CHAPTER IV

INTER STATE RELATIONS AND MILITARY ORGANISATION

Section II (i) Inter-State Relations in War

After making a survey of the government and its organisation in the dominions of the Chālukyas of Badami, we may describe inter-state relations as far as the available material provides information. Inter-state relations of the Chālukyas may be divided into two parts - inter-state relations in war and the same in times of peace.

We have already indicated in Chapter III how the small kingdom of Pulakasī I expanded into a large one in later period comprising many territorial states. Most of the states included parts of the earlier dynasties like those of the Kedāmbas and the Ganges. The status and prestige of the different states differed according to their resource and attitude of their rulers. As far as the central government was concerned it is worthwhile to point out that the Chālukya kings performed the Āsavaṃḍha sacrifice to become the king of kings and also the Vājasāya sacrifice to become an emperor. Such an ambitious policy on the part of some of the Chālukya kings who wished to become a Viśvikarma had the sanction of principles of policy as adumbrated in the smritis and
Arthasastra of Kautilya. These books on Hindu policy also point out that the kings of ancient times were prevented to a large extent to make unrighteous war. They were exhorted by the sanctions of the same authorities to minimise war and bring about a harmonious relation within the states and follow a judicious balance of power among the different states comprising the dominions. The policy of annihilation of weaker states resulted in the practice of placing a prince of the royal family of the defeated family itself who accepts to carry on the government in the name of the conqueror. Thus the dominions of the Chalukyas like those of the Satavahanas or the Rastrakutas had a large number of feudatories who enjoyed a good deal of autonomy.

A very common practice therefore among the kings of ancient times in building an empire of their own was that of 'digvijaya'. By the victorious campaign the king would become the head of the Mandala or Chakra or circle of kings and by virtue of the supreme position he would become a paramount power. This practice of kings is implied in the famous Agamasadala theory. Writers on Hindu policy, particularly, Kautilya give support to adoption of such a policy by an aspirant and brave prince and exhorts him to follow a policy of digvijaya in order to weld the small kingdoms into one big and strong empire.
According to the Rajamandala theory, it is assumed that the country is divided into a number of small states and that there will be an ambitious conqueror to set up supremacy over them. The immediate neighbouring state is assumed to be enemical in nature. The state which is the neighbour of one's neighbour is taken as a friendly ally. Next to the enemy (sri) and ally (mitra) are the following prominent elements of the Mandala viz., enemy's ally (arimitra), one's ally's ally (mitra mitra) and enemy's ally's ally (arimitra mitra). The number of kings in the front are five.

The kings in the rear are named differently. The immediate neighbour in the rear is known as one who attacks in the rear (Farâni graha). Next to him are the ally in the rear (âkranda), ally of the rearward enemy (Farâni graha Sara) and ally of the rearward ally (âkranda Sara). The number of kings in the rear is four.

The king who had affinity with the conqueror and his enemy or indifferent is called madhyama. A king with similar strength but having no affinity to the conqueror, his enemy or madhyama was called udasina. The twelfth member of the Mandala was the Vijigisha. According to circumstances and practical needs of the times, this theory was not strictly applied in all cases by all kings. However, the general truth about circle of friends...
associated with enemies and party alignments held good and this can be explained in relation to the military expeditions and diplomatic relations of the Chalukyas of Badami with their neighbouring states.

The theory assumes the probable animosity between the neighbours. The enmity between the Chalukyas of Badami and the Pallavas of Kanchi was, therefore, largely due to their contiguity. The five kings (elements) constituting the Mandala in front may approximately be specified as follows:

Ari. = Pallavas (front) (immediate neighbour)
Nitra. = The Gangas (neighbour of one's neighbour)
Arimitra. = The Cholas (Enemy's ally)
Nitra mitra = Kadambas for some time and Alupas (one's ally's ally)
Arimitra mitra = The Pandyas and the Keselas (Enemy's ally's ally)

(ii) General Causes for war and rules followed in warfare

To put it in general terms, the usual causes for war among states were —
1. the aspiration to obtain the imperial status,
2. Need for self-defence,
3. Acquisition of territories or collection of tributes,
4. Maintenance of balance of power,
5. Retaliation for invasions, and
6. Rescue of subject peoples.
War among states was inevitable due to one or more of the causes mentioned above. Therefore, writers on ancient polity prescribed a high code of honour on the battle-field to minimise evils of war. It is not easy to say that all the rules were being observed in warfare. However, as long as the opposing states were equally matched, and annexation did not follow the date of, the code of conduct was observed to a great degree. A few of them may be mentioned here. For instance, that the enemy should not be struck without due notice or when he is not properly armed and ready or when he is at a disadvantage. Another point worth mentioning is that warfare also did not cause ruin to agricultural operation/unmolested. Hiuen Tsang was very much surprised by the fact that wars though frequent produced little harm to the country.

If annexations of the defeated country were absent the rules of warfare were followed as a general practice. Otherwise unfair methods were used to build an empire by taking over the territories belonging to the defeated state. According to Kantipura if a state has immense superiority over its enemy it should follow the codes of a dharma yuddha; otherwise it should have recourse to all methods of warfare, fair or foul.
Normally while making annexations, a method of warfare known as Kuta yuddha was followed. This type of warfare allowed attack at any time and under all circumstances. A large number of inscriptions which are slightly later than those of the western Chalukyas refer to the practice of Kuta yuddha at the time.

Even Kuta yuddha had the basis of certain principles. For instance "it was laid down that one who laid down arms and threw himself on the mercy of the conqueror was not to be killed, so also one who was wounded or flying away from battle field. Prisoners of war, if wounded, were to be treated by the army doctors."

(iii) Rules or a code of conduct prescribed by Writers on Polity for a digvijayin.

A digvijayin had also a few ideals set before him. He marched at the head of his forces and acted in a fair and chivalrous spirit. He respected the captives and non-combatants. He conquered all other kings of the country. The purpose of his conquest was to add to his own glory and also to obtain the spiritual merit which was associated with righteous wars. He received the loyalty and the tribute of the kings whom he conquered. The kings remained in their respective kingdoms but accepted the digvijayin as their overlord. If the conquered princes had any disputes among themselves the
digvijin played the role of an arbitrator. The Princes accepted the decision given by him. The Princes paid tribute and held their territories for themselves as long as they ruled justly and loyally. A far reaching result of the ideal practices of the digvijin in Hindu India, would be that the several states would be unified under the rule of a strong and capable ruler. In the words of a great writer on Hindu Polity, "Perhaps translated into twentieth century democratic terms, the ideal of Hindu India would be a federation of internally independent states."4

Besides the purpose of establishing supremacy over a circle of kings and undertaking military campaigns another need for maintenance of an efficient fighting force was belligerency. It is apt here to quote Pr.4.V. Mahalingas who observes that "Belligerancy was considered a sign of vigour and possession of military qualities contributed much for survival, for war was a stimulant and regenerator. Hence most States from the earlier times paid much attention to military organisation and developed war-mindedness."5 For instance the wars between Chālukyas of Bādāmi and Pallavas of Kāñchi were due among other reasons to their desire to get and retain possession of the debated frontier.
Further, the Chalukya dominions in the 7th and 8th centuries could never be in a state of everlasting tranquillity and separation. It was obliged to have contact with the neighbours and also to strengthen its frontiers. Consequently they had maintained a large and powerful army. "Realising the importance of military strength for the internal peace and prosperity of the state as well as immunity from foreign attack, the early Chalukyas built up a strong reserve of disciplined standing army known as "Karnataka bala", a term which is referred to in the Rastrakuta inscriptions who later supplanted the Chalukyas. Damnidurka is stated to have quickly overcome the boundless army of Karnataka i.e. the army of Kirtivarman II. The Chalukya troops - "Countless and invincible" - were largely responsible for the maintenance of the Empire for over 3 centuries and also to bring under control, recalcitrant feudatory vassals. It also helped the kings to achieve brilliant military successes. The efficiency and nature of the military organisation came to be a synonym for power, supremacy and military valour. The name 'Karnata' thus stood as it were for competence of the military forces, maintained by the Chalukya kings.

