CHAPTER VIII

Pulakeśi II: (i) A Unique Personality in Administrative History

So far we made a survey of organisation of government and administration in the Chalukya dominions as far as the available material enlightens us on the subject. In this Chapter, it may be worthwhile to describe the life, career and achievements of Pulakeśi II who was a unique and outstanding Personality in the Chalukya dynasty. During his period of rule, administrative organisation of the dominions was placed on a stable and enduring basis. Pulakeśi was not merely a conqueror but an administrator, Statesman and diplomat also. It was he who expanded the dominions and established supremacy over the length and breadth of the kingdom. It was he who exerted much to maintain stability and solidarity in the dominions. He had set before himself and put into practice also the ideals of good kingship, off-proclaimed in the ancient works on polity. Further, he gave large patronage to learning, literature, art and architecture. In short he was the symbol of a united empire in Karnātaka – the first of its kind in size and establishment of supremacy and benevolent rule. Hence there is adequate justification here to describe the life, career and achievements of Pulakeśi. While making this attempt we have made use of the available historical material and in addition to this
a little conjectural matter based on the events also.

It is gratifying to note that among the first founders of the Chalukya empire, Pulakesi I, Puravarma, Kirtivarman and Mangalesha strive hard to maintain peace and security within the dominions which is so essential for good administration. In this direction Pulakesi I was ably assisted by his sons as the future events of the dynasty indicate. However, Puravarman died early and hence Kirtivarman I succeeded to the ancestral dominions and not merely continued the traditions but made the dominions extensive also. Mangalesha as is clear from his dedication of the Vaishnava cave at Badami to the former, gave full cooperation to success of the administration under his brother's rule. That Kirtivarman was having good faith and complete confidence in Mangalesha is also evident from his having breathed his last in peace, placing Mangalesha on the throne. It was only at the end of Mangalesha's reign that he deviated from the ideal path and marred his career. Thus the kings earlier to Pulakesi II had contributed largely to the maintenance of the dominions intact and make the work of their successes a little easy.

(ii) Early Life

Pulakesi was the eldest son of Kirtivarman I. He was born probably in A.D. 587. This point may be
inferred from the fact that Mangalēśā ruled the kingdom for the years commencing from A.D. 595 at which year Pulakēśā must have been a boy of eight years.

The military exploits of Pulakēśā after he assumed kingship along with organisation of a strong military force for defence of the kingdom indicate that he must have received good training in sciences and arts during the lifetime of his father himself and which must have been continued by his uncle Mangalēśā also.

(iii) Name 'Pulakēśā'

Besides the personality who is being described here and bore the name Pulakēśā there was also another king by the same name and who was the founder of the kingdom also. This term Pulakēśā connotes several meanings. According to Dr. Flect, the term means 'tiger-haired'. Monier Williams is of the opinion that the term is equivalent to 'to be great'. Another interpretation is that the term is to be read as 'Pula-kēśin' or Pola-kēśin which means the 'great lion'. Whatever may have been the actual meaning with which it was in use in that period, we may infer that it indicated the heroic traits and martial abilities of the persons bearing the name. As though to conclusively support this inference, we may note here with propriety that one distinctive (and perhaps the only one discovered so far) copper seal of Mangalēśā
from Hooli near Belgau® bears the figure of a tigress with a cub sucking milk. The tigress and the cub are depicted in lively pose. Generally the Chālukya seal is the boar. But the above copper plate and seal has a tigress with a sucking cub which may be explained that the sons of the soil possessed great heroism just as the cub sucking the milk of the tigress-mother would imbibe and exhibit heroic abilities in its later life.

(iv) Struggle for the throne between Mangalesa and Pulakesi

Pulakesi whose name denoted heroism and bravery was destined to face certain adversities after he came of age. These adversities enabled him to exhibit his talents and acquire everlasting renown in the pages of history.

