CHAPTER VII

RECAPITULATION AND CONCLUSIONS

Our aim in this thesis has been to juxtapose the modern notion of history that singularly dealt with the linear notion of time, with much more complex notions of time as articulated in both literary and inscriptional source materials used for this study. For this purpose, we have chosen to focus on the genealogies of the ruling elites belonging to various Chalukyan families who ruled over the Deccan, during the entire span of the early medieval period. This study has helped us to effectively argue that genealogical data can be used in writing a social history. In fact, in our view, the main intent of the ruling elite in maintaining these genealogical records was to construct a notion of their past that was based on both memory and history. This study has proved to be challenging primarily because, it helped us to pertinently move away from the genre of writing regional political history to that of the genre of social history at the regional level using the same sources. However, we were able to analyze the nature of sources more effectively to comprehend how these were embedded in various notions of time and therefore, relate the establishment of the political order and its legitimation to its social roots.

In the introductory Chapter entitled INTRODUCTION AND SOURCES, we began by delving into theoretical issues pertaining to the definition of genealogy that we broadly accept to define as "records relating to the past where the lineages of families are preserved in a systematic order". Our assertion in this regard, was that genealogies should not be treated merely as family records, but more importantly, as historical narratives that encompass several crucial issues related to historical memory, temporality, and sequential narration of names and actions undertaken by individuals in a rather systematic order. This, therefore, led us to explain first, the co-relation between genealogy and narrative, which we argue, unlike the modern historical narratives, were unique because memory was a central component in them. Implicit to this was the notion of time that, in our view, constituted another central component for the construction of a genealogy. These explanations, it may be underscored
here, enabled us to emphatically assign genealogy a status of a historical source for writing social history.

We posited the above arguments against the views of the Imperialist, Nationalist writers who had suggested that there was a lack of historical sense among the pre-modern Indians. We questioned these assumptions by highlighting recent writings that have re-looked at the issues of how the past has been represented in pre-modern societies. Our endeavor has been in cognizance with writings to uphold a different kind of historical consciousness existed in India before the British initiated the writing of history on the sub-continent. Identifying how these notions of the past were found implicated in the source material of the present study has enabled us to provide a fresh perspective to existing interpretations.

In the second part of this Chapter, we detailed the sources of the present study and also highlighted the significance of the period and area of study. This has been followed by the description of the methodological approach that we have adopted for analysis in the present study. For the first time the all-encompassing information from the prasastis has been classified by us in this thesis--the rationale of how this was done is explained in the concluding pages of Chapter I.

In the second Chapter on HISTORIOGRAPHY, we began with an interrogation of the modem notion of linear time that has become the central format in presenting all scientific historical narratives today. In this model of history writing in India, first written in the colonial context, the positivist framework provided the lens through which historians tried to render objective 'facts' found in various kinds of Indian material. These early histories based on this method primarily indulged in writing political history for India as a whole. Though, the colonial endeavors led to the creation of a source base the problem created was that later historians used it without questioning.

Therefore, in substantial part of this Chapter we have focused on interrogating how these historiographical trends emerged in the writing of regional history. In this regard, we have first looked at those writings that presented a composite history of the Deccan as a whole without necessarily
identifying separate historical trends for the Andhra or Karnataka regions like those of R. G. Bhandarkar, G. J. Dubreuil and G. Yazadani. We pertinently noted that in all these writings, the history of the region was highlighted only in terms of its political aspect within well-defined chronological parameters. We also interrogated regional histories written by scholars writing within the framework of linguistic regions like Andhra and Karnataka, like those of Chilkuru Veerabhadrā Rao, George M. Moraes and B. A. Saletore. Though these scholars used both literary and inscriptive sources to write a history of the people as a whole, they did so within the framework of a dominant political history paradigm. One interesting feature that emerged in these writings was an inclination to write on social history but within the scope of 'caste' or 'kula' drawing on both the textual traditions of the sastras and smrtis and inscriptions.