Wars with the Pallavas were inevitable, it is obvious from the Chalukya inscriptions that warlike
operations were not infrequent between these two powers with results alternately in favour of them - an invasion of the Pallava king in the reign of Pulakesi II had a counter invasion of the Pallava dominions by the Chalukyas. The Pallavas were the sworn enemies of the Chalukyas. An inscription of Vikramaditya's son describes how determined he was to destroy the Pallavas "who had darkened the splendour of his lineage". That Vikramaditya is said to have even more praised as a member of the Chalukya family and the destroyer of the Pallava lineage is evidenced by the Gadval plates of Vikramaditya I. The Pattadakal inscription of Kirtivarman II describes Vijayaditya's son "as having bruised the town of Kāśi", Possession of the disputed frontier was the primary cause for war. This is clear from the Pullalore battle described in the Kasakudi plates. Therefore the kings had to pay much attention to military organisation and the people also developed military qualities and an aptitude for war. Soldierly qualities were considered essential for survival. By force of circumstances, therefore, the Chalukyas of Badami were compelled to maintain a large and powerful army and utilise the army in times of defence and protection. For the purpose of indicating army discipline and also existence of a Code of fighting in these days, it may be proper here to quote Hiuen-Tsang, the Chinese Pilgrim.
(iv) Soldierly Virtues of the People:

Hsiuen-Tsang gives the following description of the people. "Their manners are simple and honest. They are tall, haughty and supercilious in character, whoever does them service may count on their gratitude but he who offends them will not escape their revenge. If any one insults them they will not risk their lives to wipe out the affront. If one applies to them in difficulty, they will forget to care for themselves in order to flee to his assistance. When they have an injury to avenge, they never fail to give warning to their enemy after which each dons his cuirass and grasps his spear in his hand. In battle, they pursue the fugitives, but do not slay those who give themselves up. When a general has lost a battle instead of punishing corporally, they make him wear woman's clothes and by that force him to sacrifice his own life". "The country provides for a band of champions to the number of several hundreds. Each time they are about to engage in conflict, they intoxicate themselves with wine and with one man with lance in hand will meet ten thousand and challenge them to fight. If one of these champions meets a man and kills him, the laws of the country do not punish him. Every time they go forth, they beat drums before them. Moreover, they inebriate many hundred heads of elephants and taking them out to fight, they themselves first drink their wine and
with one man with lance in hand will meet ten thousand and challenge them to fight. If one of these champions meets a man and kills him, the laws of the country do not punish him. Every time they go forth, they beat drums before them. Moreover, they instriate many hundred heads of elephants and taking them out to fight, they themselves first drink their wing and then rushing forward in mass, they trample everything down, so that no enemy can stand before them. The king in consequence of his possessing these men and elephants treats his neighbours with contempt.\textsuperscript{10}

A general belief among the people was, namely, to fight for protection, defence and independence of the Kingdom. The ideal was, if they fought to the last and succeeded in protecting the kingdom they would be rewarded with the kingdom itself, or the reward of Rajyalakshmi; if they die on the field of battle, they would win a place in heaven or 'Veera Swarga'. In honour of the mortals, stone slabs or 'Virkals' used to be erected. They deserve a mention here, although there are only a few instances. For instance the Nellur inscription at Darsi of the reign of Vikramaditya I, is engraved on the hero stone on which the hero is represented as holding a dagger. Evidently, the hero stone was erected in memory as a monument of his bravery. The speciality of this hero stone is that
the hero is wearing the 'Yagnopaveeta'.

Similarly, the words of a Valiant Person whose inscription is available at Badami may be cited here to prove soldiering virtues of the people. One Kappe Arabhatta used to say that 'Death is Preferable in infamy because it causes pain for a while but disgrace adds pain every day'.

The spirit of the people in warfare was, therefore, similar to that referred to in the 'Arthasastra' - i.e. slaying without delay openly or immediately or indirectly the wicked subjects or Guahtas, giving an open fight, particularly, when the king was powerful and had an advantage of time and place or a treacherous flight when circumstances were not favourable, were observed as the general methods of warfare.

The purpose, art and nature of warfare thus satisfied sanctions of the then prevailing Codes of Warfare. According to Kautilya, who quotes Ushanas 'The Earth swallows these two namely — a king who does not oppose an enemy and a Brahmin who does not travel about, like a snare swallowing the animals living in holes.' Hence wars were inevitable and the required preparations for wars had become obligatory.
ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE CHALUKYA ARMY HELPFUL FOR A SUCCESSFUL FOREIGN POLICY

Inscriptions of the Chalukyas are replete with graphic descriptions of the achievements of the mighty Chalukya army, on which depended very much the foreign policy of the Chalukya kings. The stone tablet in Neguti temple at Aihole of an uncertain date says of Jaysimha Vallabha that he showed bravery in warfare in which "the bewildered horses and footsoldiers and elephants were filled by the blows of many hundred of weapons and in which there flashed thousands of rays of the rhinoceros hide armour," and the rays of the swords of dancing and fear-inspiring headless trunks". It describes further that "with his armies which were darkened by the spotless showers and hundreds of banners and umbrellas that were waved over them and which annoyed his enemies who were inflated with valour and energy and which consisted of the six fold constituents of hereditary followers."12

The prowess of Kirtivarman is described in the Aihole inscription of Pulakesi II. The relevant portion of the record says that he was the 'night of death to the 'Gajas and Maurays and Kadasbas'; straightway the mighty Kadamba tree which was the confederacy of the Kadambas was broken to pieces by him, the mighty one, a very choice elephant
of a king who had acquired the goddess of victory by his prowess in war.\textsuperscript{14}

Although inscriptions speak of the bravery of kings in conventional phraseology, the basic truth contained in the records cannot be denied. The swords are described as "pointillating torches."\textsuperscript{15} Again another inscription refers to "the glancing, lightening of their banners."

Further the Megati (No.XIII V. 8.) inscription states that after Kirtivarman I's conquest of the Katachuri and Revati-dvira, "his mighty army which abounded in splendid banners and which had beset the ramparts—being reflected in the water of the ocean—was as if it were the army of Varuna that had come at its command\textsuperscript{16}.

The military campaigns of the Chalukya king (Kirtivarman I) resulted in the subjection of the Latas, the Malavas and the Gurjaras. "Being subdued by his prowess the Latas and the Malavas and the Gurjaras became as it were worthy people behaving like Chieftains brought under subjection by punishment.\textsuperscript{17}

Further, Pulakesi IV is said to have acquired the sovereignty of the three countries called Mahrasthaka which contained 990000 villages. Kalingas and Keralas were also conquered and the fortress of Pista.pura became easy of access.
The effect of the campaign of Pulakēsi II on the Pallavas was gloomy when he made a war against them. The inscription describes that the water which was stirred up by him having its interstices filled by his dense troops of elephants and being coloured with the blood of the men, who were slain in many battles was like the sky which has the hues of evening much intensified by the Sun among the clouds. With his armies which were darkened by the spotless chowries that were waved over them and hundreds of banners and umbrellas and which annoyed his enemies who were inflated with valour and energy and which consisted of the six constituents of hereditary followers. He caused the leader of the Pallavas who aimed at the eminence of his own power to hide his prowess behind the ramparts of the City of Kānchipūra, which was concealed under the dust of his army. 18

He subdued the Cholas, the Keralas and the Pandyas and became a very Sun to (melt) the hoar frost which was the army of the Pallavas. 19

"Pulakēsi II (Satyaśraya) possessed of energy and regal power and good counsel having conquered the neighbouring countries and having dismissed with honour the (Subjugated) kings and having propitiated the Gods and Brahmans and having entered the City of Vātāpi Nāgari
was governing the whole world, which is girt about by a mast".

Then he (Pulakēśi) subdued the Kalinjas and the Keralas and took the fort of Fishtapura. That the waters of the Kellera lake turned red by the blood of the soldiers who were killed by Pulakeśi II is evidenced by the Aihele inscription. 20

"Ravaged by his the waters of Kunala (kellera lake)—coloured with the blood of men killed with many weapons and the land within it overspread with arrays of accoutered elephants—was like the cloud—covered sky in which the red evening twilight has risen." 21 With his six fold forces (Shadvadabas) the hereditary troops and the rest who raised spotless showers, thousands of flags, umbrellas and darkness (darkness) raised by dust of troops) and who churned the enemy elated with the sentiments of heroism and energy he caused the splendour of the lord of the Pallavas, who had opposed the rise of his power to be obscured by the dust of his army and to vanish behind the walls of Kañchipura".