We have already said that Pulakesi must have received very good training and education in the art of warfare, the use of horses and elephants both in his father's lifetime and also the regency of Mangalesa. Mangalesa, who had been entrusted with administration of the kingdom till attainment of proper age by Pulakesi, did rule very beneficially and without a thought of the self, particularly in the early years of his regency. Himself being a warrior of great fame and given to an attitude of ruling the subjects well, he took care that Pulakesi also was trained in the same tradition. It was only at the end of the regency that Mangalesa made an attempt to deprive Pulakesi of his rightful claim to the throne and place his own
younger son as king. This refusal of the throne by Mangalesha was all the more annoying because Pulakesi had to overcome the trouble which broke out in the home-capital. This civil war though a family quarrel in the beginning might have easily created confusion in the several quarters of the dominions giving ample opportunities for the recalcitrant feudatories and other neighbouring enemies to think of proclaiming independence.

As could have happened in the dynamic histories of several kingdoms and empires, the civil war between Mangalesha and Pulakesi must have cost a certain amount of dissension among the officers of the royal household and the nearest feudatories including the general public. A few who were tradition-minded and owing loyalty to the dynasty must have made it a point to support Pulakesi's cause as against the group of self-seekers and opportunities. Perhaps in the beginning of the struggle, Mangalesha made an attempt to get rid of Pulakesi by an easy method of sending him to fight against the kingdom of Kalinga with inadequate military force. But when Pulakesi could come out successful in this war and return to the capital with laurels, he also had to take recourse to other methods of getting rid of his rival. As can be gathered from the Aihole inscription Pulakesi must have become indifferent and thought of going out of the capital city as an exile, thus
leaving Mangalesa alone in the field and serve his own ends. The relevant portion of the Aihole inscription reads that Pulakesi became 'aparuddha carita vyayassya buddhi'.

However, he must have been dissuaded from adopting this line of action by the veteran and loyal host of the Chalukya dynasty and encouraged to overcome the trouble by his valour and strength. As the events of history have proved, in the fighting which ensured, Mangalesa lost his life. His younger son escaped for life. The entire army of Mangalesa surrendered to the victor and once again must have reconciled to the former position of being loyal to the new order of things.

What is worthwhile noting here is that the short interval of the civil strife between Mangalesa and Pulakesi did not shake the foundations of the dominions which had been truly laid by Pulakesi I and consolidated by Kirtivarman I and for some years by Mangalesa as well. The stability of the kingdom was soon maintained after the successful termination of the civil war by Pulakesi. This fact allows for the well-organized administrative machinery and governmental organization of the period before and after the commencement of the civil war and which continued with further reinforcement after assumption of kingship by Pulakesi.
(v) **Accession to the throne**

Pulakesi ascended to the throne in A.D. 609. He styled himself as satyagraha, Maharaja and Paramesvara and subsequently proved himself by his achievements to be the brightest luminary and the most outstanding of the Chalukya kings.

Some writers have described certain details like Ravikirti’s father, Anandvarma—who was said to be the minister of Kirtivarman I. A graphic account of Pulakesi’s wars with Harsha and Pallavas and generals like Pratapavarsha and Santivarsha who participated in many of his wars. All these are not supported by historical evidences and therefore purely imaginary.

(vi) **Military Achievements:**

Having secured the throne Pulakesi sought to subdue the troublesome feudatories and thus consolidate his position. Hiuen-Tsang speaks as follows: "His plans and undertakings are widespread and his beneficent actions are felt over a great distance. His subjects obey him with perfect submission". At the outset he inaugurated his policy of conquest and expansion of dominions by defeating the Mauryas of Konkan, Kadambas and the Gangas. In respect of the Kadambas, it may be pointed out here that they must have been subdued much earlier i.e. in the reign
of Kirtivarman himself. By the time of accession to
throne by Pulakesi, they had still continued to be a power
to reckon with as an all-independent one; therefore Pulakesi
had to defeat them again and bring them under his rule.
It is also likely that they happened to be one of those
powers who tried to take advantage of internal disorder
during the civil war in order to throw off their
allegiance to the Chalukyas. Obviously they did not come
out successful as proved by later events.

