected they would not yield up those treasures, but pointed out six other lots of buried treasure which were in the open country. Malik Nāib took possession of those lots and loaded them onto elephants and set out for Ma'bar. And there too he smashed the temples and got possession of cash and jewels which had for several thousand years belonged to the Rāis of those regions. He returned victorious and triumphant to Delhi, where he arrived in the year 711. He presented the Shah with 312 elephants, 20,000 horses, 96 maunds of gold, which amounted almost to 10 crores of tankahs (1), several boxes of jewels and pearls not included in this reckoning and other precious effects - all he had passed before the Shāh in the 1,000 pillared hall at Sirī."

Before commenting on the quality of this account it is fitting to quote the later version, version B, known as the Nauras-nāmah. It relates (2) that Malik Nāib and Khwājah Hājī

tanks. The destruction of the greater part of Dōrasamudra is not to be attributed to the water or, as others have thought, to the action of the Muslims, but to the Vijayanagara dynasty, which had no use for the Hoysala capital after the first half-century of their rule. Neglect, and civil strife then finished off their work.

(1) The correct reading must be "96,000 maunds". If, as 'Isāmī says, Ballāla received 10 lakhs, then he was given 1% of the cash spoil.

(2) R.A.S.P. 65 f. 109a; R.A.S.P. 64 apparently f. 152b; R.A.S.P. 63

arrived at Dēvagīr "and heard that Rām-dēv having obeyed the inescapable command of death, his son was ruling in his place. Accordingly they thought it necessary to stop at that place for a few days, and ascertained the true position with regard to the son of Rām-dēv. And when they learned that he was not like his father in straightforwardness and sincerity, as a precaution he (Malik Nāib) put into confinement a few of the nobles at Jālnapūr, that is to the east of Dēvagīr, and took (with him) for the sake both of security on the way and guidance on the route a number of the horse and foot of the Rāi of Gulbargah.(1) He set off for Dhōr-samundar and on the way he engaged himself to the utmost in killing the infidels of Gurah,(2) and did not spare himself in this business. and proceeded with this trickery and diplomacy until after three months reaching those aforementioned cities they pillaged that region and captured Balāl-dēv, Rājah of the Karnātak. They broke the temples of that place, and all the idols encrusted and covered with gold were consumed. A little mosque of plaster and stone was built at some distance from the Hindu temples, and the Muhammadan call to prayer was recited there, and they read the Khutbah in the name of Sultān 'Alā'ud dīn and at the present moment when my ambergris-perfumed pen is busy recording these events a mosque is still to be found in that heathen land at Sēt-band-Rāmēsar,(3) and is famous as the mosque of Sultān

apparently f.95a; R.A.S.P.62 apparently f.86a(the pages of the last three are not numbered) -all four Mss.were in the possession of Lt. Col.Briggs. I.O.1251 f.145b;I.O.2035⁺ f.113b;I.O.2887 f.135b; and I.O.2425,128a.These are all entitled to be called Nauras-nāmah (recension of 1609-10) contrary to the classification of Storey, op.cit.p.447 (Ethé 291-296).To this list may be added B.M.Add.6572 and Add.4940.

(1) Following I.O.2887 (Jālnāpūr),I.O.1251 and R.A.S.P.64. R.A.S.P.65 omits the passage about Jālnapūr. R.A.S.P.62, on the

'Alâ'ud dīn. And from this it may be deduced - the city (or "port") of Dhōr-samundar was at the edge of the lake (or "sea") in those parts, and at the present time it has been overwhelmed by the waters. Some say that the infidels of those regions have preserved God's house and have taken no steps to destroy it: others say it is written in the books of the infidels that these regions will eventually adhere to the Sultāns of Islam, and that the principles of the faith of Muḥammad will gain currency there. For this reason their learned men, who have great skill in astrology, have shown foresight in not issuing instructions for the destruction of that mosque. In any case, as is written in the "Appendices", when the building of that mosque was complete and the treasures of the Rāis of those parts had been captured, Malik Nāib determined to march from there and to go in the direction of Ma'bar. Suddenly, however, some of the Brahmans who had officiated in the temples and had escaped the sword of the Muslims, and were in the camp of Mālik Nāib, went at night to locate some treasure which was buried under those temples, and removed a quantity of it, but fell out over the division of it. In the dispute their voices rose so loud that

other hand, reads:-

از راه احتیاط برخی از امرا بسرحدی که الان
جائنه پورا نجا ابادان است و در شرقی دیوگیر است باز داشت

"For the sake of caution put into confinement some of the nobles of the outlying part that is now the city of Jālnahpūr and is to the east of Dēvagīr". I.O.2035⁺ has another reading somewhat similar to this, with the same sense.

Gulbargah was almost certainly within the Sēvuna dominions, rather than those of the Kākatiya Pratapa-Rudrā, and could have been on Malik Nāib's route towards Dhōr-samundar, though it would of necessity have lengthened the journey. Perhaps Śaṅkara-dēva deputed the rāja of Gulbarga to supply guides.

(2) See version A, p.452 above. Note that R.A.S.P.63 very plausibly reads کرنا تک. I.O.1251 has کرزه, so also I.O.2035⁺. I.O.2887 appears to read کنسره. Do these various

some people in the camp learned of it and brought it to the ear of Malik Nāib. He seized the Brahmans and tried to discover the truth of the matter, but they all denied knowledge of it. But when they were put to torture, they produced that amount and even revealed the rest of the buried hoard. Malik Nāib, having digested this news, ordered that the cellars should be broken open, and the great treasure which they had put there brought forth and loaded upon the elephants which he had acquired in that same country. Then he set off with his victorious army for Ma'bar. The Rāis of that place were incapable of resistance and fled, and Malik Nāib performed a radical service for the temples there also (!), and got possession of several thousand years' collection of cash, jewels and valuables belonging to the citizens and merchants. He then sent an army after the Rāis of Ma'bar; they seized two Rāis, the cream of the Rāis of those places, and brought them before him. Malik Nāib said to them, "You know full well that as long as the treasures of your particular leader and the wealth of all the nobles of the land are not surrendered, there can be no prospect of your release. The best course is that you should give up the wealth and save your lives." This speech appeared reasonable to them, and they brought forth all the treasures and jewels of their store-houses without suffering any torture; moreover they obtained every gold piece which might be presumed to be in the

readings conceal the place *کمبرگار*, now known as Kumbhargaoon on the Bhima ?

Page 455 n.(3) The Mss. have the corruption Sīt bin ū Rāmēsar.

possession of the people and surrendered it to Malik Nāib, thereby obtaining their release. And they were not content that there should be any shortcomings in the hospitality and entertainment they offered. Just as he had sent a despatch of victory over Dhōr-samundar to the Sultān previously, so now the Malik sent one concerning Ma'bar. On each occasion when the despatches were read in Delhi, drums of rejoicing were beaten according to custom; and Malik Nāib returned safe and victorious by the same road by which he went. They came to Jālnapūr and stayed there a short while, and he dismissed Balāl-dēv and that body of nobles of the Karnātak which he had taken along with him. (1) He arrived at the Court by way of Sultānpūr (2) in the year 711; bringing to Delhi with him 312 elephants, 96,000 maunds of gold, sufficient for about 10 crores of tankahs," and other items already mentioned.

Ignoring the many minor differences between the versions, we must acknowledge at once the value of the information contained only in version B. The remarks about the Rāis of Ma'bar and their subordination to a single superior harmonizes well with the other information we have obtained about this perplexing dynasty. That Ballāla accompanied Malik Nāib as far as Jālna is quite probable in itself, seeing that Ballāla would have enjoyed vastly a journey with his court through the territories of the prostrate Sēvunā, whom by himself he would never have been able to defeat; but unhappily this account conflicts

(1) وبلال دیو و اتمقدار از مردم اعیان کرناٹک را کہ همراه گرفتہ بود سردار -

(2) Almost certainly the Sultānpūr in the Shahada tāluqa of the West Khandesh district, which held the name from 1306. It is to the north and west of Dēvagiri-Daulatābād.

with that of 'Isāmi, who understood Ballāla to have travelled the whole distance to Delhi. On the other hand, it is apparent from the two versions that Firishta had but a feeble notion of the geography of the south of India, and allotted to the campaign against Dōrasamudra events which if they took place at all must have taken place in Ma'bar. A mosque at the southern Rāmē'svaram is indeed precisely what the Muslims at the Pāndya courts would have wished Malik Nāib to construct. Again, it is doubtful whether Malik Nāib wasted any time at all on his journey towards Dōrasamudra, and since the chief characteristic of his movement was speed, he probably contented himself with the contents of Ballāla's jewel and specie treasuries without looting the temples. It is quite certain that no damage worthy of the name was done to the Hoysala temples at the capital or in any part of the country. As Ballāla was a useful ally and soon submitted, Malik Nāib's forbearance is easily understood.

'Isāmi's account fortunately enables us to conclude, not only why Ballāla submitted so readily to Malik Nāib, an action as sensible from the point of view of the weak state of the Hoysala country as it was in accord with his own futile schemes of reconquest of the Kāvēri districts, but also that with the Muslim's aid he actually effected some considerable parts of his plans with regard to the old Hoysala principality of Kaṇṇanūr.

As to his movements after April 1311, the accounts of Firishta and 'Isāmi must be harmonized with an inscription of 1313 as well as with each other. The record at Kūḍli in the

modern Shimoga tāluqa, a place which must then have been on the frontier between the Hoysala and the Sēvuna dominions, states that when Hoyisana Vīra-Ballāla-dēvarasa was carrying on a pleasant government, after the war with the Muslims was over, on the occasion of his son Vīra-Ballāla-rāya entering the city (while returning) from Delhi, he made a grant to the god Rāṃnātha of Kūḍali on the 10th tithi of the bright half of Jyēṣṭha of the year Pramādi, which corresponds to a day in June 1313. His son, Vīra-Ballāla, must have left Delhi at the end of March 1313 at the latest, and it is likely that he left Dōrasamudra for the Sultān's court in October 1312. The sequence of events was probably as follows: Ballāla III accompanied Malik Nāib as far as Jālna, so as to be able to ^{show} respect to the Sultān, claim his gratitude, and insult the Sēvuna ruler of Dēvagiri at the same time; he returned to Dōrasamudra during the month of August 1311, having promised to send his son to Delhi to receive the Sultān's gifts and to present homage on his behalf. The following year he fulfilled his promise, and his son Ballāla went to Delhi, and was welcomed by his father at the frontier on his return. 'Isāmi, who wrote nearly forty years later, was probably not in a position to distinguish between Ballāla III and Vīra-Ballāla-rāya his son, and it was of no importance to him whether the latter made obsisance to 'Alā'ud dīn in 1311 or 1312. (2)

(1) E.C.VII Shimoga 68(1313): Turaka-vigrah ādalli Diliyinda makkalu Vīra-Ballāla-rāya Paṭṭana-pravēsa māduv avasaradalli, etc.

(2) Whether this interpretation be true or false, the dogmatic statement of Venkataramanayya, V.C.E.p.13, that "there is no ground for the belief that he was taken to Delhi", is unjustified as far as concerns Ballāla III.

After the disgraceful proceedings of 1311 no inscription of Ballāla appears bearing his full titles until 1313; moreover from this period we find an increasing number of records in the name of daṇḍanāyakas and sāmantas normally subordinates of Ballāla III.

Proof of reviving Hoysala power in the southern plains is found in a record of rather doubtful authenticity at Sevūr in the modern Avanasī tāluḡa, quite thirty miles west of the Kāvēri in land that may have belonged to Rāmanātha. (1)

But until 1315 no activity of any importance seems to have been undertaken by the new recruit among the dependants of the Sultān of Delhi. In this year Ballāla commenced using regularly the title Viṣṇuwardhana, doubtless in order to attempt to improve his standing in the eyes of his people. (2) He is said in a record of March-April 1315 to be ruling the kingdom in fair peace. (3) The same inscription speaks of Mādhava-daṇḍāyaka, son of Perumāle-daṇḍāyaka, a favoured subordinate of Ballāla III, who ruled a large fief in the south of Mysore district from Terakaṇāmbi, and bore the titles "ruiner of the face of the Pāṇḍyapāḍi, elephant to the lotus pond the Pāṇḍya forces," titles probably gained in 1311. That Ballāla was in difficulties is shown by a grant for his success made in August of that year. (4) It is odd that Ballāla is still called "upholder of the Pāṇḍya-kingdom", and still more odd that he is called

(1) V.R.I p.524, Coimb.44, quoting "Ins.S.dts.p.42.No.1" (1312, dated śaka 1233.).

(2) E.C.IX Magadi 15(1315), E.C.IV Gundlupet 58(1315).

(3) E.C.IV Gundlupet 58(1315): sarūpa-sukhadim: not "apparent peace" as Rice.

(4) E.C.IX Hoskote 159(1315): Vīra-Vallāla-nanrāga.

"Sun of the Pallavas" and "Pallava Śiva", unless the former be a mere traditional and conventional usage, and the latter be due to some ancestral connection with the Pallava family.(1) But we can believe that a state of warfare between the Hoysala and Vīra-Pāṇḍya continued for long after the departure of Malik Nāib. Rashīdud dīn in his Jāmi ut Tawārīkh says that there was another country besides Ma'bar called Dēvagīr, adjoining Ma'bar inland, the king of which was at constant enmity with the Dēvar of Ma'bar. Its capital was Dōrōsamundūr !(2)

We learn that in April 1316 Ballāla III was living in Dōrasamudra, having built a residence there.(3) It is possible that it was only then that the damage caused by the first onslaught of the Muslims was repaired.(4) Ballāla did not, however, remain in his capital for long. By September 1317 he was residing at Arunasamudra, otherwise known as Arunasamudra-Ballālapaṭṭana. This town has not as yet been identified, but was clearly in a position of easy access to both the Kāvēri districts and the Hoysala nād, and may well have been in the Kāvēri valley itself. In September 1317 he had just experienced a battle, which must have been against Vīra-Pāṇḍya's forces, while on his way to Arunasamudra from Kaṇṇanūr.(5) He was still at Arunasamudra in February 1318, and fighting continued.(6)

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- (1) E.C.IV Gundlupet 58(1315): Pallavāditya Pallava-Trihētra; correct to this the corrupt reading of E.C.III Malavalli 12(1317).
 (2) Jāmi ut Tawārīkh, IO.3524 f.376a. Elliot & Dowson, I p.73.
 (3) E.C.III Mandya 100(1316): Dōrasamudradolu nelebīḍam kaṭṭi.
 (4) Sewell, H.I.S.I. p.180 says Ballāla had ruled from Belūr or Honnūr since Malik Kāfūr's destruction of Dōrasamudra. Quite incorrect alternatives following from an incorrect assumption.
 (5) E.C.XII Chiknayakanhalli 4(1317).
 (6) M.A.R.1915-6, para.91, revised by M.A.R.1932,8(1318).

He was still there in November, but, affairs having probably turned out to his advantage, left for Dōrasamudra where he arrived just over three weeks later.(1)

The most likely cause for his return seems to have been pressure from the west: his own preoccupation in the south-east, at a time when the condition of his kingdom was so unsettled and the resources of both his army and his treasury were so feeble, seems to have encouraged an incursion from the coastal districts into Sāntara territory or through the passes by way of Kalāṣa or similar posts. It is worth while noticing that the defeat of 1311 had not altered Ballāla's hold over the Sāntara country: he held Hosagunda still.(2) Bai ceya-dannāyaka's brother-in-law Saṅkiya-sāhani marched, in January 1319, against Basava-dēva of Candāvūr below the ghats, destroyed that place and marched to Muṭṭa... where he fought. The Tuluvas were destroyed, says the record.(3) Neither of the places can be found, but Ballāla's subsequent interest in the Ālupa or Tuluva country may have originated in this clash on his western boundary.

Meanwhile, as if Ballāla's interests and energies were not already sufficiently dissipated, in 1320 a new field for activity was opened up. The effect upon the Sēvuna kingdom of Malik Nāib's campaigns had been as destructive as upon the Hoysala country. The death of 'Alā'ud dīn had brought a short respite, but the general condition of the country was weak, and opportunities clearly arose for ambitious leaders to vindicate

(1) E.C. IX Channapatna 73(1318); M.A.R. 1922, para. 41b, E.C. IX Kanhanhalli-68(1318).

(2) E.C. VIII Sagar 135(1320).

(3) E.C. VII Honnali 117(1319).

their independence. The son of Mummudi Siṅgeya-nāyaka, Kampiladēva, about whom we have already gathered much information, consolidated the principality of Kampili into an independent state, whose paltry natural resources were to be augmented by conquest in the lands beyond the vast and well forested mountain ranges that formed the strongholds of the ruler. (1) The land south of the Tuṅgabhadra naturally attracted his close attention, and he soon trespassed from his headquarters at Kampili, or as the Muslims called it, Kampilah, upon territories to which Ballāla had a claim.

Kampila's own realm consisted of Kampili, Doravaḍi, Hampe, Hosapet and Kummaṭa, which lay in the mountains, with Hosamale near it, to the north of the Tuṅgabhadra. This latter area had been the object of a "hunting expedition" of Malik Nāib Kāfūr, who had destroyed the neighbourhood of Kummaṭa in or about 1314. (2) Kampila seems to have recovered comparatively swiftly from this raid, and to have recommenced aggression.

In April 1320, assisted by Kōṭi-nāyaka, perhaps the son of the famous enemy of that name of twenty years before, Ballāla marched against Ka[m]pila-dēva, met him, apparently, and then, leaving him behind at Balaha, marched on to Doravaḍi and there fought a battle, remaining on the field as the victor.

(3) As a result some sort of compromise must have been arrived at. To keep a close watch on the north-east Ballāla occupied the valuable post of Penugoṇḍa, and there in September 1320

Aliya Māceya-dannāyaka ruled on his behalf. There he was attacked

(1) Much interesting, if not altogether trustworthy, information about Kampila is found in the Paranāriyarige Sahodaranembantha Kathe of Nagasaṅgaya quoted by H. Sreenivasa Jois in his article on Kumāra Rāma in Q.J.M.S. xxxii, 1941, p. 58 ff. Concerning his son Rāma much legendary material exists here, and in the Kumāra

by the manneya of Mēlumāvu, and a cavalry battle ensued.(1)

Ballāla's various commitments required further movement. In July 1321 he was back in Aruṇasamudra.(2) In that year a certain nāyaka who called himself "destroyer of the Turaka army", and must therefore have been of unusual boldness, thought it necessary to make a religious grant for victory to the sword and arm of Ballāla. ~~██████████~~.(3) Soon afterwards or within a few months of his residence at Aruṇasamudra Ballāla was at Pudu-padaivīdu.(4) In January 1322 he went through Hariharapura in the south of his dominions in the Hoysala nād and visited the agrahāra and the dam there.(5) He may have been on his way towards the Tamil country, but this is not certain. Singeya-dannāyaka, son of the Sōmeya-dannāyaka who was Ballāla III's brother-in-law, took part ^{and died} in the battle between Vīra-Pāṇḍya, who still ruled at Kaṇṇanūr, on whose side he in fact fought, and his son Samudra Pāṇḍya and Paraka Pāṇḍya on the other. Vīra-Pāṇḍya was defeated in this battle, and Ballāla's sorrow at the misfortune of his relative must have been amply counterbalanced by the downfall of Vīra-Pāṇḍya.(6)

Ramana Sangatya of Ganga, vide Q.J.M.S. for Oct. 1929, and the Paradara Sodara Ramana Kathe in M.A.R. 1929, p. 26-47, also Q.J.M. xx, 1930 p. 89-106, 201-211. The Huliyaṛ nād is mentioned as an object of Rāma's attack. That Ballāla attacked Kampila and Rāma in alliance with the Muslims is very unlikely according to the facts shown by the present writer, although not in itself impossible.

Page 464 n.(2) 'Isāmī, Futūh us Salāṭīn, I.O. 3089 f. 188b. Malik Nāib stayed at Kummata for one week, while he had his headquarters at Dēvagiri.

Page 464 n.(3) E.C.VIII Nagar 19(1320). Balaha is unidentified.

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- (1) S.I.I. IX pt. 1. 354, A.R. 1917, 722(1320) at Sirivara, Hindupur
 (2) E.C. IX Gundlupet 69(1321). tāluga.
 (3) M.A.R. 1909-10 para. 85(1321) at Sītibetta.
 (4) E.C. X Kolar 173(?1321). (5) E.C. IV Krishnarajapet 44(1322)
 (6) M.A.R. 1912-3, para. 86(1322).

Ballāla's restless spirit soon engaged him in another adventure, as fruitless and misguided as any that he had so far attempted. In December 1322 he was in Unāmale(sic), that is to say Tiruvaṅṅāmalai.(1)

Tiruvaṅṅāmalai had been visited once before by a Hoysala ruler, but had never been occupied for any length of time as a royal residence. When Nārasimha II was there, he was clearly on his travels in the Tamil country, and the town was merely on his route. A glance at the map will show the significance of Ballāla's movement. In 1322 he commenced to use Tiruvaṅṅāmalai as his most favoured head-quarters after Dōrasamudra. In so doing he confirmed his intention of deriving regular profit from the plains, however much that policy had cost his family in the past. The famous place of pilgrimage lay at the point where the valleys of the Cheyyār and Ponnayār rivers diverged, providing a broad plain, dotted with occasional hills, to which easy access might be had by way of the valleys themselves, either from the north by way of Tiruppatūr from Madivāla and the Kolar plain, or from the west by way of Kambayanallūr from Bairamaṅgalam, Bannērghaṭṭa and the modern Bangalore district. At Anṅāmalai, as the town was, and still is, more often known, Ballāla was in close contact with the Kundāni kingdom and so with the eastern parts of the Hoysala nād, in the widest sense of that term, with which parts in particular his relations were good, having improved steadily since 1301.

Occasional feuds between the TAMILIAN nād-ālvās, and occasional

(1) E.C.IV Gundlupet 85(1322) The solar eclipse dates it certainly; 9th December 1322.

acts of insubordination amongst them, do not remove the impression that the greater part of the modern Bangalore and Kolar districts were in this period loyal to Ballāla.

At Anṇāmalai, however, Ballāla was not able to keep a close watch over developments in the north or even in the hill districts of the west. Nor was he so closely connected with his fief on the west of the Kāvēri and to the south of the ghats. He must have chosen this spot because of its convenient communications with every part of the plains, and the reason why he deserted Kaṇṇanūr and the Kāvēri valley for this northern post can be explained by a brief consideration of the political structure of the Cōla-Pāṇḍya country in 1322.

First of all, one must confirm, emphatically, the opinion of Nilakantha Sastri that no Muslim garrison was left at Madura. (1) There was therefore no foreign element to complicate the already difficult situation. Vīra-Pāṇḍya and Sundara Pāṇḍya had lived on, had continued their feud, had been defeated separately by Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara, the Cēra king, who was able in 1315 to reach Kāñci, at a distance of little less than four hundred miles from his home, and had, as we have seen, bequeathed their fratricidal strife to another generation. (2) No sooner had the Malabāri left the northern Tamil districts than Pratāpa Rudra of Wāraṅgal, otherwise Ēkaśīlanagarī, sent his general Muppiḍi-nāyaka to take Kāñci, (3) and indeed it is by no means certain that the Kākatīya did not drive Ravivarman out of it.

(1) N.K.Sastri, Pandyas p.208; contra K.Aiyangar, S.I.M.I.p.123 & C.H.I. III p.116.

(2) Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara's successes are recorded in A.R.1900 para.15; E.I.IV p.146, at Cidambaram; A.R.1911, 34. Also see A.R. 1908, 54(1314), ib.1903, 34(1313)=E.I.viii p.8; A.R.1890, 34; and A.R.1891, 46, which is at Śrīraṅgam. (3) E.I.vii p.128(1316).

Kāñci, however, seemed to be the limit of Pratāpa Rudra's ambitions, and there was no fear that he would move south of the Pālār river. The Telugu Cōḍa family of Nellore had been crushed by the famous Sundara Pāṇḍya in 1257, and likewise Kōpperuñjīṅga the Kāḍava. The Adigaimān and the Bāna had been dormant for long, and the Hoysala was no longer a persona grata in the Kāvēri valley, as he was either unwilling or unable to take sides effectively in the Pāṇḍya family quarrels, which remained the only excuse for his presence. (1) Thus Tiruvaṅṅāmalai was a convenient point from which ~~one~~ might explore this new field of activity, and attempt to fill a new vacuum. A strong Hoysala ruler would have been able, had he wished, to take a most profitable advantage of the circumstances: Ballāla made the attempt, but too feebly and about five years too late. From the point of view of the attack of Ulugh Khān, son of Ghiyās ud dīn Tughluq, upon Wāraṅgal, Ballāla's move was timely but a certain Venrumāṅkoṇḍa Sambuvaraiyan, who called himself "emperor of the entire world", had set himself up as a ruler already in the very same area. We may guess too that an additional recommendation for the place was its comparative safety from further Muslim visitations: where fear was one of the motives, no great success could be expected of the enterprise. (2)

In the same year further evidence of Ballāla's rule in the fief to the west of the Kāvēri is found. Inscriptions are at Perūr, Sēvūr, Vijayamaṅgalam, and Avanāsi. (3) In 1323 a record of Ballāla's appears at Daṅāyakankōṭṭai. (4)

(1) It appears that Māravarman Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya II, Jaṭavarman Vira-Pāṇḍya and Jaṭavarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya were ruling at this time.

(2) This would in any case have been vain, for Khusrav Khān

In 1324 Aliya Māceya-dañṇāyaka, Ballāla's lieutenant at Penukonda, was again in difficulties, but was victorious in battle.(1) He was still ruling at Penukonda in 1328 despite the events of 1325-1327, and we may judge from this fact that Ballāla managed to handle the double difficulty with sufficient success.(2)

The first embarrassment originated with an old rival Kampila-dēva of Kampili. An inscription at Kaḍasūr dated in July-August 1325 tells us that while Ballāla III was ruling at <Dōra>samudra, and the ministers Beceya-dañṇāyaka and Singeya-dañṇāyaka were governing the district, the great sāmanta the Kukula-nād-āḷva, that is, the ruler of the Kukula or Kukkala-nād, which lay due east of that district, engaged in combat with some one; Becaya-dañṇāyaka took part in a battle in which Kampila-dēva confronted both the dañṇāyakas.(3) It may be gathered that Kampila-dēva made an attack upon the north-eastern parts of the Hoysala nād and the local governors joined forces to repel it. Ballāla had meanwhile moved to Dōrasamudra to direct operations. An inscription of the following month, that is perhaps the end of August 1325, tells how Bebeya-dañṇāyaka, minister of Ballāla-dēvarasa granted a nettaru-godaḡi, or "blood-grant", to the brother of a certain warrior who fell when Bebeya attacked Kambala (i. e. Kampila)-dēva, who had smitten Huliyaera

conducted a raiding expedition, which appears to have been uneventful, into Ma'bar in 1319. Badāoni, Muntakhab ut Tawārikh, p. 212.

Page 468 n.(3) S.I.I.V 242, A.R.1893, 566; V.R.I. 524, Coimb. 46, quoting "Ins. S. dts. p. 42 No. 3"; A.R.1905, 588; A.R.1909, 189.

Page 468 n.(4) A.R.1906, 444 and (1907) p. 80.

(1) S.I.I.IX pt. 1, 356, A.R. 771 of 1917. The editor wrongly gives the year as Raktākṣi. (2) S.I.I.IX pt. 1, 357, A.R. 1912, 81.

(3) over.

and was departing. The battle took place in front of Molala. Thus Kampila had made a raid across a wide area of land against one of the most important Hoysala towns in the north. An undated inscription at Kūdli gives further information about Ballāla's dealings with Kampila, and it may safely be assigned to 1325. Ballāla had marched against Kampila-dēva, who bore various titles including gaṇḍa-gōva, miseyara-gaṇḍa and Piṅgali-rāya-rakhaṇāḷaka, and was on the point of seizing all his property, and had actually reached Siruguppe, which must have been near the northern limits of the Kampili dominions, when Kampila, learning of this, attacked Ballāla and fought "so as to win the praise of the whole world". Ballāla was present at the battle, and a certain Bembeya-dannāyaka, probably he who was mentioned before as Bebeya, came and promised to perform a feat. It is plain that the Hoysala got the better of Kampila, but later developments show that an agreement or non-aggression pact was entered into between them. (1)

Hardly had Ballāla succeeded in dealing with this menace when he was once again forced into contact with the Sultān of Delhi. He had, no doubt, eleven years before, received with mixed feelings the news of the ravaging of Kampila's kingdom by Malik Nāib. His dealing subsequently with Mubārak Shāh, it is fairly clear, had been formal, and there is no proof either that he remitted tribute to Delhi, or that he received a Muslim garrison within his dominions, as Firishtah says. (2)

Page 469 n.(3) E.C.XII Tiptur 24(1325). The record is extensively damaged. Rice unnecessarily supposes that Kampila was pierced and slain. It is open to question whether the name Beceya should not be read Baiceya, Bebeya, Bembeya, or even Bemceya.

(1) E.C.XI Hiriyur 16(1325), misdated by Rice 1205; likewise Hiriyur 18 should be dated 1328 instead of 1208.
(2) over.

This time the ruler was Muhammad bin Tughluq Shah, the former Ulugh Khān son of Ghiyās ud dīn, a man of exceptional energy, and the object of about equally enthusiastic praise and blame in his own day as at present. Ballāla took the same view of his relations with the Muslims of Delhi as in 1311, and once again refused to endanger his life or security, even though in this case the disgrace incurred may appear much greater.

We learn from Badāonī that towards the end of the year 727/1326-7 Malik Bahādur Gurshāsp revolted. (1) Sirhindī tells us that he was 'Ariz i Lashkar, or Inspector-general of the Forces. He continues: "Khwāja i Jāhān was sent against him with victorious troops, in order to ward off his evil intention; on his arrival at his destination the aforesaid Bahādur opposed him with a proportion of his forces, and joined battle. Losing the day, he was put to flight and made prisoner by the Hindus. They brought him alive to the Court, where he was punished." (2)

To this laconic account contemporary writers add much of interest. Ibn Battūtah tells us that Bahā ud dīn Gush-tāsp, as he calls him, was a cousin of Muhammad bin Tughluq, and governor of a province under Ghiyās ud dīn. (3) He refused to swear allegiance to Muhammad, and so was attacked by an army sent by the latter under Khwāja Jahān. Defeated, Bahā ud dīn fled to a Hindu Rāi named Kanbīlah, or rather, as Ibn Battūtah explains, Rāi of the country called Kanbīlah. The Rāi owned

Page 470 n. (2) Firishta, Bombay Text (1831) - .220-1. "He placed thānas (i. e. police-posts) at, or in, Gulbargah, Sāghar and Dhōr-samundar." REAS P. 65 f. 122a-b reads

which shows that the author imagined that Kampīlah (Kampili) also was the quarters of a thāna. But there is no evidence to support the statement. In 1318-9 activity both in the Hoysala and the Kampili domains belies such an unnecessary intrusion.

(1) Muntakhab ut Tawārīkh, p. 226-7. (2) Calcutta text, p. 99; Basu's translation is defective here. (3) Firishta says that he was governor of

lands situated amongst inaccessible mountains and was one of the principal kings among the unbelievers; things went hard for this Rāī, as his supplies were in danger of being exhausted, and so he decided to perish in battle, while the female members of his family committed sati. Ibn Battūtah explains at length how this was done, but tells how before the impressive ordeal the Rāī told the fugitive to go to a certain king, naming a Hindu prince, and stay with him, for "he will defend you". He sent someone with him to conduct him to this Hindu sovereign. After this the Rāī and his followers died in battle, the city was taken, and the eleven sons of the Rāī of Kanbīlah were brought to the Sultān and "made Muslims". They were made generals and held in high esteem, and one in particular was an intimate friend of Ibn Battūtah himself. After the death of the Rāī of Kanbīlah the troops of the Sultān turned towards the country of the unbeliever to whom Bahā ud dīn had fled for refuge, and encircled it. The prince said, "I can not do like king Kanbīlah" and seized Bahā ud dīn and handed him over to the Sultān's army. Details of his horrid end follow. (1)

It is easy to recognize in this little drama Kampiladeva and his old enemy Ballāla, both clearly hostile to the Sultān of Delhi, but the former immeasurably more courageous than the latter. 'Isāmī has some further details to add. He also he was governor of Sāgar (otherwise Sāghar). Hence his familiarity with Kampila-deva. Cf. Maḥdi Husain, p. 143-4.

(1) Defrémery and Sanguinetti, vol. iii p. 318-322. Ferishtah's account is similar except that he omits to mention Kampila's fate. The Rājah of Kampilah had twice defeated Khwājah Jahān before he was beaten. Balāl feared the pursuit of the armies of Islam, seized Gurshāsp and sent him to Khwājah Jahān, and counted himself one of the well-wishers of the king:-

Bombay Text, p. 241;
B.M. 6569 f. 151b.

خویش تن را از جمله دولتخواهان پادشاه شمرد .

calls the rebel Bahā'ud dīn Gurshāsp. The revolt was of so serious a nature that when he fled with his army to Kampilah, as 'Iṣāmī calls the place, Muḥammad bin Tuḡluq Shāh came himself ~~to~~ to Dēvagiri-Daulatābād, and sent an expedition against Kampilah. It appears that Kampilā-dēva and the Muslim fugitive moved from Kampili, which we know was an exposed spot, to Kumata in the mountains on the further side of the Tuṅgabhadra, about 22 miles from Kampili. From there they were driven to Hosadurg, otherwise Hosamale-durga, which was on the same mass, and it was there that they stood the final siege. The fall of Kampila must have been a bitter blow to Hindu schemes for the revival of self-government in the Tungabhadra region. Kannada verses at Lakshmeshwar (Hulikere) state that people mourned over the death of Kampila and Sidila-Bomma, mentioning Dilli (Delhi). (2) Of Bahā'ud dīn's fate 'Iṣāmī then says:-

"Bahā'ud dīn's flight from Hosadurg to the territory of Dhōr-samund, and his capture."

"I hear that when Gurshāsp with few horses and goods arrived in flight in the territory of Balāl, the stars and Fortune turned their faces away from him: grief and pain alone overtook him. Balāl took him with guile and deceit, except that on his brow appeared the abode of reproof. He sent him back to Malik-zādah, did that feeble Hindu, with a hundred deliberations; Malik-zādah placed him in heavy fetters and sent him to the Shāh of the World." It is unnecessary to continue with the description of Gurshāsp's sufferings, in the narration of which Ibn Battūtah and 'Iṣāmī are sufficiently

(1) The story is contained within ff. 232b-236a (The quotation is from f. 236a) of Futūh us Salātīn, I.O. 3089. Hosadurg is spelt:

(2) A.R. 1935-6, App. E. 21 (?1327).

(3) Read, f. 236a, line 6: - بسوی ملک زاده گردش روان بصرستی ان فنروی نانون

agreed.

The destruction of the kingdom of Kampili, for which Gurshāsp was the immediate reason, but which must have been among the early objects of the young Sultān, can not but have given much satisfaction to Ballāla III. Undoubtedly his own conduct was unethical, but the interests of his kingdom as well as his own prompted the treachery. (1) Even with the details of the surviving accounts there may not be sufficient ground for the view, but one can not help feeling that Kampilādēva, knowing that Ballāla had not assisted him against their common enemy, but had stood by idly - as indeed the weakness of his resources must have obliged him to do, even if he had wished to do otherwise -, had been very rash to send Gurshāsp to Hoysala territory in the hopes of protection. Of course, no evidence survives that Ballāla did not agree to receive the Muslim, and 'Iṣāmī's account seems to suggest that in fact he did.

There is some ground for believing that after the Gurshāsp incident Muslim detachments penetrated into the Tamil districts of the plain. The Kōyilolugu, whose account of Śrīraṅgam is certainly based on authoritative sources, states that Muslim disturbances took place between 1327 and 1371. (2) And it may be to 1327 rather than 1311 that we should attribute the destruction of the temple doorways and ruining of the country which an inscription of 1336 at Tiruvāmattūr, in the Ponnaiyār valley, about 20 miles south-east of Tiruvannāmalai, says were due to Muslims "in former days". (3)

(1) The Paranāriyarige Sahodaranembantha Kathe of Nagasaṅgayya makes it appear that when Kampila gave shelter to Bahādur Khān (sic) Ballāla was approached by the Sultān's general, Nēmi Khān to attack Rāma, son of Kampila, who takes the chief part in the story. (2) & (3) -over.

It may well have been this Gurshāsp incident that prompted Baranī to write that within the first few years of the reign of the Sultān Muḥammad taxes were recorded as received from various provinces; including Dēvagīr, Telang, Kanpilah, Dhōr-samundar and Ma'bar.(1) The inclusion of Ma'bar casts a shadow of doubt over the whole statement, but it is quite possible that after the Gurshāsp incident payments for the Hoysala country and on behalf of the Tamil districts were actually sent to Delhi by Ballāla, or if not sent, promised. Firishtah probably had just such a notion in mind when he wrote that "Muḥammad Tughluq turned to the organization of the army and the conquest of the countries; he subjected distant provinces such as Dhōr-samundar, Ma'bar, Kanpilah, Wāraṅgal, Laknāhoti, Chetgāon and Sōnārgān as well as places near Delhi."(2) Likewise Muḥammad was supposed to have chosen Daulatābād instead of Delhi for his capital on the ground of its being in a central position between the various provinces, amongst which Ma'bar, Telang, and Dhōr-samundar are mentioned by Baranī.(3)

the story.

Page 474 n.(2) Koyilolugu pp.127-8.

Page 474 n.(3) S.I.I.viii 750, A.R.1903, 434(1336): dated in the 14th year of Venrumān-koṇḍa-Sambuvarāyar (1322-37): munnāl Turukkar vandu tiruvāsalgālum niraiyal kulai [ndu] dēsamum alindu kiḍakkaiyir etc.

(1) Baranī, Tārīkh i Firōz Shāhī, p.468.

(2) Bombay Text, p.238. Briggs i.p.413 says "they were as effectually incorporated within the empire as the villages in the vicinity of Dehly", which, though it is apparent nonsense and in defiance of the texts, Āghā Mahdī Husain, whose work on Muḥammad bin Tughluq is based on the Persian and Arabic sources, strangely follows and approves, p.101. There can have been no "control" in the usual sense over the Hoysala country.

(3) Tārīkh i Firōz Shāhī, p.473-4.

The Masālik ul Absār likewise attributes Dōrsamund to the empire of Muḥammad bin Tughluq at about 1333, as one of the 23 provinces. (1) Ibn Battūṭah, on the other hand, does not mention Dōrasamudra as among the provinces of the Sultanate of Delhi, probably because he gives no specific list. In any case it may be understood that only a very remote contact could have existed between Delhi and Dōrasamudra, Ballāla's meekness naturally preventing the Sultān from taking any special measures to ensure his loyalty. When steps were needed to be taken for the subjection of Ma'bar, that is principally the Pāṇḍya nād, the Sultān's deputy revolted and set up his own government there: this danger was always present when expeditions were sent over great distances, and the attitude of Ballāla must have been highly appreciated at Delhi.

The situation on his northern frontier now being quiet, Ballāla moved back to the plains, and by July 1328 was in Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, frequently called in the inscriptions Unṇāmale-paṭṭaṇa. (2) He was still there in August and October 1328. Ballāla's authority was still recognized in the south, but still to a limited extent. His records are found at Vijayamaṅgalam, and Pāriyūr in the modern Coimbatore district, and at Tirupatūr, nearly thirty miles north-west of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. (3)

It seems that in 1329 Ballāla was involved in warfare again: a certain Parabala-Siṅga, about whom nothing is known, was the object of his attack, and the record being at Bāsūru in the Sagara tāluqa makes it appear that the disturbance occurred in the north-west. (4)

(1) Masālik ul Absār, Notices des Mss, Tome xiii, p. 167 ff. Cf. Maḥdi Husain, p. 91. The word Tilanj does not in fact appear to be attached to Dōr-samund. (2), (3) & (4) over.