When the army of Pulakeśii went for the conquest of the Cholas, the waters of the Kāveri 'became fragrant with the rutting juice of their elephants'; 22 his army which conquered the Cholas, Kunalas and Pandyas is
discribed in the inscriptions as "the betrayed Sun to the
hear-front — the army of the Pallavas".

When Pulekṣiš II undertook the southern expedition
he besieged vanavāsī his army is spoken of as though
'covering the earth with the great' mea' of his army to
the looker on seemed at once converted into a fortress in
the water. After the subjugation of the Lalas, Malayas
and Gurjaras the "feudatories subdued by force learnt how
to behave. While warring against Harsha Pulekṣiš II
looked" almost equal to Indra and possessed 3 of his
Saktis—powers of mastery, good counsel and energy. "He
by means of all the three powers, gathered by him accord-
ing to rules and by his noble birth and other excellent
qualities acquired the sovereignty over the three
Mahārāṣṭrakas with their nine and ninety thousand
villages."23

That Pulekṣiš II acquired the title of Pareśvara
or 'Supreme Lord' is mentioned in the Haidareshad copper
plate. The Gadval plates (line 6) of Vikramaditya I also
refers to the surname Pareśvara of Pulekṣiš II.

Incidentally, we may attempt here a discussion of
the title 'Pareśvara' one of the distinguished titles
of Pulekṣiš II.

In about 632 A.D. Pulekṣiš repelled effectively 'the
attack on his dominions led in person by Harṣa, the lord
Paramount of the north who aspired to the sovereignty of all India. Pulakesi's triumph is described thus: Pulakesi II, the greatest of the Chalukya dynasty, vied with Harsa in the extent of his conquests and had raised himself to the rank of lord paramount of the south as Harsa was of the north. The northern king, who could not willingly endure the existence of so powerful a rival, essayed to overturned him, advancing in person to the attack with 'troops from the fife Indias and the best generals from all countries'. But the effort failed. The king of the Deccan guarded the passes on the Narmada so effectively that Harsa was constrained to retire dishonored and to accept the river as his frontier. It is in connection with this victory that Pulakesi obtained over Harsa that the term is associated with the highest title of Parmeśvara. The relevant portion reads as follows: Sahaśettara Pantheśvara śīri Harsavarāhau parajayopattā paraśeśvara sābdah satyājaraya Śri Prithvivallabha.

Before we could discuss whether the title Parmeśvara was obtained by Pulakesi after his defeat of Harsa or even before, it is worthwhile to point out that the event (i.e. defeating Harsa) was acclaimed as the greatest feat of the valour and the military skill of an emperor of Karnāṭaka, leading a Karnāṭaka army. According to a copper plate of Sanangād of 754 A.D. the Kannada army is praised as capable of Vanguishing Harsa as well as other kings of the south
and Dantidurga of the Rastrakuta dynasty is said to have defeated such a formidable army, invincible as it was.

That this copper plate mentioned above praises Dantidurga who defeated Kirtivarma II the last of the early Chalukyas in A.D. 756 does not detract from the merit of the former Karnata army of 620 A.D. This reference throws a reflection, if at all, on the later Chalukya army which had either deteriorated and therefore, failed to maintain the very high military traditions of the time of Pulakesi II or could not cope with the stronger forces of Dantidurga, which also was Karnata, being the army of the Rastrakutas.

In the Aihole inscription of A.D. 634 Pulakesi's II's exploits have been praised thus:

Aparimala - Vibhuti - spiti - samanta - sena
makuta - maani - mayukhakranta - padaravinda
sudhi Patita - gaja (je) ndr - an ika - vi (bi)
bhata - bhuta
bhaya - vigalita - harsho yena ch = akari Harshah

After pointing out the importance of the military organisation of Pulakesi II, in the foregoing lines, let us comment on the assumption of the title 'Parameswara' by Pulakesi II. The relevant portion of the Aihole inscription reads as follows:

"Samarasaasakta sakalottara pathesvara
Sri Harshavardhana parâ Jayopalaabhadha
Parameswara Parnamadhayah"
Reference to the title as having been received by Pulakesi is made in the Hyderabad grant of Pulakesi II. According to this inscription Pulakesi acquired the secondary name Paramesvara "by defeating hostile kings who had applied themselves to the contest of a hundred battles". But the records of Pulakesi's successors say that he obtained the title "by defeating the glorious Harsa—Vardhana, the warlike lord of all the region of the north". Pulakesi II ascended the throne in A.D. 610-11. Harsa's date of accession is A.D. 606. Considering the gravity of the problems within the kingdom in the commencement of his reign, Pulakesi II went against Harsa, after defeating all his foes in the Deccan. This is also true of Harsa who turned his attention towards conquest of the Deccan after all his wars in Aryavarta were over. It is a point of interest to note here that the Aihole inscription which incidentally describes all the military exploits of Pulakesi does not make mention of the title 'Paramesvara' as having been obtained by Pulakesi II, after his victory over Harsa. In fact the context in this record is most appropriate to mention the title. Therefore Pulakesi II assumed the imperial title of Paramesvara after establishing peace within the kingdom and restoring Chalukya sovereignty in the territories of the neighbours. Subsequently the significance of the title was incorporated after his
victory over Paramēśvara "ārāvavardhana. It is known that the victory over Harsha must have been earlier than "... 634–35 the date of the whole inscription and also after 630 the date of Lohner Grant of Pulakesi II. Dr. C. K. Meeker says that 'Pulakesi II obtained 'Paramēśvara' as a second title.'

We may now continue the achievements of the Chālukya army after the reign of Pulakesi II. The Tālsamandhi plates of Vikramāditya I also alludes to the title 'Paramēśvara' associated with Pulakesi II. It says that the 'Dear son of Satyāśraya, Ātri Prithvī- vallabha, Maharajādhirāja, Paramēśvara (who) acquired the surname of 'Supreme Lord' (Paramēśvara) by defeating the glorious "ārāvavardhana the lord of Northern Country who had encountered (him in battle). Further the inscription speaks of the prowess of Vikramāditya.'

Lines 11 refer to Vikramāditya, 'who at the head of many famous battles (assisted) by none but (his) noble steed named Chitrakānta and by the edge of (his) glittering, spotless and sharp sword which behaved like a tongue in licking the blood of hostile kings, conquered the world by conquests of his own armies which resembled the coils of the serpent who carries the burden of the earth; into whose own armour many blows had plunged, who having gained for himself the royalty of his father which had been conceded by the triad of kings caused the burden of the whole kingdom to be governed by (himself alone)."
after he had recovered at the head of battles the royalty belonging to his family from the hostile kings of every quarter and after he had acquired the title of—'upreme Lord' (Paramāśvara). The Ādval plates of Vikrama-ditya also describe him as a member of the Chāluṭya family and the destroyer of the Pallava lineage."

A copper plate grant of Vikrama-ditya describes him as one who was "borne by one horse of the breed called Chitrakaṁtha (speckled-throated) and having with his arm that was like the coils of the serpent who sustains the burden of the earth conquered those who were desirous of conquering him—though many blows fell upon his armour acquired for himself with his pure and sharp cruel sword that was imbuated by the elixir which consisted of tasting the blood of the honourable kings in the front of the ranks of many battles, the royalty of his father which had been interrupted by a confedency of three kings (discussed elsewhere in this Chapter) and who having effected the subordination of whose kingdom to one (sovereign) re-established by his own (word of) mouth in order to increase the piety and fame, the grants which had been made to gods and Brahmans but had been destroyed by those three reigns and having conquered the hostile kings in the country in the van of war without any impediment the goddess of the fortunes of those of his lineage to possess the possession of supreme lordship."
Vikramāditya not only achieved the ruin of the Pallavas but "having shoulder that delighted in war and were glorious and of great strength he conquered that family of mighty wrestlers who were possessed of the title of "Royal Wrestler". Thus Vikramāditya restored the former prestige of his ancestral family by his victories over the Pallavas.

That Vinayaditya Satyāśraya restored peace and tranquility in the dominions is evidenced by the cogurshade copper plates, wherein it is stated that having "pleased his mind by bringing all countries into a state of quiet". Though the wording sounds eulogical the fact that Vinayaditya strove hard to restore tranquility after disturbance is an appreciable fact.