As far as the later military exploits of Pulakesi
mentioned in the famous Aihole inscription, we may mark out
three distinct stages. They were first to establish his
claim on the kingdom and secure it by right; second to
subdue the feudatories and consolidate his position and
third to march ahead with wars for expansion of dominions.

Out of the several victorious military campaigns of
Pulakesi, it will be apt here to describe at some length,
his wars with Harivaradhana of Kannauj and the Pallavas.

(A) War with Harivaradhana of Kannauj

Harivaradhana the ruler of Kannauj had the supreme
ambition of becoming the master of Uttara Patha in which
he succeeded. Next he turned his attention to the
conquest of the Deccan. Says Huen Tsang: "At the
present time Siladitya Maharaja has conquered the various
from east to west, carried his arms to remote districts, but the people of this country alone have not submitted to him. He has gathered troops from the five Indies and summoned the best leaders from all countries and himself gone at the head of his army to punish and subdue these people, but he has not yet conquered their troops. The Aihole inscription also gives support to this. The relevant lines read as follows:

"Aparimita vibhutisphita samantaseena
Manivakuṭa Mayukhakranta Padaravindaha"

Although the exact details for the actual battle which took place between them and the mode of fighting etc. are not available, we may surmise that the bone of contention between Harsa and the kings of Madhyadesa was the Gujarat region. When Harsa tried to threaten the Malavas, Lātas, Gurjaras and the Maitrikas of Vallabhi, they all appear to have submitted to Pulakesi. This helpful gesture of the Chalukya king was responsible for the weak position of Harsa. For instance the Gurjara Chief Dādā II gave refuge to the lord of Vallabhi Dhruvaseya II who had been defeated by Harsa. This also accounts for the decisive victory won by Pulakesi over Harsa on the banks of the river Narmada in about A.D. 632.

The actual mode of fighting between Pulakesi and his Northern adversary, Harsavadhana must have been
fought according to the general practices of war which were in vogue in those times. It is also called the Kāta yuddha. Hsiian Ts’ai in his account of Travels informs us that the people of Mahārāṣṭra drove back the invasion of Harśa\textsuperscript{va}rdhāna. However, the army of Pulakesi was not only large numerically but had reinforcements from the territorial headquarters of his sons who were governing the Lata, Satāra and Kurnool regions, who all made a common cause in maintaining the supremacy, very recently established by Pulakesi over the Deccan and styling himself as the master of the Three Mahārāṣṭra\textsuperscript{ka}s.

After the successful war with Harṣa and the latter’s acceptance of the river Narmadā as the southern boundary of his empire, Pulakesi marched towards the east and further south. He defeated the Kosalās and the Kalingās. He reduced the fort of Pīṣṭapura and subsequently attacked the Pallava dominions. The Pallava king Mahendrāvarāṇa I was defeated and he took shelter behind the ramparts of Kāṇchi. Pulakesi next crossed the river Kaveri and entered into friendly relations with the Chōlas, the Kōrāṇas and the Pāndyas in order to keep the Pallavās in an isolated position.

(B) War with the Pallavās:

The causes of Chalukya–Pallava antagonism have been stated already under Chapter IV. Suffice it to say
here that the warfare between Pulakesi and Mahendravarman I took place on a large magnitude. The former obtained the support of the feudatory rulers like the Sindas, Guitas and a few other neighbours. Besides these allies and their regiments of soldiers, the Chalukya army comprised of a large number of elephants the strength and utility of which in warfare has been mentioned elsewhere (Chapter IV). Vyāha and Kuta methods of warfare were known and practised by the belligerents. After a long and protracted war between the two equally well matched powers, Pulakesi won success by the use of his elephant forces. It is evident that Pulakesi did not pursue the war as far as the capital city of Kandri as Mahendravarman sued for place.