In September 1330, however, Ballāla was at Virūpākṣa-paṭṭana. The name is unfortunately so common that a definite identification is impossible.(1) Again, he was at Virūpākṣa-Hosadurga in October of the next year.(2) Whether any military activity took place there is open to conjecture. In the same month he had returned to Arunasamudra, a fact which makes it appear that whenever Virūpākṣa-Hosadurga was it was not anywhere in the north. He then bore the titles Hammīra-rāya Brahma-rāksasa and Rūḍi-rāya-vaḍabānala, both of which are of doubtful significance. Hammīra may be the brother of Rudra of Wāraṅgal, or any Hindu prince who assumed the Muslim title amīr as a name. Rūḍi-rāya may mean "a famous prince", or may be a proper name, while, on the other hand, it may just possibly refer to the Pāṇḍya, if it be shown that the later Pāṇḍyas perpetuated a reference to Sundara's fabulous tulābharanaś.(3)

Whatever the meaning of these titles, it is certain that in April 1331 some Muslims were active in the north of the Hoysala nāḍ. Their place of origin is unknown, but it is quite possible that they were more or less free-lance adventurers, attempting to follow the example of the followers of Malik Nāib and Khusrau Khān. They were at Goravanakallu, which may be Koravaṅgala in the modern Hassan Tāluqa, hardly ten miles from Dōra-samudra, or Kuruvaṅka further to the north-east, a short distance from the place of the record. When on their way northward they were intercepted by a small Hoysala force and suffered

Page 476 n.(2). E.C.IX Devanhalli 1(1328); ibid. Dod Ballapur 14 & 18(1328); ibid. Hoskote 124(1328); M.A.R. 1911-2, para. 93, which is E.C.III Krishnarajapet 28 completed, probably is of this period. Page 476 n.(3) E.C.XI Chitaldrug 4(1328); E.C.IX Devanhalli 60(1328). A.R. 1905, 552(1327); A.R. 1910, 184(1327); A.R. 1909, 253. Page 476 n.(4) E.C.VIII Sagar 104(?1329) dated Śukla, no śaka year given. A certain Sāla (?śyāla) Kōṭi-nāyaka is mentioned.

some losses. The king and Kāmeya-dañṇāyaka, apparently ruling jointly, gave a "blood-grant" to a warrior.(1)

It may have been the same band of Muslims that fought with the local inhabitants somewhere in western Mysore in February 1332. At any rate the need for security against Muslim penetration began to be felt more strongly than before.

The general condition of the Hoysala country had recovered a little from its deep decline after 1310, but only at the cost of the central government, which had probably had no opportunity to recruit either the royal treasury or the royal armies, and the power of the executive lay principally in the hands of a large body of Dañṇāyakas whose influence had never been so great in the history of the dynasty. A swollen number of Kumāras, seldom having any close connection with the royal family, exercised sway hardly unequal to that of the ageing Ballāḷa himself.(3) The king's ingenuity was by no means exhausted, and a series of measures was prosecuted with a

Page 477 n.(1) There is a Virūpapura in the Magadi tāluqa of the Bangalore district. Venkataramanayya, V.C.E.p.45, prefers this to the three Virūpākṣapurās he has discovered in or near the Mulbagal, Channapatna and Coondapoor districts respectively. E.CX Goribidnur 49, undated, tells of Vīra-Ballāḷa-dēvarasa's stay at Hosaviḍu. We know nothing of the place or the period in which Ballāḷa was there, but it may have been on his way to or from Virūpākṣa-paṭṭana.

Page 477 n.(2) E.C.V Arsikere 66(1330); E.C.XII Gubbi 30(1331). Page 477 n.(3) E.C.IX Channapatna 71(1331). Spelt Rūḍi-rāya-vaḍa-bānala the title is used much earlier: E.C.IX Channapatna 73 (1318): the correct spelling is rūḍhi. E.C.IV Nagamangala 29 of 1219 may be quoted in support of a theory that Hammīra was the Sultān of Delhi: Hammīra attends Ballāḷa II's durbar. E.C.XII Gubbi 30(1331) has similar titles, while E.C.IX Bangalore 110 (1336) has Aḍava-rāya-bañjanāmurtti. Aḍava-rāya is also unknown.

(1) E.C.V Arsikere 31(1331). (2) E.C.II 405(?1332 -Angira), M.A.R.1910-1, para.110. (3) Amarai-uḍaiya; Hiriya Ballappa-dañṇāyaka; Dāḍi-Ballappa-dañṇāyaka; Cenneya-nāyaka; Lakeya-nāyaka; Laksmīdhara-dañṇāyaka; Māyili-nāyaka; Sōmapa-dañṇāyaka; Ekkatti-Vīra-Kampa-Sōmīśvara-nāyaka; Tiparasa; see lists in Appendix V .

somewhat pathetic zeal, in an attempt to frustrate the internal and external forces tending towards the disintegration of the kingdom.

The Tiruvaṅṅāmalai venture was by no means closed, for Ballāla III subsequently used it as his place of residence on several occasions. But the scope for aggrandisement had turned out to be far less extensive in that quarter than the king had supposed ten years before. The Sambuvarāyar had not yielded place to him, not had the Pāṇḍyas ignored his action, even if they had not as yet actively striven to dislodge him. Admittedly the Hoysala possessions to the west of the Kāvēri in the Koṅgu regions remained apparently undisturbed until the collapse of the dynasty; a continuous chain of records proves this.(1) But Hoysala general success and profit in the south was poor. No inscription of Ballāla III are found in the Kaṅṅanūr region or further east than Tiruvaṅṅāmalai: indeed it seems that hardly any distance from that town was covered by Ballāla's revenue collectors. The Hoysala country had therefore failed to expand in the south as had been anticipated, and to that failure was added a sad fact which must have called for urgent attention. The heart of the Hoysala nāḍ proper, the modern Hassan, Kadur, western Tumkur and northern Mysore districts, was beginning to fall into decay. The capital Dōrasamudra

(1) AR.1923, 6, 10, & 31(1334); 8(1325), 17(1325), 12(1331), & 19(1331) all at Idigarai; south-west of Annūr; V.R.I p.525 Coimb.53(1334) at Sēvūr; V.R.I p.526, Coimb.65(c1335) at Anḍiyūr; ibid.539(c1335) at Tiṅgalūr; A.R.1920, 273 & 277(1336) at Kattaṅgani; A.R.1927-8 222(1338) at Anaimalai, Pollachi tāluqa; V.R.I p.547(1338) at Elattūr, Gobiccettipalayam tāluqa; A.R.1906, 437(1338) at Danāyak-ankōṭṭai; S.I.I.IV 415, AR.1891, 14(1340) ? same as V.R.I p.535, Coimb.155 at Erode; A.R.1935-6, 106(1341) at Viṅṅapalli; A.R.1910 141(1342) at Veḷḷalūr. There is even an undated and unfinished inscription of Ballāla III at Mānūr, a short distance south-

was now situated not at the centre of a vigorous nation, but amid a plain which had degenerated almost to the level of what might be called a few latifundia of absentee landlords; active spirits had long since migrated to more profitable fields; both wealth and initiative was being dissipated over the now much more extensive area in which the Hoysala was interested or committed. This appears to be the only explanation for the extraordinary dearth, indeed almost entire absence, of inscriptions during the last decade of the Hoysala dynasty in this region, while, in sharp contrast, the modern Bangalore and Kolar districts, which had been backward until the time of Rāmanātha, provide an ample collection of lithic records. Ballāla must have been aware of this wedge of weakness through the heart of his dominions, and endeavoured to remedy the defect by a bold move towards the west.

It will be remembered that Ballāla had retained, if not improved upon, the old Hoysala connection with the Sāntara dominions. His failures and necessities in other directions now drove him to exploit these, and to initiate a new policy. A combination of diplomacy and force achieved his object with remarkable speed and success.

He represented to the ruling queen of the Ālupa dynasty, Cikkāyi-tāyi, who was probably the daughter of Sōyi-dēva Ālupendra of Bārahakanyāpura, or Bārakūr, (2) the extreme advisability of forming a single kingdom from coast to coast, which east of the Amarāvati river, in a clearing beneath the mountains which separated the district from the territories depending on Maḍura. But he was clearly not allowed to remain in control there for long: A.R.1908,150(c1335).

(1) Cf. S. I. I. vii 274, A.R.1901,92(1325) at Kāp; also ibid.308, A.R.1901,118a(1328).

MAP E

Scale:

miles

10

20

74° 40'
13° 45'

45'

50'

55'

75°

5'

10'

40'

35'

30'

25'

20'

15'

10'

5'

13°

55'

50'

12° 45'



To Tirthahalli and Shimoga

To Tanikere

To Saklespur

J.D.M.D.

would prove an obstacle to the further penetrations either of the Muslims themselves or of the Hindu vassals of the Sultān of Delhi. He had himself visited Kāñci (1) and had a system of communications throughout the Deccan and the Tamil country; the Kākatīya power could not be counted on any longer, and the Hoysala could, he thought, protect the eastern approaches; his only weak point was the western coastal strip. To these arguments the Ālupa queen added her own reflections on the ambitions of the Muslims, especially those amīrs who ruled small principalities on the Malabar coast and recognized the overlordship of Muhammad bin Tughluq.(2) The result of the negotiations was the marriage of the two sovereigns and the absorption of the Ālupa country into the Hoysala dominions. Some resistance was doubtless experienced from interests prejudiced by this innovation, but Ballāla successfully overcame it. In March 1333 he was acknowledged at Nilāvāra, just over two miles from the Ālupa capital. A record at Vaḍḍarśe likewise belongs to Ballāla.(3) In December of the same year he was recognized at Hosāla in the same region. The association between the two houses continued without interruption until Ballāla III's death. Incriptions of Ballāla, his queen Cikkāyi, whose name appears with the variant spelling Kikkāyi and the misreading Bukkāyi, and finally herself with their son Kulaśekhara appear over an area of 800 miles between Kanyāna in the north and a point about twenty miles north of Maṅgalūr in the

(1) This seems the only possible interpretation of the difficult A.R1919,401(dated Bhāvaka,Tai 2) at Kāñci. When the text is published more satisfactory use may be made of it. E.C.III Malavalli 104(1333) gives Ballāla the title "glittering mirror to Kāñci".Rice makes an error in his translation of the now insig-

south. (1) It does not appear that any considerable profit was derived by either party from this arrangement. An economic advantage to the Hoysala nād certainly resulted, but it was probably small in practice, for the taxes on imports and exports over the ghats were in any case enjoyed largely by inferior officials, and the change of ruler would have made little difference.

In November 1333 Ballāla was in Hosabattā, a place unidentified, like Hosanād, at which ~~he~~ also ^{he} resided at one time.

(2) He may have been superintending the completion of his arrangements with the Tuluvas or Ālupa country. Perhaps a similar origin accounts for the military operations he was obliged to continue against Kuppe in the north-western districts, from which fighting he appears to have emerged successful. (3) It is interesting to note that one petty ruler at least benefited from the vicissitudes of the period: a certain Jaina inhabitant of the mountainous recesses between the Hoysala nād and the Ālupa country set up an inscription in which he, Lōkanātha - dēvarasa, appears with several absurdly boastful titles, which

nificant title Kāḍava-kulay-Adiyamay-apravēṣa-pratāpa, which seems to mean, "He whose prowess prevents the intrusion of Kāḍava-clan and Adiyama (or "the Adigaimān")".

Page 481 n. (2) See Ibn Battūta, Broadway Travellers' ed. pp. 230-2. Page 481 n. (3) A.R. 1928-9, 492 (1333); A.R. 1931-2, 293 (cl333). At Hosāla, AR. 1931-2, 262 (1333).

(1) See Map 'E'. A.R. 1928-9, 493 (1335) at Nilāvara; A.R. 1929-30 583 (1335) at Bailūr; S.I.I. vii 312, A.R. 1901, 122 (1336) at Mudakeri near Barakūr; A.R. 1929-30, 568 (?1338) at Hatyaṅgadi; S.I.I. vii 232, A.R. 1901, 57a (?1338) at Kantāvara; S.I.I. vii 213, A.R. 1901, 43 (?1341) at Mūdabidure; A.R. 1931-2, 240 (1343) at Mēladupu near Arūr. The last independent Ālupa inscription is A.R. 1930-1 360 (?1348) at Kanyāna.

(2) E.C. IX Nelamangala 9 (1333). E.C. IX Dod Ballapura 43 (cl340).

(3) E.C. VIII Sorab 494 (1334) at Kuppe.

include the title "Ballāla-rāya-citta-camatkārār", the sur-
priser, or delighter of the heart of king Ballāla. The instance
is unique(1). Doubtless he performed some small service for
the moribund dynasty.

In October 1334 Ballāla was still watching the
situation in the west, for he was at Dōrasamudra, ruling "his
own kingdom".(2) He was still there in February 1336,(3) for
affairs had just taken a fresh turn. In the south Māravarman
Parākrama Pāṇḍya, a man of apparently more than ordinary
initiative, had commenced to reign, and had begun to bring
some of the northern Tamil districts under his rule. An inscrip-
tion of his second year is found at Ādūturai, and subsequent
records shew that he held extensive lands in the Kāvēri valley
and further north.(4) But a series of new and much more import-
ant developments opened in 1336 in the region of the kingdom
that had once belonged to the hero Kampila.

Of the many scholars that have devoted their labour
to the problem of the origin of the first Vijayanagara dynasty
the most successful seems to have been Dr.N.Venkataramanayya,
whose works have progressively elucidated the mysterious ques-
tion, and there is no need to enter here into any discussions
on the topic. Let it suffice to say that a fuller examination
of the Persian Texts clearly confirms his theories in their
latest form, and helps to dispose finally of the erroneous
theory that Vīra-Ballāla himself founded Vijayanagara.

(1) S.I.I.vii 247, A.R.71 of 1901(1335) at Hiriyāṅgadi, Karkal
tāluqa. (2) E.C.IX Channapatna 7(1334): sva-rājyam gevuttiralu.
(3) EC.IX Bangalore 110(1336). (4) A.R.1913, 24(1336); A.R.1913
35(1338) at Ādūturai; A.R.1903, 364(1342) at Andanallūr; A.R.1903,
264a(1342) at Tirūppālatturai.

Both version A and version B of Firishta have in common the story that Ballāla founded Vijayanagara, giving it a name after his son, which subsequently became corrupted to that current in Firishta's day. He states that the city was on Ballāla's frontier and in an inaccessible place. As a matter of fact the city was originally known as Vidyānagara, having been named after the founders' ally, the sage Vidyāranya whose support was necessary for the establishment of the new kingdom, and later, though not many years later, it received the name Vijayanagara, when military prowess had made the reference to the sage otiose. Firishta is clearly transmitting legends current at that city in his own time: they are not without interest. As for the position of the city, it was well beyond Ballāla's frontier, and was readily accessible from all points of approach. (1) Firishta, moreover, assigns to the period of 1342 the conference of Kṛṣṇa-nāyaka of Wāraṅgal with Ballāla, and assumes that the foundation of Vijayanagara developed from it.

The facts, however, appear to have been as follows:- The numerous rebellions against Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh encouraged the rulers in the old Kākatīya and Kampili dominions to expect complete freedom from Muslim overlordship, and in consequence of agitation some severe repressive measures had to be instituted by the Sultān. Among other means adopted by him for the preservation of order in the south was the despatch of at least two men who had once been of the household of Kampilādēva, and who had been "made Muslims", to take over the gover-

(1) Firishta: version A: Bombay Text, p. 246; B. M. Add. 6569 f. 154b; Egerton 1000 f. 113b; version B: R. A. S. P. 65 f. 181b; I. O. 2035 f. 128b; I. O. 1251 f. 167a.

norship of the Tuṅgabhadra region. Circumstances and legendary sources, which need not be discussed here, indicate that these men were originally connected with the court of Pratāpa Rudra of Wāraṅgal, so that, though they were socially of low status among Hindus, as the emissaries of the Sultān they were not only qualified but also in a position to exercise influence in that region where neither the Hoysala nor the remnants of the old governing classes under the Kākatīyas were in fact able to establish regular control. As Firīḡhtah puts it: "A person from among the relatives (2) of the king of Kampilah, whom Sultān Muḥammad had made a Muslim, had been sent to Kampilah; and he deserted Islam and practised impiety, and he too released Kampilah from the rule of the Sultān's officers. Among remote countries nothing but (those of) the Rāis of Gujērāt and Dēvagīr remained under his thumb. On all sides troubles and disturbances occurred." This passage explains the reference of 'Isāmī when he says: "An apostate seized the country of Kannar and captured (the land) from Gūti to the boundaries of Ma'bar." (3) For 'Isāmī sums up in a sentence the process of six years, part of which we are going to observe in more detail.

A discordant note is heard from Baranī, who, being a closer contemporary, has the right to more credence. He says, "A person from among the relatives of Kanyā whom Sultān Muḥammad had sent to Kampilah, turned, unhappy one, from Islam and became an apostate, and practised tyranny; and the whole of the region of Kampilah fell into the hands of the Hindus...." (4)

(1) Version B. (2)

(3) Futūh us Salātīn, I. O. 3089 f. 326a line 13.

(4) Tārīkh i Fārōz Shāhī, p. 484. B.M.Or. 2039 f. 239b reads Kanbā-nāyāk a few lines earlier and it is just possible that "relatives of Kampilah" should be read "اقربای کنیله که" who "کنیله که".

The truth, however, seems to be that because these two men, Harihara and Bukka of the family of Saṅgama or Saṅgarāya, had been connected with both the Kākatiya and Kampili courts before being taken to Delhi, and spoke both Kannada and Telugu, the historian was not able to ascertain to which part of the Deccan they in fact belonged. The Vidyāranya Vṛtānta says that they were treasurers of Pratāpa Rudra and were captured at Wāraṅgal and found favour by miraculous means in the eyes of the Sultān, who subsequently sent them to the south to reduce the rebellious Ballālas to obedience. (1)

Ignoring the statement in that semi-legendary account, repeated in similar sources, that the Ballālas at first defeated Harihara and Bukka, we may proceed by noticing the word "too" which occurs in the version B of Firishtah. The liberation of Kampili from Muslim domination is shown by that writer to have been the cooperative work of Ballāla III and Kṛṣṇa-nāyaka, whom he calls Kisnā or Kitnā-nāyak, son of Laddarādēv, Pratāpa Rudra. (2) According to Firishtah Kṛṣṇa-nāyaka approached Ballāla with a view to their joint action against the Muslims, who were expected to employ more forcible methods to control the Karnātak and the Telugu country. Ballāla agreed to concentrate on the defence of the northern frontier, and Firishtah says that he actually left his dominions behind and made his camp in the north, helping Kṛṣṇa-nāyaka to regain control of Wāraṅgal and eject the Muslim wazīr who was there. Together, he says, they detached from the Muslims, and brought over to their common cause, the Rāis of Dhōr-samundar and Ma'bar,

(1) Sastri & Venkataramanayya, Further Sources of Vijayanagara History, vol. iii, p. 10-1.

(2) I. Q1251 f. 167a gives Kitnā; R.A.S.P. 65 f. 181b varies between Kisnā and Kinsā; B.M. Add. 6569 reads, f. 154b, Kanā, but

who "of old had paid tribute to the ruler of the Karnātak." From this confused account it is apparent that Ballāla and the descendant of the Kākatīya ruler or his representative connived at the establishment of the kingdom of Vijayanagara, which could never have survived infancy had not these two powers cooperated in protecting its initial stages. (1) As soon as was convenient Harihara and Bukka apostatized from Islam, and in 1336 the city of Vidyānagara was founded on the bank of the river opposite to Ānegondi, near the ancient shrine of Virūpākṣa at Hampe, within the old kingdom of Kam-pili. There survive two inscriptions of Harihara dated in 1336. (2)

For the first four years of his reign Harihara enjoyed the complacent support of Ballāla, especially when a Muslim expedition under Sayyid Hasan Kithili was sent by the Sultān of Delhi to conquer Ma'bar. Harihara however gradually extended his control over the Karnāṭaka, spreading his net further and further from the Tungabhadra valley, and before long actually possessed several districts within the Hoysala country itself. Ballāla's hostility at that stage could be despised, as he was fully occupied in the south, attempting to profit from the confusion caused by the newly formed Sult-anate of Madura. The varied stages of the process can easily be traced.

but on f.155b Kansā; Egerton 1000 f.113b also reads Kanā. The excessively lengthy arguments of Venkataramanayya in V.C.E. p.171-176, to prove that Kanyānāyak was the same as Kāpaya-nāyaka who is said to have ruled at Wāraṅgal after 1344 are here ignored as irrelevant.

(1) It is not necessary to follow F. Briant to the extent of supposing that the expulsion of the Muslim governor from Wāraṅgal, which is held to have taken place about 1345, followed closely upon the conference between Ballāla and Kṛṣṇa-nāyaka. The account is not sufficiently circumstantial to receive an analysis here. (2) N.D.I.vol.1 p.109-124; E.C.X Bagepalli 70. If the latter is a forgery, as Rice thought, then both

Some time before January 1337 Ballāla III made an expedition to the north.(1) Its object can only be conjectured; probably his intention was to impress the brothers at Hampe with his power, as well as to discourage possible alternative candidates for the supremacy of the Tungabhadra valley. At any rate the expedition was successful in its object, for he is said to have performed a "conquest of the quarters" in the northern region.(2)

Meanwhile two conflicts were in progress elsewhere. In the east his trusted subordinate and remote kinsman, Dādi Vallappa-dannāyaka was engaged in a campaign against unknown enemies, perhaps rebels in that region where there was always an element attached to their independence;(3) in the north-west some difficulties had arisen, and a garrison had to be posted at Bārakūr, the capital of Ballāla's Ālupa queen. In April 1338 he was ruling in "his own royal city Dōrasamudra", after paying a visit to the army at Bārakūr; at that time he had ordered a nāyaka to remain in Bārakūr, and on his promising to do so gave him a kodagi in his home territory, Nirugunḍa-nād.(4) This was not, in all probability, a very valuable present. In 1339 Vallappa-dannāyaka was still engaged in warfare, apparently increasing his own importance in the eastern part of the kingdom.

(5) But at the beginning of the year some sort of adjustment of

are. But they are likely to be genuine, and the date 1336 for the foundation of Vijayanagara is almost universally supported by various types of materials, legendary, semi-legendary and epigraphic.

(1) MAR. 1937, 52 and E.C.IV Chamrajnagar 204(1337).

(2) It is not probable that the title Teluṅga-rāja ...bhādu pra ...kāla-Rudra is of any practical significance. E.C.IX Bangalore 111(1340).

(3) E.CX Chintamani 53(1337).

(4) E.C.V Arsikere 183(1338).

(5) E.C.X Kolar 54(1339) and Bowringpet 28(1339).

conflicting interests must have been arrived at for the time being, for Ballāla was ruling "a peaceful kingdom" in the residence of Vīra-Vijaya-Virūpākṣapura, probably identical with the Virūpākṣa-paṭṭana which he had visited before, "as sole king by his own valour."(1)

But the situation was now complicated by another feature, to which allusion has already been made. If Harihara's expansion in the north gave cause for watchfulness,(2) a serious menace developed in the south.

Āghā Maḥdi Husain in his work on Muḥammad bin Tughluq has been unable to show when precisely Sayyid Hasan Kithili, to follow Sirhindi's way of referring to him, or Sayyid Aḥmad Shāh Kaithili, as he prefers, was sent by the Sultān to Ma'bar. It may have been in 1338 or 1339. The Muslims obtained some control of the southern Pāṇḍya country, though we can not be sure that any very extensive area around Madura was under their government. In 1341-2, according to Sirhindi, he declared his independence of Delhi.(3) Troops sent to suppress his rebellion joined him instead, and the Sultanate of Madura was established upon a firm if doubtless luxurious foundation. It is known that many Muslims were employed by the Pāṇḍya princes, and often held high offices of State,(4) so Aḥmad Shāh found no difficulty in organizing a fairly profitable and secure regime under their guidance and with their cooperation. In July 1340 Ballāla III was already obliged to return to Tiruvaṅṅamalai to observe the

(1) E.C.IX Hoskote 43(1339) nijada vīrada ēka-rāya-rājavāgi.
 (2) An inscription of Harihara is found at Bādāmi dated March 1340: I.A.X p.62-63; W.E.II p.657 provides an incorrect copy.
 (3) Calcutta text, p.106. Cf. 'Isāmī, I.O.3089 f.326a.
 (4) Rashīd ud dīn, Jāmī ut Tawārīkh, I.O.3524 f.375b; B.M.Add. 7628 f.381a; Binākīti, Tawārīkh i Binākīti, I.O.215 f.174b; B.M.Add.7627 f.121a; B.M.Add.7626 f.112a; R.A.S.P.27 f.6b; Waṣṣāf,

(1)

progress of this new venture. He was, of course, not alone in his anxiety. Māravarma Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, who in fact was recognized at Ceṅgama in 1340, and thus must have been in a position to embarrass Ballāla had he wished, (2) was likewise interested in the degree of enthusiasm about to be shown by the Sultān of Madura to recover the whole territories ruled since 1257 by the dynasty whose capital he had usurped. A degree of tolerance must have been exercised by both parties, for while Parākrama ruled here and there around him, Ballāla III stayed in Tiruvaṅṅāmalai apparently undisturbed. (3) Apart from his records at Anṅāmalai itself, one is found dated 1341 at Nāraṅakuppam, about twelve miles south-west of that town near the river Ponnaiyār. (4)

According to the Aruṅācalampurānam, Ballāla III was one of the most important residents at that famous hill, and the eighteenth-century author of the purānam records the legends concerning his stay at Anṅāmalai. The seventh canto is entitled Vallāla-magarācaṅ-carukkam, "the chapter on the great king Ballāla". He gives the impression that the king was well established there, and was renowned for his virtues; but continues the legend with the baseless statements that he was of the Agni-vaṃsa and without issue. He made announcement of a general feast at his own expense, with the object of obtaining a son, and eventually succeeded in doing so after allowing a

Tārīkh i Waṣṣāf, B.M.Add.23,517 f.530b. Also Friar John of Monte Corvino's letter dated 22nd December 129(?) in Yule, Cathay and the way thither, vol.iii, p.64.

(1) E.C.IX Devanahalli 54(1340). He was in Dōrasamudra just before. Cf. the damaged and partially dated S.I.I.IX pt.1, 359.

(2) Ceṅgama was on the main road from Tiruvaṅṅāmalai to the Hoysala country: S.I.I.vii 125(1340). It is of interest that a certain Brahman named Appaṅa, who originated in the Hoysala nāḍ

junior queen to offer herself for the satisfaction of Śiva, the god of the temple at Tiruvannāmalai, who arrived disguised as a mendicant, and who in this form was unable to obtain the services of any of the regular prostitutes of the town. The son, however, who turned out to be Śiva himself, blessed the king and promised to perform his funeral rites according to the rules given in the Vedas. This delightful tale can, of course, be entirely ^{ignored} ~~ignored~~, the only particular of it which is true being Ballāla's residence at the town. He is known to have constructed certain parts of the Arunācalēśvara temple there, and it is possible that sculptured scenes then erected may have stimulated the inventive genius of later generations. (1) As if to disprove the main point of the puerile story, we have evidence to hand that Ballāla III actually crowned his son Ballāla IV in the city of Tiruvannāmalai. An inscription of October 1340 states that Vīra-Ballāla-dēvar was ruling the kingdom in the enjoyment of pleasant communications, having been engaged in performing a coronation to the kingdom. (2) Clearly the person crowned was his son, afterwards Ballāla IV. The events which prompted Ballāla to take this step must have been the activity of the Madura Sultān and that of Harihara of Vijayanagara, in addition to the fact that his own advanced years prevented him from controlling the complexity of his declining affairs with even a small show of efficiency. Ibn Battūtah

exercised some authority there at the time.

Page 490 n.(3) E.C.IX Bangalore 31(1340); S.I.I.VIII 99 & 89(1340). He is called amongst other things Koṅkaṇa-cakravarti, a title which he had to some extent earned. It is certain from the two inscriptions that Ballāla possessed the agrahāra called Rupa-nārāyaṇa-caturvēdimāṅalam on the north bank of the Ceyyār river. Page 490 n.(4) A.R.1933-4, 65, dated Vikrama, 53rd year.

(1) More than one copy of the story is found besides that in

tells us that Ballāla was in his eighties; he had been on the throne for fifty years, and though the estimate may be a little inexact, for he was probably nearer 78 than 80, yet he had reached an unusually extended period of life for his contemporaries, and it is remarkable that he was as active as our evidence clearly shows that he was. Ballāla-rāya, his son, must have been little short of fifty-five when he was crowned, and the very low ebb of Hoysala affairs during his father's reign may be held to show that as Crown Prince he too showed no special abilities or effective powers.

While the two Ballālas were in their look-out at Tiruvaṅṅemalai, perched at the very edge of their dominions, and far from the centre of their hereditary possessions, Harihara-rāya was preparing to occupy the Hoysala-nād. An inscription of equivocal date, but probably of 1340, shows the mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, ari-rāya-vibhāḍa, rāyara-gaṇḍa, catuṣsamudrādhipati Vīra-Hariyappav-oḍeyar ruling in the modern Nelamangala tāluqa of the Bangalore district. He seems to have retired from there for the moment, but returned certainly four years later. His relationship to Ballāla seems to have been comparable to that of a vulture to a dying beast. (2)

the Aruṇācala-puranam itself. Mackenzie Collection: General, vol xv pp. 245-52. It notes that Ballāla built the third inclosure wall and its four Gopurams; a yearly ceremony is conducted there in the month Tai (January-February) in the name of Vallāla-rāya. It is far from certain, but the service may have been instituted in that month of 1341. Page 491 n. (2) Rājyābhiṣēkava mādalāgi: E.C. IX Bangalore 111 (13) Rice is wrong in supposing that the coronation took place at Virūpēksapura.

(1) Cf. E.C. IX Nelamangala 19 with Bangalore 111; in both Naralōka-gaṇḍa Meyileya-nāyaka appears as a subordinate ruler.

(2) E.C. IV Yedatore 29 (March 1342) mentions a certain Hampevoḍeyar who is called the Kumāra of the pratāpa-cakravarti vīra Ballāla-dēvarasa. This has been thought to be Harihara, and with some plausibility. The fine titles which he bore at this

In October 1341 Ballāla was still at Tiruvannāmalai; in February 1342 likewise, and again in March. Doubtless he was there in June 1342, and certainly in September.(1) During the summer he appears to have paid a flying visit to the plateau, only to return with resources, one supposes, for an attack upon the Muslims of Madura.(2)

On the eighth of September 1342 Ballāla pounced upon the army of the Turukas and fought at the place Ciriciṅṅapali, which has been happily identified with Trichinopoly.(3) Naturally, during the whole of the disturbed period of Pāṇḍya civil war and Muslim invasion and finally the foundation of the Sultanate of Madura, Ballāla had been waiting for an opportunity to recapture the lost fief in the Kāvēri valley. Trichinopoly was situated beside the old Cōla capital of Oriyūr (or Uraiyūr), and lay on the further side of Śrīraṅgam from Kaṅṅanūr. It is possible that Ballāla did not capture Trichinopoly at that time; that he had regained possession of Kaṅṅanūr is very unlikely, for the Muslims still held it during the following year. In December Ballāla had left troops in the south and was back in Tiruvannāmalai, having made the eighty-mile journey apparently without ill effect.(4)

would hardly be countenanced in an official record, and Harihara may well have been given the title Kumāra by Ballāla III in the early years of their association. However, there are many Hampes, and the identification is not certain.

(1) E.C.XII Sira 10(1341); E.C.IX Bangalore 129(1342), 24(1342); E.C.IX Devanhalli 46(1342) and Bangalore 21(1342).

(2) E.C.IX Devanhalli 21(1342). He was at Virūpākṣa-pāda on Śrāvāna su 1.

(3) E.C.VI Kadur 75(1367). The record states that Ballāla died then, but the evidence is too late to be preferred to better authorities. Rice reads Beribi in the R.T. but Cirici in the K.T.

(4) E.C.IX Bangalore 41(1342). This is the same stone as Hoskote 147.

Two inscriptions remain bearing Ballāla's titles. They are of the year 1343. One is dated in April, and the other merely with the nakṣatra Puṣya: these are the last extent of his reign.(1)

At some point between April and the middle of August 1343, probably near the end of that period, Ballāla III met his end. The circumstances are known only from Ibn Battūtah, who was not only in southern India at the time, but also visited Ghiyās ud dīn, the then Sultān of Madura, his relative by marriage, and was probably in an excellent position to hear the accounts of eyewitnesses only a few months after the events themselves. The account he gives bears so many minute traces of authenticity and is in itself so plausible, that it deserves to be quoted in extenso and almost without comment.(2)

"In the neighbourhood of his (Ghiyās ud dīn's) territory there was a Hindu sovereign named Balāl-dyav, who was one of the principal Hindu kings. His army exceeded a hundred thousand men,(3) and he had besides about twenty thousand Muslims near him, made up of debauched or criminal types as well as runaway slaves. This ruler eagerly desired to conquer the country of Ma'bar, where the army of the Muslims did not exceed six thousand men, of whom half were of excellent quality, and the rest quite worthless. The Muslims came to grips with him near the city of Kubbān;(4) he put them to flight and they retired to Mutrah, the Court. The Hindu ruler camped near Kubbān, which is one of the largest and strongest places held by the Muslims. He besieged it for about ten months, and at the end

(1) E.C. IX Hoskote 112 & 75(1343).

(2) Defrémery and Sanguinetti, vol. iv p.195 ff.

(3) 100,000 appears a small number, when one considers that

of that period the garrison had provisions only for two weeks. Balāl-dyav sent a proposal to the besieged that they should leave under a safe-conduct, and hand the town over to him, but they replied, "Our Sultān must study this proposal first." He then promised them a truce of fourteen days, and they wrote of their situation to the Sultān Ghiyās ud dīn. That prince read their letter to the people on the following Friday. The faithful wept and said, "We will die under the sword. Behold, if the idolator take that city, he may move on to our stronghold; then death under the sword would be preferable to us." They then exchanged undertakings to expose themselves to death, and set off the next day, taking their turbans from their heads and placing them on the necks of their horses, to indicate that they sought death. They placed the most brave and warlike amongst them in the van, to the number of three hundred. On the right flank was Saif ud dīn Bahādūr, a pious and brave lawyer; on the left Malik Muḥammad the Silahdār. As for the Sultān, he was stationed at the centre accompanied by three thousand men, placing behind him the three thousand that remained, under the command of Asad ud dīn Kaikhusrāu al Fārsī. Thus drawn up, the Muslims made for the camp of the Hindu king at the time of the siesta, (1) when the soldiers were not on guard, and had sent

each of the petty princes of the north-west could put 10,000 men into the field at a time. It is an indication of the decline in Hoysala prosperity. Ibn Battūṭah was not ^{likely to} underestimate here. Page 494 n. (4) Lee's translation of the abridged version of Ibn Battūṭah reads Kiān, the text being كيان, obviously an error for كيان Kupān. He says that Kiān belonged to Ma'bar. The text reads for Mutrah (Madura) متراه, Maturāh, an improvement: p.193.

(1) Reading القليلة. If one read الكافلة it would signify that the camp of the Hindus was at Kāfilah.

their horses to pasture. They poured upon the camp; the idolators thinking that they were thieves came out before them in disorder and fought with them. The Sultān Ghiyās ud dīn then came up and the Hindus were worsted more severely than ever before. (1) Their king attempted to mount a horse, although he was eighty years old. Nāṣir ud dīn, the Sultān's nephew and successor, reached the old man and was about to kill him, for he did not know him. But one of his slaves having said "They (or "These") are the Sultān", he took him prisoner and brought him to his uncle, who treated him with apparent consideration until he had extorted from him his wealth, elephants and horses by promising to release him. When he had relieved him of all his goods, he slew him and had him skinned; his skin was filled with straw and hung on the wall of Mutrah, where I saw it in the same position."

The Muslims' sixty-mile sally had proved very effective, and the senseless pursuit of the will-of-the-wisp city of Kaṇṇanūr (Ibn Battūṭah's Kubbān) had proved fatal to the unfortunate Ballāla. His murder was not avenged until about thirty years later, when the famous Kampaṇa-oḍeyar of the Vijayanagara family destroyed for ever the Sultanate of Madura. As Gaṅgā-dēvī says in her Madhurāvijayam, with a poetic disregard for accuracy:-

Parākramādhaḥ-kr̥ta-Cōla-Pāṇḍyam Vallāla-sampallatikā-kuthāram
raṇōnmukham Kampa-nr̥pō 'bhyanandīd vīrah Suratṛānam udagra-
śauryah //

(1) Lee's translation of the abridged version relates that only the cavalry and those who concealed themselves in the woods escaped: p.193.

"King Kampa, a hero of towering valour, welcomed the Sultān eager for the fray, the Sultān who had brought low both Cōla and Pāṇḍya, and had been an axe to the creeper, the prosperity of Ballāla."(1)

In August 1343 was issued a śāsana granting certain dues to farmers in the name of Vīra-Virūpākṣa, son of Vīra-Ballāla-dēvarasa, jointly with Ballappa-dannāyaka son of Bādiya (elsewhere spelt Dādi) Sōmaya-dannāyaka, on the occasion of the former having obtained the paṭṭa, or crown. It seems that after Ballāla III's death Ballāla IV assumed the government with some ceremony distinct from the abhiṣēka rites which his father had performed a few years before.(2) It is at any rate evident that his power was enjoyed with the acquiescence if not permission of Ballappa, whom as Vallappa we have observed carrying on certain conflicts on the eastern plateau. This powerful subordinate had been employed in this fashion at the beginning of the year, and the capture of Ballāla III had doubtless made him practically indispensable to that king's successor.(3) His opponent had doubtless been Harihara-rāya of Vijayanagara, who had already succeeded to the control of large portions of the Hoysala dominions. The port of Honāvar, to the north of the Hoysala-Ālupa territory, was during Ibn Battūṭah's voyage ruled by a certain Jalāl ud dīn, a feudatory of "Haryab".(4) In April 1343 Hemmaragalli, Heggadadevankote tāluqa, was subject neither to Ballāla nor to Harihara, but by October 1343 Harihara was

(1) Madhurāvijayam, Trivandrum ed.1916, p.82.

(2) EC.VI Chikmagalur 105(1343).

(3) E.C.X Malur 16(1343).

(4) Ibn Battūṭah, Broadway Travellers' ed.p.230.

acknowledged at Gaṇḍasi, Arsikere t̄āluḡa, only a few miles to the north.(1) Soon afterwards Tēkal, the capital in turn of Dādi Sōmeya and Ballappa daṇṇāyakas, was under the control of Harihara's brother Kampanṇa-udaiyar.(2) Two places on the fringe of the Hoysala's eastern dominions recognized Bukka, Harihara's brother, in March 1344.(3) Fighting between Ballāla IV and the Vijayanagara family is evidenced by several vīragals and by the title "maṇḍalēśvara who had achieved greatness over the Turaka, Sēvuna, Teluṅga, Pāṇḍya and Hoysana armies", which the Vijayanagara dynasty soon acquired.(4) In 1346 Harihara, "having conquered the earth from the eastern to the western ocean", made a grant to the maṭha of Śrīṅgēri to celebrate the festival of his victory. A certain Aliya Ballappa-dañṇāyaka, who was probably an ex-Hoysala officer joined the udaiyar brothers in making the grant.(5)

In November 1346 a certain Pāṇḍya-cakravarti, probably of Āluḡa connections, recognized Harihara at Caṭṇakoḍagi in Tirthahalli t̄āluḡa, twenty miles east of Hatyaṅgadi,(6) and in the same year the Vijayanagara ruler was recognized in Bangalore and Kolar districts, then the most productive parts of the decayed Hoysala kingdom.(7) The Immadi-rāhutta-rāya of Daṇṇāyakankōṭṭai seems to have remained independent for the while, but he must soon have acquiesced in the collapse of his master's government.(8) Before January 1347 a Kadamba ruler in the Bana-

(1) E.C.IV Heggadadevankote 112(1343); E.C.V Arsikere 159(1343).