The Vākkaleri plates of Kirthivarman II, offer proofs regarding the valour and prowess shown by Vinayaditya Satyāśraya. His dear son Tārakarati, the Bālendusēkharā to the forces of the daityas, so captured the proud army of Trairajya the king of Kāṇchi, levier of tributes from the rules of Kāvera, Parasika, Simhala and other islands; possessed of the Pālidwaja and all other marks of supreme wealth which by shurning all the kings of the north he had won and increased, was Vinayaditya Satyāśraya, favourite of the Earth......".
Again the Vaktailari plates speak still more significantly on the military exploits of Vijayaditya Satyaśraya. "His dear son having in youth acquired the use of all the weapons and accomplishments of a great king; uprooter of the clumps of thorns (springing up) among the kings of the south of whom his grand father was the conqueror; exceeding in valour in the business of war, his father who desired to conquer the north he surrounded the enemies and with his arrows destroyed their elephant forces; war his chief policy; which with his glad sword causing the hosts of his enemies to turn their backs, in the same manner as his father capturing from the hostile kings he had to put to flight the Ganga, Yamuna and Pāli flags, the emblems of the great Thakka, Drum, Rubies, and lusty elephants. With their difficulty stopped by destiny; by his valour exciting the country in remaining kings who cherished evil designs like Tatsaraja; desiring not the assistance of another; in setting out and with his own arm conquering and subjugating the whole world, the Lords like Indra, by the three modes of policy, by breaking the pride of his enemies, by generosity and by his invincibility having become the refuge of the world, having acquired a kingdom resplendent with the Pulidhweja and other tokens of all Supreme wealth was Vijayaditya Sathyāśraya..."
Vinayaditya after completing the campaign brought the Pallavas, the Kalabhras, Haihayas, Vilas, Malavas, Cholas, Pandyas, to servitude along with Aluvas and Gangas who were hereditary subjects and acquired the Palidwaja and other royal insignias by crushing the Lord of all the Region of the North.

The Surab Grant says of Vinayaditya, "who just as (the God) Senani (Kartikeya) at the command of (his father) the Bālendusēkara (Siva) arrested the power of the dāityas at the command of his own father arrested the extremely exalted power of the Pallavas whose kingdom consisted of 3 component dominions......"

According to the Nerur Copper Plates, Vijayaditya at the command of his father arrested the extremely exalted power of the Lord of Kuṇḍi, whose kingdom consisted of three (components) dominions, just as Tarakarati (at the command) of his father Bālendrasekhara did arrest the power of the demons.

Vijayaditya defeated hostile forces in front of in the presence of his father and acquired the Ganga and Yamuna symbols, the Palidhvaja standard, double drums, other Mahasabha badges, jewels, elephants and after articles which he presented to his father.
According to Laksneśvar pillar inscription, Vikramāditya II "cleaved open with the thunderbolt which was his prowess the overwhelming precipitation of the Pandya and Chola and Kerala and Kalabhras and other kings."

(vi) Six Forms of Policy:

According to Kautilya, "the circle of States is the source of the six-fold policy". He further states that there are six forms of policy. They are, for instance peace (samādhi), war (vīgraha), observance of neutrality (āsana), marching (yana), alliance (saśārṇaya) and making peace with one and waging war with another. The Chālukya king followed this generally accepted policy.

Pulakeshī II pursued a policy of bheda, won over Govinda who became his ally and defeated and expelled Appayika. According to the Aihole inscription—Verse 17 out of the two invaders—who had come to conquer the country north of the river Bhimarathi—Appayika and Govinda, one was repulsed by Pulakeshī II while the other was made an ally. The relevant portion of the Aihole record speaks as follows: "When having found the opportunity, he who named Appayika and Govinda approached with their troops and elephants to conquer the country north of the Bhimarathi the one in battle through his armies came to know the taste of fear while the other at once received the reward of the services rendered by him."
After the conquest of Vengi in the eastern campaign of Pulakesi II the Chalukya territories were divided between Pulakesi II and Vishnuvardhana I, the sons of Kirthivarman I. Pulakesi II retained the western territories and made Badami his headquarters. Vishnuvardhana was entrusted to be the ruler of the eastern territory with Vengi as the capital. This act on the part of Pulakesi II exhibits his great foresight and diplomacy.

Vikramaditya II who made a sudden incursion into the Pallava kingdom entered the city of Kanchi but refrained from destroying its capital city. On the other hand, he gave much gold to many stone temples which had been built by Narasimhavarman. The Vokkalari plates affirm "Though he entered the Kanchi he did not destroy it". This action proves his foresight, magnanimity and conformity to righteous military code of warfare.

(vii) Pallava – Chalukya Relations

The main objectives of Chalukya interstate policy, therefore were (1) expansion of dominions and (2) a bid for supremacy. Naturally these objectives led to their encountering the enemies surrounding them. The most powerful of the foes were the Pallavas of Kanchi.

A few reasons may be given here for the antagonism which existed between the Chalukyas and the Pallavas. Both the powers exerted themselves for establishing supremacy.
over the Deccan. This is clear from the Mhele inscription of Pulakesi II. Another cause of their enmity was that the Pallavas obstructed the rise of Chalukyas as a sovereign power. This resulted in never ending hostility between the two powers. The Ganges and the Kadambas (in early period) were to be defeated and brought into a friendly alliance. In this attempt it was the Chalukyas of Badami who won phenomenal success. The Ganges and the Kadambas were the allies of the Pallavas in the earlier periods of rise of the Chalukyas. When the Chalukya kings after Kirtivarman I became supreme by their conquest of the Ganges and the Kadambas, the supremacy of the Pallavas broke down. Another more important consequence that followed was that the Ganga territories came over to the dominions of the Chalukyas and with such a transference of territories, the Pallavas became the immediate neighbours of the Chalukyas. Hence the antagonism between the Chalukyas and the Pallavas.

Further, the policy of befriending and establishing overlordship followed by the Chalukya kings led to their diversified relations with the Chalukya kings with other southern powers. The wars that followed during the reign of Pulakesi II and after his death in the time of Vikramaditya I with the powers in the north had the most important objective of protecting the frontiers of the Chalukya dominions against formidable enemies like Narsa.
In spite of the wars made by the Chalukyas either for self-preservation or expansion, they maintained enmical relationship only with the enemy kings and not with their subjects.

(viii) **Wars with the Pallavas**

The Chalukyas fought several battles with the Pallavas, their natural enemy, for supremacy in the Deccan. After the foundation of an independent kingdom by Pulakesi I, the Chalukyas fought many battles to get possession of the disputed frontier, which became marked since the reign of Pulakesi I. Pulakesi defeated the Pallava king Mahendra Varma I, compelled him to take shelter in the ramparts of Kanchi and penetrated into the heart of the kingdom but did not besiege Kanchi. Although what actually happened after this event is not clear, Mahendra Varma subsequently defeated Pulakesi I in the battle of Pallaluru. The Kāśakottī Plates of Narasimha Vērman Pallava-mallā mention the battle of Pallaluru near Kanchi, and represents Mahendra Varman I as having defeated his chief enemies; namely, the Chalukyas of Badami. After this defeat Pulakesī is stated to have crossed the river Kaveri and made friendship with the Cholas, Keralas and Pandyars with the object of provoking them to fight against the Pallavas. The Pallavas suffered isolation for sometime. But Pulakesī probably could not cross the river Kaveri without
leaving a large part of his army on the banks so as to ensure his protection. The Pallavas tried to stop the march of Pulakesi but were dispersed. Pulakesi returned to his capital after completing the military exploits in the east after A.D. 631 as is indicated by the Topparam plates. Pulakesi indisputably became the master of all the regions between the sea of Arabia and the Bay of Bengal. In other words he became the lord of the eastern and western waters as is evidenced by the Lakhner grants of A.D. 630.

It may be apt here to cite the observation of Dr. Sircar here. He says that Pulakesi’s attack on the kingdom of Pallava Mahendravarma I was only a phase of the struggle between the dominant powers on the two sides of the Tungabhadra which appears to have characterized the history of the country in all ages prior to the British occupation of India. Information of such a struggle before the days of the Chalukyas is meagre; but from the time of Pulakesi II and Mahendravarma I it continued with intervals for many centuries even long after it led to the overthrow of both the dynasties."