In the military campaigns of Pulakesi particularly with his southern enemies we may discern that he had a praiseworthy objective. His great ambition was to establish one united empire with a common administrative set up instead of rule of small areas by petty chiefs and kings in their own fashion. If this ideal could be realised, the entire country and its peoples could live in peace. He was not mainly prompted by considerations of aggression but strove hard to establish a common political organisation in the whole of the Deccan and put an end to the spirit of Vendatta among its rulers. In the achievement of this great ambition, he considered the Pallavas as the main
obstacle in the way. Hence his wars with the Pallavas in which he succeeded at the first instance.

Thus Pulakesi, the grandson of Pulakesi I considerably enhanced the prestige of the house by brilliant victories in the south as well as in the north. He not only subdued the Kadambas, Gangas and but by a naval invasion he captured Puri, the capital of the Mauryas of Konkan. The Latas, Malavas and the Gurjaras bowed before his might. Even Harsha recognised the facility of his southern designs after he came to know the progress and might of Pulakesi. The only one power which could not reconcile with defeat at his hands were the Pallavas who were to cause greater trouble to the Chalukya dominions later on.

vii) Other Achievements
a) As Statesman

Pulakesi was not only a great military genius but also a statesman. His relations with feudatories and administrative functionaries were of a very high order. Feudatory kings, likewise, regarded him with affection than by fear or force. For, Pulakesi adopted a policy of 'non-interference' in internal administration and provided a certain amount of freedom with ultimate control vested in him to be used in times of necessity.
The Kadambas and the Samantas of Konkan enjoyed his confidence and exercised their freedom, almost unrestrained in their territorial units. Thus Pulakesi could endear himself to the people of these areas and win their hearts. Similarly, Pulakesi conquered the Vallabharajya but finally restored the throne to its ruler and treated him with respect and fraternal affection. Pulakesi adopted the same policy of wisdom with regard to the kings of Malava, Gürjara, Lāta, Kalinga and the rest.

Even in his war with the Pallavas, Pulakesi never showed the spirit of spiritual aggression. Though he was supported by the feudatories of Konkan, Rattas, Sindhas and Kadambas who also contributed to numerical strength of his army, Pulakesi was not in favour of mobilisation of the forces immediately. On the other hand, he instructed his allies to be prepared with their armies in their respective territories and provide solid help and support at the proper time. Pulakesi regarded that unity and understanding coupled with loyal efforts in war among the Samantas, was more fundamental.

b) As a diplomat:

Even from his youth, Pulakesi had to face adversities and overcome them. He succeeded in his attempt of overcoming all adversities by his accomplishments. Soon after the civil war with Mangalesa the home province was
subjected to an invasion by two disaffected subordinates? Appayika and Govinda. Pulakesi pushed a policy of bheda and won over Govinda as an ally and thus defeated and drove out Appayika. Pulakesi's farsighted policy is also to be seen in entrusting the eastern dominions after the conquest of Vengi and Pishtapura to his younger brother, Kubja vishnuvardhana. Similarly Pulakesi's diplomatic talents is visible in his successive attempts of making friendship with the Colas, Keralas and Pandyas after defeating the Pallava Mahendravarma I, evidently with a view to reduce Pallava power still further. However, this event did not come about as Pulakesi returned immediately to Vatapi.

c) As an administrator

From the events of the reign of Pulakesi as gleaned from the available material, we may infer that he was a capable administrator. After expansion of the dominions in all directions, he organised the administration of the territorial divisions of his empire and entrusted them to the care of competent and trusted persons. We have already mentioned that the Savantavadi and Kolhapur regions, Kurnool region, Gujarat area and the capital city and its surroundings had been entrusted to Chandraditya, Aditya, Dharasraya Jayasimhavarma and Vikramaditya, respectively.
Further the office and functions of the Mahāsandivigrahī increased to an exalted position which indicates Pulakēśi’s organisation of the foreign affaires department.

Another noteworthy feature of Pulakēśi’s reign was his attempt to consolidate the Chālukya power in the Deccan. In this attempt he was not altogether successful on account of the disturbances caused by warfare with the Pallavas. However, within the dominions, Pulakēśi’s reign was one of peace and there were no internal rebellions.