(2) M.A.R.1913-4, para.91. (3) So at least it appears. E.C.X Goribīnūr 46 and Mulbagal 158 are both copies of one original and are identical but for slips and occasional omissions. Rice refused to believe that Bukka had a Tārāṇa year in his reign.

(4) E.C.IV Hunsur 114(1345), Krishnarajapet 46(1346); E.C.XI Chitaldrug 2, M.INS 2, p.4-5. Cf. A.R.1909, 159(1343 and 1345): gifts for the vijayābhūdaya of Siṅgāya-dañṇāyaka. Also see E.C.V Channarayapatna 230(?1345), K.T. only: Harihara-dēvarānu kāṇa hōhali, etc.

vāse 12,000 was defeated, and so the ancient enemies Hoysala and Kadamba were swamped together in the rising flood of Vijayanagara power.(1) By 1348 the Ālupa dynasty had likewise given way.(2) The last inscription of a Hoysala may be one of April 1346, but as no numerical date is given the attribution is doubtful.(3)

So ended, after at least four hundred years of activity, the existence of the Hoysala dynasty as a force in the politics of southern India. With the sudden and unnoticed disappearance of the last representative of the line, the Hoysala leaves the arena of history as abruptly as he entered it. They had, by its own ambition and ineptitude, undermined the structure raised by its earlier achievements, and had rendered a once flourishing and powerful state a helpless prey for more vigorous and clearer-sighted antagonists. To this dynasty neither the Muslim nor Vijayanagara was as hostile as its own inordinate aims.

Their greatness was not, however, quite forgotten. Their devastated and despoiled country was for long known as the Hoysala nād, and a few centuries later a petty ruler claimed descent from their line.(4) The legends of Mysore, as collected in the nineteenth century, still contained many references to the Nine Ballālas.(5) A caste of Mysorean Brahmans still call themselves Hoysala Brahmans, probably because a king of that family took their progenitors under his protection.

They were the most important of those who might claim to be the makers of modern Mysore, and the literature

and architecture of their country still bear witness to the bygone splendour of their rule, the shadow of a great name.

Page 498 n. (6) E.C.VIII Tirthahalli 154(1346).
 Page 498 n. (7) E.C.IX Bangalore 47(1346), 59(1346); X Malur 61, 69
 Page 498 n. (8) A.R.1906, 440 & 442. (1346).

Page 499 n. (1) E.C.VIII Sorab 375(1347).
 Page 499 n. (2) S.I.I.VII 231, A.R.1901, 57(1348) at Kantāvāra.
 Page 499 n. (3) E.C.IX Bangalore 120(?1346): it speaks of the time of Ballāla-rāya, but it may be of 1226 (Vyaya, Vaiśakhā sūl.)
 Page 499 n. (4) S.I.I.VII 77, A.R.1900, 72 at Wandiwash(1697).
 Latest epigraphical references to the Hoysalas are:-

S.I.I.VII 566, A.R.1901, 339(1354).
 E.C.IV Chamrajnagar 113(1368).
 A.R.1936-7, 162(1372) Restoration of the temple of Pōsalīśvara-udaiyār which the Tulukkar had converted into a mosque.

E.C.V Belur 75(1382), 3(?1397).
 E.C.VI Koppa 34(1386).
 E.C.II 254(1398), 258(1432).
 E.C.XII Pavugāda 54(1487).
 M.A.R.1931, 1(c1500) Spurious.
 E.C.VI Koppa 17(1553).
 E.C.VII Channagiri 83(?c1680).
 E.C.III Seringapatam 64(1722).
 Page 499 n. (5) See Appendix III, page 578 .

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CHAPTER SEVEN

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE HOYSALA COUNTRY.

CHAPTER SEVENTHE ADMINISTRATION OF THE HOYSALA COUNTRY.

The object of this chapter is to provide, as far as the limitations of the materials permit, a brief survey of the relations which existed between the government of the Hoysala kingdom and its subjects, and of the manner in which it affected their lives. The theoretical principles of government which in the form of treatises then exercised influence on the ruling classes, together with the details of the various relationships in which the subjects stood to each other, are, for the most part, alike ignored in this account.

The system of government, as observed in practice, may be described as a modified tyranny, the despotic rule of one man being qualified by considerations of expediency. These in fact so far prevented his control from being absolute that a type of constitutional monarchy may be discerned.

There is no reason to believe that this form of government actually operative in the Hoysala country differed materially from that in use in the other sections of the Karnāṭaka; the Cālukya as well as the Kadamba, Sinda and northern Pāṇḍya courts for example almost certainly functioned on similar lines. Several details of their administrative structure, indeed, appear to have differed from the corresponding details in the fully developed Hoysala rājya; so also, on the other hand, the administrative machinery of the Cōla and Pāṇḍya kingdoms of the south had its own peculiarities which are exhaustively investigated elsewhere; but, in the broad, the general

characteristics of the Hoysala governmental mechanism may be accepted as illustrative of southern Indian political institutions in general and those of the Kannada-speaking and a not inconsiderable section of the Tamil-speaking peoples in particular.

The unifying factor in a state was the ruler; there could not be more than one ruler ~~in a state~~ in a state, and the emergence of a second split the unit at once into two parts. In the many instances where our records show the king ruling in the company of another person, it is to be understood that the second was a deputy, subordinate or intermediary of the king. Whenever this was not in fact the case - it invariably was so in theory - the kingdom was already in an advanced stage of disintegration.(1) Whether the unit were large or small, the same principle applied, and the subjection of the ruler of another unit automatically increased the size of the first. The functions of the ruler affected all parts of the unit equally, and pervaded even the remotest extremities: if they at any time failed to do so, the unity was thereby prejudiced, and the appearance of several smaller but equally valid units was facilitated. The larger the unit, and the greater its material resources, the greater the power of the ruler and consequently the greater his ability to exercise his functions to the fullest geographical extent of his dominion. Hence the constant urge to conquer, which can be remarked in the activities of the dynasties that have passed within our view.

(1) E.C.V Channarayapatna 191(1167); ibid.229(1174) and E.C.IV Heggadadevankote 23(1218) are examples of the first category; E.C.V Arsikere 31(1331), E.C.XII Gubbi 30(1331) and E.C.XI Chitaldrug 4(1328) of the second.

In the ruler the personal and the functional were compounded, producing one entity. And rightly so: insufficiency in either capacity, as a man, or as a king, undermined the security and tranquillity of his subjects with equal celerity. The lives of Nārasimha I and of Ballāla III leave in the mind no doubt of the truth of this proposition. As in the cases of more primitive nations, so the mediaeval Mysoreans dreaded the smallest hint of weakness in their leader; but it was not the magical effect of his physical debility which they feared, so much as the inevitable material loss and suffering which his incompetence would bring them. While he or his line declined, others were striving to rise, and the continuous balance of power never permitted the fall of one ruler without a compensating rise in another; the exchange of rulers was never unaccompanied by immense personal misery on the parts of the landholders and cultivators whose homes lay in the path of the conqueror, not to speak of the losses to be endured by commercial groups. Hence the tendency to attribute to the sovereign not only physical strength (bhuja-bala) but pre-eminence in prowess (Pratāpa-cakravarti), with a continual extension of dominion over the earth. His victorious king is said to continue as long as the moon, the sun and the stars, increasing with an ever-enlarging growth.(1) He rules the earth in the enjoyment of pleasant communications with his subordinates and subjects.(2) No hyperbole is too extravagant for this convention, and he is supposed, even in dark days, to be ruling without opposition from Hima to Sētu.

(1) vijaya-rājyam uttarōttarābhivṛddhi-pravardhamānam ā candr-ārka-tāram-baram saluttam ire.

(2) sukha-samkathā-vinōdadim pṛthvī-rājyam geyuttam ire.

It is conventionally added, again, that he rules exercising the functions of restraining the evil and protecting the good, (1) precedence, it may be noted, being accorded to the office of repression. So far as they can be discovered from the inscriptions, the facts throw much light on the manner in which the king performed these functions, and one may with interest survey the resulting conditions of public order on the one hand, and the extent of royal patronage of "the good" on the other.

It may be stated at the outset that the function of keeping the peace was never perfectly performed. There was, however, a noticeable variation in the number of outrages against public order between periods of strong and well-integrated government and those when local animosities or personal greed were unchecked by any paramount legal control. The rise and fall of the total number of cases of violent assault, whether upon wayfarers, houses, or entire villages, is a reliable index not only to the prevailing degree of public security but to the health of the administration likewise. A detailed inquiry into the subject is thus justified.

Between 1089 and 1273 more than forty cases of serious attacks upon villages are known to have taken place, in which women, cattle, or both were looted by the aggressors; in each case both attackers and attacked were fellow subjects of the Hoysala, and peace prevailed in the locality. In the same period there are known to have been eleven cases of highway robbery in which persons lost their lives; twenty-four cases of

(1) duṣṭa-nigraha-śiṣṭa-pratipālanadim.

internal disorder, when fighting took place for various reasons unconnected with any war waged by the king; and eight cases of pitched battles specifically between chiefs under the authority of the Hoysala ruler. These numbers do not appear to have been alarming, but it must be remembered that only a small proportion of such incidents were commemorated by the erection of stone inscriptions, and of those so commemorated not all have survived in a decipherable condition. There are several refer^ences to burglaries, robbers, and robber-bands, but the number of depredations accountable to them must of necessity have been very much greater than the few that occasioned permanent records.

Of all classes of disturbance by far the greater number of known cases took place between 1181 and 1199, (1) more in fact than twice the total registered in either of the two periods which appear to have been next in order, 1161-1180 and 1221-1240. Next comes 1281-1300, then 1141-1160, the other periods of the Hoysala rule showing a comparatively negligible number of cases, the small rise in the middle periods being deprived of significance by the almost certain fact that the times of the rise of the Hoysalas and their decline were too disturbed and impoverished to have provided us with the same proportion of records of these calamities.

It is clear then, that, while the greater part of the reign of Ballāla II was singly^oarly free from disturbances, the period betwe^en the last years of Nārasimha I and the first secure

(1) E.C.III Malavalli 46(1182); 92(?1183); 78(1183); E.C.VI Kadur 47(1195); Chikmagalur 38(1193), 157(1195); E.C.VII Shikarpur 214(1186), 173(?1198); M.A.R.1915-6, para.88(1193); S.I.I.IX pt.1, 321(1194); M.A.R.1926, 40(1195); M.A.R.1927, 31(1191); E.C.XI Hiriyur 70(?1193), and so on.

success over the Sēvunas was one of an extraordinary level of public disorder. The weak rule of Nārasimha, the unorthodox methods employed and exhausting efforts undergone by Ballāla to dispel the lethargy of the kingdom, together with the huge drain of able-bodied men which his northern campaigns demanded, and the effect of the war levies upon ill-managed estates, all these were contributory causes for this remarkable burst of lawlessness. On the other hand the periods that followed the deaths of Viṣṇuvardhana and Ballāla II, the two strongest members of the dynasty, show a noticeable deterioration compared with the preceding decades, and the declining state of the Hoysalas' kingdom from the last years of Nārasimha III to the end of the civil war was understandably one of considerable disorganization and internal strife.

When he had an opportunity to do so, the king, or his deputy was not slow to punish offenders, and several instances of the exercise of the royal powers of punishment are to be found.(1) It is not possible here to enter into any discussion of the severity or appropriateness of the respective penalties awarded, for the evidence is too slight and the interpretation of it somewhat doubtful. It must however be remembered that no theory existed of any royal prerogative of retribution, and ordinary members of the public were entitled to defend themselves in whatever manner they chose.(2) It is quite clear from the records that few people of any substance

(1) E.C.XII Tiptur 35(1179) is a fairly clear case; Cf.E.C.VIII Sorab 80(1131). A queen puts a man to death: E.C.V Arsikere 81 (?c 1225). (2) M.A.R.1915-6, para.89(1220): a man killed a gauda to avenge the death of another gauda, and seizing the gaudike setup the stone to record the event.

travelled unarmed, and it is very likely that men and women of importance hired armed escorts. Robbers were slaughtered without mercy, and it is not apparent that the ruler demanded any account of the circumstances.(1) It may be guessed, however that if the robber happened to be a Brahman, his killer paid a sum of money to a temple as *prāyaścitta*, or expiation, for such was the custom in warfare at least, as we have already seen.

Only one record tells us at length of royal vengeance against those then supposed to be wrong-doers, and is sufficiently interesting to be quoted at length. It states that while *Cōla-mahādēvi*, queen of *Ballāla II*, was at peace, both she and her subjects, she heard news of disaffection (*dusṭa-kaṣṭa-mātan*). She gave orders to her army, and "that army, having besieged *Bēvūr* and taken prisoners, was on its way off, when *Kētamalla*, while the royal army was engaged in the siege, resolutely faced it, closed, came to grips, fought and engaged many, turned back the captured goods and cattle, and quickly opposing the heroic soldiers cut them up by his blows and through the strength of his arm alone, and upon the battle field reached the heavenly world." Then we are told that the heavenly maidens took up *Kētamalla's* soul in the heavenly chariot. When *Kētamalla-nāyaka* had thus gained the world of the gods, after this, *Cōla-mahādēvi* called her treasurers, the *heggaḍes Rāyaṇṇa* and *Nācaṇṇa*, and ordered them to go before the sixty farmers (or landholders) of *Kambalūr* (to which *Bēvūr* doubtless belonged) and summon *Kētamalla's* son *Nārasimha-nāyaka*; to appease him, and give him a rent-free grant. She said, "We have caused dis-

(1) -over.

tress to our children - do you go and take them security in our name (or "gracious words")." And she gave certain tracts of wet land and black soil as a kodagi.(1)

Another record, which was doubtfully held by its editor to relate the looting by Nārasimha II of a village which he had granted as an agrahāra, certainly does not describe any such event. In fact, some gauḍas objected to their holdings being converted into an agahāra, and attacked the village. The relatives of the defenders were liberally rewarded by the agrahāra Brahmans and the land-holders of the locality. It is noticeable, in fact, that though these former gauḍas had been specifically disloyal to their king, no evidence is available that they were punished.(2)

Rewards and punishments were in practice often delegated to the lower degrees of governors, and the land holders were expected to secure their own defence. They are frequently found rewarding those who drove off raiders.(3)

Page 507 n.(1) E.C.VIII Sagar 31(1290), Sorab 402(1199): cf. ibid.302(1270 or ? 1211), 189(1283) and also E.C.VI Chikmagalur 44(1287).

(1) E.C.V Channarayapatna 205(c1200). Śrikantha Sastri, in N.I.A i, p.426, says "when the people of Bēvūr slandered the fair name of Cōḷa-mahādēvi, her servant Kētamalla attacked them and gave up his life. The queen touched by remorse made a grant for the merit of his soul ". In this précis there are three certain errors and probably a fourth - remorse was apparently not the feeling uppermost in the Queen's mind, however the sāsana may put it: to her, clearly, the peace of her district was the first consideration, and those who could not be forced to submit had to be conciliated.

(2) M.A.R.1936, 19(1230). To the king's face the gauḍas said "Yes", but behind his back they organized a force with the object of defeating his intentions. The editor was clearly misled.

(3) Very many vīragals mention grants of small plots of land to the families of men, often called the 'dear sons' of the Brahmans, who died fighting in defence of an agrahāra: e.g. E.C.V Arsikere 184(1239). Part of the schemes adopted by local landholders for their own defence and that of their hamlets is reflected in

The king himself, however, exercised the power of choosing his advisers and officials, and controlled the promotion list, managing, when sufficiently strong, to keep them in hand by the dual provision of reward and punishment. It is has already been noticed how richly Gaṅga-rāja and Perumāle-dannāyaka profited from the gratitude of Viṣṇuvardhana and Nārasimha III respectively. We hear on the other hand of Siṅgarasa being obliged by Viṣṇuvardhana to give up his fief in Arasiyakere and of the threatened and actual dismissal of officials of both high and low status.(1) The fact that titles and estates were expected to become hereditary, a characteristic that is as noticeable in Mysore of the Hoysala times as in Hindu India generally during later periods, did not impair the ruler's power to dismiss and depose an official; it was generally understood that although titles were indistructable and might be gathered by a family from a number of dynasties, posts and offices were held at pleasure. Thus, when sufficiently powerful, the ruler had an effective disciplinary weapon in his hands.

One further aspect of his function of protecting the earth in its repressive character requires to be mentioned. Enemy kings and rival rulers were held conventionally to be troublesome or evil elements, and the process of uprooting them was compared to the clearing of a space of land of its thorny undergrowth. The king was frequently held to have "made the earth thornless"(niṣkaṇṭakam mādi), and thus to have brought to

(1) E.C.V Arsikere 48(1189), 45(1132); Belur 166(1279); Arsikere 21(1278-9).

records which refer to guard-houses (ṭhāṇa): E.C.XI Davangere 102(1268). Cf. E.C.V Belur 140(1200), and also *ibid.* 83(1178), where certain persons lived tax-free in consideration of their guard-the god Saṅkara, and doubtless his treasury.

it ease and quiet by eradicating the previous dynasties. This he did at the head of his "four-fold force", his army of foot, horse, elephants and chariots. Until the very last years of the dynasty, every Hoysala monarch led his troops in person on the field of battle.(1) Even the pusillanimous Nārasimha I almost certainly took part personally in one campaign. It is true that the king was not present on every occasion when the records state that he attacked a place or moved against an enemy, but there are very many instances, several of which have already been quoted, where he is stated to have observed the siege of a town or the exploits of a warrior, while more than once we hear of the ceremonial betel leaf by the gift of which the king dismissed a warrior to fight to the death on behalf of his master. The warlike Kannadigas were encouraged in their efforts to serve him by the knowledge that just as private citizens and corporations rewarded those who died fighting on their behalf, so the king granted land to reward valour on the field of battle. The nettaru Kodagi, or grant of rent-free land as a reward for blood shed in its service, was the regular method for providing for widows' and children's pensions out of State funds. We hear, again, that after heggade Gētana, a servant of Gōvi-dēva, had slain enemies and put them to flight both in the battle in the plain and in the battle in the fort, he received a badge of honour and a head-piece for his elephant, together with praise and fame, besides which Nārasimha I apparently gave him a rent-free estate

(1) Cf. E. C. VI Mudgere 5(1194).

in Mattavūru [REDACTED]. The living, then, were rewarded as well as the dead.(1)

In the more positive aspect of "protecting the good" the king performed several distinct functions. These may be divided into judicial and purely administrative. Here again his powers were often exercised by and through deputies.

The king's judicial functions covered a wide field of activity. He exercised supreme jurisdiction in cases of contract, inheritance, and general disputes concerning property. In this he was almost certain assisted by a sabhā or committee of Brahman jurists and assessors, of which we hear nothing in the inscriptions, as is to be expected, for the śāsanas record the decision without concerning themselves with the consultations through which it was arrived at.(2) The great labour of deciding cases did not devolve in its entirety upon the king, for he seems to have heard cases from districts near the capital, and although he was prepared to deal with litigation, especially that initiated by the government, concerning inhabitants of every part of his kingdom, local governors, their deputies and communal assemblies, trade guilds and local committees of landholders either dealt with the disputes themselves or deputed some eminent person to hear cases and pass sentence. The eminent person concerned appears often to have been a mere figure-head at the proceedings, his motions being swayed by the

(1) E.C.VI Kadur 34(1148). See also E.C.V Arsikere 31(1331), E.C.V Channarayapatna 267(971) and E.C.III Nanjangud 71(1192).

(2) The sabhā of Ballāla-dēva mentioned in E.C.III Malavalli 83(1304 - not 1184 as Rice says) is probably not a sabhā of this kind, but a committee set up by Ballāla II to deal with the affairs of the endowment.

conclusions of arbitrators who may or may not have had a direct or indirect interest in the outcome of the dispute.(1) Frequently a combination of central and local jurisdictions was employed. For example, one record, having outlined the regulations to be followed by tenants at Dambala, regulations actually framed by the tenants themselves, and doubtless approved by the king's advisers at the instance of the ruler of Kukkala-nāḍ, Jāleya-dannāyaka, proceeds to invest the tenants in their corporate capacity with the power to try those who transgressed the rules of the caste, while Vīra-Ballāla was to punish those found guilty.(2)

(1) For example M.A.R.1920, para.77(1313). A particular deed was executed in favour of a litigant in the presence of a son of the mahāpradhāna Dādi-Sōmeya-dannāyaka by the 7 puras and sthānapatis of the 5 maṭhas of Talaiikkāḍu (Talakāḍ) after arbitrators had sent for the parties and brought about a reconciliation by a compromise.(Note: one should correct to "sthānapatis of the 7 puras and 5 maṭhas", cf. E.C.III Malavalli 104(1334), 107(?1321), 60(?1153), 122(1312), 109(1338) and 83(1304).) E.C.V Channarayapatna 170(1231) shows a dispute, among agrahāra Brahmans about the divisions of the shares, settled by the governing ~~body~~ body of the agrahāra itself with the aid of surveyors. M.A.R.1915-6, para 88(1190): the chief men of the "nine nāḍs" were called in to settle a dispute over the boundary between two villages after fighting had taken place. They decided the limits of the villages, settled the claims and imposed a fine on the village that had caused deaths in the other. S.I.I.IX pt.1, 327(1207) is not, as the editor thought, an instance of the reference of breaches of conduct and offences to a guru: in

fact the five vargas of the sthāna, the ēlkōti-mahādēvas, the

numberless gaṇas and the mummuridaṇdas, that is to say, representatives of civil, commercial and religious bodies interested in the promotion of the sect that centred round the shrine in question, joined with Viṣṇukara-brahmacāri, a learned ascetic, and decided that if anyāya and avāntara should be levied on the village, the sthānikas, that is, the managers, should deal with the affair with the approval of the ascetic, further provisions being obliterated on the stone and so illegible. Anyāya was a tax(see below p.560), and avāntara means "extra" or "subordinate", and thus may or may not be the proper name of a tax.

(2) E.C.IX Nelamangala 12(c1330).Rice's translation is defective.

When new groups were formed, new societies fashioned and new engagements entered into by old institutions, the King or his deputy or both were often quoted as authority for the contract, which was generally framed by the parties independent of the government. The active support of Vīra-Ballāla given to the Vīra-Pañcālas has already been noticed. We read in one record that if anyone transgress this permanent contract (dhruva undige(1)) he incurs the wrath of the emperor Vīra-Nārasimha-dēvarasa and of Sōvala-dēvi, who must have been the governor of the district, and is banished from the 300 (the agrahāra) and the 32,000 (Noḷambavādi).(2) Likewise the transgressor of the regulations prescribed in another record is said to come under the "order" of Ballāla-dēva and of Tōya Siṅgeya-dañṇāyaka.(3)

To the transfers of landed property also, and to exchanges of holdings it was thought necessary to obtain the king's sanction, and the evidence, together with considerations derived from the revenue system, is sufficient to support a conjecture that a kind of central land-registry system existed. (4)

(1) Undige means "stamp", or seal of authorization; cf. the common expression undige-sādhyam māḍi, "having made it subject to his writ", i.e. "having conquered"; then the word came to mean (1) stamped paper in the modern sense; (2) stamp-duty, in the vocabulary of the contemporary taxation offices.

(2) E.C.VI Tarikere 53(?1230). Rice is mistaken in attributing this threat to ibid. 55(?1231) also. But the latter does indeed bear the expression Vīra-Nārasimha's āṇe and that of the 800, that is, the "order" of the king and of the corporation. E.C.III Tirumakudal-narsipur 118(K.T. only) of Ballāla II or III mentions the āṇe of a danṇāyaka.

(3) E.C.XII Tipṭur 83. So also E.C.IV Nagamangala 49(1270), where the authorities are Nārasimha III and the śrī-Vaiṣṇavas of the 18 nāḍs. It is worth noting that in E.C.V Belur 174(1225) K.T. only, it is stated that those who damaged the stone (a baldly phrased vīragal) would receive punishment from śrī-vīra-Nārasimha-dēvaṇṇa, probably because some land-grant was connected with the record and the stone itself.

(4) E.C.VI Mudgere 21(?1049) and E.C.V Arsikere 112(1174).

The King was thus in a position to be an effective final court of appeal to which disputes about land-grants might be brought, and there is no doubt but that these were very frequent. (1) One such case may be reproduced at length:-

Cōla-gaṇḍa in former times had obtained a grant on account of his victory over some enemies of the state. A dispute arose over the boundary of Garuḍahalli: the copper-plate grant was produced, but the people of Muruḍipura filed a petition (2) to the effect that there had been no agreement (oḍambadam) about it even in former times and the boundary stones had been set up by force. Kannayya of Garuḍahalli opposed this move, which merely aimed at rendering void the agreement which had in fact been made, holding that the stones might have been set up by force, but that the land being his they ought not to be disturbed. He had an (?) affidavit (śiraḥ patra) made out declaring how far Muruḍi extended, and underwent an ordeal in the temple of Hoysaḷēśvara in the royal city of Dōrasamudra. He won his case, but, to enable the stones to continue as the boundary, Nārasimha III had to make further grants both to him and to Garuḍahalli. The jaya-patra or document attesting his success was given him by the king, who signed the record "śrī-Malaparol gaṇḍa" above the signatures of the interested parties or their legal representatives. (3)

The King was called upon to give judgement in cases of inheritance likewise. An interesting case occurred in 1255.

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- (1) E.g. E.C.V Arsikere 49(1215), 51(1215); Channarayapatna 170(1231)
 (2) unḍigeyan ikkidade, "when they had executed a stamped document."
 (3) E.C.III Mandya 79(?1275). Rice made several errors, but the record is damaged, For ordeals and their part in contemporary lawsuits see E.C.VIII Sorab 387(1241) and M.A.R. 1908, para. 50;

A certain Dēvaṅṅa sold a house site to Bhaṅḍāri Ādiyanna in 1251; subsequently his sons Nāgaṅṅa and Sōvaṅṅa, not knowing this, wanted to take possession of the site, whereupon the case went up to Nārasimha III. The king told them that they were in honour bound to carry out the wishes of their father, and decided the case in favour of the other party. The point of the case was that Dēvaṅṅa, according to the regular custom as interpreted in the Mitākṣarā, which was a standard text-book of the period, ought to have sought his son's permission before selling the land, and his negligence enabled them to submit that the sale was void.(1)

Disputes over succession and partition were common, and, as in the case of contracts, were usually settled by local authorities. In one case three chief heggades of a district dealt with the case of encroachment by daughter's children on the land of son's children, who, of course, had superior claims in law.(2) In another the rāja-guru, or royal preceptor, Candrabhūṣana-dēva and the 120 sthānikas of the capital Dōrasamudra divided the lands of the cleric Sōma-jīya among his wife, his son-in-law and another, and the violator of this arrangement was to be considered as having disregarded the rāja-guru and the religious body (samaya). The threats were not inapposite, as the partition was clearly unusual; beside the wife, the other parties had insignificant rights to the possessions of the prae-

(3)
positus. Other instances are recorded of disputes and their

see also Kane, History of Dharmasastra, iii, pp. 361-378, and 377 for the inscription quoted above, where he unfortunately follows Rice's mistranslation.

(1) M.A.R.1911-2, para.91(1255). Kane, op. dit, iii pp.556, 557, 593, & 639. One example of the many instances where compliance with the regulation is explicitly recorded is E.C.V Channarayapatna

solutions. A general problem of the period was, however, tackled by the king or his appointed authority for the time being as occasion arose. In several respects Mitākṣarā doctrines did not satisfy the prevalent feeling of the several sections of the Kannada people, and in others the room for dispute was held to be too wide. Accordingly we find instances where, in the interests of public confidence, the ruler set out the law on the difficult question of the succession to the property of a man dying aputra, or without sons, sons' sons, or sons' grandsons. (1)

The Mitākṣarā view was that in such cases the order of succession was the widow, failing her the daughter, failing her the daughter's son, failing him the mother of the praepositus, failing her his father, failing him the brothers of the praepositus, and, to complete the compact series, failing all these, the brothers' sons - the series itself being prolonged by the addition of gōtrajas and bandhus. (2) It will be seen that concubines are not provided for in this scheme. The Mitākṣarā and its school are not silent on the subject of the rights of their offspring: the dāsiputra, or son of a kept concubine, is entitled to maintenance only, and to no share on

242(1252). In other cases the approval of the coparceners must be understood, when not expressly stated. In the case here quoted it appears that the father was dead and the sons were unseparated members of the coparcenary, but it is not absolutely certain, and the occasion of the suit may have been a partition. Page 515 n. (2) E.C.VI Mudgere 24(1188), damaged. Page 515 n. (3) M.A.R.1910-1, para.105(1245).

(1) Examples of disputes: E.C.VI Kadur 152(1235) and E.C.V Arsikere 38(1200). On the interpretation of the word aputra, see Kane op. cit. p.701.

(2) Kane op. cit. p.700-762. The right of the widow to succeed is shown by records, see below p.567, not to have been undisputed.

partition or to any inheritance, when the father is of the twice-born classes; when the father is, as were the majority of the Kannadigas, a śūdra, the dāsiputra is entitled to a share of the property at the discretion of the father, and to a half share if his father be dead at the time of partition.(1) The same, or worse, discrimination is harboured against the dāsi herself. She is not entitled to inherit to a sonless paramour.(2) Now a powerful section of Kannada public opinion, for various reasons including economic conditions, favoured the promotion of these persons, together with the brothers of the deceased, in the ranks of the beneficiaries to the exclusion of more remote connections and of the parents of the praepositus.

A Caṅgāḷva record of 1297 shows a group of local personages declaring the law in a regulation by śāsana to the nakhara (merchants) of their nād:- "The former custom for land descending to a woman in Kundūr proceeds as follows: it descends to a woman, to female children and to the children of female slaves."(3) The regulation touches upon the rights of a widow over property inherited from her aputra husband: the true Mitākṣarā doctrine is that a widow has only the usufruct of such inheritance, and it may not descend from her to her children by another marriage - in which case she forfeits the inheritance from her first husband - or to any other person but the coparceners to whom it would have descended had she not been alive.(4) This particular record is of rather wider impli-

(1) Kane, op. cit. p. 600-1.

(2) ibid. p. 707.

(3) E.C.I 59(1297).

(4) Kane, op. cit. pp. 708-9.

cations than the present topic requires to be investigated, and, being in any case from Coorg and outside Hoysala administrative boundaries, may here be dismissed with the remark that the power of the Mitākṣarā law was limited and probably as stoutly resisted by the mountain and forest communities in one direction as it was rejected by reactionaries against the widow's rights in another.

Similar to the example quoted above is one which portrays the sale by Bōkana in 1140 or 1141 of land out of his koḍagi, on condition that the land passed from the buyer to the children of his female slave. (1) Again, about 1222, in the south-east part of the kingdom, Vīra-Cōla-vaṇikar, who had some connection with the king when in Talakād, obtained a śāsana from him and gave it to the subjects of the locality with regulations as follows:- the property of those who die without children (makkaḷu yilladavaru) shall go to elder brother, younger brother, son-in-law, father-in-law, father's younger brother, father's elder brother, or their children, in this order of priority. The high precedence of the son-in-law reminds us of the aliya-santāna itself, which is now almost confined to the Malabar coast, but must have been of far-reaching influence in mediaeval times. The aliya-santāna is, of course, entirely opposed to the orthodox doctrines, whether Mitākṣarā or Dāyabhāga. Moreover the exclusion of grandchildren is very remarkable; it may be explained by the fact that "childless persons" in this record does not signify "those childless at the time of their death", which is inherent in the technical use of the Sanskrit

(1) E.C.V Belur 219(c1141). The record is damaged and confused. The king appears to have exercised some control over the transaction, probably registering the transfer. It is not probable that these children were to take precedence

aputra, but "those who have never had children". (1)

In 1331, when a paṭṭana was formed by the mahā-maṇḍalēśvara Koyalārāsa in his capacity as ruler of the district, he promulgated regulations including one that a younger brother should inherit the property of an (aputra) elder brother and vice versa. (2) Similar rules are found elsewhere, and regulations for burial of concubines and wives, as well as for taxation are often found together with them. (3)

That the king was entitled to dispose by proclamation of the property of those that died without heirs of any kind is plain from several contemporary records. A trace of this right being exercised is found in an example of 1181. A general assembly over legitimate children.

(1) E.C.III Tirumakudal-narsipur 21(c1222). Kane, op. cit. p. 560.

(2) E.C.III Malavalli 114(1331).

(3) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 105(1343); E.C.IX Nelamangala 12(c1330) - if a tenant died without children (makkaḷ illād iddaḍe to be interpreted as aputra) his elder and younger brothers were to have possession. If there were no brothers, his son-in-law and grandchildren were to have possession. See also E.C.IX Kankanhalli 81(1306) which is damaged; M.A.R. 1920, para 77(1297), and

E.C.IX Channapatna 73(1318) where a temple was to be the beneficiary when a childless (aputrika) man dies without brothers, beloved relatives, or "all relatives without exception" (naṅṅar-iṣṭaru), and children by female slaves. There is a difficulty in this record: does tammadi, variously read tammaḍe or tammāḍi, mean an attendant on an idol, or are we to understand tammaḍa, "obstruction"? If the former, then the regulation depended on the existence of a temple staff to receive the cattle, otherwise a paṭṭana for the Nānā Dēsis was to be set up free of fines for adultery, etc., and stamp duty (uṇḍige). If the latter, then the regulations were contingent upon some hindrance, perhaps the absence of legitimate children. In any case the record is obscure and unreliable.

(4) Besides E.C.IX Channapatna 73(1318) quoted above, E.C.XI Davangere 70(1275) and E.C.X Bowringpet 34(1269). On the royal powers of escheat see Kane, pp. 762-3.

bly of the officials, priests, mayors and the Nānā Dēśis of the district decreed that the property of the Banāñjigas of Belagāvi dying without sons, grandsons or greatgrandsons (aputrika) should be appropriated to the festivals and so on of the god Gavarēśvara; that of the Banāñjigas in the nagara, to the god Nagarēśvara; and in other parts to the gods of the various quarters respectively. (1) It is true that the property belonged to persons, or rather families, represented at the assembly, but the right to dispose of property by such a general regulation, to the disadvantage of degrees of kinship arbitrarily considered remote, was derived from the general power of escheat vested in the ruler. It is in any case clear that no sort of uniformity prevailed as to type of body or authority that exercised this derived right; provided the caste were agreed upon a policy it was ^mmaterial who supervised its execution.

Of the decisions given by the king in disputes over real property, besides the cases already quoted, two examples survive. An inscription in Tamil of the year 1233, of which we possess as yet no more than a report, records that Sōmēśvara in settling a dispute between temple managers and a private individual regarding the ownership of the village Vannam, otherwise Madurāntaka-nallūr, decided that it should be enjoyed as temple property. (2) Two records refer to Ballāla II's settling the boundary between the Āsandi and the Pāndya nāḍa, a decision which he is said to have arrived at together with his pañca-

(1) E.C.VII Shikarpur 119(1181). Rice says "without sons"; E.I. v, p.26-8(1178) shows that aputrika has exactly the same significance as aputra. It is clear that at this time the right of the widow to inherit was still debated. E.I.v, p.26-8 provides for the widow as heir. (2) A.R.1914,94(1233).

pradhāna or committee of five ministers. It is very unfortunate that the details of the boundary can not be traced on the modern survey maps; but it is plain that, as both nāds were part of the Hoysala kingdom at the time, the inquiry must have been instituted at the request of a village or villages subject to the king against others likewise subjects, and it therefore partook of a judicial character rather than a political one.(1)

A final example of the judicial functions of the ruler may be found in the activity of a certain officer of the hejjuṅka and others who made a grant out of the taxes in 1192 to Mahābala-gāvūṇḍa and the 700 (division) as compensation for the damage caused by the encampment of the king's army. It is clear that Ballāla II desired to pacify and conciliate the authorities in the newly conquered territories, and such relief from taxation was an easy method of winning their support. The decision of the exact amount to be granted and the taxes to be sacrificed was for the officials on the spot to make, and it is likely that they had to hear a series of complaints and petitions before an award was arrived at.(2)

In the purely administrative field the king's activities were complex. Not only had he at his disposal large areas of land which had not already been awarded to public servants, formed into agrahāras, or bestowed upon temples,(3) but he had in his gift offices from that of gauda or even watchman to that which bore the title Kumāra.(4) In practice, however, his rights were often delegated to subordinate rulers and local bodies who might be expected to have a better know-

(1) E.C.VII Channagiri 73(1180), copied by 72(1220). The expression pañca-pradhāna is a hapaxlegomenon in Hoysala records.

(2) A.R.1926-7, App.F.113(1192). (3) & (4) over.

ledge of a candidate's qualifications. In religious appointments likewise the king held many valuable posts in his gift and is known to have exercised the right of presentation; in many cases again he exercised a controlling influence on the management of individual temples.(1)

From the wealth at his disposal he made money grants towards various objects of public importance, and assigned for such purposes lands at ordinary, reduced or nominal rent, the produce of which was expected to provide for all the expenses. Highest in the list of beneficiaries from the royal patronage stood the Brahman community, for whose support vast areas of land were set aside, often without any express condition that they should perform any service in return for this gigantic public sacrifice. This is not the place to enter into a discussion as to the merits of this community or the benefits which the nation derived from subsidizing it, but it is worthy of notice that of the large number of agrahāras that must have existed no less than 103 ~~agras~~ reserves are mentioned in Hoysala inscriptions, and if the average agrahāra produced, tax-free, between 800 and 1,000 gadyānas a year the total yearly loss to the State can hardly have been less than 100,000 gadyānas, even when due allowance is made for the revenue paid on the lands. It is known that some bitterness was caused by the devotion of the ruling ~~house~~ house to the interests of the Brahman community, a feeling that can readily be forgiven when

Page 521 n.(3) If he wanted to grant land that had already been alienated to a temple, he could buy it back: E.C.VBelur 18(1292).
Page 521 n.(4) Gauda:E.C.V Arsikere 67(1335); watchman:E.C.V Arsikere 79(1184).

(1) E.C.III Tirumakudal-narsipur 3(1180, not 1300 as Rice suggests); E.C.III Tirumakudal-narsipur 3(1180, not 1300 as Ri
gests); E.C.III Mandya 123(1269).

it is considered that the ruler often deliberately invited foreign, especially northern, Brahmans to come and receive land grants. The Brahmans, or mahājanaṅgaḷ as they were known, were left to manage their own affairs, the heads of the original founder families forming a committee, known in the characteristic Kannada way as the Thirty, the Sixty, the Hundred and Four, and so on, choosing a chairman to act as their executive head for a month at a time. At the inception of the agrahāra the land was divided among the Brahmans into so many shares, seldom more than a hundred, and the method of apportioning them was recorded together with any subsequent modifications. The inhabitants worked under the share-holders precisely as if they were private land-holders, while the agrahāra as a whole was responsible for forwarding the stipulated revenue, if any.