Success of Pulakesi II against the Pallavas was only shortlived. In about A.D. 642 he was defeated by the Pallava king Nandasimhavarma I. The latter led an invasion to Vatapi in retaliation of Pulakesi’s invasion
earlier, Maraleshavarma captured Vatapi. Pulakesi was defeated at the battles of Pariyala, Naminanganal, Burawara and other places. Badami was destroyed. Narasimhavarman took the title Vatapi kendram and received the surname Mahayalla.

The Togurshade copper plate informs us how Vinayañāditya, son of Vikramañāditya I maintained the military character and supremacy of his predecessors and proved successful in bringing all countries into a state of quiet.

Vinayañāditya's son Vijayañāditya, even as a boy participated in the southern campaign of his grand father when his father defeated the lord of Uttarapatha. Vijayañāditya captured the Ganga, Yamuna, Palidhvaja, Dhakka and other musical instruments.

Vikramañāditya II led a campaign into Tanduksa Vishaya to extinguish the "Natural Enemy" the Pallavas. He seized the Kankamuka, Samudra Thosa, Musical instruments, the Kuṭavanga Dhvaja from Nandi Pōtavarman. He entered Kaņchi, the Pallava Capital without destroying it. Besides, he gave plenty of gold to several stone temples which had been built by Narasimha Varman. He is said to have defeated the Pandya, the Chera and Kerala and Kalabhara Kings and established a Pillar of victory near the southern sea.
The Vokkaleri grant of Kirtivarma IV lends support to Vikramaditya's magnanimous action of not destroying Kanchi in front of Harasimhavarman's policy a few years before. The policy adopted by Vikramaditya II bears ample testimony to the fact that he believed and made wars on righteous principles.

Kirtivarma II even as a crown prince having his object to distinguish himself by some warlike exploit sought permission of his father to lead his army into Kanchi. The war launched by Vikramaditya I in the previous period had only reduced but not crushed the Pallava power. So sooner did Kirtivarma enter Kanchi than the Pallava Prince took shelter in a hill fort. Kirtivarma left the Pallava fort and plundered his forces and wealth. He carried off elephants, rubies and gold which were given to his father. The relevant portion of the Vokkaleri plates describes Kirtivarma's process. It reads: "His dear son perfect in wisdom and reverence his sword, his only aid making his own the wealth which his father alone mounted simply on his splendid horse named Chitrakantha and desiring to conquer all regions, had won, together with that inherited for 3 generations, rejoicing in splitting with the thunderbolt of his valour, the mountains the Pandya, Chola, Kerala, Kalabhra and other kings from the sky to their base great king of kings, supreme lord and sovereign."
Thus, the wars between the Pallavas and the Chalukyas were ceaseless and as such both the powers were always vigilant of the frontiers and ready for warfare.

(ix) Traid́ajya Pallava:

After tracing the Pallava-Chalukya relations we may make a short discussion of the term 'Traid́ajya Pallava'. The term is mentioned in the copper plate grant of Vikramaditya I and Duvyaadimne plates of Vinayaditya. The word 'Tritaya' in the first inscription denotes "a collection of three, or some confederacy that was formed against Vikramaditya I. Probably the reference is to the 3 kings of Chola, Pandya, and Kerala, who, as we learn from the inscriptions of Vinayaditya were conquered by Vikramaditya I. Or the reference may be to the Traid́ajya Pallavas whose kingdom consisted of the chief dominions which were conquered by Vinayaditya at the command of his father. 

The Duvyaadimne plates of Vinayaditya states that he captured Kānchipura after defeating the Pallava king who had become the cause of disgrace to his family, subdued the three kings (śharani Dharāshraya), Pandya, Chola and Kerala and made the inexorable pallava bow to his feet. Vikramaditya's own records however are unanimous in proclaiming that he acquired for himself, the fortune of his father which had been concealed by (the confederacy) of three kings (Avanipathithraya) and defeated the enemy.
kings in country after brave resistance. The Gadval plates of his 20th year (A.D. 674) add that he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Pallava Narasimha varma, Mahendra Varman and Íswarapotjía Varman and ceased to be at their capital Kāṇchipurā. Thus, a few scholars observe that "the defeat of the Pallavas and the capture of Kāṇchi Puram being common in both the accounts, the confederacy of three kings mentioned in the epigraphs of Vikramāditya must evidently refer to the Pandya, Chola and Keral, given in the son’s record." But Dr. Fleet is of the opinion that the three princes were Pallava Narasimha Varma, Mahendrā Varma and Íswarapotjía Varma which is untenable.

It is impossible in the scheme of Pallava Chronology to suppose that Narasimha Varman and Mahendra Varman had died and Parameswara Varman’s rule had already commenced by A.D. 655 in which year Vikramāditya had acquired his hereditary provinces after subduing the confederacy. According to all authorities on Pallava Chronology, Narasimha Varman’s reign alone extended by beyond A. D. 655. As stated above, Vikramāditya recovered his territory from the Pallavas, which fact leads to suppose that the Chālukya territory was not in possession of the Pallavas by A.D. 655. The Pallava grants clearly state that Narasimhavarman defeated Pulakeśi II in the battles of Pariyāla, Manimangala and Sūramāra and destroyed Vatāpi. He also took the title "Vatapikońda" as is mentioned in
a rock inscription at Bādāmi. This event is supposed to have taken place after the visit of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuentsang to the Court of Pulakesi II in about A. D. 643. It is not possible to guess under what circumstances the Pallava hold was displaced and the three confederacies occupied the Chālukya country in the intervening period.

It is not also possible that soon after the occupation of Vatapi by Narasimha Varman I after A.D. 642 the Pandya, Chola and Kerala kings who were biding a favourable opportunity to avenge the defeat inflicted upon them by the Pallava monarch (Kurram Plates), joined themselves into a confederacy and after subduing the Pallavas whose resources had probably been exhausted in their conflicts with the Chālukya army marched as far as north as Vatapi, shattered the Pallava hold on it and finally took possession of the Chālukya territory.

Scholars are divided in their opinion on the significance of Thrirājya Pallava. Dr. Fleet—Prof. Kiel-Horn, and Prof. Krishna Sañátri say that they represent the South Indian powers, Pandya, Chola and Kerala. Dr. Dubriseul is of the opinion that the three kings were Pallava, Pandya and Simhala Manavanna. The name Manavanna is not given in Mahavamsa and much less is joining the Pallavas at this juncture. So Simhala or Ceylon is to be excluded. The defeat of three powers by Vinaśaditya must
have taken place after A.D. 674 because this event is not mentioned in Gadval plates. After the victorious campaign of the Chalukya king into the Pallava and Chola country in that year, the Pallava king Paramesvara Varman must have mustered his forces and sought the assistance of the Chola and other two powers of south India in order to give a crushing blow to their common enemy, Vikramaditya I. The combined forces of these four powers, entered Chalukya territory and probably sacked and captured the city of Panarasika on this occasion. Vinayaditya routed them in A.D. 678-679 when he was nominated to the throne as is clearly indicated by his Jejuri plates and Togarchedu Grants.

Section II: Inter State Relations in Times of Peace

After making a survey of the broad features of Inter State relations relating to Chalukya kings in times of war, we may take up a study of their inter state relations in times of peace. They maintained political relations with neighbours and effected an exchange of embassies also.

It is already noted that the main feature of inter-state policy of Chalukya kings in war times was that they regarded their neighbours as their enemies and attempted to bring about their destruction. If the kings felt that the enemies on the frontier could not be
destroyed, they were to be befriended. If the neighbours became hostile, their neighbours on the other side would be regarded as fit to subdue them. An important result of this policy with neighbours was that the frontier would become secure without much effort. It may also be mentioned here that the kings obtained through information regarding attitude of neighbours from secret spies. The spies also conveyed information to the kings just before declaration of war against the enemy kingdom. At this stage of declaring war the kings informed their neighbouring neutral states of the war that would be declared so that they could keep on their guard and prevent them from falling in line with the enemy. Such a policy was intended to deprive the enemy of their support.

(1) **Diplomatic Agents**

Whenever it was felt necessary the kings sent diplomatic agents to foreign countries to carry out "particular business of a special nature." The duties of diplomatic agents were highly responsible. The maintenance of friendly relations between states, the declaration of war and the conclusion of peace between them were all in the hands of the diplomatic agents. The agents were expected to possess very high qualifications and were to be men of learning and have a commanding personality. They were also to be consequences, loyal and devoted. Their importance was so much that it would
be possible to convert even an enemy king to a friend by persuasion and honouring them. There were three kinds of missions and the persons of the ambusader was regarded as inviolate. 'Duta' was one who conveyed the message of his master and so should not be punished.