Hüen-Tsang rightly says, “The benevolent sway of this king (Pulakēśi) reached far and wide and his vassals served him with perfect loyalty”.

d) As a Tolerant King

According to the Lohner (Nasik district) grant of A.D. 630 Pulakēśi is called a Parama bhāgavata i.e. a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu. He was also a tolerant king and viewed all sects and faiths with an equal eye. The construction of the Dīwālaya at Aikele reveals his reverence to Jainism. His patronage to Rāvīkirtī the Jaina poet also adds support to this statement. He received the Buddhist pilgrim Hüen Tsang to his court with all dignity worth the pilgrim.
e) As a Patron of art and architecture and learning

Pulakesi gave encouragement to art and literature also. The Chalukya contribution to cultural greatness and integrity of India is of varied magnitude and character. The Chalukya court patronised the renowned poets of the age of whom Ravi kirti was the greatest. He is extolled in the Aihole inscription as "inspired in poetry by Kalidasa and Bharavi" ("Kavita-arita - Kalidasa - Bharavi Kirttin").

f) As a builder of a great and united empire

Pulakesi was, indisputably, the first Karnatak sovereign to establish an empire south of the Vindhyas and proclaimed himself the sole lord of the entire Deccan and Karnataka country including the Telugu country, since his times the Chalukyas had become a power to be reckoned with by contemporary rulers of India and foreign nations. By his policy of expansion and establishment of supremacy in the Deccan, he has attained an unparalleled and unique place in the history of Karnataka. He has a permanent place in the history of the region and befits the import of the lines of the inscriptions which reads as follows:

Uddhutamala chāmara dhvajasata chhatrandha
Kāraibalaih

Sauryotsaha rasoddhairita mathanaiah
maulabhishhidhaih

Akrantantama balōnmatim balarajasachhhna
kaňhipura

(Pratāpā krodhaih) Pallavañam Patim
(viii) **Relations with Foreign Powers**

The varied achievements of Pulakesi spread his reputation not only throughout India but even in the countries abroad. The Chalukya emperor and the King of Persia, Khusrav II exchanged an embassy. A description of this embassy is to be found in Tabari's History of Persia. The relevant portion of the account reads as follows: "Two years ago the king of India sent to us in the 36th year of our reign, ambassadors carrying a letter imparting to us various news and presents for you and our other sons. He also wrote a letter to each of you and presented – don’t you remember it? – an elephant, a sword, a white [folde] and a piece of gold brocade – when we looked at the presents and the letters, we remarked that yours bore the mark 'Private' on the cover, in the Indian language. Then we ordered that the presents and other letters should be delivered to each of you, but we kept back your letter on account of the remark written on the outside. We then sent for the Indian scribe, had the seal broken and the letter read. The contents were "Rejoice and then be good cheer, for on the day of Dai ba Adhan of the 38th year of the reign of Khusrav, thou wilt will be crowned king and be the ruler of the whole empire – Signed Ernesba."
Khursu II in defending himself from the charges of his son Shiriyoh says that in his 36th year - A.D. 627, the king of India, Pramesha sent an embassy to the Court of Persia. This king assured the rebellious son that after 2 years he would ascend the throne of Persia.

Pramesha was taken to mean Pulakesi by Holdeke. It evidently stands for Parameshara, an imperial title won by Pulakesi. A fresco at Ajanta represents a scene of the Persian Ambassador paying homage to an Indian king. The manner in which Pulakesi put his hands into the problem of the royal household in Persia and how he was able to successfully bring it to a happy end clearly shows the amount of respect and regard Khursu had towards Pulakesi and proves the latter's international reputation.

(ix) Last years of Pulakesi

After Pulakesi returned from Kanchi obtaining victory over the Pallava king Mahendravarman I, he found a little time to attend to organisation of routine administration. But the Pallavas viewed with jealous eyes the rise of Pulakesi to supremacy over the Deccan. They also desired to invade the Chalukya kingdom in retaliation of the first victory gained by Pulakesi.