As recipients of the State's bounty the temples stood second. The land grants for the provision of offerings, vestments, garlands, services, lamps, furniture, repairs to and embellishment of the structure of the temples were not as excessive in size as they were numerous, and even when the stipends of the various temple servants and attendants were added, the gross loss of revenue was not very considerable. For every gadyāna appropriated to this unproductive end by the State, private donations accounted for at least two.(1)

(1) A good example of the establishment of temples and the expenditure involved is found in E.C.V Channarayapatna 238(1249) and may be compared to a rather more magnificent establishment recorded in E.C.XII Chiknayakanhalli 2(1261). In the first case the Brahmans of Unguragere transferred their payment of siddhāya, a total of 95 gadyānas, from the State to the upkeep of two temples, on the authority of Bommana-dannāyaka. The sum was apportioned as follows:-

(continued over.)

It should, in all fairness, be added that the government did not consider these alienations unprofitable: the worship of the gods was thought essential to the prosperity of the realm, and beyond that the donor anticipated a happy existence in the next world. It was of importance to the donor, more-

5 pujāris	ga. 25	pa. -
2 attendants	4	-
4 cooks	10	-
People who draw ornamental designs.	2	5
Clerk	11	-
2 Bhaṭṭa-gutta (?)	5	6
8 dāvāsiga (?grain-dealers)	17	-
2 garland-makers	5	-
2 angharika (?)	8	-
2 grove-gardeners	4	-
2 potters	2	2
Washermen	-	7
Total:	<u>ga. 95</u>	<u>pa. 0</u>

In the second case we are incidentally introduced to a method by which the administrative classes provided for their own comfort. Gōpāla-dānṇāyaka divided land he had received from Nārasimha III into 47 shares, and gave 37 shares to Brahmans, one of which they managed for his benefit. The remaining ten shares he gave to the temple of the god Yōganātha which he had set up, and the Brahmans agreed to pay the fixed rent and other dues of these ten shares, which also were apparently in their charge, to the government. One share was to defray the cost of a yearly feast in Gōpāla's name in honour of Bharita-prakāsa Yōgēsvara, who must have been a local guru; one for the upkeep of the temple and other buildings and the garden together with the livelihood of the gardeners and ornaments for the god; while eight shares were expected to provide an income of 151 gadyāṇas, to be apportioned as follows:-

Offerings and Nambis (officiants)	ga. 6
Decorators (or ? dancing girls)	6
Attendants	4
Cooks	4
Water-carriers	2
5 servants of different classes, viz.	
2 drummers, 1 garland maker &	
1 sweeper.	22
Bhariteya-dānṇāyaka in the dual role of	
manager and treasurer.	40
Singeya-dānṇāyaka as clerk and inspector.	40
Gōpāla's daughter Bāyāka as superintendent of gardens, lands, & granary.	20
Preparer of meals, rice, cooked food, and pigments.	2

(cont. over)

over, that his grant should be continued even after his own end, for it was generally believed that the gods resented any interruption in their worship and attributed any defalcations to lack of care on the part of the original donor. Hence the curses called down upon the one who might tamper with the lands producing the temple's income, and intermitted the revenue thus enjoyed by the god, and hence the precautions with which the grants were recorded and displayed on stone for all to see. The future beatitude of the king, then, was clearly of more importance than that of a mere subject, for his anticipation of the favour of heaven was part of the semi-supernatural atmosphere that hedged about his royal person and upon which the obedience of his subjects largely depended. Naturally, being so easily acquired, this preeminence was not exclusive, and any wealthy subordinate had equality of opportunity with his sovereign; so that both the king and his competitors for divine favouritism took more than the usual precautions to protect their grants. Humbler persons wisely entrusted the management to a perpetual body, such as a corporation of merchants or gaudas or substantial personages of the nād. A king's grants, unfortunately for the comfort of his soul, often fell with his kingdom, for a new dynasty might restore or renew the religious grants of the members of the previous ruling house, or might not. And when private persons from time to time diverted such funds into their own pockets, or appropriated land set aside for religious pur-

Oilmonger, potter & washerman	ga. 2
Vaiṣṇavas	3

Total:

ga. 151

The disparity of the salaries is well worthy of attention.

poses, what was to be expected of a conqueror, whose arrival signaled, in theory at any rate, the immediate cancellation of all land grants and tenancies whatever ?(1)

It should be added categorically that the Hoysala kings made grants from public lands, or of lands purchased out of public funds, to temples of all three denominations, Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Jaina, in that order of amount, in conformity with the popularity of the respective doctrines, but with-noticeably preferential discrimination.

The last objects of royal beneficence which deserve mention are tanks and towns. Royal interest in tanks is remarkable throughout the period, but increased in vigour in the eastern half of the kingdom during the last decades of the dynasty when the east had to be relied upon to make good the deficiencies of the west. Not only the construction of "virgin" tanks, but the preservation of existing dams, sluices and channels, together with the provision of necessary equipment, were the object of royal solicitude.(2) For those who contemplated

(1) M.A.R.1933,48(1251) gives an interesting account of the appropriation of a śivapura, or agrahāra for lingāyats, and its restitution, due to the efforts of a certain person, who "pierced himself and went to the four boundary stones". It would be of value to investigate further the extent to which fear of the supernatural affected public conduct, compared with the pressure exercised by a legal sense. There are several instances of Hoysala rulers confirming or continuing the religious grants of their predecessors of other houses, e.g.E.C.VII Shikarpur 235 (1207); and vice versa, E.g.E.C.VII Honnali 17(1286). The holders of a grant were very proud of the length of time^{during} which their body had been permitted to keep it: see E.C.VI Kadur 49(1291), M.A.R.1933,48(1251) and M.A.R.1935,49(1206). The ever-present danger of grants being made void is reflected in the questions, "What śāsana is this? Where is it? Who set it up? Why should I maintain it", in the imprecations of E.C.VI Kadur 157(1191).

(2) E.C.V Arsikere 86(1223), 88(1184), 102a(1100-1); E.C.III Seringapatam 154(c1225); Mandya 44(c1297); E.C.IX Hoskote 56(c1330); 96(1334); E.C.XII Tumkur 17(1287), 27-33(1287).

the construction of a new tank either taxes were remitted on land they already held but which would benefit from the irrigation, or a rent-free grant was made. It is of interest to note that though the cost of building a tank would of course depend upon its size and the appropriateness of the terrain, it is known that one in particular, the Kācīsamudra at Hala-gōḍu, cost 1,200 gadyāṇas.(1) The land granted as a kodagi in this case was 500 kambas of wet land of a sowing capacity of 12 salages. The value of wet land in the area during this period is unfortunately unknown, but a few miles westwards fifty years before a kamba sold at 9 paṇas, and, despite the possible variation in the length of the kamba and quality of the land, it is unlikely that the prices differed considerably.(2) At that rate the market value of the kodagi must have been in the region of 450 gadyāṇas. The taxes forgone on this holding can not have been more than 15 gadyāṇas a year, so that, although the grant was a valuable one, it was by no means over generous, and the treasury suffered a very inconsiderable loss compared with the gain which the country and indirectly the government experienced as a result of this piece of official encouragement.

The creation of a town was likewise an administrative measure of great importance and of some, if not considerable, initial loss to the treasury. It must be remembered that ninety nine inhabited places out of a hundred were ūrgal, that is to say, a few houses, gathered together for protection, and owned

(1) E.C.XII Tumkur 33(1287) and 28(1287). E.C.IX Bangalore 111 (1340) concerns a tank costing 3,000 honnu, or gadyāṇas.

(2) E.C.VI Kadur 12a(1233).

perhaps by less than half a dozen persons. Attached to each ūr were several still more detached groups of dwellings which were known as Kāluvalli, or the hamlet or hamlets associated with the ūr for revenue purposes. Communications between the villages were very poor, but some routes were beaten more firmly than others, and carried sufficient traffic to prevent the cultivators from ploughing them up each year. These routes were the main trade arteries of the country and served to carry internal as well as foreign produce, allowing the passage of goods from every direction to markets even beyond the Hoysala boundaries. It has already been noticed that the State derived a revenue from the customs dues on this traffic, and therefore certain villages on the main routes were chosen to house customs posts. Moreover, a country such as was the Hoysala country produced normally a large surplus of foodstuffs, with a variety of crops in the different quarters of the kingdom. Those therefore with produce to exchange or sell needed places in which to find a good and generally frequented market. These market towns not seldom growing up around villages that housed customs posts were known as puras or paṭṭanas, the latter being the more usual name for a well established town in the modern sense and an equivalent for the Sanskrit term nagara. In these dwelt a motley population seldom seen in the villages, and the constitution of these more populous and infinitely more prosperous centres was quite different to the village pattern. The paṭṭana raised a large revenue not only from a house tax (1) but on dues on commodities bought and sold within its limits. The

(1) M.A.R.1920, para.77 shows that this was in one case 2 panas for each house.

funds were administered and the market supervised by a variable number of mayors or wardens called paṭṭaṇa-svāmis, who were themselves not of the administrative but invariably of the merchant classes (setṭis).⁽¹⁾ Some paṭṭaṇas, of which Arasiyakarṇ or Arsikere is an outstanding example, bore the proud title of rājadhāni-paṭṭaṇa, or metropolis, a paṭṭaṇa which had held or continued to hold a royal residence.

Now paṭṭaṇas had to be created and given a charter, and the process generally involved some immediate financial loss to the State. A charter (śāsana) was given by the subordinate officials and landholders of the nād in assembly under the superintendence of the district governor. Its terms were that certain persons might build houses and set up facilities under favourable fiscal conditions, the taxes due on their premises and those subsequently erected being remitted for the first year, and for two years in the case of newcomers to the place, and to be low in the following year, and at the full rate in the third and fourth year respectively. A fair (sante) or regular market would be established, almost certainly with stipulated dues to be paid to the commune. The establishing of this market was considered as a privilege, and was doubtless of great value to the surrounding country. The scanty details available make it appear that the action was originally a royal prerogative which was gradually usurped by the lower orders of the administration, though the name of the local governor was generally mentioned in the record - if indeed he or she were not entirely responsible for the innovation - and the sanction

(1) These officials occur in no less than nineteen records, e.g. E.C.II 335(1195); E.C.VII Shimoga 88(1203); and M.A.R.1922, para. 41c(1318).

beforehand.(1)

The outline here given of the various governmental powers and duties of the king as actually observed in operation in our surviving records has obliged us to recognize the very large part played in the everyday execution of those functions by persons other than the king himself. It is of value to classify in order of social importance the degrees of administrative officials upon whose shoulders the burden actually lay, following that classification by an enumeration of the most important of the executive officials recognized during our period.

After the king himself came the Yuvarāja or heir apparent. Ereyāṅga and Nārasimha II are known to have held this title.(2) More usually Kumāra was the title of the heir apparent in the Hoysala records, and from the existence of a Kumāranād among the larger of the nāds in the Gaṅgavādi 96,000 it may be guessed that he often acted as a district governor. But on the whole, even if he drew part of his income from such a source, he was, as has been seen, the second-in-command and principal deputy of his father. His father's crowned queens, paṭṭad arasiyar, not only governed provinces but also conducted campaigns.(3) The queens are not listed among the officials in the lists of Appendix V but are found in the genealogical table. Almost every one there mentioned exercised administrative authority and had ministers and officials under her.(4) The uncrow-

(1) Examples: M.A.R.1911-2, para.90(1251); *ibid.* 1920, para.77a (1337). (2) E.C.VI Kadur 142(1096); E.C.V Channarayapatna 243 (1210). (3) Cōḷa-mahādēvi is an example of the former, see above, p.507-8; Umā-dēvi of the latter, above, p.254. (4) For example Sōvarasa, mahāpradhāna and treasurer of Padmaladēvi, S.I.I.IX 325(1205). Rāyaṅga and Nācaṅga were treasurers

ned queens and concubines, on the other hand, are not known to have wielded any jurisdiction, and it is uncertain from what source their livelihood was derived. The distinction between the "senior" and "junior" crowned queens does not appear to have affected their status in any way relevant to this classification. (1)

Of the subordinate governors those that were of a status nearly equal to that of the crowned queens were, in order of seniority, the Maṇḍalēśvaras, maṇḍalikas and sāmantas. The prefix mahā (great) to each of these was of little practical significance: as a sign of superior dignity it was very frequently affected. The first pair were generally of families which had roots in the soil from long before the emergence of the Hoysala dynasty, and had been obliged to accept Hoysala overlordship. Often their titles were out of proportion to their actual power and resources. The maṇḍalēśvara, though his title scarcely differed in meaning from that of the maṇḍalika, was higher in rank than the latter, because conventional usage reserved the term to the superior dynastic heads in the days of the Cālikyan empire. The Hoysala himself had been a mahā-maṇḍalēśvara until 1192. The term maṇḍala was, like nāḍ, a term of very elastic use, signifying a country or district; and both maṇḍalēśvara and maṇḍalika were rulers of a maṇḍala. The word was not however used for administrative purposes, and thus had much in common with the word kampana, which then certainly existed, with a meaning similar to maṇḍala, but was never em-

in the suite of Cōla-mahādēvi: E.C.V Channarayapatna 205(c1200). Heggades Biṭṭiyanna and Malliyanna were under the orders of Kētala-dēvi: E.C.V Hassan 54(1176).

(1) The greatest exponent of this system was Ballāla II. His successor seems to have abandoned it. See below, p.581.

ployed by the Hoysala governmental machine to designate a district of any particular size or standing. The sāmanta, as the title itself indicates, originated as a guardian of frontier districts, given large privileges in areas that were subject to the invasion of less civilized tribes, and with the task of holding in check the rugged and wild regions that lay between the nascent kingdom and the surrounding chaos. This responsible officer often retained as a hereditary fief the lands originally entrusted to his family, even in days when they had long ceased to be on a frontier and civilization had spread far beyond, leaving him with his title of sāmanta as an antique survival. Small wonder, then, that the word sāmanta came eventually to mean little more than a feudatory or tributary chief. More logically named were the nād-āluvas of the Tamiliāṅ districts in the east of the plateau. Their title, drawn from the nād which they had in their charge, preceded their personal names, and gives a precise notion of their function and position; as rulers of a nād apiece they were equal to the western sāmantas, but in practice their degree of independence made them more akin to the mandalēśvaras.

These officers were not, however, the only subordinate governors of districts. Directly depending on the government at the capital was a large number of officials who for the most part ruled small divisions, generally one or more nāds, or administrative subdivisions, near their family estate, but were often employed on a more temporary basis and were movable from one quarter of the kingdom to another. These were frequently,

but by no means exclusively, Brahmans, who by the end of the Hoysala period occupied numerically a very high position in the civil service. The most common title by which they were known was dandanāyaka, generally found in its Kannada form dannāyaka. This, with the poetical variants dandanātha, dandādhinātha, dandēśa, dandādhiśa and dandādhipati, originally meant a military rank similar to colonel or brigadier. It seems, however, clear that not every dandanāyaka held a military commission, but that all such general officers were qualified to hold them at the king's pleasure. Many governors, again, had not attained that rank, but were entitled mahāpradhāna, or "(great) minister", or merely nāyaka, or "chief".

To illustrate the manner in which these various types of territorial administrators carried out their duties, let us suppose that a certain dannāyaka is put in charge of a particular nād, just as, for example, Harihara-dannāyaka ruled Āsandi-nād between about 1216 and 1238. During his twenty years or more of command he enjoyed absolute control of his nād, subject on the one hand to the extent to which Ballāla II may have interfered directly in the nād's administration, and on the other to the limits of the cooperation which he obtained from the local gentry and inhabitants. His personal staff consisted of one or more advisors, termed, in imitation of the ministers at the king's court, mahāpradhānas; (1) a treasurer, the bhaṇḍārī; a secretary, the sēnabōva; (2) and a number of functionaries passing under the general title of pergade or heggade, who were personal assistants who may or may not have been seconded to his service by the central government, together with a number of

(1) Except in poetry the titles pradhāna and mantri were out of use. (2) The title appears to have been at first a military

constables and body-guards called puruṣa and bal-manuṣya respectively.(1) In his capacity as governor he commanded a small garrison, his seconds in command being one or more māyakas, with perhaps a troop of horse under a chief sāhani and a few elephants commanded by a chief māvanta. He was in contact with, though not apparently in direct control of, the various treasury officials of the nād. These were the śrī-karanas, or accountants, who received the revenue on behalf of the government at Dōrasamudra, and, who, in token of their high degree of responsibility, often held the title mahāpradhāna and so probably were commissioned directly by the king. Both they and their accounts were very necessary, as śāsanas concerning land-grants were not always sufficiently displayed or recognized, and taxes might be levied in error on sarvamānya or tax-free lands.(2) They had their gradations of rank, into which it is not possible to make any fruitful scrutiny, on account of the vagueness and flexibility of the terms employed. Their offices were doubtless close to that of the daṇṇāyaka in the chief city of the nād, in the case of the present example, Āsandi itself. In the market towns and at the various customs posts besides were the officials of the customs departments who collected the dues on traffic passing through the nād as also a large and complicated excise revenue from various sources which will be instanced later, but which may here be summarized as taxation on property, production and purchases. The customs dues were known under the generic term of suṅka, and the adhi-

title; in Hoysala times he was little more than a clerk, and is represented by the modern Kannada Śānabōga.

(1) A puruṣa of the royal court is mentioned in M.A.R.1927,35 (1288); examples of bal-manuṣya are found in M.A.R.1912-3, para. 81b(1238), E.C.V Channarayapatna 237(1253), & ibid. Belur 166(1279).

kāris or officials who collected them were known as suṅkada

heggades or hejjuṅkada-heggades, superintendents of the customs or superior customs, a distinction which it is not now possible to explain. The remittances made by these officers were probably handled by the śrī-karaṇas, who forwarded the fixed amount of the suṅka to the capital and apportioned the remainder between the other persons who derived a part or the whole of their livelihood from this source.

Besides these functionaries, the authorities within the nād were of various descriptions. The dannāyaka not only had Āsandi town under his control, and therefore the surviving members of the influential Gaṅga dynasty as his subjects, but also a variety of corporations and institutions over and above the villages and paṭṭanas. The paṭṭana-svāmis have already received mention. It is open to question whether in the Āsandinād there existed such functionaries as ūr-oḍeyas, but a committee of several of the important landholders in the villages in the extreme north of the Hoysala dominions used to bear this name, and would be the representative body of the village with which the governor would deal. (1) North of the Tuṅgabhadra certainly this was the form of village organization which the Hoysala met, probably having its origin in the smaller number of villages, compared with the Hoysala nād for example, and their greater size. But in the larger part of the Hoysala dominions only a few ūrs had separate articulate establishments. Several indeed of the larger amongst them had a sēnabōva each, most

Page 534 n. (2) M.A.R. 1911-2, para. 92; cf. *ibid.* 1927, 11(1281).

(1) E.C. VII Channagiri 73(1180); A.R. 1928-9, App. E 193, W.E. II 139 143a(1202); S.I.I. IX pt. 1 333(1214), 332(1214). A mahāprabhu ūroḍeya is mentioned in E.C. VI Kadur , 105(1220), K.T. only.

will have had one or more watchmen supported out of the local funds: for a complex organization one must look to a general union of the otherwise unattached villages into political entities such as the nād assembly or other councils, on which the landholders were represented and which were usually constituted as regular bodies, which were entitled the 60, the 300 or the 1,000, and so on, according to the size and importance of the body and the locality which it represented. These bodies, it seems, appointed the nād officials known as nād-prabhus. Their exact method of election and appointment is obscure, and probably varied from place to place.⁽¹⁾ Head over the group of nād - (or nāl-) prabhus, and the representatives of the other substantial bodies, such as the local committees of the Vīra-Banāñjas, over the paṭṭana-svāmis and the managers of the agrahāras, was the nād-heggade or nād superintendent. His appointment seems to have been governmental and was of the next importance administratively to that of the governor himself. As his stipend was derived from a fixed tax, he was probably intended to be independent of the governor, and may have been at times an obstacle to that officer's private machinations. He, together with the inspectors, the vicāris and ādhyakṣis, who certainly depended on the central government, exercised a check on the normal ambitions of the governor. The need for check and counter-check is aptly illustrated by the words of an inscription of the confused period of Ballāla II's reign: Padma-dandādhipati, for the decoration and so on, of the Agnīśvara temple --- made

(1) It is uncertain whether the nāl-gāmundaś (nād-gauḍaś), of whom frequent mention will be found in the Lists of Officials below, were of the same standing as the prabhus. They appear to have been officials of a similar kind.

a grant of the formerly well-known sthala-vṛtti (or share appertaining to the holy place) with all rights, free of all encumbrances, with the finger exhibited (forbidding entry) to the two forces, those of the king and those of the king's agents; thus indicating that both in the name of the government and in their own officials were liable to set aside grants that proved inconvenient to them.(1)

With this body of officers, then, the duties of the dandanāyaka, as the king's representative in judicial and administrative affairs, were transacted. Litigation, petitions, and the supervision of the legislation of the subordinate bodies, all came within his sphere, besides the activities that occupied him from his own initiative. And much as was the work settled in his office, large numbers of questions had to be submitted to the capital for the king's approval. The treasury department in particular was kept in constant activity. For example we hear of the king being informed by a dānāyaka of the distress caused to weavers by the oppression of tax-collectors, and of their emigration, and the consequent reduction by the king of the tax in question to 8 kāsu per loom.(2) All proposals that involved a direct loss to the State were liable to be referred to the government for sanction and registration, and the words "Śrī-Malaparol gaṇḍa", or "Śrī-Ballāla-dēvasya", or "Śrī-Nārasimha-dēvasya" and so on, being the king's sign-manual, appear on a very large number of the records, which are

(1) E.C.VII Shikarpur 138(1194): rāja-rāja-puruṣa-yirvvalan aṅguli-prēkṣaṇīyāṃ - a curious mixture of Sanskrit and Kannada expressions.

(2) An incident in the Kāvēri valley principality under Rāmanātha: A.R.1928-9,152(1267),203(1267).

copies of the sāsanas which the central authority permitted landholders to have made as the equivalent of title-deeds.

It remains to describe the constitution of the central government itself, as far as it is known, and to explain the revenue system by means of which this structure was supported.

The king's advisors were known as mahā-pradhānas, or ministers, the prefix mahā having no significance. The body of mahāpradhānas had by the thirteenth century grown so large, that it is quite certain that the advice of all of them was never used at any one time. They may have formed a kind of privy council from amongst whom a cabinet of select persons was chosen by himself to conduct the general policies of the kingdom. In any case the king's ministers were expected to carry out executive duties as well whenever their assistance was required. The specially favoured men were frequently dannāyakas, who had completed a regular cursus honorum, by which they received in addition the titles of sarvvādhikāri, or officer with a commission in every department,; mahāpasāyta, or (great) master of the robes; and parama-viśvāsi, or particular confidant. The desire for titles grew as time went on, and the ingenuity of the king was nearly exhausted. Nārasimha II created many rāya-dandanāthas, or "royal colonels", and his descendants, as has been mentioned elsewhere, bestowed the title Kumāra with ever increasing frequency. Occasionally we find the use of the title bāhattara-niyōgādhipati, which was a favourite title among Cālukya subordinates: "master of 72 (that

is to say, "a great many") officials" is quite often a title of Hoysala ministers after the achievement of imperial status.(1)

Of the fifty and odd dandanāyakas that are known to have held posts in the army or the civil service during the reign of Ballāla II, perhaps twenty were employed chiefly in the military department. The civil powers they held were doubtless necessary for the purpose of obtaining from civilians the provisions and facilities necessary when the armies were on campaign. An eminent soldier was often entitled sēnādhipati, or general, and samasta-sēnādhipati, or commander-in-chief; but it does not appear that any definite gradation of rank was in use. Each officer had his own associates as entourage, and was commissioned separately or with others for a particular task. There is evidence, for example the case of Appanna and Goppayya in the reign of Nārasimha II, that relatives were often employed together, probably on account of their smoother mutual cooperation. It is of interest, incidentally, to note that the title padevala, which was the Kannada equivalent for sēnādhipati, was in use, especially in the form hiriya-hadevala, or chief general, until the first years of Ballāla II, and then abandoned.(2)

Amongst the civilian ministers there were the heads of the foreign affairs and treasury departments. The former held the rank of sandhi-vigrahi, that is peace and war minister, and the latter sri-karana-heggaḍe, or principal accountant. Of-

(1) E.C.V Channarayana 197(1223); ibid. 244(1216); E.C.IV Gundlupet 37(1221); ibid. Heggadevankote 23(1218); and M.A.R. 1909-10 para. 80(1235). Cf. E.C.VI Kadur 124(1272), where Rice wrongly takes maneya with the words that immediately follow it, instead of with Nonambi-setti. (2) over.

ten these ministers had served in other departments before joining this branch, and there is no proof that they actually held the appointment for all the period in which they retained the rank. In addition to the latter class, the treasury had several touring inspectors, of whom mention has already been made, and several additional grades, such as the inspector of the jewel treasury, (1) senior jewel treasurer, (2) and chief of the treasury enclosure. (3)

The king had several other minor ministers who appear to have risen in social standing though still bearing humble titles; of these the palace superintendent, and senior doorkeeper were the most prominent; (4) Rice's translation of *prānādhikāri* as "commander of the lifeguard", in default of evidence to the contrary, is accepted, and thus another example appears to be added. (5)

In addition to his regular ministers and attendants the king had several hereditary henchmen whose tenure of their lands and whose personal honour depended on fulfilling the curious function of accompanying their masters into the next world. One family, that of *Agrahāra Bācahalli*, had an unbroken record of service from the time of *Ereyaṅga* to that of *Nāra-siṃha III*; they had been accompanied in their suicide by their wives and a number of male and female servants in each case. (6)

Page 539 n.(2) E.C.X Bowringpet 9(1155); E.C.IV Nagamangala 56 (1131, not 1071 as Rice); 57(1181); E.C.VI Chikmagalur 66(1089); 71(1137), *ibid.* Mudgere 3(1144). It is easily confused with the title *paḍavala* which was an equivalent for *pasāyta*.

- (1) E.C.V Arsikere 123(1236), 203b(1235) -senior inspectors mentioned.
 (2) E.C.VI Kadur 148(1202), Cf. Chikmagalur 78(1185).
 (3) E.C.V Arsikere 71(1173). (4) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 43(K.T. only);
 E.C.VI Kadur 99(1143), 100(1241), 143(1275); E.C.VII Shimoga 88(12
 (5) E.C.IV Nagamangala 32(1184). Insufficient is known of *besa-*
vagas and *kūsus* (obedient protegés) to be sure that they were

It remains to explain briefly the methods by which this machinery of government was paid for. Besides the livelihood of all the officials the king had to provide for his gifts to temples, to public works, to individual benefactors of the State such as merchants, literary personages and the like, and for foreign endowments.(1) He had, moreover, to provide for the upkeep of his court and its numerous population, and to supply the pay of the mercenary soldiers, such as the Muslims that were employed by the later Hoysala kings, and the means to buy imported Arab horses, the price of which we learn from Marco Polo and Rashīd ud dīn to have been very high.(2) Moreover it appears that the king was accustomed to collect jewels, and the royal treasures of jewels and gold performed the useful function of maintaining those valuable commodities at a stable price.

One source of income was undoubtedly the mines, of gold and of baser metals, of which, curiously enough, not a single clear trace is found among the thousands of contemporary records. Old workings have been discovered in numbers, and no doubt exists about the early tapping of the vast mineral resources of Mysore. An inscription mentions an ākaraṣmandalika or, apparently, governor of mines, but the reference is not conclusive.(3) A royal monopoly was almost certainly preserved

actually office-holders. Cf. rāyasa-kūsugaḷ (secretariat kūsus ?) in E.C.V Arkalgud 53(1252). Likewise the enigmatical cirupillaigal of Rd.183(1236) and A.R.1929-30,242(?1262). Page 540 n.(6) M.A.R.1914-5, para.84; E.C.IV Krishnarajapet 9(1256), 10(1292). Instances of self-destruction by courtiers are not rare: e.g. Kuvāra Lakṣma, E.C.V Belur 112(c1220). Cf. E.C.VI Kadur 146(1180). See also E.C.VII Honnali 47(1130). The king demanded payment of the vow if not kept: E.C.VII Shikarpur 249(1185). See also M.A.R.1936,22(c1150), where a queen was so accompanied. The suicide of a henchman and his wife for a subordinate of Rāmacandra Yādava in 1284 in Rani Bannur tāluqa, formerly

as the income from the mines was intimately connected with the State privilege of coinage.

The other sources were the products of the soil and the labour of the country's craftsmen. A theoretically variable proportion of the produce of each of these sources was appropriated by the government. In practice it will be seen that the chief bulk of the revenue drawn by the State from the land was derived from the application of the two principles of permanent settlement and cash payments. These principles, to ^{which} insufficient attention has been given by students of the vexed and important topic of the Indian land revenue, did not apply to the same degree in the field of the minor dues and local levies, but it is clear that the benefits of a permanent settlement of the revenue, in a society which was believed to be economically stable, were fully appreciated in Hoysala and pre-Hoysala times and a prosperous and highly organized economic system justified a striving for cash payments wherever possible. It must be borne in mind, however, that the permanent settlement, though persisted in until the collapse of the kingdom, a calamity for which it was itself largely responsible, was intended to be permanent only in a broad sense, each individual settlement revealing the gradual building up of the total by the superimposition of one item upon another. Against the addition of further land taxation, however, there was a tremendous weight of pre-

Hoysala territory: W.E.II 262 a-b. Suicide to obtain an object: E.C.XI Molakalmuru 12(c1194); E.C.X Goribidnur 41(?1180), Ibid. Gintamani 31(c1050); cf. A.R.1906, 119(1255). A possible instance is M.A.R.1909-10, p.9, para.24.

Page 541 n.(1) E.g the many vadda-vyāvahāris or merchant princes who conducted not only trade but also negotiations between states and even at times arranged alliances between them: E.C.V Arsikere 108(1255). Foreign endowments: E.C.V Arkalgud 21(1278-9 M.A.R.1908-9, para.85(1279). (2) Marco Polo III Ch.xvii:500

judice, the inertia of which only extraordinary circumstances could shift, when accompanied by the fullest health and vigour on the part of the administration.(1)

Unfortunately the information available on the Hoysala revenue system is not so scanty as it is ill-balanced and complex. The revenue terms themselves were many centuries old before the Hoysalas employed them, and the abbreviated methods especially of referring to the multitudinous heads of taxation make an accurate analysis almost impossible. Without a comprehensive and reliable account of the revenue methods of the earlier dynasties, we are obliged to approach the body of material on the Hoysala system in a disorderly fashion, beginning the study at a point well beyond the true commencement of the story.

It should be stated here that no account is made of the voluntary levies which were constantly voted by various public bodies for a variety of purposes, principally religious or charitable; the analysis that follows concerns only those taxes that were imposed upon the people by or in the name of the government.(2)

saggi of gold = 100 marks of silver. Rashîd ud dîn, I.O.3524 f. 375b, E. & D. I. p. 69, 220 dinârs. Page 541 n.(3) E.C.V Belur 166.

(1) In the Kāvēri valley Principality the Hoysala seems to have adopted a system of regular revisions of the revenue rolls, in which the small changes that had occurred throughout the year were published. In S.I.I.IV 422(ç1256) we hear of the payment of money according to the 23rd account (or "settlement") of Vīra-Sōmēśvara: Vīra-Sōmēśvara-dēvar̥ku irupattu munrāvadu varainda kaṇakkuppaḍi. This system was not employed in the Hoysala-nāḍ. Cf. N.K. Sastri, Cōlas II, p. 328.

(2) The voluntary levies, a good example of which is found in E.C.X Kolar 70(1330) were a compound of money due to be paid on the possession of costly articles, such as an elephant (1 gadyāna) or a horse (1 paṇa), and dues in kind for loads of necessities, such as grain, salt, pepper and betel leaves; a servant tax was also included in the example taken.

From the four specimens of the detailed settlement of estates (in each case agrahāras) found in the four records which are compared in Appendix II it is clear that the principal government taxes were divided into classes, probably for ease of accounting. In the thirteenth century these consisted of the following:-

The first item, called kula in the earliest example and modalu in the second and third, was the basic assessment, or first total levied on a specified area of land, to which all the other items were additions, generally known as the bali.(1)

To the question, by whom and by what method this kula was assessed, the instances give a fairly clear answer. On every piece of cultivated land within the kingdom not specifically freed from taxation the king in his capacity as landlord and owner of the soil imposed first a basic assessment, then levies (2) for specific purposes and customs dues. This leaves out of account

(1) The word kula occurs with modalu in E.C.V Channarayapatna 197(1223), where it is said that the donor of land for an agrahāra freed it from taxation, having had the kula cut into parts so as to make the modalu which the agrahāra had to pay 20 ga.; this in its turn was granted by the government with a copper sāsana so that the Brahmans were free to allocate it to the service of a god set up by the donor. The government's part in this sacrifice is very clearly shown. E.C.IV Krishnarajapet 50(c1270) shows where the kula was divided into seven parts, but by that time kula and siddhāya were practically synonymous in the wider sense of siddhāya. The phrases modala-siddhāya and modalu-kula occur in E.C.VI Sringeri 1(1326) with no apparent distinction. In E.C.VI Tarikere 20(1185) the modala-gadyāna is given as 50 ga.; added to it is a consolidated sum of another 50 ga. giving a total called kaṭṭu-guttige piṇḍādāna; thus the modalu was clearly independent of all other items which are enumerated as part of the consolidated sum. Cf. a similar case: M.A.R.1923, 1(1194). The modalu is likewise mentioned in E.C.XII Chikmayakanhalli 2(1261) where it is accompanied by bali.

(2) See Appendix I.

the local taxes not normally paid direct to the government, though raised on the authority of the king. All tax-regulations emanating from the palace (aramane) were applied and adjusted in general by the treasury officers attached to the head city of the nād. It is not known whether at the earliest settlements the method employed was to fix a sum for a nād or for a village, but our examples seem to point to the government's settling a sum for a variety of subdivisions in which there existed a number of persons or corporations capable of being responsible for the revenue. (1) These persons or bodies were then free to split up this sum amongst the various towns, villages and hamlets, and they in their turn distributed the load among the land-holders. (2) But this is a surmise of a dangerous kind, as, except in the important case of newly cultivated ground, no settlement can have been entirely original. It is certain however that every adjustment, variation, (3) and re-distribution of the responsibility for the revenue was submitted to the central government for approval and was recorded at Dōrasamudra as well as in the account books (sivadi, literally "bundle") of the śrī-karanas of the nād. (4) Of this government

(1) One must not be misled by the flagrant mistranslation of E.C.XII Tumkur 17(1287) where Kambaya-dañṇāyaka is said to have been "making the settlement (of revenue)", a gross distortion of the text. alutt irdu simply means "ruling". The K.T. nāḍanoḷ etiddu is a corrupt reading for nāḍan alut iddu which should accordingly be read in the R.T.

(2) E.C.VI Kadur 12a(1233): ūrukaṭṭida siddhāya, "the siddhāya fixed by the ūr." The arrangement when ratified bore the seal of the ratifying authority, the king or his deputy, and became an unḍige: E.C.VI Kadur 132(1215).

(3) See E.C.V Channarayapaṭna 180(1252) for the method of lessening the State revenue by paying sēse, in this case an "extra contribution"; the method seems to be a type of sporadic act of anticipation by the government of its income, apparently involving a substantial loss over a period. Cf. A.R. 1938-7, 119.

(4) E.C.V Arsikere 77(1220) and E.C.VI Tarikere 55(1291).

revenue the starting point, the kula or modalu, must have been the result of long ages of experience. A Gaṅga-siddhāya, or Gaṅga fixed rent, is spoken of in a Koṅgāḷva record of 1176, (1) and there is no doubt but that the first Hoysala kings took over the Gaṅga system and experience of taxation, as indeed in later times they took over the Cōla system in the east on the plateau, merely adding their own occasional taxes at rare intervals to the pile already existing. The assessment of the kula was therefore based on the local experience of the productivity of the soil and the general earning capacity of the locality. A study of the records shows that each village had its own kula, which, being often an odd number of panas and hāgas, had been at some time doubtless the result of careful judgement and reckoning, and not a round sum thrust forward on guess work. The impression is confirmed by the fact that two of the instances quoted show kulas roughly 1/6th of the total government revenue, a proportionate correspondence not unconfirmed by the fourth instance, where the kula and the consolidated total for the taxes of the first, second, third and fourth groups make up a sum of 8 ga.2 pa.1 hā., which would have borne the same proportion (a little less than 1/3rd) to the total (21 ga.4 pa. 1 hā.) as the totals of the same classes with their respective kulas bear to the sum totals of each of the other instances, if the tax nallāvu nallettu, and the kaṇḍike-vaṇa and the kaluku, had not been left out of the account: they were apparently mānya, having been altogether remitted in the case of this estate. In the third example the kula is rather

(1) E.C.I 33(1176). It is worth noting that it is separate from the heads nallettu, heggaḍe-gadyāna, kaṇḍike-gadyāna, ara-tere, and handala-haṇa (tax on marriage awnings).

more than a fifth of the total revenue recorded, a slight discrepancy probably due to the fact that the land in question was nearer to the capital than that of the other examples, and so perhaps may have been open to a more recent reassessment of the kula. The proportion, also, borne by the classes to the total, remaining ^{constant} in four instances taken from different decades and parts of the kingdom, shows that these classes were adjusted according to a principle of universal application, which can have been no other than the productive value of the territorial unit in question. Whether this was an estimate of the gross or the net produce is uncertain, but judging from later practice one would suppose with little hesitation that it was the net produce that was used in the formation of the assessments. That this was considered a stable factor is clear from the details of the settlements being engraved on stone as integral items of the conditions upon which grants were conveyed, grants that were in every case intended to be perpetual.

Having disposed of the kula or Modalu, we may proceed to the first four classes. The item vat tam is easily explained as discount, being a charge made by the government for the services of a banker or other expenses intermediate between the remitter and the treasury. The item remained, even when the revenue was enjoyed by a party other than the royal exchequer. It is seen from the first three instances quoted in the Appendix to be just $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the kula: hence it must have originated with it, and justifies its position at the head of the list by its age if by no other reason. The item sādham is not satisfactorily

explained; the word may have signified "quality (of the coins)" or perhaps "forwarding". As in any case the philological value of these headings is almost irrelevant, it must be accepted that the tax had some relationship to the estimated net produce. From the examples it is seen that it did not bear a fixed proportion to the amount of the *kula*, though it varied roughly with the size of the estate. No example of the *pa.2*^{ra}/*sēse*, the "2 pana contribution", has been found actually charged. In the cases shown in the Appendix it was *mānya* until 1253 at the earliest, and it is known to have been free from 1190 at the latest. (1) It remained on the revenue roll until about 1260, when it was abolished, if we may judge from the silence of the third example.

On the other hand, the first item of the second class bore a fixed proportion to the *kula*, or, to be more precise, to the total estimated net produce. This was the *vallabha* or *ballaha*, which must have originally signified "emperor", and thus the item represents a tax levied in the name of the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* and *Cālukya* rulers by the *mahā-maṇḍalēśvaras*; it is of interest to observe the tax still existing more than a half-century after it could possibly have reached the authority in whose interests it was originally levied. The cumulative nature of the Hoysala revenue system is very clearly demonstrated by this instance. The items *kumāra* (2) and *nibandha*, which complete the second class, though varying in the three examples in a

(1) E.C.V Channarayana 179.