(ii) Dispatch of embassies:

The kings also maintained friendly relations with foreign countries and sent embassies to them, the purpose being to make acquaintance with them or to renew and strengthen old friendships.

Just as the Pallava kings sent embassies to Chinese country, the Chalukyas in A.D. 692 sent an embassy to China from their country at Vatapi. 47

Pulakesi II received an embassy from Shah Rukh of Persian as is clear from a panel of sculptures at Ajanta in which the Chalukya king is represented to receive the embassy from the Persian king 48.

(iii) Relation with Feudatories:

We have already described that several feudatory states existed in the Chalukya dominions. The Chalukya kings did not annex the territories of a king defeated by him, but allowed his state an autonomous existence under their overlordship. Details governing the
relations between the central government and the feudatory states have been described in Chapter VII.

The policy of permitting the defeated kings to rule as feudatories "protected vested interests and favoured local autonomy". But there were instances of feudatories who always attempted to throw off imperial authority and therefore the central government had to keep a vigilant watch over their actions and intentions so as to minimize instability in the dominions.

Section III: Military organisation

(1) Traditions

It must be said at the outset that details available on the subject are insufficient to complete the picture. The four components of the army known as saturaṅga in ancient India viz., foot, horse, elephant, and chariot were common in ancient Karnāṭaka and in the early centuries of the Christian era. The use of the chariot in the later period is doubtful since it is quite evident by its absence in the temple sculptures of the period. Even Huien-Tsang who described the Chālukya army in some detail refers to elephants, but not to chariots. The relevant portion of his account reads thus: "The king, proud of possessing these men and
elephants, despises and slight the neighbouring kingdom

This statement indicates that infantry and elephants formed the most prominent and powerful components of the Kāṃṭak army. Another important arm that was used during the time of Māṇḍeśa and was the fleet which is described subsequently in this Chapter.

The traditions of army organisation in regard to the officers, training and equipment set up in ancient India have more or less influenced the organisation of the Chāḷukya army also. From the history of the Chāḷukyas it is clear that their army fought several wars and battles against their enemies. They also won success in many of their wars. Therefore, there was a systematic organisation of their army, without which their victories in wars and battles were impossible. The commander in-chief was called 'Senādhipati' or more commonly Dandānāyaka. We have already pointed out that the office of the Dandānāyaka denoted both military and civil rank so that the general of the army was usually the minister of the State and sometimes a chief feudatory. The higher officers of the military department were assisted by minor officers holding certain portfolios.

Officers like Mahāāsamādhī Vigrāhika, Dandānāyaka, Mahādandānāyaka, who served the king and composed several grants find their names mentioned in the inscriptions.
For instance, the charter of Vinayaditya, dated 682 recording a gift of a land to Madhavaswami of Bharadwaja Gota was written by Punyavaliabha, son-in-law of Mahasivamivigrhaik Sri Jayamisharaja. The name of Pettani Satyanka, a general is mentioned in Gaddeman inscription. The crown prince was usually next in command. This fact finds mention in several records. According to Lakshmeshwar inscriptions, Vinayaditya's son Vijayaditya, even in his boyhood "fought in the southern campaigns of his grand father, when his father defeated the lord of Uttarapatha. He captured the Ganga, Yamuna, Falidwaja, Pathala, Dhakka and other musical instruments.

Fighting was conducted on fair principles and satisfied tenets of a Dharma Vijaya. Civilians were not molested.

The king usually led the Gray in times of grave necessity. In other times the Dandamayaka and his subordinates led the king's forces.

The technique of warfare in historical Karnataka makes a clear progress from simple ways to highly complex methods of fighting. The simplest form was the open encounter on the battle field with the help of the three or four constituents of the army. The arms used were also simple like the shield spears, bows and arrows. In course of time and particularly from a slightly later period
than that of the western Chalukyas, a knowledge of 'Yuṣa' or array became common. Details of the military array of the period of the Chalukyas of Badami are, unfortunately, not forthcoming.

(ii) Recruitment of Soldiers

From a general study of the set-up it may be concluded that a special village militia existed in addition to the standing army. The Chalukya kings were able to make successful campaigns by collecting such a large army.

Recruitment of soldiers was made out of the able-bodied who were known for their indomitable courage and who voluntarily offered themselves to military service. One class of such people called 'Talavāra' also constituted the army and was known as 'Śwanthu Pade'53. A large portion of the rest of the army consisted of "federal levies" by feudatory chieftains because they had been recognised as rulers by the central government.

As mentioned already, the Chalukya military force was organised into infantry, cavalry and elephants. In addition to these the Aihole inscription of Pulakesi II speaks of the six-fold constituents of the army, i.e. Shadvidha bala; viz., Hereditary troops (Maula) mercenary (bhṛta) belonging to guilds (Śrēni), those of an ally (Mitra), those of an enemy (Amitra), and forest tribes.
Naturally, the Chalukya kings mobilised the available types of soldiers and strengthened their army before the declaration of war with their enemies.

(iii) **Divisions of the Army: Elephants and Horses**

Elephants symbolised royal paraphernalia and were used in war also. Generals and leaders of armies rode on elephants and fought against their foes. Elephants were used to carry and transfer large numbers of soldiers.

Says Jordanus about the elephants, "This animal carrieth easily upon him, with a certain structure of timber more than thirty men and he is a most gentle beast and trained for war so that a single animal counteth by himself equal in war to 1,500 men and more; for they bind to his tusk blades or maces of iron wherewith he smiteth. Most horrible are the powers of this beast and special in war. There is nothing that either can or dare stand against the assault of an elephant in any manner. The use of elephants is well borne out by the account of Huen-Tsang and specialisation of Gajasāstra by Chalukya kings and appointment of officers to look after them. The elephant troops formed an efficient force among the Pallavas also." 54

(iv) **Weapons**

The Arthasastra 55 speaks of weapons to be stored in the canals constructed in a fort. They were stones,
spades (Kuddala), axes (Kūthari) varieties of staffs, cudgels (Mueruthi), hammers (Madgara) clubs, discuss, machines (Yantra) and such weapons as can destroy a hundred persons at once (sataghul) together with spears, tridents, bamboo sticks with pointed edges made of iron, camel necks, explosives (agni samagā gas) and whatever else can be devised from available materials. Swords, Kāgattī, Khadda, Katti, Billu, Ambu and Kodali were a few of the weapons which the Chālukya soldiers made use of during a battle. This fact is borne out by the sculptural images on the walls of the temple of this period at Pattadakal and also sculpture in cave no. 1 at Badami. Even the royal deity of Banashankari where shrine exists at Badami is symbolic of warfare and success in war and she is associated as holding certain weapons also.

(v) Horses: Chitrakantha

Among the 4 divisions of the army the cavalry constituted an effective division. It was customary from the hoary past to make a selection of horses for the purpose of warfare and victory. The Arthasāstra mentions the features of the best horse. For instance, 'the face (sukha) of the best horse measures 32 angulas, its length is 5 times its face, its shank is 20 angulas and its height is 4 times its shank. Other features are also
Hindu kings were particular of auspicious nature of horses. Such a good horse indicates success and prosperity to the king. As selection of a horse was made in the light of the certain features which it was to possess, it may be concluded that Chitrakanta also must have possessed the required marks and qualities. Mr. M.J. Walhouse enumerates the external marks of a perfect Hindu Horse, while assessing the value of the horse in relation to the owner—whether it would bring luck or not. "A perfect Hindu horse should have the 4 hoofs, the head and the tail, all white" (jytyashava). Its hair curls (sūris) should be inward. "There should be 4 2 such curls on the head, 2 on the breast and 2 on each side, one on the back of the neck and the other in the hollow of the neck. Instances of a good and auspicious horse are not lacking. Bucephalus, the horse of Alexander was noted for strength and bravery. It was this horse which fell during the battle between Alexander and Porus for which Alexander mourned the loss. The horse was called Bucephalus from the width of his forehead; he was an excellent War Horse and always used by Alexander in his fights. Similarly, the horse which finds mention in several records of the Chalukyas was Chitrakanta—a typical one.