The last years of Pulakesi therefore were unhappy. He appears to have taken ill and entrusted the work of
administration to Vikramaditya, his youngest son. Probably after he recovered from the illness, he received the envoy from Persian and also the Chinese pilgrim, Huen Tsang to his capital. Further he also caused the construction of a Jain temple at Aihole where a great festival was held to celebrate the construction of the Jain temple which was endowed with grants and donations. The Aihole Prasasti was also composed by Navigirthi during this period.

What exactly happened after the above events and whether Pulakesi's first three sons were still ruling their territories as before or they were not aligned have been shrouded with mystery. Materials are very scanty to enlighten us on these points.

Any way the circumstances in which the Chalukya power were situated in the last years of Pulakesi gave an opportunity to the Pallavas to invade the dominions. The view taken by some that Aditya and Chandraditya, the sons of Pulakesi gathered their armies to invade their parental dominions and replace Vikramaditya's authority is also not supported by historical evidence. Sheer ignorance of what happened before these brothers makes us still more confounded. The Pallava king now invading the Chalukya dominions was no doubt Harasimhavarman I, son of Mahendravarman I. His army was well-organised and commanded by an efficient leader, Sirochanda. It is doubtful whether Vikramaditya
was in the capital city of Badami at the time of the Pallava invasion because the Pallavas could win an easy victory and take Badami, the capital. We do not come across the initial fighting between Vikramaditya and the Pallava forces and therefore the former must have been busy elsewhere to mobilize strength of his army or subdue rebellious feudatories. It was only after sometime that Vikramaditya encountered the Pallava forces, after they had taken possession of the fort of Badami and in order to drive them out and also to recover his ancestral dominions from the Pallava menace. However, Narasimhavarman took the title Vatapi Kondan, as is clear from his inscription at Badami, put to sword a number of soldiers, plundered and destroyed the city. Probably Pulakeśi had breathed his last before this devastation could take place. His year of death may be 642 A.D.

The Chalukya power however did not sink soon after Pulakeśi's death. A short interval of 13 years ensured after which the curtain rises again on the political scene with Vikramaditya as king of the ancestral dominions, recovered by him, by bravey and hard labour.
Mocession of Vikramaditya I and Restoration of Chalukya Power

Prof. K.A.N. Sastry has made an appraising comment on the work of Pulakesi II. He says "...But his work had been so well done that the Empire he had built up survived even his fall and the civil strife that followed and once more, under his son Vikramaditya, avenged itself on the enemy who had cut short the career of Pulakesi II while it was still at its apogee."

The Chalukya kingdom was once again in a state of confusion until Vikramaditya restored order and unity. The opinion that in this task of establishing the kingdom once again on orderly basis, Vikramaditya was assisted by the Ganga king Durvinita has been found untenable on the standard of chronology. The loyalty of the Ganga house towards all the vicissitudes of the Chalukya kingdom is an admissible point of asset which is beyond dispute.

Vikramaditya was well fitted to the task of restoring the kingdom on proper lines. He first took care to restore confidence in the army and country and repaid the damage that had taken its civil institutions. He has gained a permanent place in the Chalukya history by re-establishing the former arrangement and by his own orders all chartes and gifts to temples etc.
order that he brought into function appeared as though nothing had happened a few years ago. He also recovered the position of Parasurama, revived the fortunes of the house, led a policy of reconquest and expansion against hostile kings and handed over to his son, a kingdom with reasonable extent of tranquility, prosperity and fair name.