(2) *Kugāra* in E.C.V Hassan 84(1223) must be an error.

ratio which remains constant between them, do not bear a fixed proportion to the kula, and it is doubtful whether they were not settled upon a sliding scale. The kumāra was probably a tax levied for the service of a particular Crown Prince, long since dead, although it may be suggested that it was a perpetual levy for the support of the heir apparent for the time being. Nibandha is another enigmatical heading and is probably an abbreviation for a more intelligible phrase. It may be an equivalent for nibandhi, which in one instance seems to mean an obligatory cess or due of a particular kind, (1) while as nimandi it means little more than a duty. (2)

A similar position is revealed by the third class. The first item bears a fixed proportion to the kula, the other two do not. The reason is easily found, however. Śrīkaraṇa is obviously a levy for the livelihood of the treasury accountant, being proportioned to the amount of the basic assessment; thus the chances of corruption in the settlement department were greatly reduced. Suṅka and pannāya varied, perhaps on a sliding scale, but more probably on a deliberate individual assessment. Suṅka was unquestionably the consolidated estimate for the customs and excise dues for the area. Pannāya may have been a levy on sales, but beyond the fact that it had much in common with suṅka no certainty exists as to its nature. (3) It seems

(1) E.C.IV Krishnarajapet 50(1270) ondu haṇavina lekkadalu varṣam prati nibandi āgi gadyāṇam ondu haṇav eraḍanu, "1 ga. 2 pa a year, being a nibandhi at the rate of 1 pa." Cf. S.I.I. IX pt. 1,341(1226), where the suṅka officials of Pāṇḍya-nāḍ gave 2 ga. a year from the grain duty of Kōgali-nāḍ as a nibandha. But see E.C.VII Shimoga 78(1291) sthala-nibandhi,? an obligatory payment to the holy place. (2) E.C.X Kolar 18(1294).

(3) Suka in E.C.V Hassan 84(1223) is an error. Suṅka was used in the sense of "tax" also, e.g. aḍakeya suṅka in E.C.V Hassan 139(1200) and E.C.VI Tarikere 20(1185), which represents the aḍake lakka 1 kaṇ tax; cf. maggada suṅka in E.C.V Arsikere

therefore that the total which the heggades of the suṅka and pannāya were expected to pay in to the treasury was calculated in advance, and this is the reason why they were so often able either to release a particular building or oil-mill from tax or actually to devote to a particular purpose sections of the dues which their committee was entitled to levy, and so alienate parts of their own incomes in perpetuity; conduct which was quite legal, provided the profits over and above the recorded estimate were sufficient.

The fourth class apparently consisted of one tax only: the adake lakka l kam was a levy "on one hundred thousand of areca nuts". It seems to have been assessed to the nearest gadyāna, and was applied on a sliding scale according to the size of the estate or perhaps the area of areca-bearing land, though it seems impossible that every estate paying the tax can have produced areca nuts. There is at any rate no reason for supposing that it was a proportional levy on the actual production of areca nut, and it may by the Hoysala^{period} have become a mere fiction. It was known for short as the adake-suṅka.

These four classes with the kula formed the hard core of the siddhāya, or fixed rent, although the whole of the headings discussed in this connection were also grouped under the title siddhāya. (1) In the example of 1291 we see that the

117(1161), which is magga-dere, while suṅka-dere (ibid.) must be the heading suṅka described here. See also E.C.V Arsikere 21(1278-9) where suṅka represents this heading. Also E.C.XI Chitaldrug 2(1355). Hejjuṅka and nādu-suṅka are other varieties of suṅka, mentioned in E.C.IV Krishnarajapet 44(1322). Hoḷeya suṅka, river-tolls, is mentioned in E.C.III Seringapatam 154 (c1225). Note that in E.C.VI Tarikere 36(1178) the heggade of the pannāya makes a grant of "50 on a bullock load of betel leaf, on a full load", which probably means the duty on 50 full loads, whatever it amounted to for the time being. But in

(1) over.

whole of the four classes were consolidated with the kula under the title modalu pindādāna. The word pindādāna, literally "acceptance of the pinda" appears quite inapposite, while kaṭṭu guttige, which is often associated with it, is of as yet unexplained meaning. S.Chandrasekhara Sastri does not appear to have gathered any information concerning it. (1) However the instances

E.C.XI Davangere 20(1045) pannāyada suṅka, "the suṅka of the pannāya", is spoken of; and again in E.C.IV Hunsur 137(1162) pannāya-dere, "pannāya tax".

Page 550 n.(1) In E.C.V.Hassan 84(1223) all the headings enumerated except the kula are called the sarvvāya, which Rice mistranslates "produce".

(1) Op.cit.pp.207-8: that it was a consolidated sum seems to have escaped him. The cases where siddhāya and sēse occur juxtaposed leads us to suppose them not one item, "the siddhāya-contribution", which is a contradiction in terms (not in itself a fatal objection), but two abbreviations: "the siddhāya group, and the sēse classes". E.g.E.C.V Channarayapatna 238(1249). Instances where the siddhāya is the four groups with the kula: E.C.V Hassan 139(1200); E.C.V Belur 182(1227); E.C.XI Chitaldrug 32(1286); E.C.IV Nagamangala 38(1284) and E.C.III Tirumakudal-narsipur 27(1290). Instances where the siddhāya is the whole of the settlement enumerated: E.C.VI Kadur 49(1291), but note a few exceptions that appear on the side of the other taxes; probably E.C.V Channarayapatna 238(1249) and E.C.XI Chitaldrug 2(1355), while E.C.X Kolar 100(1301) is doubtful. In E.C.V Channarayapatna 179(1190) occurs the phrase modala-siddhāyada kuḷadolage haṇa veradara sēse mānya ḍvata kārunya, apparently extending the meaning of modala and kuḷa also. Pindādānavāgi occurs meaning "in consideration of the consolidated sum" in M.A.R.1923,1(1194). Pindādāna occurs with kaṭṭu-guttige in E.C.V Hassan 135(1114); E.C.V Channarayapatna 242(1252); E.C.XII Chiknayakanhalli 2(1261); M.A.R.1923,1(1194); and E.C.VI Tarikere 20(1186). With kaṭṭu-guttige may be compared kaṭṭu-kuḍāngai, an allowance of tax-free land for the construction of public works. Guttige occurs in E.C.V Belur 219(1141) and E.C.III Tirumakudal-narsipur 20(1185) without assisting in the present inquiry. It is open to question to what total the Sanskrit word kara applied. In E.C.IX Bangalore 6(1253) it certainly was equivalent to the total siddhāya in the wider sense. In E.C.V Channarayapatna 172(1209 & 1220) likewise it is said that of the agrahāra the prathama karaḥ, or first revenue, kappana-kṛtādhika-sahita, together with the additional kappana, was 100 niskas, that is, gadyāṇas. The kappana is doubtful, being neither Sanskrit nor Kannaḍa: it is likely that it represents the word Kappa, "tribute", almost an equivalent of kāṇike, the obligatory present. So it seems that kara may indeed equal the second sense of siddhāya, while mūlakara certainly represents the kula: E.C.V Hassan 84(1223). Dr.Barnett holds that guttige was a revenue-farming contract.

make it clear that these phrases refer to a consolidated sum, or an attempt at simplification of the revenue rolls.

The fifth group contained three taxes, the pa.1 ra sēse, or the "one pana contribution", the khandike-vana, or (?) "ball of thread pana", and (?) ūnata, or "depreciation"(1) The first bore a fixed proportion to the kula, appearing to have been about 1/5th of that sum; the second, the origin of which is obscure, unless it be that it has some connection with the weavers' loom-tax, being identical in the first two instances where it appears, gives the impression of being applied on a sliding scale of wide gradation. If so, it was reduced before 1261 and may have been abolished by 1291, unless the instance of that year indicates a special remission. The ūnata, a heavy tax, likewise of uncertain origin, rose with the productivity of the estate but on no fixed proportion, and so may have been separately assessed.(2)

The sixth group appears to consist of one tax only, the vīra-sēse, or "warrior contribution", and was probably a war tax instituted during the time of E_{reya}ṅga. From the four instances it is not plain upon what principle it was assessed, but it certainly bore some relationship to the productivity of the estate.(3)

A large group follows, containing at least five headings. The first, nallāvu nallettu, has the curious feature of being assessed according to some factor other than the total productivity of the taxed unit, and even varying in an inverse ratio to it. The 1223 instance, an estate of moderate size,

(1) E.C.V Channarayapatna 179(1190) has ōvata; E.C.IX Bangalore 6(1253) has vovata; E.C.V Hassan 84(1223) has ovate; E.C.V Belur 74(1261) has vatta and E.C.VI Kadur 49(1291) has unatta.
 (2) Khandike-vana occurs in E.C.VI Tarikere 20(1185). Cf. the

paid 9 ga.5 pa. 3hā., while the example of 1253, a much larger estate, paid only 8 ga.2 pa., and that of 1261, although the largest in size, paid but half the latter amount. The political circumstances of the period make it unlikely that the tax was reduced, and a possible explanation is to be derived from the nature of the tax itself. The heading means "good cow and good bullock", and the tax must have originated in the need of cows for milk and bullocks for hauling waggons when the king was on campaign, the two to be provided by villages on or near his route. Later the government found it convenient to commute this levy into a perpetual money tax to be paid by every tax-paying unit. The amount levied on the village or agrahāra much originally have been calculated on the cost of those animals, and the calculation must always have varied from place to place. It is not known whether the calculation was revised from time to time; if so, an even wider discrepancy would easily appear between the amounts paid under this head by the several estates. (1)

The khāna-nibandha was a tax of the earlier type, and bore a fixed proportion to the kula. It was clearly based upon some obligatory provision of victuals, perhaps for the armies in the field, later commuted to a money assessment. (2)

expression khandika-vṛtti in E.C.XII Chiknayakanhalli 2(1261), where it clearly has another meaning.

Page 552 n. (3) The tax is called vīra-vaṇa in M.A.R.1915-6, para 84(1077).

(1) The tax is referred to in E.C.VI Tarikere 20(1185) also.

(2) The reading bāṇa of E.C.VI Kadur 49(1291) is an error. Khāna nibandhi occurs in E.C.VI Tarikere 20(1185). The following mentions of khāna may be references to this tax or to the khāna assessment below: E.C.V Hassan 139(1200); E.C.XI Chitaldrug 32(1286); E.C.IV Nagamangala 38(1284); E.C.III Tirumakudal narsipur 27(1290); E.C.VI Kadur 49(2191) and M.A.R.1909-10, para. 86(1295).

The origin of kaluku or kaluku remains doubtful, as the word itself is unintelligible. The charge seems to have fluctuated from estate to estate in a wild fashion, and no sort of explanation of it can be offered.(1)

Todarū was a tax on badges of distinction, apparently a round sum charged according to the rank of the estate holder or estate holding body.(2)

The āneya sēse was a relic of the time when each district had to provide for the upkeep of its own force, which later became part of the king's army. The cost of elephants and horses was the most expensive charge, and every estate contributed to the cost, the kudureya sēse being frequently mentioned alongside the āneyasēse. This group of taxes was generally referred to as sēse, "contribution", the original meaning of the word having long been obscured. The "elephant contribution" was a heavy sum, but variable according to the productivity of the respective estates and, when new settlements were made, with the needs of the military department.

Included in this group was also the jede-dere, a tax on plaited hair. All that is known of it is that each estate paid a substantial sum on its account.(3)

First of the eighth group is the kudureya sēse, or "horse contribution". It varied in a manner similar to the āneya sēse, and appears to have been increased, as the making of fresh settlements offered, in accordance with the national

(1) E.C.VI Kadur 49(1291), E.C.VI Tarikere 20(1185). In E.C.IV Nagamangala 38(1284) kaluhu may perhaps be a mistake for kaluku if kaluku is not itself a misreading.

(2) Todaru-gadyāna occurs in E.C.V Hassan 139(1200).

(3) The reading ceda is an error. See also E.C.V Hassan 139(1200) where it was remitted by the king; in E.C.V Arsikere 117(1161),

exigencies. It would seem, for example, that in the period about 1250 horses were needed more than elephants.(1)

Kumāra-gāṇike followed. Kāṇike was, and still is, a present which one is expected to give. The kāṇike, which was due to the Crown Prince, bore a fixed proportion to the amount of the kula.(2)

The vijaya-vīra-vaṇa was another, later, war tax for the provision of "victorious warriors". It operated on a sliding scale, and was, as its name suggests, a paṇā only on all but the larger estates.

The kodati-vaṇa, which appears to be a "hammer or pestle tax", was a similar small tax operating on another sliding scale different to the former and producing less revenue; the scale may have been revised between 1253 and 1261.(3)

There follows a group of taxes, all of which had a peculiar feature in common which distinguishes them from the other taxes. Each estate was expected to give an amount of grass, paddy and sesamum seed to the state, and this had been commuted to a cash payment based on an assessment of the estate's powers to supply the items. It does not follow in fact that these crops were invariably grown on the estates during our period, but rather that they were grown at the time when the original siddhāya was laid down, and after commutation the assessment became in many if not all cases a formality. The charge for where it appears to have been in the gift of the heggades of the suṅka.

(1) Āṇeya-sēse kuḍureya sēse: E.C.V Hassan 139(1200); E.C.V Channarayapatna 242(1252); E.C.IV Nagamangala 38(1284) and E.C. III Tirumakudal-narsipur 27(1290).

(2) Kumāra-gāṇike: E.C.V Hassan 139(1200). Kāṇike only: E.C.XI Chitaldrug 32(1286). See also E.C.X Malur 39(1346) and Kolar 100

khāna(food in general, but perhaps fodder in particular, so "grass") was 10 hāgas, that is to say, 2 paṇas and 2 hāgas on every salage, or "rod" of khāna demanded. In the first instance quoted the estate was rated at 11 rods, and thus paid 2 ga. 7 pa. 2 hā. under this head. The units of measurement were salage, kolaga, balla and māna, or rods, pints, gills and quarter-gills: the measuring rod may have been inserted in the centre of the heap, or may have determined the size of a square measure, the smaller amounts being measured by the pint, there being 20 pints to the rod, four gills to the pint and four mānas to the gill. The charge for bhatta, otherwise nellu, or "paddy", was $6\frac{4}{5}$ ths hāgas: it was clearly a less valuable crop. Thus in the first instance quoted the estate was rated at $2\frac{1}{2}$ salage and so paid 4 paṇas and 1 hāga. Ellu, or sesamum, curiously enough, was charged at exactly twice the rate of paddy, namely 3 paṇas 1 & $\frac{3}{5}$ ths hāgas per salage. More curious is the fact that in each of the instances quoted the amount of sesamum demanded was half that of the paddy to the nearest $\frac{1}{2}$ kolaga. This detail clearly demonstrates how conventional had become the method of assessment. The rates remained exactly the same from 1223 at the latest to 1291 at the earliest, despite the many variations in the current price of those commodities which must have occurred in the meanwhile. (1)

Three heads more remain. Most interesting is the item Cōla-kārunya-biṭṭiya-bhaṇḍi. The sense of the word bhaṇḍi is open to question. It can not mean "cart", as Rice thought. It (1301); E.C.IV Nagamangala 38(1284) and E.C.III Tirumakudal - Narsipur 27(1290). Cf. Kampanna-udaiyār's kānikkai in E.C.X Chin-tamani 94(1375). Page 555 n.(3) The tax is mentioned in M.A.R. 1915-6, para. 84(1077).

(1) Ellu is mentioned in E.C.VI Tarikere 20(1185).

must mean a type of levy, one in fact of the numerous words signifying a tax, of which the original significance has been lost.(1) In any case the bhaṇḍi was a "forced service", or "forced contribution" for "compassion, or kindness towards the Cōla", a tax obviously instituted in 1218 or thereabouts, being an example of the efforts made by the Hoysala to acquire diplomatic supremacy in the plains. It is to be noted that it was still levied in 1291, 33 years after it had become impossible to render any effective aid to the Cōla dynasty. It appears to have been gradually lowered during the century, and the new settlements gave the landholders the benefit of the lowered rates.

Both the ettin upōttara and khāṇad upōttara are but partially intelligible items, presumably commuted sums originally for the provision in the king's service of the "best but one" or first fruits of the bullocks and fodder available on the estate. The figures available give us no indication upon what principle the assessment was made.

This then was the body of the siddhāya, or permanent rent, to which occasionally the palace added other burdens of a more temporary nature, and this siddhāya as described above is the only full example of a particularized statement of the principal direct government demand known to us belonging to the Hindu period, absolutely uninfluenced by Muslim notions, and totally derived from Hindu revenue practice.

(1) Ā-biṭṭiya-bhaṇḍi: E.C.V Hassan 139(1200). Bhaṇḍi alone: E.C.IV Nagamangala 38(1284); but see E.C.VI Kadur 49(1291) where it is remitted though the Cōla tax remained. Cōla alone: E.C.VI Tarikere 20(1185). Note that the curious interpolation, "1 saḷage 17 koḷagas . mānas" in E.C.IX Bangalore 6(1253) is at variance with the rate "1" in E.C.V Hassan 84(1223). Further

The question that at once excites interest is what proportion of the net produce was actually taken by the State. There is, as Dr. Altekar found in the earlier periods, an extreme difficulty (1) in determining the proportion of the produce accruing to the State, from the absence of records which tell us at the same time both the productive value of land and the tax levied on it. In cases where we know the number of mattar or kambas involved we are no better informed, for the very area, let alone the productive capacity of those units, is unknown. (2) There is however ground for believing that a thorough and profound study of the multitudinous facts of the economic life of the people might enable a solution to be found. There is one inscription at least which gives us some data upon which to base a notion of the State's share. (3)

From it we learn that Gōpāla divided some land given him by Narasiṅha III into 47 shares. Of these, 8 shares produced 151 gadyāṇas. As shares were almost always equally divided, we can guess that the whole estate produced 887 ga. 4pa. and 1 hāga. The total siddhāya being 41 ga. 5pa., the State's share of the produce was a little more than a 22nd part of the total. We can not however be certain that the revenue settled in this case was not estimated at a reduced rate, and indeed the reference to the Huliyara viṭṭiya maryāde, or "the rate appertaining to the forced levy of Huliyaru (estate)" confirms evidence is required to solve the difficulty.

(1) Rastrakutas and their times, pp. 217, 219, 221. Appadorai, in the section on Taxation in his Economic Conditions in Southern India, finds the difficulty almost insoluble, but agrees with the feeling, expressed in this chapter, on the smallness of the State's share, though he judges mainly from Tamil sources. The statement of P.N. Ramaswami, in Early History of Indian

this impression, to the extent that a part, but certainly a small part of the estate was assessed at a rate different to that usual in the Hoysala nād proper. That the siddhāya formed such a small proportion of the produce is indeed to be believed from the multitudinous collection of taxes which existed over and above those "permanent" items hitherto discussed; from the extreme paucity of instances of a failure to pay the sum due; (1) and from the fact that as soon as circumstances had enabled powerful dannāyakas to engross the income from large areas of land, after the royal treasuries had been looted by the Muslims, the Hoysala king's ensured income dwindled to so small a sum that the very functions of government could not be maintained under their old head, and under pressure from the rising Vijayanagara brothers the kingdom disintegrated at once. Had neither the principle of permanent settlement, nor the persisting low level of taxation been maintained, a revival of Hoysala power would have been possible, if not certain. The taxation over and above the siddhāya was either insufficient to meet all the purposes for which it was required, or was consumed by the local governors, for whose livelihood it was in large part designed.

Famines, I.A.52 p.194, that the Cōla, Hoysala and Pāndya kings the native dynasties of the northern Circars and the famous kings of Vijayanagar, all exacted 50% of the gross produce, is quite unwarranted by evidence.

Page 558 n.(2) See S.Chandrasekhara Sastri, op. cit, p.207, 229. Cf E.C.V Hassan 66(c1170) with E.C.V Belur 171(1160), Arsikere 1 (1168), Channarayapatna 296(1276) and E.C.III Tirumakudal-narsipur 15(c1110) for example. There were no less than a dozen kinds of kamba, or pole. Page 558 n.(3) E.C.XII Chiknayakanhalli 2(1261).

(1) Inefficiency in agrahāras was not uncommon. E.C.V Belur 182 (1227) and M.A.R.1926, 6(1224) both show Umā-dēvi intervening at the committee's request to arrange for the payment of the siddhāya. Cf. the regulations in E.C.V Arsikere 128(1229) on mort-

The remaining categories of taxation include the royal extraordinary taxes, the nād, nād official's and landholders' taxes. In the first category come those elements of the apūrvaya which have not hitherto been discussed. Pūrvaya and apūrvaya, "previous and recent (or "non-previous") revenue", is an ancient classification which can no longer be distinguished with any exactness. It appears, however, that the items already discussed included the greater part of the pūrvaya, if not the whole of it, and a portion of the apūrvaya besides. Amongst these, aliya and anyāya could be imposed by the palace, and several records make arrangements for this contingency. The headings mean "depreciation" or "destruction" and "illegality", and they constituted irregular and occasional taxes. (1) Another royal tax was the kataka sēse or contribution for the forces. (2) Likewise hodake (3) was a kind of tribute expected by the king on certain occasions. Abhyāgate, "adventitious", paṭṭa-baddha, "coronation", and putrōtsāha "birth of a son", were similarly occasional levies. (4)

It would be impossible to give a full and reasoned list of the taxes levied with royal sanction by the nād assembly, the nād heggade, and the landholders, or to distinguish precisely which taxes were collected by which authority. Many of the terms are unintelligible and probably misread in the copies: of those that remain the following are taken as the principal items and examples.

gaging an underproductive share; and the rearranging of unproductive shares in E.C.VI Tarikere 55(1291). See also E.C.V Arsi-kere 113(1318).

(1) E.C.XI Chitaldrug 32(1286); E.C.IV Nagamangala 38(1284); E.C.III Tirumakudal-narsipur 27(1290). (2) E.C.XI Chitaldrug 32.

The nād heggade had a tax of his own, called his kānike. (1) We learn from a record of 1307 that he could draw, at the discretion of the nād assembly, an income from the villages, in this case one pana from each of 40 villages and a $\frac{1}{2}$ pana from each of 30 villages, being a total of 5 ga. 5 pa. a year not including certain dues received from the fair. (2) If this was an official that depended entirely on this source for his income, he would have enjoyed an emolument nearly equal to that of a Brahman teacher of literature, or pujāri, who usually received 6 ga. a year, but still it was noticeably smaller than the salary of the dannāyakas that governed districts. Together with the nād suka officers the nād heggade probably enforced the collection of various taxes for the benefit of the customs department and /or the landholders. Amongst them were the āgantuka (unexpected guest), maduve (marriage), magga-dere or tari irai (loom tax), gāna-dere or cekkirai (oil-press tax), bannige (dyeing), kōṭeya-hadike (fort tax), kōṭṭige dere (cowshed tax), mane-dere (house tax), kadai irai (shop-tax), hōge-dere (smoke, or hearth -tax), kabbu or āle-dere (sugarcane press tax), kōde (parasol), hala (plough), ālu-dere (goat-tax), kabbilara-hadike (fowler-tax), holeyara-hadike (outcaste tax), tattārp-pāṭṭam (goldsmith tax), Āsuvak-kadimai (Ājivaka tax), nāṭṭār varivu (assessment of the nād occupants), nāviḍa-dere (barber tax), pañca-kāruka (five classes of artisans), kumbāru-dere (potter tax), tottu-dere (concubine tax), ambiga-dere (boatman tax), bāla-vaṇa (child tax), irāyasa-nimandi (clerk-

Page 560 n. (3) M.A.R. 1911-2, para. 93 (1328); ibid. 1937, 52 (1337); ibid. 1912-3, para. 85a (1310); E.C. XI Chātaldrug 2 (1355). In M.A.R. 1912-3, para. 85a Mādige-dēva-dannāyaka made a hodake of 2,300 ga. to the king and purchased 4 villages getting the king to free them from taxation. (4) E.C. IV Nagamangala 38 (1284).

tax), kēlvi-nimandi (duty on hearings), biṭṭi-bidāra (contribution in lieu of lodging, or ? forced labour), odda-dere (tank-diggers' tax), ayādāya (grain receipts by civil servants), sōdige (tax), olavāru, horavāru (import and export duties), kiṭtanḍu mēl tanḍu (inferior and superior fines), and cilavāna (odd sums, or miscellaneous).(1)

The inhabitants likewise paid to their local ruler tappu (fines), tavuḍi(decrease) and dandāya (income from penalties), and the various income which was received by the payer of the siddhāya was known as kirukula, or the subordinate assessment. Ūr-mala-braya is also heard of, but its significance is as yet unknown.(2)

Thus as subordinates and deputies of the sovereign the various governors, rulers and others, leaving aside the larger tenants and landholders, enjoyed a considerable income over and above the value of the kodagis and other lands which had been granted by the king to them or to their ancestors. When much of the siddhāya and sēse also was alienated by a weak government to grasping or deserving dannāyakas, their gain inflicted a permanent loss on the State, a process which in fact contributed very largely to the downfall of the Hoysala dynasty, as also that of other dynasties in similar positions.

Page 561 n.(1) E.C.V Hassan 139(1200). (2) E.C.XI Holalkere 137.

(1) E.C.V Hassan 119(1173); 135(1114); Belūr 83(1178); Channarayapatna 268(1199); Arkalgud 21(1278-9); 54(1275); cf. E.C.XI Chitaldrūg 2(1355), also ibid.32(1286); E.C.X Kolar 18(1294), 28(1291); Malur 39(1346); Kolar 100(1301); E.C.IV Chamrajanagar 84(1280); Hunsur 137(1162); Nagamangala 38(1284); E.C.IX Channapatna 65 (1278); E.C.VII Honnali 7(1204); also M.A.R.1915-6, para, 84(1077) and E.C.VI Tarikere 55(?1231). Numerous terms are doubtful. A modern list is found in M.A.R.1927, 113(1826).

(2) E.C.II 333(1206) and E.C.III Tirumakudal-Tnarsipur 27(1290) Ibid.97(1276) the phrase used is siddhāya sēse mala-braya. Braya normally means expenditure, and mala waste or impurity.

Appendix I.

Private & State Ownership and Land
Taxation under the Hoysala Kings.

There is no proof that the subjects held absolute rights of private ownership of the soil, but the landholders enjoyed during their tenancy most of the advantages of ownership subject to their payment of the revenue and maintenance of the prevailing customs of their tenure. It is very doubtful whether absolute private ownership of land has ever existed even in pre-Socialist Europe; only the complicated restrictions of the Hindu law of inheritance put the Hoysala subjects at a marked disadvantage compared with their western contemporaries. However while others put the accent on "ownership", the mediaeval Hindu emphasised "enjoyment". In practice they can not have differed very much. The *aṣṭa-bhoga-tējas-svāmya*, mentioned in E.C.V Hassan 61(1218), E.C.I 65(?1295), E.C.III Tirumakudal-narsipur 100(1281) and E.C.VI Kadur 143(1275), translated by Rice as "the eight rights of possession", but better put as "the ownership that consists in the dignity derived from eight enjoyments", are *akṣīni* (undiminished, i.e. present profit and capital), *āgāmi* (future, i.e. increased profit), *nidhi* (hidden stores), *niḥṣēpa* (treasure trove), *jala* (waters), *pāṣāna* (stones, or rocks), *siddha* (completed works) and *sādhya* (prospective works). See also E.C.XI Chitaldrug 2(1355) and E.C.IV Chamrajnagar 23(1578) for the permanence of the notion. Similarly, in the eastern districts, grants of land were made conveying rights to wells underground and trees overground: for example, E.C.X Kolar 55 (1285).

Sale and mortgage took place frequently, but the transactions referred not to the soil itself but to the position of landholder, and to the authority derived therefrom to receive the suvarṇāya and bhattāya, or income in cash and kind (E.C.VI Kadur 132 of 1215), to which custom and the king's order entitled them. The conditions under which tracts of land were entrusted to a landholder's care varied, and he, or the body which held the same status, was in his turn able to state conditions on which portions might be sublet to sub-tenants. The whole position is well illustrated by the article by S.Chandrasekhara Sastri, on the economic conditions under the Hoysalas, in the half-yearly journal of the Mysore University for July 1928, pp. 196-233, particularly pp.204-9, an article which, in the absence of a more profound and complete treatment of the subject, may be considered authoritative. The rights of sale, exchange and mortgage were sometimes given (E.C.V Belur 182(1227)) and sometimes withheld (E.C.IV Nagamangala 39(1271)). Free sale and mortgage, when taxes were comparatively high, was in the State's interest, and here the temples as money lenders played a very important part, a part which requires further research.

A good example of the conditions under which land was granted to a person as a kuḍaṅgai (kodagi), or on the understanding that he stood to the tenants and cultivators in the position which had previously been held by the State, is given by E.C.X Malur 39(1346).

It is unfortunate, but inevitable, that we may not describe the legal position or economic status of the cultivator, and landless classes, apart from the merchant and artisan commun-

ities. It seems that they were little better than those of serfdom: slaves and depressed classes certainly existed. Our epigraphic evidence is almost exclusively confined to the affairs of substantial and free persons of the rank of gauda at least. The okkalu in E.C.IV Nagamangala 39(1271) translated by Rice wrongly as "cultivators" were in fact the sub-tenants of the Brahmans, who were themselves the land-holding corporation. These sub-tenants might indeed have been tenants under government but for the supervention of the agrahāra grant of a half-century before. Their substantial status is revealed by their titles - there is a gauda, accompanied by two settis, a sāhani (knight) and a heggade, as well as a son of the mighty Perumāle-dēva-dannāyaka himself.

In Chapter XI of his work on the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their times Dr. A.S. Altekar has given a quantity of material on "revenue and expenditure" drawn from various dynasties of or near the period of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. He admits the unsatisfactory scope of the evidence, yet many of his conclusions are valid and help to show in a rather vague fashion the advance which must have been made during the early Hoysala period. Much that he says is irrelevant to the subject at present under consideration, but the view he expresses on pp.236-241 concerning the State ownership of land is unacceptable. There can be no doubt that the theory of ownership had undergone little change between Rāṣṭrakūṭa times and the Hoysala period, and from the much more vast body of evidence existing on the latter it is quite clear that Dr. Altekar's view is false. This is most unfortunate, as

the problem is of present-day importance as well as of great interest to students of Muslim and British revenue history. The battle between the partisans of State ownership and those of private ownership is shown by a study of Hoysala history to be quite idle: both parties are in the wrong. The king was bhū-bhuja, and was believed to own the earth by right of conquest or inheritance or both: his subjects, at his pleasure, enjoyed the fruits of it. It was convenient for him to secure them in their holdings under certain variable restrictions, and they felt at least as certain of maintaining their enjoyment of the lands held by them and their ancestors as do the present inhabitants of Europe. State ownership was combined with private usufruct in a manner difficult for western minds to appreciate; hence the controversy. The views of the śāstras, which Dr. Altekar admits to be divergent, are not infrequently reflections of the Brahmans' anxiety to prevent conquerors from cancelling their grants. In Hoysala times the Brahmans never questioned the king's right to disturb the tenancy of previous landholders in favour of a body of agrahāra Brahmans. From the State's point of view it was a matter of indifference who ~~was~~ responsible for the revenue providing they paid it, and kept law and order at a reasonable level.

Dr. Altekar's method of arriving at his conclusion, which does not require a fuller scrutiny here, is similar to that on p.243, where he judges that it was "absolutely clear that the property of persons dying without male issue did not escheat to the crown, as was the case in contemporary Gujarat",

from the fact that a single inscription assigns the property to a religious object only after it is found that no wife, female children, and so on, to and including gōtrajas, survive. The record, E.I.v p.26-28, is dated 1178, and thus can have no very close bearing on Rāstrakūta usage; the incident is very similar to that described on p.519-520 above, and Dr. Altekar by corrupting the translation (on page 28 of E.I.v line 28) "make" to "take" (on p.244 of his work) has badly confused the position; and if these authorities (not "of the village", as Altekar says) assigned the property conditionally at all it is clear that they did so by virtue of the right of the ruler which had been by custom or order vested in them to dispose of the property of those who died without heirs in the male line, and that they bowed to public opinion and interest by (a) putting a limit upon the exercise of the right, and (b) by assigning the property to a public "charity". Dr. Altekar's method is shown to be insufficiently exact and his conclusion unsound. It is felt that his view on the proprietary right to the soil is similarly unreliable.

---o-o-o-o---

E.C.V Belur
74(1261)

E.C.VI
Kadur 49
(1291)

modalu	ga.	pa.	hā.	modalu piṇḍādāna	ga.	pa.	hā.
	31	6	-		8	2	1
		7	3(a)				
	1	5	3				
	3	4	-				
	1	8	-				
	1	5	3				
	1	2	1				
	6	2	3				
	1	-	2				
	5	-	-				
	5	4	-		8	1	
		2	-				
	15	8	-		2	7	1

(a) Text reads
8 pa.3 hā.

	7	5	2(a)		1	1	3
	4	1	-				
		5	1			-	2
		1	2				
	2	-	-		1	-	-
	16	6	1		2	6	-
	9	6	-				
	20	7	2(b)		3	3	-
		7	-			-	2
		4	-			1	(c)
		1	-			1	-
alage 34 kol 15	8	8	-	salage 3		7	2
balla 1							
alage 8 kol 18	1	3	1	Kolaga 13½		1	-
alage 3 kol 19	1	3	1	Kolaga 6½		1	-
	1	9	-			1	2
		4	3			-	2
	1	5	3			1	(d)
	<u>153</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>			<u>21</u>	<u>4</u>
							<u>1</u>

- a) Text reads 8 ga. 5 pa, 2 hā.
b) Text reads 22 ga. 8 pa. 2 hā. Similarly, in the next, 8 pa.
c) Text has in error I hāga for 1 paṇa
d) Text has 2 hāgas, a misreading for 1 hāga.

Appendix II.

Examples of Land Revenue Settlements.

General Note: The running balances, though they have been most useful for the purpose of reconstructing the true figures, are omitted in this analysis. The coinage was 4 hāgas to a pana (5.2 grs. gold); 10 panas to a gadyāna (61 $\frac{3}{4}$ - 63 grs.); a copper bele was in use and is sometimes mentioned in these accounts, but may safely be neglected.

Item	E.C.V Hassan 84(1223).				E.C.IX Bant alore 6 (1253).		
	ga.	pa.	hā.		ga.	pa.	hā.
kula	10	-	-	modalu	25	7	-
vattam		2	2			6	1
sādam		8	-		1	2	3
pa 2 ra sēse (mānya)		-	-	(mānya)		-	-
vallaha	1	-	3		2	7	2
kumāra		8	2		1	3	3
nibandha		8	-		1	2	3
śrī-karaṇa		3	3			9	3
suṅka	1	5	3		5	3	-
pannāya		3	1 ^(a)			8	2
adake lakka 1	4	-	-		5	-	-
pa 1 ra sēse	2	-	2		4	5	-
kaṇḍike-vaṇa		4	-			4	-
ūnata (?)	8	-	-		12	8	2

(a) Text reads 2.

vīra-sēse	2	9	-		6	2	3
nallāvu nallettu	9	5	3 ^(a)		8	2	-
khāna-nibandha		1	3			4	1
kaluku		-	3			-	1
todaru	4	-	-		4	-	-
āneya sēse	6	1	2		13	8	-
jede-dere					9	7	5
kudureya sēse	5	9	3		21	-	3
kumāra-gānike		2	2			6	1
vijaya-vīra-vaṇa		1	-			3	-
koḍati-vaṇa		1	-			2	-
khāna salage 11	2	7	2	(b) salage 28 koḷ 5 $\frac{1}{4}$)7		-	2
bhatta salage 2 koḷ 10		4	1	salage 6 koḷ 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ 1		-	3
ellu salage 1 koḷ 5		4	1	salage 3 koḷ 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ 1		-	3
Cōla-kārunya-bittiya- bhaṇḍi.	2	-	-	id. sal.1 koḷ 17)1 mā..)	8	1	(c)
ettin upōttara		8	-				3
khānad upōttara		1	- ^(d)		1	2	3
	<u>66</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>-</u>		<u>140</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>7</u>

(a) Text reads 9 ga. 2 pa.

(b) Text reads sa.2 $\frac{1}{4}$ for sa.28.

(c) The 8 paṇas and 1 hāga are added for blanks in the text.

(d) The numeral 1 is inserted for a blank in the text.

Appendix III

Legends and European Collections.

In the early part of the last century, when the organization of what was then known as the Carnatic and of Mysore was in progress under British government or supervision, efforts were made deliberately to discover the history of the country then newly entering under the protection of the British people. Colonel Colin Mackenzie's collection of historical material as well as of vernacular manuscripts still forms one of the largest collections of its kind in existence. Amongst the vernacular manuscripts on southern Indian history are several bearing on the early history of Mysore, and a vast number more which deal with the Tamilian districts of the plains. They are of works mostly of the 17th and 18th centuries; several of them were translated into English for Mackenzie and still survive in their quaint and often hardly intelligible style. Of the rest the catalogues of Wilson and Taylor give us a fair knowledge, and enable us to estimate the value of the whole.

About the same time that Mackenzie was beginning to collect information from every possible source, epigraphical, literary and local records, Dr. Francis Buchanan made his well-known "journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar, performed under the orders of the Most Noble the Marquis Wellesley, Governor-General of India, for the purpose of investigating the state of Agriculture, Arts and Commerce; the religion, manners, and customs; the history natural and civil, and antiquities, in the dominions of the

Rajah of Mysore, and the countries acquired by the Honourable East India Company, in the late and former wars, from Tippoo Sultaun." His three-volume account of his journey, together with the Mackenzie collection, and the later collections of Telugu, Tamil, Sanskrit and Kannada works by Sir Walter Elliot and C.P. Brown, all illustrate not only the very ignorant condition of the so-called literate classes of those parts of India during the first half of the nineteenth century, and the total absence of any profound or critical historical knowledge amongst them, but the labour which European scholars have been obliged to undergo to arrive even at the most elementary conclusion concerning the early history of the country. The comparative ignorance of these early labourers in this most perplexing field is amply demonstrated in the following brief survey of the material on or connected with the history of the Hoysala dynasty, where it has been thought fit to leave the proper names in the same state in which they were found, leaving the confusion in their transliteration undisturbed, and to make no comments on the veracity or otherwise of the facts alleged, as a comparison with the foregoing chapters will show what is legendary, mistaken or corrupted, and will demonstrate with sufficient clarity where - and it is very seldom - these vernacular works, local records, and oral traditions depend upon good sources. Where the present material does not give the date A.D., this has been added to facilitate comparison.

The first volume of the General Collection of Mackenzie contains (1) a "Translation of Canada Manuscript of
(1) pp. 74-87. (i.o.)

Deevia Charita or divine actions of Sree Ramanogacharrys."

Ramanoogachary went to Tondanoor, where he learnt that the king of that part, Veetalada raja, son of Ballayara-genga, had a daughter that was possessed by a Peeshachey, or "davils". Veetaladeva Roy asked Ramanoochary to cure his daughter, and he did so, whereupon Veetaladeva Roy became his disciple and received from him the name Vistnoovardana Roya. Ramanoogachary destroyed the Jain pagoda at Tondanoor and repaired the tank with it. In "Shalleevahum 120 in the Ceycle year Bahoodana in the month of Magum 14th of soodum at thursday" (? A.D.1098) he went with the king to find the white mud near Yadavagiri. There follows the story of the image of the god "Ramaprayaror" in the chamber of the daughter of the Dillyswer (Dillīśvara, i.e. Sultān of Delhi)(2); Ramanoogachary went to find it. (The author of the catalogue is wrong in saying that the Hoysala Yādava prince converted by Rāmānuja is called Dellyswar here.)

In the 17th volume, amongst the details of the "legendary account of the five lingums of Vydanāda swamy that are erected in the Holy Place of Gajarunya Chatra from the Stala Mahatma and Pooranum of Tallacaud", appears the statement that in the Callee yoogum Bettavurdana Roya, a Jaina king, intended to build 5 Bustees and while they were building a boil appeared on his back; cured by Ramanooja-Charey he became a disciple of Vistnoo. Again, the Karnātaka-rājakal-savistara-caritram, No.2305 on p.34 of Taylor's Catalogue (vol.iii),

(1) p.47. (2) The Koyilolugu enlarges on this legend.

relates that Rāmānuja was at Seringapatam when the Muslims took the images of the gods thence to Delhi. The translation of the Koṅga-dēśa-rājakal or Koṅkaṇa-rāja-vaṃśāvali, referred to as L.R.(Local Records) vol xi p.557, and printed in "Cyclic Tables" 1850, (1) contains references to Rāmānuja together with much information on the Hoysalas.