According to Vokkaleri Plates of Kirtivarman Second of A.D. 829, Vikramaditya I, who succeeded Pulakesi II.
recovered the wealth lost to the kingdom, captured the three kings and vanquished Chola, Pandya, Kerala and Kalabha and humbled the pride of the King of Kanchi with the help of his favourite horse called as the name 'Chitrakāṇtha'.

The relevant portion of the record reads as follows:

Chitrakāṇtha bhidāna pravara turangama
naikenaivotsa dita sēsha vijagishar
avanipati tritayantarita svaguro -
Sri Yam atma....

He drove away the troops of elephants of his enemies and by a very lion of a horse that was named Chitrakāṇtha".60

According to the Nerur Grant (line 10) -- it is stated that "His dear son was Vikramaśīya, who was conversant with the art of Government, whose only aid was his sword, who was desirous of conquering all people whom he drove before him by means of only one horse of the breed called - Chitrakāṇtha..."60

Several inscriptions of the Western Chalukya kings refer to the fact that the kings rode on the back of the choice horse known as Chitrakāṇtha, defeated enemies in many battles, killed them by the sword and acquired title like 'Avanipati Tritayantarita' and thus ruled the dominions in prosperity.
According to the plates, Vikramaditya I fought in battle with the sole aid of the horse known as Chitrakanta. He who at the head of many famous battles (assisted) by none but his noble steed named Chitrakanta and by the edge of his (his) glittering spurs and sharp sword fought against the Pallavas.

The name 'Chitrakanta' came to symbolise all the horses which had the features of Vikramaditya's horse 'Chitrakanta' and almost came to indicate a breed by themselves. It is doubtful whether it was the name of a horse or belonged to a breed bearing that name.

The inscription of the Hastinapur king refers to the fact that the king rode on the back of the choice horse known as Chitrakanta, defeated enemies in many battles, killed them by the sword and acquired a title like Arvindajit Trirajyaputra, and thus ruled the defilements in prosperity.

Several inscriptions of the Western Chalukya king Vikramaditya refer to the fact that the king rode on the back of the choice horse known as Chitrakanta, defeated enemies in many battles, killed them by the sword and acquired a title like Arvindajit Trirajyaputra, and thus ruled the defilements in prosperity.

Vikramaditya I bore the horse of the breed called Chitrakanta (speckled throat) and having with his arm that was like the spils of the serpent fell upon his enemies. 61
(vi) **Navy:***

Besides the Infantry, Cavalry and elephant forces mentioned above, the Chalukya kings like the Pallavas also maintained the fleet of ships and knew the art of Naval warfare. Although inscriptions do not refer to any Naval battle, in detail, one or two epigraphs indicate that they knew the art of Naval warfare. A copper plate grant from Miraj (Satara) and a stone inscription of Yeuvur temple in Sholapur State that Mangalesha crossed the ocean by a bridge of boats and plundered the island of Revathi on the Ratnagiri Coast. Revathi Dweepa has been equated by some scholars with Goa. Dr. Fleet is of the opinion that Revathi island is not Goa. It may be accepted from a knowledge of the inscriptions that the island of Revati was Goa or nearby it. According to the Aihole inscription, Covinda is said to have come in ships by way of the sea from the north and that Pulakesi II was assisted to defeat him by some sea-faring allies dwelling on the western coast. He also reduced Puri with the help of 100 vessels. Puri is near Elephants in the North of South India. It is stated "when he who resembled the destroyer of cities was besieging the cities which was the Goddess of Fortune of the Western Ocean with hundreds of ships that had resemblance to elephants made with passion, the sky which covered with masses of clouds became like the ocean and the ocean was like the sky. Again Kirthivarman II is
described to have gone to Ceylon, under his control, with the help of war boats. 65

(vii) Musical Instruments:

Generally the following musical instruments were being used in a war: as accompaniments and to inspire courage, confidence and a spirit of heroism among soldiers. They were: Kombu, Kahale, Nissala, Tabala, Dolu, Davude, Pore, Bhōri, Nundōdi, Kantuvar, Dhamka, Krudana and Cambaka. The musical notes and the songs provided the much required bravery and confidence to the soldiers in a war.

(viii) Military Array

From a general study of the art of warfare, it may be concluded that without a proper and systematic organisation of the army, the Chalukya forces could not have won several battles recounted in their inscriptions. In addition to a proper organisation, strategy in war was also adhered to. By strategy, the army took advantage of vulnerable points of the enemy and gained a victory.

Fighting took place between soldier and soldiers, elephants and horses. A normal feature of warfare was the division of the army in the regiments or units, each commanded by a general. Several divisions were arrayed to form a Vyūha. Although clear descriptions are not
forthcoming in the Chalukya records we may conclude that the army was arranged in a very regular and systematic manner to exhibit efficiency and win a victory. The war which took place between Pulakesi II and Mahendravarman and later on war with Harsha were organised on the Vyuha principle.

(ix) Forts and Fortifications:

According to the Arthasastra defensive fortifications in all the four quarters of the frontiers of the kingdom should be constructed. For this purpose particularly in war various types of forts are suggested - one of them is called Farvata which is a montaneous fortification. A montaneous and water fortification is said to be the best suited to defend popular centres.

The Chalukyas were noted to have adopted the traditional method of building forts. In ancient times the need and protection of forts required maintenance of troops in fortresses. They were to be always guarded by sentinels, stray bastions with loop holes and ditches. Hence forts were considered absolutely essential to station troops. Cities particularly the capital were heavily fortified. In the frontier regions large forests were allowed to grow to check the enemies from laying siege all on a sudden and to prevent foreign invaders by keeping
garrisons in the frontier of the kingdom. Usually a subordinate vassal was placed in charge of frontier regions.

Badami was a strong hill fort. Ptolemy in his Geography mentions it as 'Badiaspai'. The situation of the city in the midst of rocky hills on its North and South, and at the mouth of a riverine and west of a dam at the foot steps of the hills making a large reservoir in between them provided greater security from the enemies. The city of Badami was well protected by natural frontiers like the mountains in the north and the river of Malaprabha in the south. It is described as a "hill-cum-land", fortress. From very early times, that is, Pulakesi I, Badami was a strong hold. The city was located between two hills and had 2 forts one on each hill. The fort in the northern hill comprised of a bastioned wall encircling the town and on a level with the plain safe-guarded by 2 small but strong forts on the hills. The southern fort was called the Havan Bhande kote, or Battle Field. The northern fort was called the Havan Bhande Kote. The two forts were separated by about 900'. Each fort was about 140' high above the plain. The two forts were existing till 1845 when they were dismantled. They have been described as "walled city defended on the north and south by 2 forts, on the east by stone and mud walls with loopholed parapets and on the west by bastioned stone and mud walls with a
loop-holed parapet and a deep but broad, ditch. There was only one entrance through strongly defended gateways.\textsuperscript{80}

The north fort was about 900' long constructed on separate steep rocks cut by narrow chasms into independent portions. From a distance the fort looked as though built of masonry. Formerly it had bastions of various sizes and at regular intervals and connected by masonry loop-holed walls. The steps to the fort was built of masonry and inwinding shape. Inner side of the fort at the fort at the top was bare, uneven and rocky.

The fighters knew siege-craft. They knew that "in the absence of food, fuel, and water a fort is no better than a prison house."\textsuperscript{70} Forts would contain weapons of war stores, Sand, (Arrows with fire brands fixed to their points and were used in the battle). Stones were hurled and hot oil was poured on those who approached the walls of the city.

The construction of the fort was made according to the principles mentioned in old Sanskrit works like Devipuranam and Brahahavaliwartha purâna.

Often times the massive size of the fort walls gave a wrong idea of security because the people entirely relied on the strength of the fort.
The whole inscription of Pulakesi II speaks of strategic terms like "giridurga" and "Jala Durga." Hence the knowledge and technique of construction of forts on hillocks and surrounded by water for purely military and strategic points of view were known in that period.