It must however, be stated that during the early decades of 20th century a tendency to write caste-based histories became prominent and important and in this context works such as those of Buddharaju Varahalaraju's 'Sri Andhra Ksatriya Vamsa Ratnakaram', Duvvuri Jagannada Sarma's Sri Pusapati Vamsanucharitam were forerunners. In them conscious attempts were made to resurrect caste-based histories by retrieving the memories of their glorious past from the epics, Puranas and inscriptions of the ancient ruling families of the region. From the perspective of our study we noted that these writings revealed a process of history writing which was confronted with a complex situation, namely, choosing between the indigenous notions of writing history based on memory and tradition or accepting modern methods that emphasized on looking at hard core evidence in sources to write political history in a linear fashion. Suravaram Pratapa Reddy's Andhrula Sanghika Caritra, conceptualized in 1937 but published in 1949, in fact chose to use only literary sources therefore, giving primacy to perceptions of the past rather than providing historical explanations based on inscriptions.

In the post-Independent era, we noted an important shift in the way political history came to be written. Now a tendency to "dynasticize" political history by compiling an in-depth history of individual dynasties became the fashion. However, the tools for doing so remained largely unaltered as set in
pace during the 19th century. We thus surveyed the works of particularly those scholars who wrote on the history of the various Chajukyan families. We found in these descriptions a detailed compilations of political and dynastic history of the Chajukyas focussing on solving all problems of their origin, chronology, succession and so on. However, the use of *prasastis* and the use of genealogical descriptions in them to write social history was not the aim in these works. For the same period dominated by proliferation of dynastic histories social and economic histories began to emerge. In this category, we a review of the works K. Sundaram, A. V. Krishna Murthy, Jyotsna Kamat indicated that the basic method of historical analysis was still determined by the parameters set by political history. Hence, social history, in most of these writings was usually understood in terms of perfunctory statements on caste, food habits, manners, dress customs and the like. No attempt was made to analyze the overarching social formation of the times. Genealogies, it goes without saying found only marginal place in these writings too.

Marxist interpretations for different regions of the Deccan had little impact and were found limited in the writings K. Satyanarayana for Andhra and R. N. Nandi for Karnataka. They made an effective use of inscriptions and effectively initiated the characterization of the social formation of the times as 'feudal'. These studies were important to highlight as they provided an essential background for the present study. However, it was only in the writings of Romila Thapar that genealogies as a source to write social history came to the forefront. She did so by using the puranic sources within an over Indian perspective. The insights provided by the writings of B. D. Chattopadhyaya, Hermann Kulke among others were of considerable value because, for the first time, they used genealogical material to understand the processes of state formation in a regional context. Some of these insights have been the foundations on which we have built our interpretations.

Another set of historical writing reviewed by us in this chapter were those that provided a conceptual shift in the way historian's should address the question of time embedded in indigenous sources and traditions of narrative. Writings of Hermann Kulke, Daud Ali and Velcheru Narayana Rao, Sanjay Subrahmanyam and David Shulman and Cynthia Talbot raised for us valuable
questions on the appropriate method that should be used while handling source materials. Importantly, these writings juxtaposed the modern of history writing with the pre-modern ones, which was also a concern we intend to comprehend more fully through an analysis of Chalukyan inscriptions. Looking at the issues of how the past was represented in pre-modern societies, these endeavors ably refuted the notion that Indians lacked a sense of their past and that "history" as an academic discipline had its origins only in modernity. The over all conclusion in these studies, on the existence of various indigenous methods of history writing in the pre-colonial India, provided the essential backdrop for the main concern in thesis to interrogate existing methods of writing history in different periods and regions of the sub-continent pointing to the existence of multiple historical traditions in pre-modern India.