The Sala myth opens the tale, the last date in the previous account being Śaka 927 Viśvavasu (A.D.1005). Vinayaditya was king at Talaccādu; he usurped some villages in the Tulava country. In ś.991 Sadharana (? A.D.1070) he was succeeded by Vallālen (in Telugu written Vallyālen), his son by his wife Valadevi. The country was called Sasapuram. This Vallālen was a Jaina. In ś. 1015 Akshaya (?A.D.1086) his son Bettēda-raya, who took the title Bettēda Vishu Vardhana, ruled Talaccadu and various parts of Tulava, Concan, Malayala and Codugu, northwards Jātimala and eastwards Ālambādi. He long fought the king of Kerala. His wife was Sāntalāḍēvi, who was at first a Jaina but became a Vaishnavite in ś.1021 Vikrama (A.D.1100) in the day of Ramanujachari. There follow notices of some grants in ś.1039 Vilambi (?A.D.1118) etc. In that year he was at Vēlūr (which, says Brown, we call Vellore, near Chittoor (!)) and consecrated the pagoda to Chenna Kēśava Narain Swami. Vishu Vardhana died in ś. 1055 Ananda (A.D.1133) and his son Narasinga Raya succeed him at Talaccad. Then he dwelt at Dora-samudram; Narasinga died in ś. 1095 Jaya (?A.D.1174), having ruled 27 years. His son was Ballāla, who ruled at Talaccadu, and had a vizier Chandra Mauli

(1) Brown's Telugu Collections vol2, p.194 ff.

He ruled the Koncan country, conquered the Kerala and Pandya country; Someśvara succeeded to Vallala raya in s 1155 (A.D. 1232), having been crowned during his father's life. His son vira-Narasinga Raya ruled at Dora Samudram in s.1205 (A.D. 1283). His mantri was Perumān dand Nāyac; his commandant (dal-avay) was Pramacham-ūpati (i.e. Brahma-camūpati). The same work is No.2303 on p.32-3 of Taylor's Catalogue. Of similar substance, but with fuller detail, is the Hoisala-rajah-Veejayam or Balana Raya Cherita ("translated from the Sanskrit"), which appears in volume iii of the Mackenzie General Collection.(2) It overflows with errors, clearly on account of the original but misguided researches of a sixteenth or seventeenth century writer. The story of Sala appears at length; for his bravery he collected a pana from every house at Shasa-gramam, then two then three, in each successive year, so that he could "support an army of the four elements". The sanyasi ordered him to rebuild Dwara Samoodrum which had long been in ruins, telling him, "your ancestors have there deposited much wealth". His son was Venayaditta, whose son was Anga Rauja, whose three sons were Balana rajah, Batadava and Audita. Batadava had a beautiful daughter named Manorama, who was possessed by a Brahmarakshasa and cured by Ramaunj Acharloo. Batadava erected many pagodas to Vistnoo and destroyed all the Jain temples. Balana Rayadoo, brother of Batadava, obtained a cup of Sidda Russum that turned iron into gold. He was affected by leprosy and built a most excellent pagoda for the image Hosal Sewar to rid himself of it (1) pp.53-62. This is referred to on p.501 of Wilson's catalogue.

The daughter of the Delhi Paudshah resolved to marry Balana Raujudoo; he married her and then neglected her, hence the attack of the Paudshah. Destruction of Dora Samudram was foretold by Balana's sister, whose sons he killed.

In the same volume is found a translation of the "Hoisala Rajacul Vamsam or the Genealogical Account of the Hoisala Rajahs of the Yadoo Vamsam." (1) It is of a similar character. For Veenee Aditya is given the śaka date 999 (A.D. 1077), and for Bettada Vistnoo Vurdana-royen ś. 1020 (A.D. 1098). These rulers lived at Talcaad. Many grants are mentioned, the details obviously having been taken from śāsanas. It contains many errors as does the previous account, including the statement that Someswaran fought and made friends with Rāma Rajah of Kerala. He fought with the Mussulman army and defeated it; his mother was Veetoo-Javaanee Lokamba; and there were grants in his name of ś. 1206 & 1207 (A.D. 1283-4).

In the seventeenth volume (2) appears the "Legendary tale of the Rachasee of Tonoor or the Story of the Kerabunta Rajah Translated by Soobarow 1806". It relates that Bellal roya of Hallabede had a daughter of 16 years for whom the only suiter he could find was Herrybunta-roya-Naraputty, son of Maula bhoopa Naraputty, who lived 260 yojanums away. In the "Kyfeyat of Canumbaddy.... literally translated by Sooba Row in 1809" in the same volume (3) we learn that in ś. 876 (A.D. 953) Dwaravutty Puttun was built, now Halla-beed; there Balall Raya son of Veeniaditt Ray ruled. He had nine pradhanns; he granted the Canava-

(1) pp. 118-130. (2) pp. 20-27. (3) pp. 28-33; see Taylor III, p. 269, No. 1880.

pooree seema to Govinda Dha-naik who was one of them: a legend concerning Govinda follows. From the Haulabedoo Kyfeat, in the uncatalogued MSS. listed by Wilson and appearing as Class V No.5, we learn nothing new, except that Yareanga-bhoopah lived to s 1048 Manmatha (?A.D.1125 or 1115). The Delhi mahā-rājakaḷ Kyfeyat, which appears as No.2324 on p.53 of vol iii of Taylor's catalogue, gives Ballala 30 years, Vira-Ballala 41, Cenna Ballala 41, Visnuvardhana 40, Raja Ballala 51, Irthiya Ballala 41, and Vijaya 41 with other names of Ballala kings running into the rayas. The account of Karikala Cola, being No.597 sect.5 on p.486 of the same volume, tells us that the wife of the Ballala king was of great assistance to the Cōla's kingdom.

Further references to the Hoysalas in this catalogue are many, but none are of any independent historical value, or need to be detailed here. (1) Of the many inscriptions among them the majority are either better edited elsewhere or are unidentifiable and unusable. The same applies to a large extent to the inscriptions collected by C.P.Brown, (2) which need never be consulted, and require no comment except for one remarkable example, which defies explanation. It purports to show (297 p.34) Visnu Vardhana pratapa cakravartti Hoisala bhuja bala vāra-Nārasimha-dēva ruling the Telugu country at Rajamahendravaram in s 1191 Śukla (A.D.1269). (3)

The Elliot MSS. give an interesting view of the contemporary information on the Kākatīyas, giving legends of Pratāpa Rudra, the Cōlas, Gaṇḍagōpāla (4), and "Koperam Singadevar", (5) which do not require to be mentioned here; a refer-

(1) Ibid. pp. 67-8, 90-1, 316, 392, 435 (Ballala rajas mentioned in connection with Mavalivaram), 630, 639, 708. See also Mackenzie General xxv p.205-6. See ibid. p.237: Kampila the son

ence to Parākrama Pāṇḍya in a Telugu History of the Pāṇḍyas is however of value, for it tells us that the Muslims from Delhi attacked him in Kaliyuga 4425, ś.1246;(A.D.1323) they had a "lakh of horses in addition to a considerable number of foot-soldiers".(1) Parākrama Pāṇḍya fought for 3 days and nights near the river Vaika, The country was disturbed for twenty years, until in Kaliyuga 4445 s'.1266(A.D.1343) Kammana Vadaiyar and Tammana Vadaiyar came from Mysore and conquered the Muslims and restored peace to the country. The source of this account does not appear to have been used before.

At Tonnūr Buchanan was told the story of Rāmānuja, together with the tale of his having ground Jainas in an oil-mill.(2) He discovered traces of Hoysala rule in Tuluva,(3) & learned that Ramanuja was responsible for the loss of the tip of Gommaṭeśvara's finger.(4) He met a man whose ancestors had been hereditary accountants in the Barcuru (Bārakūr) district since Hoysala times, and who said that that dynasty lasted from A.D.714 to 1336, the correct date of the foundation of Vijayanagara being preserved in this case as so often elsewhere.(5) This man had made an account of the previous kings of his country, Tuluva, from a Vidyāranya Śikṣa and other papers. The gross confusion of data is a good example of the intellectual darkness of the period.

The apocryphal accounts of the Hoysalas and their contemporaries may well be concluded with an abstract from the Canna-Basava-Kālaḥṣāna which is quoted by Rice in the first

Sringeri-nāyaka a commander under Rāma-nāya of Dēvāgiri.
Page 576 n.(2) I.O.,MSS.Eur.D 297,296. (3) Brown's note: "Certainly misplaced: 170 years too late", is based on a misconception. But the record is very curious and difficult to account for. (4) Cōla, vol II p.47-8. (5) ibid.p.402-3.

edition of his Mysore Gazetteer, and of which a copy was doubtless available to him, but which is not to found in London. It was probably written during the last years of the Vijayanagara kings, and purports to be a prophetic account of the "Belāl sovereigns who ruled at Dwārasamudra". The list gives Hayasāla Belāla Rāya 59 years from s.906 to 965 (A.D. 983 - 1042); Vinayāditya Bālāla from A.D.1042 to 1072; Yarey-anga Belala to 1113; Visnuwarddhana Belāla to 1144; Vijaya Narasimha Belāla to 1188; Vīra Belāla to 1232; vīra Narasimha Belala to 1248; vira Someśvara to 1267; and vīra-Narasimha to 1307, the last prince being taken by the Muslims.(1)

Page 577 n.(1) Elliot MSS. History of the Pāndyas, p.49-50.

Page 577 n.(2) Journey from Madras, vol.ii, p.75-82.

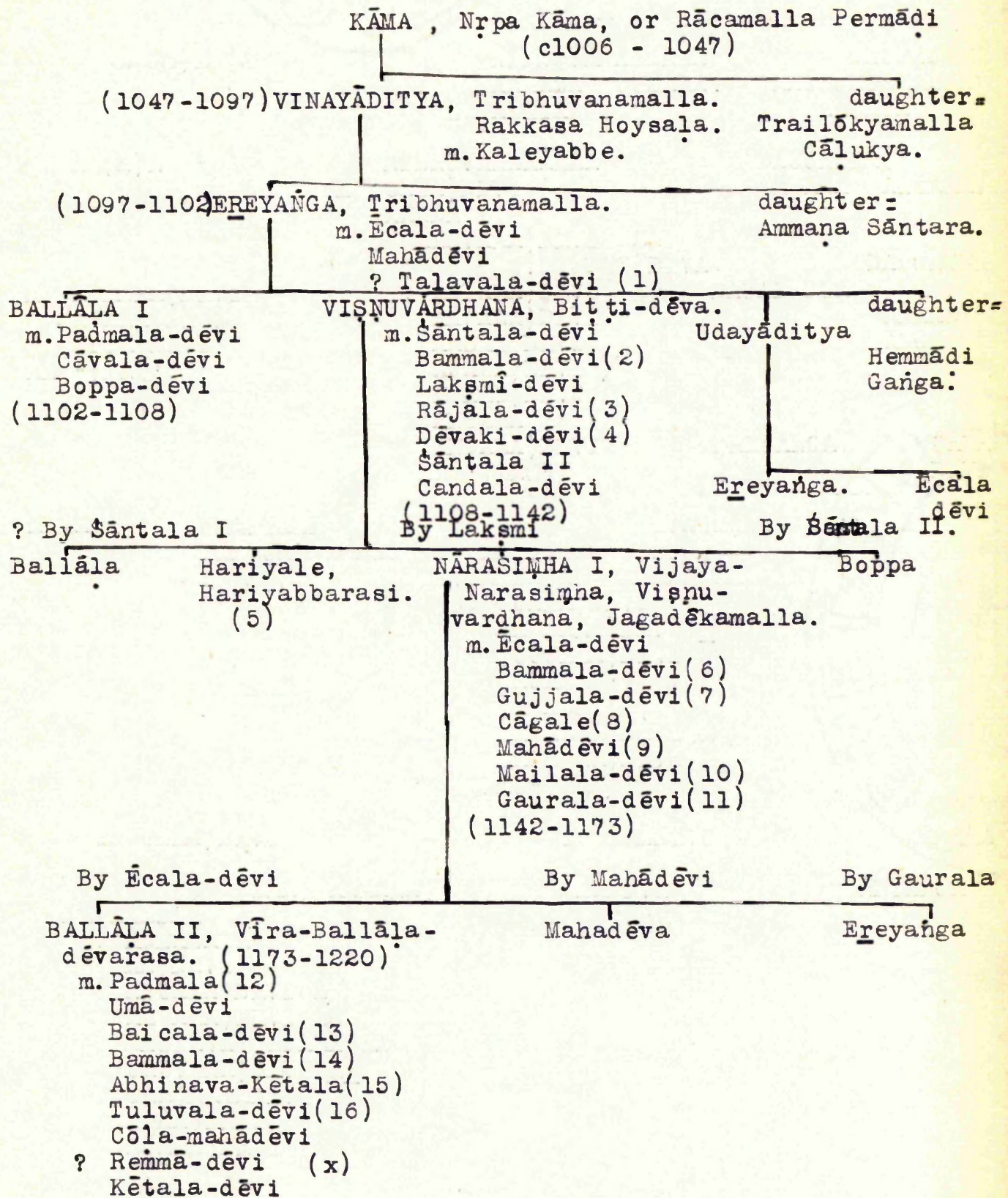
(3) ibid.vol.iii, p.96-8. (4) ibid.p.411. (5) ibid. p.112-4.
The Hoysalas are frequently referred to in this work as the Nine Ballālas.

(1) Rice, Mysore Gazetteer ("Mysore and Coorg")1877, vol.1, p.214. From p.213 to 219 is to be found an account of the "Hoysala Ballālas".

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Appendix IV.

Genealogical Table of the Hoysalas.



- (1) Avve of Viṣṇuvardhana: E.C.III Seringapatam 49 (c1120).
 (2) E.C.V Arsikere 32 (1136); E.C.IV Nagamangala 3 (1135); E.C.VI Kadur 96 (1141) & E.C.XII Gubbi 13 (1140).
 (3) E.C.VI Kadur 96 (1141) & E.C.XII Gubbi 13 (1140).
 (4) E.C.VI Kadur 79 (1140). (x) See above p.222 n.(x); cf. Fleet's absurd statement on D.K.D. (1896) p.502, l.5-6 with ibid. p.506 n.2.

Page 580 n.(16) M.A.R.1910-1, para.101(1189).

(17) A.R.1926-7, App.F.116(1207).

(18) A.R.1919, 602(c1240); S.I.I.IV 504(1265), 501(1233).

(19) Known only as the mother of Nārasimha.

(20) S.I.I.IV 423(c1250) ? Also E.C.IX Bangalore 6(1253).

(21) S.I.I.IV 504(1265).

(22) A.R.1910,92(c1260).

(23) A.R.1936-7, 62, 65(1262); S.I.I.IV 427(1261).

(24) A.R.1936-7, 64(1262); *ibid.* 72(1236) ?

(25) It is worthy of notice that we know of no Queens of Ballāa III except Cikkāyi-tāyi. And she was a ruler in her own right. The comparison with the case of Ballāa II, and the difference in their prosperity, together suggest that one of the secrets of Ballāa II's strength was that he knew how to employ his Queens in the public service: their mutual jealousy would make them very efficient provincial governors or administrators of any kind in a very general way; Ballāa III on the other hand for some reason did not use that system - indeed it seems to have been dropped after Nārasimha II's time. Had the evidence been less negative, and the facts less nebulous, this might have been put forward as one of the contributory reasons for the break-down of the Hoysala administration.

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LISTS OF OFFICIALS.Arranged by reigns and according to function.List of Abbreviations.

b.	brother of.
bd.	bhaṇḍāri (treasurer).
b.i.l.	brother-in-law of.
cam.	camūpati.
d.	daṇḍanāyaka, daṇṇāyaka, daṇḍanātha, etc.
f.	father of.
gs.	grandson of.
h.	heggade, veggade, perggade, etc.
h.h.	hiriya haḍavala, piriya paḍavala.
m.ml.	mahā-maṇḍalika.
m.mr.	mahā-maṇḍalēśvara.
m.p.	mahā-pradhāna.
m.p.d.	mahā-pracaṇḍa-daṇṇāyaka.
m.ps.	mahā-pasāyta.
m.s.	mahā-sāmanta.
m.s.v.	mahā-śandhi-vigrahi.
m.v.	mane-veggade.
p.d.	piriya- or hiriya-daṇṇāyaka.
p.v.	parama-visvāsi.
r.d.	rāya-daṇḍanātha.
s.	son of.
sarv.	sarvādhikāri.
sen.	sēnādhipati.
s.i.l.	son-in-law of.

sm.	sāmanta, sāvanta.
sri.	śrī-karaṇa.
sri.h.	śrī-kaṇaṇa-heggade.
s.v.	sandhi-vigāhi.

NRPA KĀMA

Mandalikas & Sāmantas

General Officers.

Other
Ministers.

Nāgavarma, otherwise Nāgaṇa. (1) 1006

Subordinate Military Officers.

Bīruga. (2) 1006

Kāliga. (3) 1006

Mañjaga. (4) 1006

Subordinate Civil Officers.

(1) E.C.III Tirumakudal-narsipur 44(1006).

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

VUNAYĀDITYA.Mandalikas & Samāntas.

Barmayya. (1) samādhigatapañcamahāśabda, m. s., Tripurahara-lābda-vara-prasāda, Mrga-madāmōda, śaranāgata-vajra- piñjara. Yellambalase, Kadur tāluqa.	?1089
Sāntayya. (2) s. Gaṇḍarāditya. m. s. Belagere, Tiptur tāluqa.	c1078
Vaijarasa. (3) satyavākya, Koṅgulivarma, dharma- mahārājādhirāja, Kolalapuravarādhīśvara, Nandagiri-nātha, Nānniya-Gaṅga, M. M. L. "Kaṇṇambu". Asandi-nāḍ	?1089

General Officers.

Bōkaya. (4) m. p., sen., h. h.	1089
Ēcimayya. (5) samadhigata. . . , m. mr., m. p. d., s. v.	?1049
Ellapayya. (6) d.	c1090
Mariyāne. (7) d. f. Mariyāne-d.	1047
Nāgavarma. (8) d.	?c1070

Other Ministers.

Candimayya. (9) m. p., bd.	?1090
Cāvūṇḍa-rāya. (10) m. p., s. v., h.	c1060
Nāga-dēvayya. (11) nāyaka, m. s. v.	1096
Vardhamāna-dēva. (12) Jain guru. Hoysala-karālay- adalu-agraganyaru	c1070

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- (1) E. C. VI Kadur 21(1089). (2) E. C. XII Tiptur 105(1078/
(3) E. C. VI Tarikere 65(1089), 61(1167), 85(1173), 1107).
83(1230), 72(1240); E. C. VI Kadur 156(1191), 148(1202), 149(1205)
E. C. VII Channagiri 64(1214), 72(1220).
(4) E. C. VI Chikmagalur 66(1089).
(5) E. C. VI Mudgere 21(?1049); E. C. V Arsikere 194 as corrected by
M. A. R. 1910-1, para. 97(1083).
(6) E. C. V Arsikere 187(c1090). (7) E. C. VI Chikmagalur 160
(1184); E. C. IV Nagamangala 32(1184). (8) E. C. II 143(1131).
(9) E. C. VIII Tirthahalli 198(1090). (10) E. C. V Arsikere 186
(c1060). 187(c1090); N. K. Sastri, Cōlas I, 318.
(11) E. C. V Channarayapatna 148(1094).
(12) M. A. R. 1929, 41(c1070).

Subordinate Military Officers,Subordinate Civil Officers.

Kāleyamma.(1) nāl-gāvunḍa of Āsandi-nāḍ.	1090
Rācimeya.(2) h.	?1089
Rājimayya.(3) ruled Koligunda.	1083
<u>Sēnabōva.</u>	
Muddaya.(4)	1091

ERREYANĠA.Mandalikas & Sāmantas.

Cattaya.(5) samādhigata...,m.s., malaparol ganda. Kadurahali, Kadūr taluḡa.	1097
Cinna-gaunḍa.(6) samādhigata...,m.s. "Sun to the lotus the Ganga kula".	1101
Vaijarasa. (see under Vinayāditya)	

General Officers.

Srīdhara.(7) d. s.Rāma-d.;f.Mallidēva-d.,Dāma- raja, and Kēśava-rāja.	?c1080-1120
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Other Ministers.

Kunda-mārāyar.(8) m.p.,m.v. Ruled Mayse-nāḍ.	1094
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Subordinate Military Officers.Subordinate Civil Officers.

Bhāsa-gāvunḍa.(9) nāl-gāvunḍa of Ballavi-naḍ .	1097
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- (1) E.C.VI Kadur 22(1090).
 - (2) E.C.VI Tarikere 65(?1089).
 - (3) M.A.R.1910-1, para.97(1083).
 - (4) E.C.XII Tipṭur 57(1091).
 - (5) M.A.R.1925,43(1097).
 - (6) E.C.V Belur 141(1101).
 - (7) E.C.V Channaṭayapatna 244(1210);E.C.VI Chikmagalur 20(1249).
 - (8) M.A.R.1924, 19(1094).
 - (9) M.A.R.1926,7(1097).

BALLĀLA I.Mandalikas & Sāmantas.

- Bācarasa, Bāciga. (1) samadhigata..., Cālukyābharāṇa, 1106
 "Sun to the lotus the Cālukya
 family." ?s.Muddamarasa.
 Dodḍagani, Channarayapatna
 t̄āluḡa.
- Bommaṇa. (2) sāmanta. ? same as Barmayya of 1108
 Vinayāditya. Banur, Kadur t̄āluḡa.
- Nād-arasa. (3) satyavākya etc., m.ml. Āsandi-nād ?1104
- Sāntayya. (see under Vinayāditya)

General Officers.

- Bhadrāditya. (4) d., m. p. c1105
- Mariyāne. (5) d. f. in-law of Ballāla I 1103
- Vitt̄iyāṇan. (6) ?1109

Subordinate Military Officers.Subordinate Civil Officers.

- Bimmaṇṇa. (7) Ruled Taṇḍiga. 1102

VISṆUVARDHANAMandalikas & Sāmantas.

- Māca. (8) s. Āhavamalla; sitagara-gaṇḍa; sāmanta. ?c1130
 Villages in Kadur t̄āluḡa.
- Māra, Mārāya-nāyaka. (9) sāmanta. Yidagur, Gubbi 1134
 t̄āluḡa.
- Karna. (10) maṇḍalika. Villages in Mudgere t̄āluḡa. ?1115

General Officers.

- Bala-dēva. (11) or Ballaṇa. d. ?c1120
- Balla-veggāḍe. (12) or Balvayya. m. p., sarv., d., 1139-51
 piriya-perggāḍe. f. Nāgaṇṇa & Singaṇṇa.

(1) E.C.V Channarayapatna 169(1106). (2) M.A.R.1925, 52(1108).
 (3) E.C.VI Tarikere 62(?1104). (4) E.C.V Arsikere 141(1158).
 (5) E.C.IV Nagamangala 32(1184). (6) E.C.X Goribidnur 57(?1109)
 (7) E.C.XII Tiptur 30(1102). (8) E.C.VI Kadur 30(1170), 36(1203)
 (9) E.C.XII Gubbi 34a(1134). (10) E.C.VI Mudgere 32(?1115).
 (11) E.C.II 142 & 141(1139). (12) E.C.V Arsikere 105(1139),
 52(1151); E.C.VI Chikmagalur 4(1140); Mudgere 3(1144); E.C.V Belur
 178(1145).

Ballāla, Vallu.(1) cam. s.Bamma-h.	1136	587
Begipayya.(2) d.	?1115	
Bācarasa.(3) d.	c1137	
Bharata.(4) or Bharatamayya, Bharatēśvara, Bhar- ateya. b.Mariyāne; s. i. l. Viṣṇuvardhana.	1137-1145	
Bheppaya.(5) m.p., sen.	1133	
Bhōpaiyya.(6) m.p., d.	?1133	
Biṭṭiyaṇṇa.(7) or Viṣṇu. d.	1136	
Bōki.(8) or Bōkimaya, Bōkaṇa. m.p., sen., h.h.	1138-1157	
Boppa.(9) or Boppaṇa. m.p., p.d. s.Ganga d., f. Eca d.	1120-1141	
Camana.(10) or Cavimayya. m.p., h.h.	1155	
Cikka (?)(11) hadavala. f.Singeya, Mareya & Addayada Harihara.	?c1135	
Dākarasa.(12) d: f.Mariyāne & Bharata. s.Mariyāne d.	c1120	
Dāma-rāja.(13) or Dāvarasa. d. s.Śrīdhara d.	c1120	
Dāva.(14) or Dāvapayya. d. s.Mall cam.	c1130-80	
Ēcana.(15) m.p., d. f.Visṇu, Bōkaṇa, Mahādēvaṇṇa, Harihara & Īcana; s.Boppa.	c1125	
Ēcaṇa.(16) or Ēcimayya. d. s.Gaṅga-rāja.	1138	
Gaṅga-rāja.(17) or Gaṅgipayya. d. "Chief of Karnāṭa Brahmans". s.Ēci-rāja. f.Ēcāna & Boppa.	1115-c1123	

(1) E.C.VI Kadur 35(1136). (2) E.C.VI Mudgere 32(?1115).
(3) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 161(1137). (4) E.C.II 267(c1140); M.A.R.
1937, 34(1142); E.C.VI Chikmagalur 160(?1184), 44(1287); E.C.IV
Nagamangala 32(1184); M.A.R.1914-5, para 79(1145).
(5) M.A.R.1914-5, para.81(1133). (6) E.C.IV Yadatore 61(?1133).
(7) E.C.V Belur 17(1136). (8) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 71(1138); E.C.V
Belur 178(1145); E.C.V Hassan 69(1155); E.C.XII Kunigal 1(1157).
(9) E.C.VII Shimoga, 12(1120); M.A.R.1928, 97(?c1129); E.C.V Chan-
narayapatna 248(1134); M.A.R.1925, 30(c1135); E.C.VI Chikmagalur
96(1141); E.C.V Belur 137(1183); ? E.C.V Hassan 124(?c1125), K.T.
only. (10) E.C.V Hassan 57(1155). (11) E.C.III Mandya 121(1235).
(12) E.C.IV Nagamangala 32(1184). (13) E.C.V Channarayapatna 244
(1210). (14) E.C.V Arsikere 129(c1180); Channarayapatna 244(1210).
(15) E.C.IV Nagamangala 28(c1125). (16) M.A.R.1908, para.39(1138),
E.C.II 120(c1138). (17) E.C.II 127(1115); E.C.III Malavalli 31
1117); M.A.R.1908-9, para.74(c1117); E.C.II 73(1118); E.C.IV Naga-
mangala 19(?1118); E.C.II 118(1120); E.C.V Channarayapatna 212
(c1120), 227(c1120), 260(1120); E.C.II 128(1121); E.C.V Belur 124
(1133); M.A.R.1914-5, para.78(c1133); E.C.II 384(c1135); E.C.V
Channarayapatna 248(1134); M.A.R.1908, para.39(1138); E.C.V
(c1138), 240(c1175); E.C.IV Nagamangala 30(1184).

Gaṅgapayya.(1) d.	c1137
Hiriyarasa.(2) d.	?c1130
Hulla.(3) or Hullamayya, Pulla. m.p.,d.,bd. s.Yakṣa-rajā.	c1135-1177
Huṇṇisimayya.(4) or Punasamayya.d. s.Cavaṇa.	1116-1120
Kēśava-rāja.(5) m.p.,d. ? s.Śrīdhara.	1142
Liṅgapayya.(6) m.p.,d.	1118
Mariyāne.(7) d.,m.p.,bd., m.p.d.	1137
Pāva.(8) haḍavala.	1116
Rāyaṇa.(9) d. s.Kālimayya.	1130
Sōkkimayya.(10) sen.,m.p.,h.h.	1155
Sōvarasa.(11) d.	c1137
Taila.(12) d. s.Bhadrāditya.	c1120
Udeyamaya.(13) d.	1142
Vinayāditya.(14) d.	?c1120

Other Ministers.

Bācimayya.(15) m.p., d.	1141
Cāvunda-rāya.(16) s.v.; s.Taila.	1136
Surigeya Nāgi-dēvaṇṇa.(17) m.p.,h.	c1120
Nārasimha.(18) (It is presumed that this is not Nārasimha I)	1128-1136
Rāmaya.(19) ████████ m.p.,m.p.s.	?c1130
Sōvaṇṇa.(20) tantrapāla.	?1115

(1) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 161(1137).(2)E.C.V Channarayapatna 213
(?c1130).(3) E.C.II 178(c1159), 349(1159), 345(c1159), 64(1163),
66(1177); E.C.IV Hunsūr 137(1162);E.C.XII Gubbi 12(1162);E.C.
VI Tarikere 19(?1192);E.C.V Channarayapatna 146(1174).
(4) E.C.IV Yedatore 6(1116);M.A.R.1920,para.72(c1117);M.A.R.
1908,para.49(c1117);E.C.IV Chamrajnagar 83(1117);E.C.V Channa-
rayapatna 260(1120). (5) E.C.V Channarayapatna 244(1210);
M.A.R.1937,34(1142). (6) M.A.R.1911-2,para.84(1118).(7) E.C.VI
Chikmagalur 161(1137). (8) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 99(1115).(9) Ibid.
137(1130/c1190),140(1147). (10)E.C.X Bowringpet 9(1155). (11)
E.C.VI Chikmagalur 161(1137). (12) E.C.V Arsikere 141(1158).
(13) M.A.R.1937,34(1142). (14) E.C.V Hassan 112(c1120).
(15) E.C.VIII Sorab 348,9(1141). (16) E.C.V Arsikere 141(1158);
ibid.144(1136).(17) M.A.R.1908,para.38;1911-2,para.84(1120).
(18) E.C.III Tirumakudal-narsipur 129(1136),Mysore 16(1128);

Subordinate Military Officers.

Basava-sāhani.(1)	1139
Biṭṭi-dēva-Hoysala-sāhani.(2)	1117
Malaya-sāhani.(3)	1131
Maleya-sāhani.(4)	c1141

Subordinate Civil Officers.

Cinna.(5) Governor of Maṅkike 12.	1113
Mārāsinga-gāvūṇḍa.(5a) Governor of Talekāḍu-nāḍ.	c1120
■ <u>Heggades.</u>	
Bācimayya.(6) h. of the vīra-vaṇa of the Nāgara- khanda 70	c1141
Dāsimayya.(7)	1139
Kēsiyaṇṇa.(8)	c1118
Mahādēva.(9)	1132
Mallinātha.(10)	1130
Mardimayya.(11)	1123
Muddaya.(12)	1139
Satti (? Gutti).(13)	?1130

Page 588 n(19) E.C.V.Channarayapatna 213(?c1130).
Page 588 n.(20) E.C.VI Mudgere 32(?1115).

- (1) E.C.V Hassan 114(1139).
- (2) M.A.R.1934,12(1117).
- (3) M.A.R.1914-5, para.81(1131).
- (4) E.C.V Belur 219(c1141).
- (5) M.A.R.1914-5, para.78(1113).
- (5a) E.C.IV Nagamangala 15(1179).
- (6) E.C.VIII Sorab 30(c1141).
- (7) E.C.VI Kadur 76(?1139).
- (8) M.A.R.1908, para.37(c1118).
- (9) E.C.V.Channarayapatna 271(1132).
- (10) E.C.III Mandya 50(1130).
- (11) E.C.II 117(1123).
- (12) E.C.V Arsikere 17(1139).
- (13) M.A.R.1927,37(?1130).

NĀRASIMHA IMandalikas & Sāmantas.

Bammarasa.(1) m.mr. Gaṅga. Āsandi-nād .	1172
Gūli Bāci.(2) sāmanta. samadhigata... Mānyakhēdapura... Adalarāditya. Marugāre-nād	1151
Bīcayya.(3) sāmanta. Kikkēri.	c1171
Biṭṭeya-nāyaka.(4) sāmanta. Kañcigallu	1151
Śrī-Nārasiṅga-Pōsala-Brahmādirājan. (5) Kaivāra-nād.	c1145
Bōgeya.(6) sāmanta. Toṇḍeyahala.	1167
Hariya Calikeya-nāyaka.(7) m.s. Calukeya estate.	1153
Uttama Cōḷa.(8) m.s. Tippatūr.	1162
Gōyi-dēva.(9) sāmanta. Huliyeru.	1143-9
Kilalādi-rāya Kācci(?Vācci)-dēvan.(10) Kankanhalli tāluqa.	1171
Bhuja-bala-vīra-Gaṅga-Poysala-Kelalādirāya.(11) Talākāḍ.	1160
Kukkala-nādālvar.(12)	1156
Mācayya-nāyaka.(12a) sāmanta. [REDACTED]	1169
Māci.(13) mandalika of Sativaṅgala. Abhimāna- mēru, ahitara-ganda, gaṇḍara-māṇika.	c1164
Sigal-nādālvan Mādēvar.(14) Kankanhalli tāluqa.	1171
Malla.(15) sāmanta of Okkalugere estate. s.Māca; f. Aditya.	1170
Mahādēva.(16) sāmanta.	?1154
Ghasane Mahādēva-nāyaka.(17) m.s. s.Keccana- Māceya-nāyaka of Kalikaṭṭi in the Magare 300.	?1155
Malli-dēva.(18) mārāya.	1167
Mayi-dēva.(19) nāyaka. sāmanta of Sōmanahalli.	1141
Nonabeya-nāyaka.(20) sāmanta of Kañcigallu.	1151
Sōma.(21) sāmanta. Kalukani-nād	1142
Udayāditya-nāyaka.(22) ? sāmanta.	1158
Viṣṇu, Biṭṭi-dēva.(23) sāmanta of Huliyeru.	1160-9

- (1) E.C.VI Tarikere 85(1172). (2) E.C.XII Tumkur 9(1151).
(3) E.C.IV Krishnarajapet 53(21171). (4) E.C.VI Kadur 112(1151).
(5) E.C.IX Hoskote 40(c1145). (6) E.C.IV Hunsur 3(1167).
(7) E.C.VI Kadur 28(1153). (8) E.C.XII Tiptur 61(1162).
(9) E.C.V Arsikere 55(1143); E.C.VI Kadur 34(1148); E.C.XII Chik-

General Officers.

Āci-rāja.(1) or -cam. sri.,m.p., sarv.; s.Kēśava; b.Śaṅkara, Malla & Candra.	1172-5
Amarēśvara.(2) mahā-sarv., samasta-sen.,m.p., d. s.Nāgavarma.	1162-7
Bala-dēva. (see under Viṣṇuwardhana)	1139-51
Bammeya (?) (3) m.p., sen., h.?	?1155
Bharatimayya, Bharata.(see under Visnuvardhana)	1137-45
Bitiyaṅṅa.(4) m.p., d., sarv.	1162-75
Bōkaṅṅa, Bōki.(see under Visnuvardhana)	1138-57
Calaveya (? Biluvayya).(5) samasta-sen., hiriya m.v., 1145-52 elephant-commander.	
Caṅḍiraya, Caṅḍimayya.(6)	1152-58
Cāmana, Cāvimayya.(see under Viṣṇuwardhana)	1155
Cōkimayya (? Bokimayya).(7) m.p., sarv., sen., p.d.; s. Babbaya.	c1155
Cōkkaṅṅa.(8) hadavala. mp., d.(?)	1144-64
Dāva, Dāvapayya. (see under Viṣṇuwardhana)	c1130-8D
Dēvappa.(9) d.	1163
Ereyaṅṅa.(10) m.p., d., sarv.	c1145

~~██████████~~ anayakanhalli 18(1149), 40(1149), 29(1149).

Page 590 n.(10) E.C.IX Kankanhalli 86 & 84a(1171). (11)M.A.R.

1911-2, para.86(1160). (12) E.C.IX Bangalore 112(1156). (13)

M.A.R. 1909-10, para.77(c1164). (14) E.C.IX Kankanhalli 44(1171).

(15) E.C.VI Kadur 30(1170). (16) E.C.V Belur 168(?1154).

(17) E.C.V. Arsikere 42(?1155). (18) E.C.IV Chamrajnagar 98(1167).

(19) E.C.VI Kadur 104(1141). (20) E.C.VI Kadur 112(?1157).

(21) E.C.IV Nagamangala 94(1142). (22) E.C.V Belur 162(1158).

(23) E.C.XII Chiknayakanhalli 21(1160); M.A.R.1909-10, para.76
(1169).

(1) E.C.VI Kadur 66(1172), 53(1175). (2) E.C.X Bowringpet 8

(1167); E.C.XII Gubbi 12(1162). (3) E.C.V Arsikere 42(?1155).

(4) E.C.IV Hunsur 137(1162); Yelandur 44(1170); E.C.III Malavalli

9(1167); Mysore 8(1175). (5) M.A.R.1915-6, para.87(1145);

E.C.XII Gubbi 34b(1152); E.C.VI Chikmagalur 43(1145), K.T.Only.

(6) E.C.VI Tarikere 59(1158); E.C.XII Gubbi 34b(1152).

(7) M.A.R.1914-5, para,80(c1155). (8) E.C.VI Mudagere 3(1144);

? idem; E.C.IV Nagamangala 30(1164). (9) E.C.VII Honnali 87(1163).

(10) E.C.XII Tumkur 38(c1145).

Hariyaṅga.(1) d.	1164
Hemmādi.(2) sen.	1167
Hulla, Hullamayya.(see under Viṣṇuvardhana)	c1135-77
Īśvara.(3) cam. s.i.l.Ēreyaṅga.	c1145
Kāṭeya-nāyaka.(4) d.	c1150
Kāvāṅga.(5) d. s.Kolliyyaya d.	c1150
Kālpatti.(6) d. f.Aṅkeya.	c1150
Kēśimayya, Kēśava.(see under Viṣṇuvardhana)	1142
Kutādi.(7) d., sarv., cam.	1158
Lakumaya, Lakkarasa.(8) m.p., sarv., sen., d., bāhāttara...	1162-80
Manisanayya.(9) m.p., d.	c1150
Mariyāne.(10) d.	1145
Padmanābha.(11) cam.	1158
Koneya Śaṅkara.(12) d.	1149-?70
Santiyāṅga.(13) d.	1158
Sōkkimayya.(see under Viṣṇuvardhana)	1155
Tippa.(14) sen., m.p.	1167
Udeyaṅga (15) m.p., d.	1157

- (1) E.C.IV Nagamangala 30(1164). (2) E.C.VII Shimoga 55(1167).
(3) E.C. XII Tumkur 38(c1145). (4) M.A.R.1914-5, para.79b(c1150)
(5) M.A.R.1914-5, para.79b(c1150). (6) M.A.R.1927, 8(c1179).
(7) E.C.III Seringapatam 62(?1158). (8) E.C.III Nanjangud 175
(1169); E.C.V Hassan 66(c1170), 67(1174); M.A.R.1911-2, para.87
(1180); 1914-5, para.79(1162); 1932, 46(1180); E.C.XII Gubbi 12
(1162) & E.C.VI Tarikere 196(1162). (9) E.C.IV Krishnarajapet
37(c1150). (10) M.A.R.1914-5, para.79(1145). (11) E.C.V Channa-
rayapatna 246(1158). (12) E.C.V Hassan 65(1149), 66(1170).
(13) E.C.V Arsikere 141(1158).
(14) E.C.V Belur 177(1167).
(15) E.C.XII Kunigal 1(1157).

Other Ministers.