The organisation of ancient Indian armies has been described in its outlines by Mr. Gustav appert. He observes that "the division of the army into a veteran reserve and young live troops is remarkable. The same can be said of the facts according to which war ought to be conducted. The maxim of the dharma, yuddha, bring to memory the days of chivalry existing during the middleages." A striking event illustrating this attitude of the Chalukya king is available in the inscriptions on war of Vaikanta Perumal temple. It is stated therein that Vikramāditya I captured kanchi. But did not destroy or burn the city (as a mark of revenge shown by the Paliava king Narasimhavarma I in the last days of Pulakesi II's reign). On the other hand Vikramāditya I gave large donations to the Rajasimhaśvara temple at Kāniči.

(x) Victorious military camps: [Vitāś̪kāndavāras]

It was customary for the kings to hold camps either for the purpose of administration or making arrangements for conduct of a battle or looking to security of frontier
regions or issuing grants of land. Among such camps it is apt here to attempt a survey of victorious military camps held by different kings of the Chalukya dynasty. Generally the kings encamped in the vicinity of a place of battle where the army gained a victory.

In A.D. 674 Vikramaditya encamped at Uragapura in the Chelika Vihara to the south of river savarvy as his evidence by Gadval plates.

Vinayaditya in the 10th year of his reign celebrated some victory while encamped on the banks of the river Pampa in the neighbourhood of Rishya mochha and Jungabheda in which Vinayaditya's camp was pitched at the time of making this grant and as to the part of the country that had been just reduced by him. The names of villages are mentioned in line 26. That Vinayaditya encamped at the village of Bhadali near Palayatthana is mentioned in the Jejuri plates.

According to a stone tablet at Lavashwar about 40 miles South-east of Dharwar dated 843 the 7th year of the reign of Vinayaditya, he held his victorious camps at the city of Raktapura (Puligere) (Pulika ranagara) or (Purigere).

A copper plate grant from Yongurshado in Kurnool district dated 639, says that Vinayaditya held in the 10th
year of his reign his victorious camp on the bank of the river Pampa or the Tungabhadra. 77

Another copper plate grant from Kurnool dated 691, says that he held in the 11th year of his reign his victorious camp at the city of Klupundale 78.

Similarly a copper plate grant from Surab in Mysore dated 692, says that he held his victorious camp at the village of Chitrasadu in the Torvur or Jorman country in the 13th year of his reign 79.

A copper plate grant from Harihar in Mysore dated 694, says that Vinayaditya held his victorious camp at the village of Kuranjapatra near Harashpur, perhaps Harihar in the 14th year of the reign 79.

One or two of the grants may be cited to illustrate the importance of military camps of Vinayaditya. For instance the Togurahade inscription states that in the 10th year of his victorious he held a reign camp on the Bank of the Pampa (river or lake) 80, and made a grant to Shinasarma 81 who was proficient in all the sacred writings etc.

The Kurnool Copper Plate informs us that 81 "at the time of making this grant as (Vinayaditya) was encamped at the village of Klupundale and the principal grant was of the village of Masumiparu. This village was somewhere on the north bank of the Krishnavarna that is Krishna after
its confluence with the Verna (Veer Satara at Khednapur
in Kolhapur territory. This grant was made at the request
of Vinayaditya's son Vijayaditya who at the time was
holding the post of Yuvaraja and who succeeded his father
on the throne.

After the celebration of some victory gained by
Vinayaditya - Saka 617 or 618 years having elapsed, in
the 14th year of his reign he encamped at the village of
Karañjapātra near the city of Harāshapura in the neighbour-
hood of Banavasi and made a grant of a village of
Kirakagmasi or the smaller Kāgmasi in the Ādevolal
division and in Vanavasi district. The grant was made at
the request of Alupa Raja who was probably the hostile
king just subjugated by Vinayaditya.

The Borab grant was issued after the celebration of
victory and is dated Saka 615 and the camp was held at the
village of Chitrarasu in the district of Toravara or Conmanas.
The grant was made at the request of the Great King
Sri Chitrapada the son of Upendra of the village of
Satthigode in Ādevolal division and near Vaijayanti or
Vanvāsi.

A copper plate grant of Vinayaditya records a grant
at the request of the king of the Alupas and seems to
have been made to celebrate a victory over that family.
It is dated 8. 676 or A.D. 695 in the 14th year of his reign.

The relevant portion of the record reads as follows: "His son Vinayaditya Satyāśraya............. who having at the command of his father (was) like Bharatha on account of his being the refuge of kings and by whom the Pallavas, the Kalbhras, the Keralas, the Raibyas, the vilas, the Malavas, the Olas the Pandyas and others were brought into a similar state of servitude with the Aluvas (Alupas) and the Ganges and others who were hereditary (servants of him) thus issued his commands to all people:

......"The grant is about the village of Kavmari in Edevetal Division.

Vijayaditya held his victorious camps at Rasenapur (Rasin in Ahmadnagar), another perhaps in the Konkan as is given in a copper plate grant from Nerur and at Raktapur as is mentioned in a stone tablet at Lakshmeerwar, and it was from Rasenapura that he issued the Nerur plates. This victorious camp was held in the 'first year of the king'. The Nerur plates of the same king issued in his 4th year is also issued from the victorious camp of Rasenapur. This means that the king had either visited the place twice, once in his first year and again in the 4th year or he had made the place an alternative capital, at least for 4 years as is evidenced from the records issued in the first and 4th year of his reign.
The stone tablet of Vijayaditya from the Sankhabasti temple of Lakshmeshvar (second part) records that "six centuries and 51 of the Saka year having expired on the full-moon of the month Pusamuna, while his victorious camp was at the city of Raktapura, he gave the village of Kardama on the south of the town of Pulikara to his father's Priest Udaya deva Pandita, also called Miravadya Pandita - who was the house pupil of Sri. Pujya Pada and belonged to the Devagama sect of the Mula sangha lineage for the benefit of the temple of Sanka Jinendra at the city of Pulikara". The third and the fourth part mentioned grant of land to Jayadeva and to Periyanswamy respectively.

The Nerur plates of Vijayaditya Saka 622 A.D. 700-1 of the 4th year of his reign was issued from his victorious camp at city of Ramamangara. It records the grant of the village of Nerur itself bounded on each side by the villages of Bella Valligrama and Sahamayapura. (Ballaavalligrama considered to be the modern wallawal to the west of Nerur).

Vikramaditya II held the victorious camp at Raktapura as is evidenced by a stone tablet at Lakshmeshwar; Buddhavarsha his brother is also stated to have held a camp at Pinukagrama.

The Narayana charter of Vikramaditya II dated 743 A.D. records the grant of a village in the Ratnagiri District by the Chalukyan king at the request of his subordinate.
Kashtrakuta Govindaraja who was the son of Shivaraja.
The charter was issued when the king was camping at
Adityavatika (Aitavada in Satara district). The Chief
was probably governing the Satara, Ratnagiri region.

The third part of a Ganga inscription of Harasisnaka
Deva, Saka 690 issued shows that it was issued from his
victorious camp at Raktapura. During the camp the king
made a grant for the establishment of a temple called
Sankatirtha – basti and for the repair of a Jinalaya etc.

An inscription published by Mr. Rice records that the
Vikramāditya II made an expedition into the Fundakavishya
or Tundaimandalam, defeated the Pallava king Nandipēta-
varman and entered Cenjeesvaram, where "he gave heaps of
gold to the stone temple called Rajasimhēvara which had
been burnt by Harasisnaka Pōtavarman and to other temples also.
Before entering the Pallava region the king must have
held a camp on the frontier.

Ksettrivarma II held his camps at the village of
Bhandaragavittage or Bantaregovittage on the North Mysore;
another camp at Raktapura, erected a pillar of victory in
Vijayeswar Temple after returning from Hrīgathisīvakāra
vishaya. The relevant portion relating to the camp reads
as fellows:
In the 11th year of the increase of our victorious camp stationed at the village Bhandaragavittage on the northern bank of the Shumarathi river, on the full moon day of Bhadrapada, on the application of Sri Dēśīrāja is given to Madhava Sharma, the son of Krishna Sharma and grand son of Sri Vishnu Sarma of the Kamakayana Sūtra, versed in Rig and Yajur Vedas together with Ferigiyur and Bandi, the village named Sulliyur, situated in the Panangal district on the southern bank of the Aradore river, in the midst of the villages of Panambige, Panangal, Kiravalli and Balavooru.92.

Thus the camps of the Chalukya kings were either for arrangements to be made before and during the battle or a victorious camp after the battle or for announcing land gifts, as is clear from their several inscriptions.
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