(xi) Character of Pulakesi

Pulakesi was noted for bravery and patriotism. He led invasions to strengthen his kingdom in the early period of his rule and later he won the hearts of the people. The Aihole inscriptions of Ravi Kirti bear ample testimony to his military prowess. It was he who conquered several kings - Kadamba, Konkan and Lata and others. He had a great ambition to establish supremacy over Deccan and to unite all the small states into one political unit. This was the object of his scheme of expansion. He also befriended those whom he conquered - for instance, the Mauryas, and the Kadambas. He also possessed a fleet of ships which was stationed at the Island of Kavathii, after its conquest. From the 3rd century B.C. the Kannada speaking country existed as an independent entity. But the consciousness of its territorial unit and political power had not fully asserted itself for some
time in the early period. Different parts like Kuntala, Karnataka, Punnala, Vanavasi, Mahishamandala and Konkana were closely knit together for the first time under the Chalukyanas of Badami who named the extensive territorial unit as Karmataka, though the regional terms continued to be in use. "This constituted the core and home tract of the Chalukyanas in view of the large extent of this United Province, it was sometimes designated Maharashtra. Incidentally it may be observed that the name Karmata has been sanskritized from the original 'Kanada' expression having 'Nadu', meaning 'Country as its nucleus'. Although there have been controversial discussions on the Maharashtra Traya Theory, it cannot be disputed that the empire under Pulakeshi II had extended far and wide to constitute "a vast empire."

Pulakeshi was affectionate towards his brother Vishnudhara and Jayasimha. This is indicated by the division of the empire into provinces and entrusting his brothers to rule Vangimandala and Gujarat, respectively. Similarly his love towards his sons and loyal ministers and servants of state deserves appreciation. His reverence to Vakikritti and perhaps to a Buddhist Tathagatha is unparalleled. His affection to his queen and daughters-in-law is admirable.
Pulakēśī possessed self-respect, to an exulted degree. It is this virtue that perhaps made him think of unity among his sons Chandradithya and Adityavrm and appointed his youngest son to be his successor.

Pulakēśī was quick and firm in taking decisions which he did not change frequently.

He also possessed a stern heart but it was softened by the "milk of human kindness", as we can learn from his magnanimous treatment of cowards, and other disloyal persons.

He gave encouragement to Buddhist and Jaina sects, and treated them equally. His large endowments to temples, mutta, sangharasas, chaithyas, basadias at the time of his accession, and during his reign have served as living monuments to his spirit of toleration. He is said to have built a Sangharaasa to a Bodhisatva as is mentioned in the Ayshele record, on which depends his name and fame. Bedēmi is full of Buddhist and Jaina caves and temples.

Dr. Fleet remarks that Pulakeshi was "the most powerful and illustrious of the early kings". According to modern scholars like Dr. Sircar, "Pulakeshi VII was
undoubtedly the greatest of the Chalukya house of Badami and one of the greatest monarchs of ancient India.\footnote{11}

Pulakesi is regarded as the founder of the first largest empire in Karnataka.

Epigraphical evidence is adequately available to speak of the greatness of this monarch. "While he Satyashraya, possessed of energy and regal power and good council - having conquered all the regions and having dismissed with honour the subjugated, kings and having propitiated the gods and the Brahmanas.... City\footnote{12}.

"His commands were restrained only by the limits of the three oceans "i.e., who was the king of the whole country founded by the Eastern, the Western and the Southern Oceans."\footnote{13}

Commenting on the success of Pulakesi over Harshavarman of Northern India, \textsuperscript{\textcopyright}K. \textsuperscript{\textcopyright}Meekerji says that "the military success of Pulakesi was due to the character of his people and his administration........." This observation shows how Pulakesi had established a benevolent administration in his dominions.\footnote{14}
(xi) Personal Appearance of Pulakeshi

We do not mention about Pulakeshi's personal appearance. However, from the available fresco painting at Ajanta we may discern that Pulakeshi must have been a tall dignified person, with sturdy shoulders, broad chest and a brilliant face. His royal dress indicated valour and evinced respect and awe. He appears to have possessed an imposing and commanding personality.