Bammacayya.(1) m.p.	c1159
Bellappayya-nāyaka.(2) m.ps. s.Kēta-nāyaka.	1165-8
Bitṭimaya.(3) m.p.	1167
Būciraja, Būcimayya, Būceyyā.(4) m.p., sarv., sri.h., s.v.	1154-74
Candimaya.(5) sarv. h.of Bāgi.	1172
Dēva-rāja.(6) m.p. s.Udeyāditya.	1145
Gōvinda-dēva.(7) s.Gōvinda-rāja;b.Nāka,Kālidāsa, and Būci.	1160
Kālimeyya.(8) m.p.,h.	1170
Kaṇṭimayya.(9) m.p.,h.	1164
Kammata Mācaṇṇa.(10) m.p.,h.	1173
Mācayya.(11) m.p., sarv.	1171-c75
Mādhava, Mādi-rāja.(12) m.p., sri.	1144
Vāmana Mallana(12a) m.ps.	1156
Maṇimaṅgalam udaiyān.(13) or Śrivaishṇava-dāsa. sri.h.	1162
Nākimayya, Nāka.(14) sri.h., sarv. s.Gōvinda.	c1160-74
Pārisaṇṇa.(15) m.p., bd.	1136-c50
Mucciya Siṅgaṇṇa.(16) m.ps., m.p. Ruled Kalila- vādi.	1171
Śiva-rāja.(17) m.p., h.	1165
Sōmaṇṇa.(18) s.v.	1160
Sōmayya.(19) sri.h.	1162
Śrivaishṇava Tirumale.(20) m.ps.	1173

(1) E.C.VI Tarikere 17(c1159).(2) E.C.V Channarayapatna 210,204(1165 & 1168). (3) E.C.III Malavalli 9(1167). (4) E.C.V Channarayapatna 228(1154);E.C.V Hassan 71(1173),119(1173), Belur 59(1174), Arsikere 172(1162); E.C.II 64(1163); 267(c1160). (5) E.C.VII Shimoga 64(1172). (6) E.C.IV Nagamangala 76(1145). (7) E.C.V Hassan 72(1160). (8) Ibid.53(1170). (9) E.C.IV Nagamangala 30(1164). (10) E.C.XII Gubbi 34c(1173). (11) M.A.R.1920,para73(1171);E.C.V Channarayapatna 151(c1175). (12) E.C.IV Nagamangala 100(1144). (13) M.A.R.1908-9,para,78(1162). (14) E.C.VI Kadur 51(1169);E.C.XII Tiptur 66(1174),128(1202). (15) E.C.V Arsikere 141(1158), 144(1136-7). (16) E.C.V Arsikere 157(1171). (17) E.C.IV Krishnarajapet 36(1165). (18) M.A.R.1911-2,para.86(1160). (19) E.C.V Arsikere 172(1162). (20) E.C.V Belur 25(1173). (12a) M.A.R.1930,35(1156).

Subordinate Military Officers.

Dāsaya-sāhani.(1)		c1162
Habbeya-sāhani.(2)		?1154
Jaṣapālaya(3) or Daṣapālaya-sāhani.		?1160
Nāgeya-sāhani.(4)		1145

Subordinate Civil Officers.

Māratamma.(5) mahāprabhu of Kudugu-nād.		1156
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Heggades.

Accalaiyan.(6)	Tippūr.	1156
Bācayya.(7)		c1160
Balla.(8)	Phalguni.	1144-5
Bamma.(9) s.Hanmasetti h.		1173
Bamma.(10) f.Bhāva h.		1159
Bhāva.(11)	Sūleyakere.	1159
Bikkimayya.(12)	Mattavūru.	1148
Bitṭiyanna.(13) h. of the baṇṇige-dere.		?1167
Bomma-dēva.(14) h. of m.p.Kammata Mācanna.		1173
Būci.(15)	Mattavāra.	1143
Candu.(16)	Kundūr.	?1145
Cinna.(17)		1155
Dāna.(18) s.Bhaṭṭa h. of Mutta.		1172
Dēsi.(19)	Kundūr.	?1145

(1) E.C.V Hassan 148(?1162), K.T. only. (2) E.C.V Belur 168(1154).
(3) Ibid. 113(1160). (4) Ibid. 178(1145). (5) M.A.R.1930, 35(1156).
(6) E.C. IX Bangalore 112(1156). (7) E.C.V Belur 188(1191).
(8) E.C.VI Mudgere 3(1144); ?E.C.V Belur 178(1145). (9) Ibid. 25
(1173). (10) E.C.V Arsikere 119(1159). (11) Ibid. (12) E.C.VI
Kadur 34(1148). (13) E.C.V Hassan 146(?1167), K.T. only.
(14) E.C.XII Gubbi 34c(1173). (15) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 162(1143).
(16) E.C.V Hassan 37(?1142). (17) Ibid. 69(1155). (18) E.C.VI
Chikmagalur 81(1172). (19) E.C.V Hassan 37(?1145).

Ereyaṅga, Ereyamayya.(1)		1155
Gētana.(2)	Mattavūru.	1148
Jannamaya.(3)	Belavādi.	cl160
Kōvayya.(4)		1163
Mācimayya.(5)	Koṭṭāra & Hollave.	cl155
Mādi.(6)	suṅka h.	1167
Mādimayya.(7)	Śivara.	1163
Mādiyanna.(8)	Karigunda.	1162
Mahādēva.(9)		1168
Mañcayya.(10)	suṅka h.	1174
Māraṅda.(11)		1171
Muñjayya.(12)	Tenginagaṭṭa	cl150
Nārana.(13)	Mattavāra.	1143
Nēma.(14)	nāl-prabhu of Eḍadore 70 (Mandali 1000).	1172
Vijayāditya.(15)	Sulige.	1166

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- (1) E.C.V Hassan 69(1155). (2) E.C.VI Kadur 34(1148).
(3) E.C.V Belur 171(cl160). (4) E.C.II 64(1163).
(5) M.A.R.1914-5, para.80(cl155). (6) E.C.III Malavalli 9(1167).
(7) E.C.XII Tiptur 66(1167). (8) E.C.V Arsikere 142(1162).
(9) E.C.V Channarayapatna 184(1168). (10) E.C.XII Tiptur 66b(1174).
(11) E.C.III Mandya 31(1171). (12) M.A.R.1914-5, para.79b(cl150).
(13) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 162(1143). (14) E.C.VII Shimoga 43(1172).
(15) E.C.V Hassan 179(1166).

Ballāla, Balli-dēva.(1)	sāmanta of Huliyaera. s.Gōvi m. s.; g. s. Bhīma.	1181-c90
Bammā-dēvarasa.(2)	m. mr. Vīra-jagadāla.	1212
Barmmarasa-dēva.(3)	m. ml. Kongulivarma, etc. Āsandi-nād.	1180
Buvayya.(4)	sāmanta. samadhigata...	1204
Calukkeya-nāyaka.(5)	m. s. Ruled Senavagere estate.	1197
Cattaya, Catteya-nāyaka.(6)	m. s. Nirgunda-nād.	1173-c80
Sōsali-nādāluva Magara Cikeya-nāyaka.(7)	f. Kāmeya-nāyaka of Kaḍalavāgilu.	1192
Dēkeya-nāyaka.(8)	m. s. s. Kunna Bīraya-nāyaka. Kannambi.	1181
Dhurmaṇa.(9)	Hoysala m. s. s. Hemmeya-nāyaka. Talekādu-nād.	1179
Dumeya-nāyaka.(10)	m. s.	1179
Ekkala-dēvarasa.(11)	samadhigata., Kolālapura., Gaṅga-kula-tilaka, Nanniyā-Gaṅga. Uddhare.	1198-1204
Vīra-Gōma-dēva.(12)	samadhigata., m. mr., Dvārā- vatīpuravarādhiśvara, maṇḍalika- Nārāyana. Kuruvatti.	cl194
Īśvara-deva.(13)	Sinda. Belagavatti.	1175
Kāḍeya-nāyaka.(14)	sāmanta, m. ps. Keregōdu-nād.	1206
Kallaya-nāyaka.(15)	m. s. s. Appagalli Palyeya- nayaka. Haruha-Hosaur-nad.	? cl200
Vīra-Gaṅga-Poysala-Vīra-Vallāla-Kilalādirāya- Pammi-dēva.(16)		? 1181
Kāmeya-nāyaka.(17)	m. s., saranāgata..., calad., Dvārāvati... Kolalu-nād	1192
Kāccana Māceya-nāyaka.(18)	m. s. Kalikatti in Magare 300.	1213
Malla.(19)	sāmanta. s. i. l. Cattaya-nāyaka.	1187
Malla-gaṇḍa.(20)	sāmanta. Nandi.	1178
Malli-dēva.(21)	s. Īśvara-maṇḍalēśvara Sinda.	1204
Mārayya.(22)	sāmanta. Doorkeeper to the king.	1203-4
Mayileya-nāyaka.(23)	s. Dēveya-nāyaka. Diḍuga.	1186

- (1) E. C. XII Chiknayakanahalli 13(1181), 35(1190), 20(1188).
(2) S. I. I. IX 331(1212). (3) E. C. VII Channagiri 73(1180).
(4) E. C. VII Honnali 7(1204). (5) E. C. V Arsikere 23(1197).
(6) E. C. VI Kadur 136(1173), 36(1203); XI Holalkere 104(cl186).
(7) M. A. R. 1920, para. 74(1192). (8) E. C. IV Nagamangala 57(1181).
(9) Ibid. 15(1179). (10) Ibid. 12(1179). (11) E. C. VIII Sorab
140(1198), 148(1204). (12) S. I. I. IX 337(cl194). (13) E. C. VII
Honnali 45(1175). (14) E. C. V Channarayapatna 265(1206). (15)
E. C. X Goribidnur 51(?cl200). (16) E. C. IX Kankanhalli 84b(1181),
Channapatna 160(1183). (17) M. A. R. 1912-3, para. 78 (1192).

Mikkana. (a) <i>sāmanta</i>	Kaleyakaṭṭa.	1179	597
Hādiyakere Nāga-gāvunḍa. (1) m. s. cūḍamaṇi.		1206	
Nāgayya. (2) m. s.	Marāḍipura.	1185	
Nārasimha-bhūpa. (3) s. Bammarasa of Asandi.		1180-1214	
Nārasinga-nāyaka, (4) "King of the south", Haṭṭa.		1177	
Nonabeya-nāyaka. (5)	Calukeya estate.	1203-1215	
Rājeya-nāyaka. (6) paṭṭigāra of Kolatūr.		1175	
Rāya-dēvarasa. (7) samadhigaṭṭa... m. mr., Asati- mayurapuravaradhīvara, Belvaladitya.	Belvōla-nad	1199	
Nārasinga-Poysala-Siyal-nāḍalvar. (8)		1178	
Kumāra Vīra-Vikramāditya-dēvarasa. (9) m. mr. s. Caṭṭama-dēva, m. mr. Gutta.		1202	
Viṣṇu. (10) samadhigata... m. s. s. Gōvi.		1188	

Page 596. n. (13) E.C.V Arsikere 46(1213). (14) E.C.VI Kadur 37(1187). (20) E.C.VI Tarikere 36(1178). (21) E.C.VII Honali 7 (1204). (22) E.C.VII Shimoga 88(1203), 65(1204). (23) E.C.V.Channarayapatna 263(1186).

(a) E.C.VI Tarikere 75(1180). (1) Ibid. 42(1206). (2) E.C.III Mandya 83(1185). (3) E.C.VII Channagiri 73(1180); E.C.VI Kadur 148(1202); E.C.VII Cannagiri 64(1214). (4) E.C.IV Nagamangala 70(1177). (5) E.C.VI Kadur 111(1215), 112(1211), 113-4(1203), 130(1205). (6) E.C.V Channarayapatna 162(1175). (7) W.E.II f. 134a-135b, A.R.1926-7, App.F.6(1199). (8) E.C.IX Kankanhalli 35(1178). (9) A.R.1934-5, App.E.7, W.E.II f.136a-7a(1202). (10) E.C.XII Chiknayakanhalli 20(1188).

General Officers.

Ādicāṇḍān.(1)		1183
Amita.(2)	d. s.Hariyama-setti. m.p. Born in Lokkiguṇḍi.	1196-1207
Amiteya.(3)	d. s.Basaveya.	1214
Amṛtēśvara.(4)	d. samasta-bāhattara...; f.Amita, Kalpa, Masana and Basava d.'s.	1202
(?) Armaṭivala.(5)	d. m.p., sarv. Ruled Tāra, Hadi & Kū nāds in Sātarūr.	1195
Biṭṭimayya.(6)	d., m.p., sarv. (see under Nārasimha I)	1162-75
Balagayya-dēva.(6)	d. sen.	1191
Balaya.(7)	d.	1189
Baleyyamma-veggade.(8)	Sāntara general (ally).	1218-9
Ballāḷa.(9)	d.	1214
Ballayya.(10)	d. adhikāri of Annigere.	1208
Basavana.(11)	d. s.Kaliyamṛta d. (Amṛta); Ruled Belvola 300.	1202-17
Bahubali.(12)	d.	1184
Betta.(13)	cam. s. Malla cam.	1210-?52.
Dākarasa.(14)	d. s.Mariyane.	1184
Dāvarasa.(15)	d.	1205-12
Dāvapaiya.(16)	d.	1180-?1202
Dēśi.(17)	d. b.i.l.Candramauli.	c1182
Ereyanna.(18)	?d., m.p., sarv., m.ps."Yādava- kaṭaka-rakṣapālaka." sri.h. f.Balla.	1174-93
Gaudayya.(19)	d., m.p., sarv., h.d.	1198

(1) E.C.IX Cannarayapatna 160(1183). (2) E.C.VI Kadur 36(1203);
Tarikere 45(1196); 42, 43(1206); A.R.1928-9, App.E.193(1202), 1935-6
App.E.77(1207). (3) E.C.VI Tarikere 42, 47(1214). (4) A.R.1928-9
App.E.193, W.E.II f.139b-143a.(1202). (5) E.C.III Tirumakudal-
Narsipur 31(1195). (6) E.C.III Mandya 106, 109(1191). (7) M.A.R.
1908, para. 43(1189). (8) E.C.VIII Sagar 15(1218), 4(1219). (9)
E.C.XI Holalkere 2(1214). (10) W.E.II f.154a-155b(1208). (11)
A.R.1928-9, App.E.193(1202); W.E.II 139b-143a; S.I.I.IX 334(1217).
(12) E.C.IV Nagamangala 32(1184). (13) E.C.V Channarayapatna 242
(1252) 244(1210); E.C.IV Nagamangala 32(1184). (14) S.I.I.IX 330(1212),
S.I.I.VI 558(1205); E.C.V Channarayapatna 244(1210). (15) E.C.V
Arsikere 129(1180), Channarayapatna 186(?1202). (16) E.C.V
Arsikere 138(1174); M.A.R.1908, para. 42(1175); E.C.X

Gōparasa.(1) d.	1205
Gōvindamayya.(2) d., m.p., sarv., h.d.	1211
Bilā Gōyindarasa.(3) d.	?1180
Gōyvana.(4) d., m.p.	1214
Harihara.(5) d.	Ruled Āsandi-nād, 1216-cl238
Hulla.(see under Viṣṇuwardhana)	cl135-1177
Jyōtimayya.(6) d.	1189
Kalla-dēva.(7) d.	1202
Kālpatti.(8) d. f.Añkeya (Cf.under Nārasimha I)	cl179
Kāmeya.(9) d.	1214
Kēśava, Kēśiraja (10) d.,m.p.,s.v. s.Malli d.	1210-c60
Lakkarasa. (see under Nārasimha I)	1162-80
Kumāra Lakṣmī-dēva.(11) d.	1191-1220
Mācayya.(12) d. m.p.,sri.h.,h.d.	1181
Mācirāja.(13) d. s.Rāma;f.Kiriya Rāma, Siri- payya, Nārana and Kēśi-rāja.	cl195
Mācirājayya.(14) h.d., m.p.,m.ps.,sarv.;s.Dāsi.	1189-94
Mādhava.(15) d., m.p.,sarv., m.ps.	1177
Kumāra Mādhava.(16) d., m.p.,sarv.,m.ps. Bāhatt- ara...; y.b.Abhinava Kētala. Ruled Kumāra-nād.	1194-1221
Madhusūdana.(17) d.	1194

Page 598 n.(18 cont.) Goribidnur 41(?1180);E.C.VII Shikarpur 105(1193);E.C.VIII Sorab 4(1211)(?). (19) M.A.R.1929,51(1198).

(1) E.C.VII Shikarpur 145(1205). (2) E.C.IV Heggadadevankote 25(1211). (3) E.C.X Goribidnur 41(?1180). (4) E.C.XII Tiptur 48(1214). (5) E.C.VI Kadur 151(1216);Tarikere 55(1231);A.R. 73 of 1918(cl238);E.C.V Belur 97(?1202),K.T.only. (6) M.A.R.1988,para.43(1189). (7) A.R.1928-9; App.E.193(1202) (8) M.A.R.1927,8(1179). (9) E.C.VI Tarikere 46,7(1214). (10) E.C.V Channarayapatna 244(1210),223(cl260);242(1252);E.C.VI Chikmagalur 20(1249). (11) E.C.VI Mudgere 23(1191);A.R.1928-9. App.E.187(1197);E.C.V Belur 112(1220). (12) E.C.V Channarayapatna 161(1181). (13) Ibid.179(1195). (14) E.C.V Arsikere 118(1194);E.C.V Arkalgud 79(1189). (15) E.C.XII Chiknayakanhalli 36(1177). (16) E.C.V Arsikere 118(1194);E.C.V Channarayapatna 245(1210);E.C.IV Heggadadevankote 23(1215);E.C.V Hassan 106(1221); E.C.VII Shikarpur 235(1209); S.I.I.IX 333(1214). (17) E.C.V Arsikere 118(1194).

Mahādēva.(1) d.	Arasiyakere.	1197-1207
Kēśava Mallapa.(2) d.		1205
Malleya, Malla.(3) d., m.p., sen.		1199-1207
Mañcayya.(4) d.	y.b.Gōvindarasa.	1211
Masanayya.(5) d.		1202
Nrsimha.(6) cam.		1177
Kumāra Padmi-dēva.(7)	s.Cāvana sen.	1194
(?) Panapparasa.(8)		1205
Kumāra Panditayya.(9) d.		1205-11
Pōlāla.(10) d.		1217
Pōlalva-d.(see under Nārasimha II)		
Rāmayya.(11) d., m.p.		1202
Śaṅkara.(12) d.	s.Singayya.	1202
Singayya.(13) d.	s.i.l.Kumāra Lakṣmī-dēva.	1197
Śivaka.(14) d.		1217
Kumāra Sōmēśvara-dēva.(15)		?1206
Śrīdhara.(16) d.		1205
Śrīraṅga.(17) d.		c1200
Sūryya-dēva.(18) d.	,m.p."Pratipannasāra."	1207-?15
Todapille.(19) d.	In suite of Padmala-dēvi. Ruled Belagavatti-nād.	1175
Vallāla.(20) d., m.p., sri.	Puliyūr.	1185
Vīrayya.(21) d., m.p., sarv., sri.; s.Rudra.		1186

(1) E.C.VIII Sorab 514-5(1197); S.I.I.IX 323(1197); 326(1206);

M.A.R.1910-1, para.102(1203), 1927, 156(?1207), 1935, 49(1206).

(2) S.I.I.VI 558(1205). (3) M.A.R.1910-1, para.102(1199); 1929,

62(1199); E.C.VII Shikarpur 244(1203), 225(1204), 235(1207); W.E.

II 144a(1203). (4) E.C.IV Heggadevankote 25(1211). (5) A.R.

1928-9, App.E.193(1202). (6) E.C.XII Chiknayakanhalli 36(1177);

(7) E.C.VII Shikarpur 138(1194). (8) M.I.N.S.65, P.S.O.C.I.197

(1205). (9) E.C.V Arsikere 40(1209), Channarayapatna 172(1209);

E.C.VI Kadur 117(1208), 118(1211); A.R.1928-9, App.E.191(1205).

(10) M.A.R.1909-10, para.88(1217). (11) E.C.VI Kadur 127(1202).

(12) E.C.VI Kadur 127(1202). (13) A.R.1928-9, App.E.187(1197).

(14) M.A.R.1909-10, para.88(1217). (15) E.C.II 333(?1206).

(16) S.I.I.VI 558(1205). (17) M.A.R.1918, para.95, 1928, 17(c1200).

(18) E.C.VII Shikarpur 214(1207), 235(1207), 247(?1215).

Other Ministers.

Ammana.(1) h., m.p.	c1176
Bammācāri.(2) sarv.	?1190
Basaveya-nāyaka.(3) m.ps.	c1179
Jaya Bhaṭṭaya-nāyaka.(4) m.ps., p.v., sāvāsī official.	1218
Būci, Būcayya.(see under Nārasimha I)	1154-74
Candramauli.(5) m.v., m.p., m.ps., sarv. s.Saṅkara.	1181-1219
Dēmayya.(6) m.p.	1177
Komāra Gōviyaṅṅa.(7) m.ps., p.v.; f.Sōmayya & Nāgayya.	c1220
Haraha-sāhani.(8) m.p.	1205
Kaliyana.(9) sri.	1175
Kāmeya-nāyaka.(10) m.ps., p.v.	c1220
Kammata Mācayya.(see under Nārasimha I)	1173-c75
Mācirāja.(11) m.p., sarv.; f.Māra.	?1171-81
Mācirāja.(12) m.p., sri.h.; s.Rāma; f.Kiriya-Rāma, etc. (identical with the Māciraja on p.599)	
Mahādēva.(13) m.ps., m.p.	1174
Mādaya.(14) m.ps., paṭṭa-sāhani. Ruled Alambūr.	1205
Hiriya Haḍeya Asavara Mārayya.(15) m.p.	?1204
Nāga-dēva.(16) mantri; s.Bamma-dēva.	1195

Page 600 n.(19) E.C.VII Honnali 45(1185). (20) E.C.X Mulbagal 45(1185). (21) E.C.V Belur 175(1186).

(1) M.A.R.1934, 5(c1176). (2) M.A.R.1931, 63(?1190). (3) M.A.E. 1918, para.95(c1179). (4) E.C.V Hassan 11(1226). (5) E.C.V Channarayana narayapatna 150(1182); E.C.V Hassan 97(1186); E.C.II 256(c1181), 327(1181); E.C.V Arsikere 127(1185); E.C.III Malavalli 54(c1185); E.C.VI Chikmagalur 157(1195); Jagannatha-vijaya I.22(1219). (6) M.A.R.1910-1, para.101(1177). (7) E.C.V Belur 151(1227). (8) E.C.VI Kadur 149(1205). (9) M.A.R.1908, para.42(1175). (10) E.C.XII Tiptur 48b(1231). (11) E.C.V Channarayana 161(1181); M.A.R.1908, para.42(1175), 1920, para.73(1171). (12) E.C.V Channarayana 179(1190). (13) E.C.V Arsikere 69(1174). (14) E.C.XII Tiptur 43(1205). (15) E.C.VII Shimoga 65(?1204). (16) E.C.II 335(1195).

Kūsa Ghantēya Singayya Nāgayya.(a) m.ps.	1214	602
Nāganna.(1) m.p., sri., sarv., m.v., m.ps., bahattara...; of the suite of Padmala-dēvi.	1220	
Nāranimayya.(2) s.v.	c1178	
Nīla.(3) m.p., sri.h.	?c1177	
Perumāla.(4) m.p.	1217	
Permmādi.(5) tantrapāla.	1177	
Singayya.(6) senior jewel treasurer.	1202	
Sōvarasa.(8) m.p., sri., bd. of Padmala-dēvi.	1205	
Uttarārka-heggade.(8) m.p.	1197	

(a) M.A.R.1937,10(1214). (1) E.C.XII Gubbi 11(1226). E.C.XI Davangere 69(1220). (2) E.C.V Channarayapatna 220(?1178), 222 (c1270). (3) E.C.II 66(1177). (4) E.C.V Belur 224(1217). (5) E.C.V Belur 86(1177). (6) E.C.VI Kadur 148(1202). (7) S.I.I IX 325(1205). Ibid.323(1197).

Subordinate Military Officers.

Accaya-sāhani.(1) Chief of the camel force.	1179
Biṭṭiga.(2) rāvuta.	c1179
Haraha-sāhani.(3)	1205
Tribhuvanemalla Hariyama-ṣeṭṭi.(4) s.Kāmi-ṣeṭṭi.	1203
Kāceya (? Ācayya)-sahani.(5)	1207
Sūjiya Mādeya-nāyaka.(6) Of the haṭṭagāras.	1178
Mādiyanna.(7) m.ps., p.v., paṭṭa-sāhani of eleph- ants & horse.	1214
Śivanayya-sāhani.(8) b.śrīkarana Aci-rāja.	1175

Subordinate Civil Officers.

Aṇṇamarasa.(9) nāl-prabhu of Holalkere.	1217
Bamma-gaunḍa.(10) mahā-prabhu of Belagumba.	1199

(1) MA.R.1937,31(?1179). (2) M.A.R.1931,2(1179). (3) E.C.VI Kadur 149(1205). (4) W.E.II, ff.150a-b,144a,144b-149b(1203). (5) A.R.1935-6, App.E.77, W.E.II f.151b(1207). (6) E.C.V Channarayapatna 209(1178). (7) E.C.XII Tiptur 48(1214). (8) E.C.VI Kadur 53(1175). (9) E.C.XI Holalkere 4(1217). (10) E.C.V Arsikere 103(1199).

Bomma-gauṇḍa.(1)	mahā-nāl-prabhu of Yaguvatti.	1218
Cāvunḍa-rāya.(2)	hejjuṅka official of Belagāvi.	1199
Gōydi-setṭi.(3)	nāl-prabhu of the Maṇḍali 1000.	1180
Hiriyappa.(4)	nāl-prabhu of the Maṇḍali 1000.	1180
Heggade-dēva.(5)	"Nīlagiri-sādhāra". Kudugu.	1216
Caladaṅkarāma Hariyama-setṭi.(6)	nāl-prabhu of Kalukēre.	1207
Kāma-gauṇḍa.(7)	mahā-nāl-prabhu of Āsandi.	1180
Kēśava-dēva.(8)	Senior treasurer.	1184
Madhusūdana-dēva.(9)	nāl-prabhu.	1218
Mahābala-gāmuṇḍa.(10)	mahā-prabhu of Nāgāvi.	1207
Hebbāri Mārkkāṇḍa-dēva.(11)	Āsandi-nāḍ prabhu.	1216
Gaṇḍa Nārāyana-setṭi.(12)	mahā-prabhu of Kabahu- nād.; f. Hoysala-setṭi; g. f. Bābbeya-nāyaka.	1179
Saṅka-gāvuda.(13)	mahā-nāl-prabhu of Hiriyūr,	1173
Siṅgayya.(14)	senior jewel treasurer.	1202
<u>Heggades.</u>		
Bācarasa.(15)	suṅka h. Heragu	1174-6
Bamma-dēva.(16)	Heragu.	1176
Bāsa.(17)	Āvati.	1193
Bijjaya.(18)	Ammali.	1180
Callayya.(19)		1173
(?) Cibbila.(20)	suṅka h.; s. Kamara Keṣiyanna.	1195

(1) S.II.IX 335(1218). (2) M.A.R.1929,62(1199). (3) E.C.VII Shimoga 40(1180). (4) E.C.VII Shimoga 36(1180). (5) A.S.I. A.R.1936-7,p.100. (6) A.R.1935-6,App.E.77,W.E.II 151b(1207). (7) E.C.VII Channagiri 73(1180). (8) E.C.V Arsikere 88(1184). (9) E.C.VII Shimoga 5(1218). (10) W.E.II f.153b(1207). (11) E.C.VI Kadur 151(1216). (12) M.A.R.1914-5,para.31(1179). (13) E.C.VI Kadur 136(1173). (14) Ibid.148(1202). (15) E.C.V Hassan 74(?1174), 59(1176). (16) Ibid. (17) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 39(1193). (18) Ibid:77(1180). (19) E.C.V Hassan 119(1173). (20) E.C.III Tirumakudal-narsipur 31(1195).

Dēvayya.(1)	Akkūru.	1179
Ganapaiya.(2)	Channarayapatna.	1181
Gaṭṭiyarasa(3) sunka h.	Heragu.	1176
Hariyaṇṇa.(4) Superintendent of the horse.		cl175
Jakkayya.(5)		1197
Jannaiya.(6)	Kuruvat ti.	1197
Jāvaneya.(7)	In household of Singipilla.	cl200
Kēsiyaṇṇa.(8)	Khāṇḍya.	1185
Kētamalla.(9)	Inspector at Arsikere.	1183-4
Kundāda.(10)		cl175
Mādirāja.(11)	Hiri-Kalukaṇi	cl218
Mahādēva.(12)	Inspector at Arsikere.	1184
Mallayya.(13) h. of the jewel treasury.		1185
Malliyaṇṇa.(14) Under the orders of Kētala-dēvi.		1176
Maṅcayya.(15) sunka h. Under Mādharma-d.		1177
Mārayya.(16) sunka h.	Manne.	1197
Nācaṇṇa.(17) In the suite of Cōla-mahādēvi.		cl200
Nārasīṅga.(18) sunka h.		1177
Raṅgaya.(19)	Mut tigi.	1214
Rāmayya.(20) sri.h. of Konga-nād.		1213
Rāyaṇṇa.(21) treasurer of Cōla-mahādēvi.		cl200
Rēvaṇa.(22)	Inspector at Arsikere.	1183-4
Sarkara, Saṅkanna.(23) f.Candramauli; s.Kēsi- rāja; b.Kāmarasa, Bācarasa, Nācarasa.		1185
Singayya.(24) Senior jewel treasurer.		1202
Sivaṇayya.(25)		1217
Sōmayya.(26) sunka h.	Dodḍa-Gaddavalli.	1209
Vijeyāditya-dēva.(27)	Tāriyakere.	1180
Yareyaṇṇa.(28)		1173

(1) E.C.III Tirumakudal-narāipur 92(1179). (2) E.C.V Channarayapatna 161(1181). (3) E.C.V Hassan 59(1176). (4) E.C.V Channarayapatna 151(1175). (5) E.C.VI Tarikere 45(1197). (6) S.I.I. IX 323(1192). (7) E.C.V Channarayapatna 257(cl200). (over)

Sēnabōvas.

Bācanna.(1)	1178
Bittiyanna.(2)	1186
Dāsanna.(3)	1215
Kalyāna-dēva.(4)	1191
Lakmarasa.(5)	1205
Mādayya.(6)	1209
Nārana-dēva.(7)	1182
Sōmayya.(8)	1176

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- (1) E.C.V Hassan 55(1178).
(2) E.C.V Arsikere 39(1186).
(3) Ibid. 49(1215).
(4) E.C. VI Kadur 157(1191).
(5) E.C.XI Chitaldrug 23(1205).
(6) E.C.V Arsikere 40(1209).
(7) E.C.V Channarayapatna 254(1182).
(8) E.C.V Hassan 59(1176).

NĀRASIMHA II

Maṇḍalikaḥ & Sāmantaḥ.

Jagaddāḷa Bamma-dēva.(1) f.Sōyi-dēva. maṇḍalika of Kotṭūr.	cl220
Bammarasa-dēva.(2) s.Hariyarasa. Nanniya-Gaṅga, Nandagiri-nātha. Emmeganūr.	1220
Bammarasa-dēva.(3) m.ml.; s.Nāraśiṅga. Āsandi.(?)	?1226
Billeya-nāyaka.(#3) m. s.	1234
Nāraśiṅga-Poysala-Brahmādhiraṅgar.(4)	?c 1230
Bāsūra Būveya.(5) sāmanta. Cikka Begūr.	1228
Īśvara-dēva.(6) m.ml. Sinda.	1228
Kāppayya-nāyaka.(7) m.ml., lord of Huliyaṅgarapura. s. Caṭṭeya, the b.Gōvi:	1232
Kūteya-nāyaka.(8) m. s.; f.Ballaya-nayaka. Ruled Kabbahu-nād.	cl220
Masaneya-sāvanta.(9) Bannehāḷḷi.	1222
Asagōḍa-Pallava.(10) sāmanta; śaraṅgata..., Uccaṅgi-dēvi-labdha-vaṅga-pra- śāda, mahā-nāḷ-prabhu of the Sāvira-nād.	1222
Kāreya Saṅgeya-nāyaka.(11) m. s.	?cl225

Page 604 n.(8) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 78(1185). (9) E.C.V Arsikere 89(1183), 88(1184), 79(1184). (10) E.C.V Channarayapatna 151 (cl175). (11) E.C.III Malavalli 117(cl218). (12) E.C.V Arsikere 79(1184). (13) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 78(1185). (14) E.C.V Hassan 54(1176). (15) E.C.XII Chiknayakanhalli 36(1177); M.A.R.1910-1, para.101(1177). (16) M.A.R.1927,152(1197). (17) E.C.V Channarayapatna 205(cl200). (18) E.C.XII Chiknayakanhalli 36(1177); M.A.R.1910-1, para.101(1177). (19) S.I.I.IX 332(1214). (20) M.A.R.1908-9, para.80; E.C.V Arkalgūd 14(1213). (21) E.C.V Channarayapatna 205(cl200). (22) ~~REKANA~~ E.C.V Arsikere 89(1183), 88(1184). (23) E.C.V Arsikere 127(1185). (24) E.C.VI Kadur 148(1202). (25) E.C.V Belur 136(1217). (26) E.C.V Hassan 144(1200). (27) M.A.R.1932, 46(1180). (28) E.C.V Belur 114(1173).

(1) S.I.I.IX 338(1221). (2) E.C.XI Holalkere 56(1220),
(3) E.C.VI Tarikere 61(?1226). (#3) E.C.XII Gubbi 80(1234).
(4) E.C.X Chintamani 46(?cl230). (5) E.C.VII Honnali 8(1228).
(6) Ibid. (7) E.C.XII Chiknayakanhalli 27(1232). (8) E.C.IV
Kishnarajapet 7; M.A.R.1914-5, para.82b(1224). (9) S.I.I.IX
349, 350(1222). (10) Ibid.339(1222). (11) E.C.XI Holalkere
41(?cl225).

General Officers.

Amita.(1) d., m.p., bāhat tara.; f.Ballāla.	1223-6
Ammaṇṇa.(2) d., m.p., sarv., m.ps., p.v., r.d.	1222-3
Appayya.(3) d., m.p., r.d., p.v.	1228-33
Ballāla.(4) d.	1223
Ballayya.(5) d. s.Dūdappillai d.	c1235-1238
Bōmmaya.(6) d., m.p.	1226-8
(?)Cōvamayya.(7) d., s.v.	1235
Dūdappillai.(8) d.	c1225
Ammaṇṇa Gōpāla.(9) d.	?1223
Samudra Goppayya.(10) d. dandinagōpa, jagad- obbaganda.	1233
Aḍḍāyada Harihara.(12) d.	1235-7
Kēśava.(13) (? Bembi-dēva Kēśava) d.	1221-36
Mācappa.(14) d.	?1221
Mādhava.(15) d.	1221-35
Mahādēva.(16) d.	1227
Māvantaya Manavanta (17) d.	1227
Komāra Nāga-dēva.(18) d.	1235
Kumāra Nārasīṅga.(19) d. s,Nāganna.	1226
Pōlālva-dēva.(20) m.p., d.	1224-41

(1) E.C.V Channarayapatna 197(1223); S.I.I.IX 343(1226).
(2) S.I.I.IX 339(1222); A.R.408 of 1919(1230); E.C.V Belur 101
(1231), K.T.only. (3) E.C.XII Tiptur 54(1228); E.C.XII Gubbi
45(1273); E.I.VII pp.167-8(1231). (4) E.C.V Channarayapatna 197
(1223). (5) S.I.I.V 659 (c1235); A.R.1919, 366(1238); A.R.1920,
39(1236). (6) S.I.I.IX 341(1226), 344(1228). (7) E.C.V Channa-
rayapatna 221b(1235). (8) S.I.I.V 659 (c1235). (9) E.C.VI Kadur
88(?1223). (10) E.C.XII Gubbi 45(1233); E.I.vii pp.167-8(1231);
A.R.1919, 404(1231). (11) ~~Manavanta~~ (12) E.C.III Mandya 121(1235)
122(1237); ? A.R.1918, 73(1236-7). (13) A.R.1929-30, 324(?1221).
(14) S.I.I.IX 338(1221); E.C.XII Chiknayakanhalli 42(1236); S.I.I.
IV 501(1233); A.R.1918, 73(1236-7). (15) E.C.V Hassan 106(1221),
122(c1230); A.R.1910, 201(1235). (16) E.C.V Arsikere 152(1227).
(17) E.C.V Arsikere 50(1227). (18) E.C.V Channarayapatna 221b
(1235). (19) E.C.XII Gubbi 11(1226). (20) E.C.XI Davangere
25, W.E.II f.156b-160a(1224); M.A.R.1931, 3(1241); A.R.1919, 369
(1236); M.A.R.1912-3, para.81b(1238).

Raṅgaya.(1) d. b.Kēśava d.	1233
Kallaya Sivanaya.(2) d., mp., sarv., p.v., bā- hattara...; ruling Alambūr.	1229
Sōma.(3) d., m.p., sarv., sen., m.ps., p.v., bāhattara..; otherwise Sōmana.	1223
Sōvi-dēva.(4) d.	1226-45
Śrīraṅga.(5) d., m.p., sarv., bāhattara...	?1221-31

Other Ministers.

Dēvaṅṅa.(6) sri., s.v.	1235
Kēśava.(7) sri.	1235
Viśvanātha.(8) sri.; s.Rāyaṅṅa; b.Gōparasa, & Īśvara.	1223

Subordinate Military Officers.

Koṅgamāri Paramaya-sāhani.(9) Attached to Mādhava d. at Adhamankōttai.	1235
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Subordinate Civil Officers.

Candra-dēva.(10) ūroḍeya of Nalkudure.	1233
Had ^a ḅala Kalaiyya.(11) nal-prabhu of Ganga-naḅ.	1226
Siripanna.(12) sunka adhikari for Paṅḅya-naḅ.	1226

Heggades.

Candayya.(13) s.Bettiya-nāyaka. Drummer of Mac- arasa of Moguvada.	1232
Caudaiyya.(14) nāḅ-heggade of Gaṅga-nāḅ.	1226
Dātayya.(15) h. of Kumāri Sōvala-dēvi.	1230
Divākara.(16)	1226
Mailara.(17)	1226
Mallaya.(18)	1226

(11), (12), (14), (16), (17) & (18) S.I.I. IX 341(1226).
 (1) S.I.I. IV 501(1231). (2) E.C.XII Tiptur 42(1229). (3)
 S.I.I. IX 317(1223). (4) E.C.V Channarayapatna 253(1226); M.A.R.
 1910-1, para. 105(1244); M.A.R. 1926, 15(1245). (5) E.C.IV Gundlupet
 37(?1221); M.A.R. 1918, para. 96(1231). (6) E.C.V Channarayapatna
 221b(1235). (7) Ibid. (8) Ibid. 203a(1223). (9) A.R. 1910, 201.

Mandalikas & Sāmantes.

Bīrarasa.(1) m.mr., satyaratnākara, śaranāgata.,	1239
ruling the Śāntara kingdom.	
Boppa-dēva.(2) Cangāḷva prince.	1252
Celvāndān.(3) sāmanta.	1245
Gaṅgarasa.(4) Koṅgulivarma, etc., m.mr.	? cl240
Arabala 70.	
Kaṅṅaya-nāyaka.(5) m. s.; s.Kānteya-nāyaka.	1242
Bāceyahalli.	
Cola-Kukala-nād-āḷuva Kādasūr Kāḷeya-nāyaka.(6)	1237
Cola-Kukala-nād-āḷuva Kādasūr Apeya-nāyaka.(7)	1246
Lakumayya-nāyaka.(8) m. s., sitagara., śaranāgata.,	1242.
ruling Huliye <u>ru</u> and the Magāre 300.	
Nārasimha-dēva.(9) xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx Koṅgulivarma, Kōlālapura,	
ruling Asandi.	cl240
Sōma-dēva.(10) Cangāḷva prince.	1252

Page 608 n.(10) E.C.VII Channagiri 52(1239). (13) S.I.I.IX
351(1232). (15) E.C.V Arsikere 78(1230).

- (1) E.C.VIII Sorab 492(1239).
(2) E.C.V Arkalgud 53(1252).
(3) A.R.1921.179(1245).
(4) E.C.XI Holalkere 121(cl240).
(5) M.A.R.1914-5, para. 83(1242).
(6) E.C.XII Tiptur 21(1237).
(7) Ibid. 23(1246).
(8) M.A.R.1909-10, para. 81(1242).
(9) E.C.VI Tarikere 72(cl240).
(10) E.C.V Arakalgud 53(1252).

General Officers.

Ballaya. (see under Nārasimha II)	
Bettayya. (1) d.; b. Balla cam., & Mādhava; s. Kēśava cam.; g. s. Malla; g. gs. Śrīdhara.	1249-52
Bhīmanṇa. (2) d.	1239
Billayya. (3) d. (? read Ballayya)	1252
Bōgaya, Bōganṇa, Bhōgaya. (4) d.; s. Kētana d.	1236-48
Bommanṇa-dannāyaka. (5) m. p., hiriya s. v.	1250-2
Cattan-udaiyār. (6)	1242
Goppayya. (7) d.; b. Malleya; s. Appaya d.	1240
Adḍāyada Harihara-dannāyaka. (see under Nārasimha II)	
Ammān Kambayya-dannāyaka. (8)	1242-51
Kēśava. (9) d.; s. Appaya d.	1240
Kētana. (10) d.	1236
Mādaya. (11) m. p., daṇḍinagōpa.	1236
Mallaya. (12) d.; s. Appaya d.	1240
Murāri Malleya. (13) d.; s. Kētana d.	1236
Māvantayya. (14) d.	1235
Kumāra Nāga-dēva. (15) d.	1237
Perkaḍi-dēva. (16) m. p., d.	1236
Pōlalva-dēva-dannāyaka. (see under Nārasimha II)	
Sānta. (17) d.	1248
Sēvaya. (18) d.	1250
Siṅganṇa. (19) d.; s. Somaya d. (?)	1251-5
Aliya Sōmaya. (20) d., m. p., daṇḍinagōpa.	1240-51
Varadana. (21) d., sri.	cl250
Vittappa. (22) d.	? cl240

(1) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 20(1249); E.C.V Channarayapatna 242(1252)
(2) A.R.1936-7, 30(1239). (3) E.C.V Channarayapatna 242(1252).
(4) E.C.IV Krishnarajapet 63(1236); M.A.R.1910, 1, para. 105(1244).
M.A.R.1926, 46(1248); A.R.1937-8, 14(1239). (5) E.C.V.Channa-

Other Ministers,

Gōvīyaṅṅa.(1) m.ps., p.v.	1238
Kēśava-dēva.(2) s.v.	1237
Nāgeya-nāyaka.(3) m.ps.; s.Mayīleya-nāyaka.	1238
Nārasīṅga-dēva.(4) m.ps., p.v.	1238
Perumāl.(5) m.p.	1247
Kolliya Rāmaṅa.(6) m.ps.h.	1238
Sīṅgaṅṅa.(7) s,v,	1237
Sōvaṅṅa.(8) m.ps.,p.v.	1238
Nāgaṅṅa Vijayaṅṅa.(9) sri. of Koṅga-nād.	1251

Subordinate Military Officer.

Benakeya-sāhaṅi.(10) s.i.l.Sōmaya-sāhaṅi.	1240
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Subordinate Civil Officer.Sēnabōva.

Kēśīyaṅṅa.(11)	1259
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Page 610 n.(5 cont.)-patna 211(1250),238(1250);E.C.V Arkalgud 55(1250);MAR 1907,para.23(1252); E.C.V Channarayapatna 237 (1253), 236(1253). (6) S.I.I.VI 49(1242). (7) A.R.1919,615 (1242). (8) S.II.VI 49(1242);A.R.1937-8,114(c1150);S.I.I.VIII 88(1251). (9) AR.1929-30,433;A.R.1919,612(1240);E.C.V Channarayapatna 242(1252). (10) E.C.IV Krishnarajapet 63(1236). (11) A.R.1919,616(1236). (12) A.R.1919, 611(1240). (13) E.C.IV Krishnarajapet 63(1236). (14) M.A.R.1909-10,para.80(1235). (15) E.C.V Channarayapatna 219(1237). (16) M.A.R.1912,para101 (1236). (17) E.C.V Arkalgud 12(1248). (18) A.R.1913,49(1250). (19) S.II. V 629(1255);S.I.I.VIII 88(1251); (20) M.A.R.1908-9, para.84(1244);A.R.1910.205(1248);A.R.1911, 391(c1250);A.R.1910, 204(1250);S.I.I.V 629(1255);A.R.1910,203(1260);S.I.I.VIII 703 (1251);AR.1905, 138(1240);A.R.1913,49(1250). (21)A.R.1912,15 (c1250). (22) AR.1909,713(?c1240).

(1) MA.R.1912-3,para.81a(1238). (2) E.C.V Channarayapatna 219 (1237). (3) M.A.R.1912-3,para.81b(1238). (4) M.A.R.1912-3, para.81a(1238). (5) E.C.IV Chamrajnagar 67(1247). (6) M.A.R. 1912-3,para.81b(1238). (7) E.C.V Channarayapatna 219(1237). (8) M.A.R.1912-3, para.81a(1238). (9) E.C.V Arkalgud 55(1251). (10) M.A.R.1937, 36(1240). (11) E.C.VI Kadur 92(1259).

NĀRĀSĪMHA III

Maṅḍalikas & Sāmantas.

Bēci-dēvarasa. (1) m. mr., Tribhuvanamalla, Nandagirinātha. Yelahaṅka.	1267
Bhīmaya. (2) sāmanta. Rāvadūr.	1255
Bommeya-nāyaka. (3) sāvantādhipati; s. Kambeya.	1277
Gaṅga-dēva. (4) m. s., nādāluva of Kaidāla.	1258-9
Kāmeya-nāyaka. (5) samadhigata., m. s. s. Cōleya-nāyaka.	?1258
Keppeya-nāyaka. (6) Huliyeṛu.	1260
Māca. (7) sāmanta; f. Gujja. Kalukaṇi-nād.	?1260
Cōla-Ku [ka] la-nād-āluva Kādasūr Kādaya-nāyaka. (8)	1265
Lakumeya-nāyaka. (9) Huliyeṛu.	1260
Nāraṇamayya. (10) m. s., ? Gaṇḍasi.	?c1270
Cikka Nonabeya-nāyaka. (11) Calikeya estate.	1272
Gaṅga Perumāle-dēvarasa. (12) m. mr. Brahmādhirāja. Ruler of Koliganaghaṭṭa in Pāṇḍya-nād.	1290

General Officers.

Aṅkeya. (13) d.; s. Cikka Kēteya d.	c1276-90
(?) Ballaha. (14) d.	1282
Bāceya. (15) d.	1271
Bīreya. (16) d. (Otherwise Vīrayya)	1288
Bommaṇṇa. (17) d.; b. Harihara Sōvaṇṇa d.	1279
Cakravarti. (18) d.; s. Perumāle.	

(1) E.C. IX Dodballapur 31(1267). (2) E.C. V Arkalgud 38(1255).
 (3) M.A.R. 1918, para. 97(1277). (4) E.C. XII Tiptur 8(1258); 28
 (1259). (5) E.C. XII Tiptur 63(1258). (6) M.A.R. 1909-10, para.
 82(1260). (7) E.C. IV Nagamangala 97(?1260). (8) E.C. XII Tiptur
 22(1265). (9) M.A.R. 1909-10, para. 82(1260). (10) E.C. V Channa-
 rayapatna 222(c1270). (11) E.C. VI Kadur 125, 124(1272). (12)
 E.C. VII Honnali 909(1290). (13) See under Cikka Keteya d.; also
 E.C. V Belur 165(1276); 166(1279); E.C. XII Gubbi 58(1290).
 (14) E.C. III Nanjangud 96(1282). (15) M.A.R. 1937, 39(1271).
 (16) E.C. V Arsikere 12(1288), 13, 10(1288). (17) M.A.R. 1911-2,
 para. 92. (1279). (18) See under Ballalaja III.

Kumāra Dorabhakkare.(1) d., m.p., gāyi-gōvāla, ganda pendāra; s.i.l.Sōmeya d.	1277
Gōṅgeya.(2) d.; gāyi-gōvāla,ganda pendāra .	1278
Gōpāla.(3) d.	1261
Hiriya.(4) d.	1279
Kētaya.(5) d.; s.Mādhava d.	1282
Kumāra Cikka Kēteya.(6) d., gāyi-gōvāla,ganda pendāra; f.Aṅkeya;nephew of Sōmaya.	1261-80
Hiriya Kēleya.(7) d. Ruled at Honganur.	1265
Khaṇḍeya-rāya Rāne.(8)	1276
Lakumi-nārāyaṇa-dēva.(9) d.;s.Perumāle d.	1285
Madugeya.(10) d.	1287
Cikka Madaneya.(11) d.; s.Madaneya d.	1291
Malleya.(12) d.	1264
Kumāra Malli-dēva.(13) d.	1274
Mallikārjuna.(14) d., m.p., sarv.	1282
Mañcana.(15) d., m.p.	1278
Muḷḷulār-dēva Tiruvālāndurai udaiyār.(16) m.p., sarv., samasta sen.	? c1260
Paramēśvara.(17) d.	c1265-79
Perumāle.(18) d.; s.Viṣṇu cam.	1260-92
Perumāle.(19) d.; f.Cakravarti d.	1274-c90
Rēcaya.(20) d.; b.Harihara Sōvaṇṇa d.	1279

(1) E.C.IX Kankanhalli 72(1277). (2) E.C.VI Tarikere 80(1278).
(3) E.CXII Chiknayakanhalli 2(1261). (4) M.A.R.1924,13(1279).
(5) M.A.R.1931,37(1282). (6) E.C.III Mandya 30(1261);E.C.XII
Tumkur 49(1269);E.C.V Belur 157,165,164(1276);E.C.III Tiruma-
kudal-narsipur 97(1276);E.C.III Mandya 1(1277);M.A.R.1908,para.
48(1278);E.C.IX Channapatna 13,65(1278);M.A.R.1911-2,para.92
(1288). (7) E.C.IX Kankanhalli 80(1265). (8) M.A.R.1937,23(1276).
(9) E.C.IV Chamrajnagar 13(1285). (10) E.C.VII Shimoga61(1287).
(11) Ibid.78(1291). (12) E.C.IV Heggadadevankote 102(1264);
? E.C.V Belur 195(K.T.Only). (13) E.C.V Belur 150(1274),120
(1276);E.C.IX Channapatna 46(1275). (14) E.C.IV Gundlupet 80
(?1282);E.C.III Nanjangud 96(1282). (15) M.A.R.1936,47(1278).

Singeya.(1) d.	1278
Śivaneya.(2) d.	1289
Meyduna Sōma, Sōmeya.(3) d., m.p., gāyi-gōvāla, ganda pendāra.	1265-81
Sōvaṇṇa.(3) mahā s.v.	1267
Harihara Sōvaṇṇa.(4) d., s.v. (? indentical with (3))	1260-1279
Tāreyana.(5) d.	1279

Other Ministers.

Bommana.(6) m.p., sēnabōva.	1278
Gōpāla-devaṇṇa.(7) m.ps.	1277
Kūtana-heggade.(8) m.ps.	1286
Nāraṇa-dēva.(9) sarv. of customs.	1291
Siripanna Sōmanātha-nāyaka.(10) mahā s.v.	1258
Sōvaṇṇa.(11) m.ps.	1281
Siripanna Viśvanātha-dēva.(12) m.ps., s.v.	? cl260

Page 613 n.(16) E.C.IX Channapatna 38(?cl260). (17) M.A.R. 1924 13(1279); E.C.V Belur 87(cl265). (18) E.C.IV Nagamangala 48 (1270), 39(1271), 50(1270), 49(1270); E.C.V Channarayapatna 269 (1276); M.A.R.1912-3, para.83(1276); E.C.VI Tarikere 3(1260); E.C.V Belur 74(1261), 53(1277); E.C.V Belur 155(1280); (?) M.A.R. 1924, 10(1280); (?) M.A.R.1908-9, para.86(cl285); E.C.XI Chitaldrug 12(1286), 32(1286); Tirumakudal-narsipur 58, 27(1290); M.A.R. 1908, para.48(1292). (19) M.A.R.1932, 50(1274); E.C.IV Nagamangal 41(1284), 38(1284), 142(1285); Chamarajnagar 13(1285); Yelandur 8(cl290). (20) M.A.R.1911-2, para.92(1279).

- (1) E.C.V Arsikere 149(1278).
(2) M.A.R.1937, 18(1289).
(3) E.C.IV Krishnarajapet 12(1267); E.C.IX Kankanhalli 80(1265); M.A.R.1910-1, para.106(1265); E.C.VI Chikmagalur 89(1265); E.C. XI Davangere 36, W.E.II f.354a-356b(1268); M.A.R.1937, 39(1271); E.C.III Tirumakudal-narsipur 22(1272); E.C.III Ibid.97, 101(1276); 100(1281); E.C.IX Kankanhalli 72(1277); M.A.R.1909-10, para.82 (1278).
(4) E.C.III Tirumakudal 84(1279); M.A.R.1911-2, para.92(1279); E.C.XI Chitaldrug 11(1260). (5) E.C.III Nanjangud 180(1279).
(6) E.C.VI Tarikere 80(1278). (7) E.C.V Belur 53(1277).
(8) E.C.V Arsikere 8(1286). (9) E.C.VII Shimoga 78(1291).
(10) E.C.XII Tptur 8(1258). (11) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 67(1281).
(12) E.C.V Channarayapatna 223(?cl260).

Subordinate Civil Officers.

Ādiyanna.(1) bd.	1251
Bāceya-nāyaka.(2) nāl-prabhu of Dēvalige-nād.	1257
Basavanna.(3) Konga-nād suṅka.	1275
Cāvunḍa-dēva.(4) mahāprabhu of Hiriya-nād.	1278
Dāli-gāvunḍa.(5) mahāprabhu of Hiriya-nād, & ruler of Alageya-nād.	1279
Dēsi-nātha.(6) Ruler of Kumāra-nād.	1277
Dharani-dēva.(7) customs of Kikkeri.	c1270
Gumanna.(8) Konga-nād suṅka.	1275
Hampanna.(9) Konga-nād suṅka.	1275
Piriya Mādanna.(10) adhikāri of Gaṅgavāḍi-nād.	1277
Mallanna.(11) adhikāri of Kaiyāraṇnād & Pa- kaḷi-nād.	1273
Mañcayya.(12) mahāprabhu of Hiriya-nād.	1273
Masanayya.(13) nayaka.	1272
Vithanna.(14) adhikāri of Beluhūr. <u>Heggāde</u>	1277
Pannamāṇḍa.(15)	1259
<u>Sēnabōvas.</u>	
Bācayya.(16)	1286
(?) Casavarasa.(17)	1281
Lakkanna.(18)	1288
Nāganna.(19)	1288
Nāgaya.(20)	1265
Sātanna.(21)	1286

(1) M.A.R.1911-2, para.91(1255). (2) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 1(1257).
(3) E.C.V Arkalgud 54(1275). (4) M.A.R.1936, 47(1278). (5) M.A.R.
1911-2, para.92(1279). (6) M.A.R.1911-2, para.91, p.45(E.C.III
T.N.78 revised). (7) E.C.IV Krishnarajapet 50(c1270). (8) E.C.V
Arkalgud 54(1275). (9) Ibid. (10) E.C.III Mandya 1(1277).
(11) E.C.IV Chamrajnagar 131(1273). (12) Ibid. (13) M.A.R:1908-9
para.86(1272). (14) E.C.V Belur 53(1277). (15) M.A.R.1911-2,
para.92(1259). (16) E.C.XI Chitaldrug 32(1286). (17) E.C.VI

RĀMANĀTHAMaṇḍalikas & Sāmantas.

Gaṅga-perumāl Ayaṅkaṅkākāra-Tuṭṭarāditya-rāja- Nārāyaṅa Brāhmādhiraṅgar. s.Vāsi- nāyan.(1)	1280-9
Gaṅgādhara.(2) s.Sōmanā-dēva,bhuja-baḷa, vīra- Nārāyaṅa. maṇḍalika of Koyyakura-nād..	1288
(I)rāja-rāja-Karkata-mārāyar Gaṅga-pperumāl.(3)	1283
(I)rāja-rāja-Karkata-mārājar Tāmāti-āḷubar.(4)	?1277-95
Kulōttuṅga-Cōḷa-Tagadādirāyar Māra Cika-dēvar.(5)	1294
Tēkkal-rāyar Kuttādun-dēvar.(6)	c1281
Tēkkal-rāyar Nārāna-dēva.(7)	1278
Madurānta<ka>-Cōḷa-Viruvi-nād-āḷvar Pālāndai-nāyan. (8)	1288

General Officers.

Ariya-piḷḷai.(9) d.	1261-2
Cikka-dēva.(10) or Annāmalai-dēva. d.	1294
Gaṅgaṅa.(11) d.; s.Ravi-dēva d.	1269
Kambayya-dañṇāyaka. (see under Sōmēśvara)	
Kambayya, Kampaya.(12) d.	1287-8
Mārūr Cikka Kētaya.(13) d.	c1270
Rāvi-dēva.(14) d.	1267-9
Siṅgaṅa.(15) d. (see under Sōmēśvara)	
Kumāra vīra-Siṅgeya.(15) d.;s.Cikka Kētaya d.	1279
Kumāra Sōmaya.(16) d. (see under Ballāḷa III)	
Vīraiya.(16) m. p., d.	1267-76.

Page 615 n.(17) cont.:Mudgere 73(1281). (18) E.C.V Arsikere 14(1288).(19) Ibid.13(20) E.C.VI Chikmagalur 89(1265). (21) E.C.V Arsikere 9(1286).

(1) E.C.X Kolar 48(1280),55(1285),95(1286);Chintamani 117(1289); M.A.R.1913-4,para.86(1286). (2) E.C.X Kolar 92(1288). (3) E.C.IX Bangalore 43(1283). (4) E.C.IX Anekal 30(?1277);Bangalore 100(1294); M.A.R.1908,para.49(1295). (5)E.C.IX Bangalore 91a(1294). (6) E.C.X Malur 32(c1281). (7) Ibid.38(1284).

Other Ministers.

Kadai-cetti.(1)	1284
Ilavañji-rāyar.(2)	1291
Kumāra Mañjiya-māvuttar.(3)	1293-5

Subordinate Civil Officers.

Cembi-dēvar.(4)	Tēkkal-nād.	1281
Kalaiyya.(5)	adhikāri of Marugali-nād.	1287
Mayilāṅdar.(6)	Ditto of Tēkkal-nād.	1281
Mānika-dēva(7)	Ditto of Marugali-nād.	1287
Viruvi-rāyana(8)	adhikari of Periya-nād.	1284

Page 616 n.(8) E.C.X Malur 98(1288). (9) S.I.I.IV 427(1261); A.R.1936-7, 62, 64(1262). (10) E.C.X ~~Malur~~ Chintamani 88(1294); Kolar 18(1294). (11) S.I.I.V 634(1269). (12) E.C.XII Tumkur 17(1287), 27, 28(1287); E.C.IX Nelamangala 63(?1288). (13) E.C.XII Tumkur 56(1279). (14) A.R.1928-9, 203(1267); S.I.I.V 634(1269). (15) E.C.XII Tumkur 56(1279). (16) A.R.1920, 21, 41, 42(1267-71); S.I.I.V 653(1276).

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- (1) E.C.X Chintamani 91(1284).
 (2) E.C.X Kolar 239(1291).
 (3) E.C.X Bowringpet 23(1293), 25a&b(1295).
 (4) E.C.X Malur 45(?1281).
 (5) E.C.XII Tumkur 17(1287).
 (6) E.C.X Malur 45(?1282).
 (7) E.C.XII Tumkur 17(1287).
 (8) E.C.X Malur 38(1284).

BALLĀLA III.Mandalikas & Sāmantas.

Bammarasa.(1) m.mr.; s.Murāri-dēva.	1321
Cikka (?) Bayireya-nāyaka.(2) m.s.,m.ps.	1342
Vīra-Vallāla-Poysala ...māṇikka Brahmādirāyar.(3)	1312
Hiriya Bommeya-nāyaka.(4) m.s.	1320
Bommeya-nāyaka.(5) m.s.	1338
Gāṅgeya-nāyaka.(6) m.s.	1340
Cikka Kallaya-nāyaka.(7) m.s.	1342
Yedavaṅka Kamalarasa.(8) m.mr.	1331
Kōyalarasa.(9) m.mr.	?1331
Vīra-Kumāra Cikkaya-nāyakka Kulaiya-nāyaka. (10)?	1318
Maṅcaya-nāyaka.(11) m.s., sen.	1338-43
Kāvēri-vallabha Māra-dēva.(12)	1314
Kumāra Mayili-nāyaka.(13) "Naralōka-gaṇḍa."	1333-40
Tribhuvanamalla Pūrvādirāya Tāmattalvār.(14) m.mr.	1305
Kumāra Tiparasa.(15) m.mr.	1317
Voḍeya Viṅgha-dēva Rāṇe.(16) m.mr.(? ally)	1313-8

T

- (1) E.C.X Kolar 173(1321). (2) E.C.IX Bangalore 129,21(1342).
(3) E.C.X Sidlaghatta 36(?1312). (4) S.I.I.IX 354(1320).
(5) M.A.R.1909-10,para.87(1338). (6) E.C.XII Sira 10(1341).
(7) E.C.IX Hoskote 147(1342). (8) E.C.IX Channapatna 71(1331).
(9) E.C.III Malavalli 114(?1331). (10) M.A.R.1913-4,para.88
(?1318). (11) E.C.IX Devanhalli 72(1338);Hoskote 75(1343).
(12) E.C.IX Kankanhalli 37(1314),70(1314). (13) E.C.IX Banga-
lore 110(1336), 111(1340);E.C.IX Nelamangala 9(1333);M.A.R.
1914-5,para.85(1335). (14) M.A.R.1908,para.50(1305). (15)
S.I.I.IX 353(1317). (16) E.C.XI Hiriya 87(1313);M.A.R.1909-10
para.86(1318).

Allappa.(1) d.; b.i.l.Kāmaiya d.	?1308-27
Kumāra Amaraī-udaiyār.(2)	1341
Baīcaya.(3) d.	1319-28
Kumāra Hirīya Ballappa.(4) d.; s.Rāmeya.	1338
Dādi Ballappa.(5) d.; s.Dādi Sōmaya; b.Dādi Siṅgaya d.	1328-43
Teṅgala Ballappa.(6) d.	1340
Kumāra Ballappa.(7) d. ; s.Nārasīngappa.	1293-1307
Ballappa.(8) d.; s.Bēba; b.Siṅgeya.	1340
Beceya, Bebeya, Bembeya, Cambeya (? Baīcya).(9) d.	1320-8
Beṭṭarasa.(10) d.	?1294
Beṭṭarasa.(11) m.p., d. Ruling Ulahāṅka-nāḍ.	1336-43
Bhīmaya.(12) d.	1292
Bōgayya.(13) d.	1337
Bommayya.(14) d.	1318
Cakravarti.(15) d.; s.Perumāle d.	1303-9
Bila Cokkayya.(16) d.	1337
Dēvappa.(17) d.; s.Tōya Siṅgeya; b.i.l.Bimalapa.	1314
Erupeya.(18) d.	1307

(1) E.C.IX Bangalore 134(1308); E.C.XI Hiriyur 87(1313); E.C.V Belur 207, 208(1328), K.T. only; E.C.IV Camrajnagar 193(1318).

(2) E.C.IX Anekal 55(1341).

(3) E.C.VII Honnali 117(1319); E.C.XI Chitaldrug 4(1328).

(4) E.C.XI Chitaldrug 6(1338).

(5) E.C.X Malur 10, 11, 12, 13(1328); 18(1330); M.A.R.1913-4, para. 87(1330); E.C.X Malur 28(1333); E.C.III Malavalli 104(1333); E.C.IX Hoskote 137(1336); 134(1336); M.A.R.1909-10, para. 85(1337); E.C.X Cintamani 53(1337); Bowringpet 10(1338); M.A.R.1913-4, para. 87(1339); E.C.X Bowringpet 28(1339); E.C.X Malur 16(1343); E.C.IX Hoskote 75(1343); & E.C.VI Chikmagalur 105(1343).

(6) E.C.IX Hoskote 49(1340). (7) E.C.X Kolar 102(1293); E.C.IX Bangalore 133(1307). (8) S.I.I.VIII 99(1340), 89(1340).

(9) E.C.VII Shimoga 69(1320); E.C.XI Hiriyur 16(1325), 18(1328); E.C.XII Tiptur 24(1325); M.A.R.1923, 121(1325). (10) E.C.IV Hunsur 20(?1294).

(11) M.A.R.1913-4, para. 87(1336); E.C.IX Hoskote 112(1343). (12) E.C.III Nanjangud 103, 92(1292).

(13) M.A.R.1937, 52(1337). (14) M.A.R.1915-6, para. 91(1318).

M.A.R.1932, 8. (15) M.A.R.1910-1, para. 109(1303); E.C.IV Naga-

Kumāra Gaṅga-dēva.(1) d.; s.Aliya Mācaya d.	1333
Geṅgeya.(2) d.; r.d.; s.Aluva d.	1317
Hariyappa.(3) d.	1341
Hōya.(4) d.	1328
Īsvara.(5) d.; s.Aliya Mācaya d.	1340
Jāleya.(6) d.	c1330
Jātraya.(7) d.; m.p.	1307
Kambaya.(8) d.	?1334
Kāmāyā, Kāmeya.(9) d.; s.Ponnaṅṅa; f.Kāmeya.	1318-34
Kāya.(10) d.; f.Balapa-nāyaka.	1340
Kēteya.(11) d.; s.Mādhava d.	1303-41
Khaṇḍeya-rāya Rāṅe.(12) (see under Nārasimha III)	1276-1298
Kumāra Lakeya.(13) d.	c1321
Kumāra Lakṣmīdhara.(14) d.	?1325
Lōkappa.(15) d.	1306
Aliya Mācaya.(16) d.	1310-28
Māceya.(17) d.; s.i.l. Aṅkeya d.	1314

mangala 41(1309); E.C.IX Bangalore 23(1305). (16) M.A.R.1937, 52 (1337); E.C.IV Chamrajnagar 204(c1337). (17) M.A.R.1909-10, para. 84(1314); E.C.IX Magadi 58(1315); E.C.VIII Sagar 135(1320); S.I.I. VII 213(1341). (18) E.C.VIII Sagar 62(1307).

- (1) E.C.X Goribidnur 16(1333); M.A.R.1909-10, para. 84(c1333).
(2) E.C.IX Magadi 59(1317). (3) S.I.I.VII 213(1341). (4) E.C.IX Devanahalli 60(1328). (5) S.I.I.IX 358(1340); E.C.XII Sira 10(1341).
(6) E.C.IX Nelamangala 12(c1330). (7) E.C.IX Channapatna 76(1307).
(8) A.R.1919, 401(1334). (9) E.C.V Arsikere 67(1335), 31(1331); E.C.XII Gubbi 30(1331); E.X.IX Hoskote 124(1328); Dod Ballapur 14(1328); Devanahalli 1(1328); Magadi 58(1315); M.A.R.1909-10, para. 84(1323); M.A.R.1910-1, para. 109(1328); (?) 1911-2, para. 93(c1328); E.C.VIII Sorab 494(1334); E.C.IX Bangalore 31(1340); E.C.V Belur 207(1327), 208, K.T. only; E.C.V Hassan 156(1334), K.T. only.
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(12) Also E.C.V Belur 24(1298). (13) E.C.III Malavalli 65(1330) E.C.X Kolar 128(1321). (14) M.A.R.1927, 39(?1325). (15) M.A.R. 1909-10, para. 84(1306). (16) S.I.I.IX 354(1320), 355(1323), 356(1324), 357(1328), 358(1340). (17) E.C.V Hassan 181, 182(1314).
N.B. To (16) add: E.C.XI Chitaldrug 1(1310).

Mādappa.(1) s.Perumāla d.; d.	1317-27
Mādaya.(2) d., m.p.	1328
Vīra-Mādhava.(3) d.; s.Perumāle d.; Immadi Rā- hutta-rāya, "subduer of Nīla- giri."	1303-1319
Mādige-dēva.(4) d. "manōmutti of the praṭapa- cakravartti".	1306-10
Mañcaya.(5) d.; s.Allāla-dēva.	1292
Mēdagi-dēva. (? = Mādige q.v.)	
Panayya.(6) d.	1341
Perumāla-dēva.(7) (see under Nārasimha III).	1274-98
Perumālu-dēva.(8) d.	1292
Sakāleya. (9) d.; s.Perumālu d.	1292
Śaṅkara.(10) d.	1332
Dādi Siṅgeya.(11) d., m.p., s.Dādi Sōma d.	?1313-c30
Alīya Siṅgeya.(12) d.	1310
Tōya Siṅgeya.(13) d.	1301-20
Mādappa Siṅgeya.(14) d.	1338
Siṅgeya.(15) d.; s.Pendāra.	1297
Ādi Siṅgeya.(16) d.	1335
Siṅgoḅa. (17) d.	1326
Kumāra Vīra-Sōmapa.(18) d.	1316
Mayduna Sōmeya.(19) d. (see under Nārasimha III)	1265-1303
Dādi Sōmeya.(20) d., m.p.	1313-8

(1) E.C.IV Chamrajnagar 137(1317). (2) M.A.R.1914-5, para. 85 (1328). (3) E.C.IV Gundlupet 56(1318), 58(1314); Chamrajanagar 116(1317); E.C.III Seringapatam 80(1319), 92(1310); Nanjangud 93(1315); M.A.R.1937, 47(1303); 1911-2, para. 93(1314); 1918, para. 98(1314); 1907, para. 24(1312). (4) M.A.R.1914-5, para. 85(1306); E.C.XI Holalkere 136(1307); Chitaldrug 1(1310); E.C.V Belur 163(1308); M.A.R.1912-3, para. 85a(1310). (5) E.C.III Nanjangud 103(1292). (6) E.C.IX Channapatna 185(1341). (7) Also E.C.IV Gundlupet 66(1293); A.R.1902, 60(1298). (8) E.C.III Nanjangud 103(1292). (9) Ibid. (10) Ibid. 65(1332). (11) E.C.X Malur 8(1339), 104(1332), 140(1332); E.C.IX Hoskote 140a(?1313), Kankanhalli 6(1316); M.A.R.1922, para. 41(1318); E.C.IX Channapatna 10(1318).

Sōmēya.(1) d.	1298
Vaijappa.(2) d. (In the service of the Ālupa court.)	1333-6
Vasamappa.(3) d.; s.Dādi Sōmēya d.	1328

Other Ministers.

Aduri-dēvanna.(4) m. ps.	cl309
Bāyicāna.(5) Ruled Tore-nād	1309
Hariyappa.(6) sarv. of Hadavalige-nād.	1309
Kadiyappa.(7) m. p.	1338
Ponnanna.(8) m. ps.	cl319
Kariya (I) rāmaiya-nāyakka.(9)	1321
Kaṭṭari-Sāluva (I) rācāya-nāyaka.(10)	1317-21
Uriyanna.(11) sarv.	1308
Pasāluva Cikka Viṭṭappam.(12) m. ps. to Dādi Balappa d.	1342
? Kēsava.(13)	1310-1

Page 621 n.(11) cont.: (?) ibid. 12(1319); E.C. IX Anekal 84(1322); M.A.R. 1912-3, para. 86(1322); (?) /C. XII Tiptur 24(1325).
 (12) E.C. XI Chitaldrug 1(1310). (13) E.C. XII Tiptur 83(1333); E.C. VII Shikarpur 212(1301); E.C. VIII Sagar 135(1320).
 (14) A.R. 1906, 437; A.R. 1909, 158-9(1343). (15) E.C. V Arjalgud 56(1297); (?) M.A.R. 1912-3, para. 186(1319). (16) E.C. IV Krishnarajapet 40(1335); Hunsur 82(1338). (17) E.C. IX Channapatna 98(1326).
 (18) E.C. IX Kankanhalli 104(1316). (19) M.A.R. 1912-3, para. 85(1303); 1911-2, para. 93(1303). (20) M.A.R. 1920, para. 77(1313); E.C. IX Kankanhalli 37(1314); M.A.R. 1922, para. 41c(1318); M.A.R. 1922, para. 41b(1318).

(1) A.R. 1902, 65(1298); E.C. V Belur 66, 24(1298). (2) A.R. 1928-9 492(1333); 1931-2, 293(c1333), 262(1333); 1929-30, 583(1335); S.I.I. VII 312(1336). (3) M.A.R. 1922, para. 41(1328). (4) M.A.R. 1908, para. 50(c1309). (5) E.C. III Tirumakudal-narsipur 72(1309).
 (6) E.C. VII Shimoga 19(1309). (7) E.C. VI Koppa 12(1338).
 (8) E.C. XII Maddagiri 28(1319). (9) E.C. X Kolar 124b(1321).
 (10) M.A.R. 1913-4, para. 87; 1909-10, para. 85(1321). (11) E.C. IX Bangalore 134(1308). (12) E.C. IX Hoskote 90(1342).
 (13) Amīr Khusrāu, Khazāin ul Futūh : no local evidence supports him.

Subordinate Military Officers.

Agattiyāṇḍi-nāyakka.(1) Of the valangai force.	cl300
Ajaṇṇa-sāhani.(2)	1333
Bai ceya-sāhani.(3) Palace servant.	1313
Bīmeya-sāhani.(4)	?1292
Dēvega-sāhani.(5)	1313
Māyi-sāhani.(6) f.Kaṅciya-nāyaka.	?1324
Sakki-sāhani.(7) b.i.l.Bambeya d.	cl325
Saṅkiya-sāhani.(8) b.i.l.Bai ceya d.	?1324

Subordinate Civil Officers.

Bayise-dēva.(9) Yelahaṅka-nād prabhu.	1342
Kalla-gauḍa.(10) Huliyaṅga-nād mahāprabhu.	1313
Kōṭeya-nāyaka.(11) Ruler of Kukkaḷa-nād.	1339
Mādaṇṇa.(12) suṅka h. of Koppa-nād.	1327
Māra-gāvuda.(13) nād h. of the Arabala 70.	1307
Mārappa.(14) mahāprabhu of Sigala-nād.	1318
Pemmaṇṇa.(15) Revenue officer of Kuvalāla-nād, (Kolar).	1330
Rāma-gavuda.(16) mahā-nād-prabhu.	1338
Raṅgaṇṇa.(17) Adhikāri of Belūr.	1298
Viṭṭhala.(18) prabhu.	1299
Villa-gauḍa.(19) Adhikāri of Vira-Vallāḷa-dēva- nād.	1307

Sēnabōvas.

Mādaṇṇa.(20)	1314
Kāvanna.(21)	1314
Siripaṇṇa.(22)	1318
Vīrappa.(23)	1338
Vi'svasaṅgala.(24)	1334

(1) A.R.1910,9(1310). (2) A.R.1931-2,262(1333). (3) E.C.XI Hiriyaṅ 87(1313). (4) E.C.IX Kankanhalli 28(?1292).

ADDENDA TO THE LISTS OF OFFICIALS.VINAYĀDITYA.General Officers.

Pōcimayya. (1) p. d., s. v. ; s. Ēcimayya.	1063-83
Rāma-dēva. (2) d.; f. Śrīdhara d.	?c1060

VISNUVARDHANA.Mandalikas & Sāmantas.

Baṅkeyya. (3) samadhigata., m. s. Senavagere 12.	1134
Bīreya-nayaka. (4) Kuka<la>nādāḷva.	1137
Gaṅḡa-māṅikka Brahmādirājan. (5) Kaivēra-nād.	?1128
Ghasani Cattayya. (6) sāmanta, Huliyaṛa estate.	?1137
Viruntarāya-bayaṅkara Maṅṅai-nād-āḷvan Cattayan.	1120
Tribuwanamalla-Poysala sāmanta Maṅṅai-nād-āḷvan Sāma-gāmuṅdam. (8)	c1117

Other Ministers.

Kētayanna. (9) m. p., sarv., sri. h. Dēsavani.	1139
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BALLALA II.Mandalikas & Sāmantas.

Mācaya-nāyaka. (10) near Talakād.	1179
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Subordinate Civil Officers.

Sāvantamaya. (11) Nāḷprabhu at Singatigere.	1205
<u>Heggades.</u>	
Aggapa. (12)	1205
Biṭṭiyanna. (13) Under Kētala-dēvi.	1176
Mādirāja. (14) suṅka h.	1197

BALLĀLA IIIOther Ministers.

Amīr Khusrāu mentions (p. 429 above) Bālak d., Māin-dēva (or Nārāyāna-dēva (?)) and Jētmaḷ (? Jēta-malla). It is not possible to identify these with any Ministers or Generals so

far known from contemporary local records.

Page 623 n. (5) E.C.XI Hiriyur 87(1313). (6) E.C.V Arsikere 158(1324). (7) M.A.R.1923, 121(1325). (8) E.C.VII Honnali 117(1319). (9) E.C.IX Bangalore 24(1342). (10) E.C.XI Hiriyur 87(1313) (11) E.C.IX Bangalore 24(1342). (12) E.C.VI Koppa 11(1327). (13) E.C.XI Holalkere 137(1307). (14) M.A.R.1922, para.41(1318). (15) E.C.X Kolar 70(1330). (16) M.A.R.1909-10 para.87(1338). (17) E.C.V Belur 24(1298). (18) E.C.V Arsikere 121(1299). (19) E.C.X Malur 83(1313). (20) E.C.V Hassan 164, 181, 182(1314). (21) EC.XII Chiknayanhalli 26(1314). (22) E.C.V Arsikere 113(1318). (23) E.C. XI Chitaldrug 6(1338). (24) EC.III Malavalli 104(1334).

Page 624 n.(1)E.C.VI Kadur 161(1063);E.C.V Arsikere 194(1083).
 (2) E.C.V Channarayapatna 244(1210).
 (3) E.C.V Arsikere 30(1134).
 (4) E.C.XII Tiptur 14(1137).
 (5) E.C.IX Hoskote 18(1128).
 (6) E.C.VI Kadur 32(1139).
 (7) E.C.IX Dodballapur(1120).
 (8) E.C.IX Nelamangala 67(1117).
 (9) E.C.V Arsikere 17(1139).
 (10) M.A.R.1911-2, para.87(1179).
 (11) E.C.XI Chitaldrug 23(1205).
 (12) E.C.VI Kadur 130(1205).
 (13) E.C.V Hassan 54(1176).
 (14) E.C.VIII Sorab 514-5(1197).

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MAP 'A' THE HOYSALANĀḌ

SCALE: app. 8 1/2 miles to the inch.

The shaded areas represent land wooded at the time of the last ordnance survey.
 The broken line indicates the approximate limits of the kingdom of Virayavittaya, ca. 1047-98.
 The arabic numerals are at the approximate centres of the smaller nāḍs.

MAP D

Scale: 1" = 10 miles