(xii) Hiuen Tsang's Account of Pulakeshi's Dominions and his people

Hiuen Tsang calls Pulakeshi's Dominion 'Mo-Ra-La-Cha', (Mahārāṣṭra) and describes the people in the following words: "The inhabitants were proud spirited and warlike, grateful for favours and revengeful for wrongs, self-sacrificing towards suppliants in distress and sanquinary to death with any who treated them insoltingly. Their martial heroes who led the Van of the army in battle went into conflict intoxicated and their war elephants were also made drunk before an engagement. Relying on the strength of his heroes and elephants the king treated the neighbouring countries with contempt. He was a Vashtriva by birth and his name was 'Pu-Lo-Ki-shi Pulakesa.'"
The benevolent way of this king reached far and wide and his vassals served him with perfect loyalty. The great king Siladitya at this time was invading east and west, and countries far and near were giving in allegiance to him. But Ne-Ha-La-Cha refused to become subject to him...."The people were fond of learning and they combined orthodoxy and heterodoxy. Of Buddhist Monasteries there were above 100 and the Brothers, who were adherents of both vehicles, were more than 5000 in number. Within and outside the capital were 5 Araka Topes where the Four Past Buddhas had sat and worked for exercise and there were innumerable other topes of stone or brick.

Not far from the south of the capital was an old monastery in which a stone image of Kuan-Tsu-Tsai P'usa of marvellous efficacy. In the east of this country was mountain range, ridges one above another in succession, tiers of peaks and sheer summits. Here was a monastery the base of which was in a dark defile and its lofty halls and deep chambers were quarrried in the cliff and rested on the peak, in tiers of halls and staircased terraces had the cliff on their back and failed the ravine. This monastery had been built by the 4-Che-Lo Achara of West India. The pilgrim then relates the circumstances in Acharas life which led to the building of the monastery. Within the establishment he adds, was a large temple above 100 feet high in which was a stone
image of the Buddha above 70 feet high, in the image was
surmounted by tier of 7 canopies unaffected and unsupported,
each canopy separated from the one above it by the space
of three feet. The halls of this temple had depicted on
them the incidents of the Buddha's career as Bodhisatva
including the circumstances of his attaining Bodhi and the
Omens attending his final Passing away, all Great and
Small were here delineated. Outside the gate of the
monastery on either side north and south, was a stone
elephant and the pilgrim was informed that the bellowing
of these elephants caused earthquakes. The pusas (Pusa
Channa or Dinnaya stayed much in this monastery 15.

Although some scholars think that Hsien-Issang wrote
the above account from hearing reports, the very wording
of the account itself does not make one conclude that
the pilgrim heard reports and wrote. He learnt the
history and appreciated the Marvels from a personal visit
of the spots.

BEAL in his Life of Hsien-Issang describes the
country in the following manner: "From this (Kongkanapura)
going north-west we pass through a great forest which is
infested with savage animals and desert, after 2400 or
2500 li we come to the kingdom of Maharashtra. The
people of this country highly esteem right conduct.
The king is of the Kshatriya caste. He is fond of military affairs and boasts of his arms. In this country therefore the troops and cavalry are carefully equipped and the rules of warfare thoroughly understood and observed. Whenever a general is despatched on a warlike expedition, although he is defeated and his army destroyed he is not himself subjected to bodily punishment, only he has to exchange his soldier's dress for that of a woman, much to his shame and shame. So many times, those men put themselves to death to avoid such disgrace. The king always supports several thousands of men of valour and several hundred savage elephants. When these are drawn up in battle among them they give them intoxicating spirits to drink, till they are overpowered with it—and then at a given signal, when in this condition they excite them to rush against the enemy. His foes are thus without fail put to flight. Relying on these advantages he holds in contempt all the frontier powers that contend with him for the mastery.

Siladitya Rāja, boasting of his skill and the inevitable success of his generals, filled with confidence himself, marched at the head of his troops to contend with this prince—but he was unable to prevail or to subjugate him.
There are about 100 Sanghrasas here and 5000 Priests who belong to the Great and Little vehicle promiscuously. There are also followers of the heretics who worship the Devas and cover themselves with ashes.

Within and outside the capital there are five stupas, all of them several hundred feet (height). These were built by Asoka raja as monuments of the places where the four past Buddhas had walked to and fro.\textsuperscript{16}
REFERENCES AND NOTES

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2. E.I.A. v; 206.
3. Ibid, 206.
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9. E.H.D.
10. Dynastics.
11. The classical Age, iii; 241.
12. I.A. vi.
13. Ibid.