In Chapter III on **GENEALOGY, TIME AND IDENTITY**, we first focussed on understanding notions of time as they came to be conceptualized and reckoned within the genealogies demarcated for this study. The genealogies were categorized into three broad themes, namely, the mythical genealogies, the semi-historical genealogies and finally, the historical genealogies. To further enhance their differences and also frame this information in terms of changes that took place, four **TYPES** of genealogies were delineated and described so that their evolutionary and standardized version could be clearly located in time and space. Concomitantly, this reflected on how different families looked at the past and constructed their identities.

Keeping the different **TYPES** of genealogies as the essential frame mythical genealogies were understood as fabrications of origin myths that were traced to a distant past and therefore, rooted in timelessness embedded in a cyclic notion of time. The semi-historical genealogies were understood as attempts of ruling families' attempts to connect their genealogical linkages with the *Caridravarpsa* or the *Suryavamsa* lineages. The semi-historic events were usually located in a legendary past and hence their descriptions were also essentially rooted in a cyclic notion of time. On the other hand, historical genealogies were understood as those dealing with the narration of the king whose descriptions and details of his ancestors were constructed as genealogies belonging to his immediate past. Historical genealogies were
written within the parameters of linear notions of time as they strictly followed a sequential order of narration. Historical time was often appended with dated time, which was recorded in terms of an era or regnal year of the ruling king. This gave us a clear idea of how a certain linearity of time emerged in the genealogical narratives and the positioning of eras and regnal years in these inscriptions, being authoritative, ensured a place for the king’s posterity.

Some of the important findings in the chapter reveal that in Phase 1, the period between the 6th century AD and the 10th century D, in both TYPES I and II the mythical genealogies of the Chalukyan families were simple with no attempt made to explain their origins. Hence, not only the notion of cyclic time appears obscure, but even the articulation of the brahma-ksatra identity that was characteristic of the early medieval period remained nebulous. On the other hand, in Phase 2 between the 11th century AD to the 12th century AD, certain changes were discerned. In TYPE III, we three categories of mythical genealogies appeared, which apart from continuing the earlier trend began to refer to the double-gotra status and explain the mythical origins in clearer terms. The origin of the former was connected to the discovery of fire and located in primordial, a-temporal moments thus indicating the presence of a cyclic notion of time. In the case of the latter explanations for the mythical origin of Manavya, Harita, Cha/ukya varpsa and Satyasrayakula were elaborated upon. These descriptions too clearly indicated the presence of cosmic time implying huge time cycles. Therefore, we concluded that this tendency aimed at giving both antiquity and prestige to the lineage. Importantly, from descriptions of genealogies in this TYPE we were also able to highlight brahma-ksatra identity. Though, mythical genealogies were found in both Phases 1 and 2, we clearly discerned a preponderance of the use of cyclic time in Phase 2, which also went hand in hand with firming up identity of these families.

With regard to the semi-historical genealogies described in chapter it is found that they were conspicuously absent in all the TYPES and found only in TYPE III. In this regard, Dynastic variations existed so that while the records of the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani emphasized on linkage with the solar lineage, their counterparts in the Eastern Deccan highlighted their linkage with both the Candravarpsa lineage and with the Suryavarpsa lineage. This, we suggested,
purported to an important way of conceptualizing mythical or cyclic time. Another way through which time reckoning has been done in this type of data was through genealogical computation. In this regard, while the data from the Western Deccan revealed a linearity of the movement of time from cyclic to historical time through arranging the mythical genealogy, the semi-historical and the historical genealogy in sequential order, on the other hand, the data from the Eastern Deccan presented a complex structure of time by arranging Puranic and Epic accounts first followed by the mythical and historical genealogies. Subsequently, we concluded that this method of time reckoning in the semi-historic genealogies was an important mechanism through which the ruling elites claimed both brahma-ksatra and pure ksatriya identities simultaneously in the local areas of their control. Thus, our data pertinently highlighted the important role of origin myths in defining the notion of 'history' that apparently was more 'imagined' than 'real' but that which proved to be critical for providing justification and validation to kingship with claims of exaggerated universal control.

The third part of this Chapter, focussed on the historical genealogies that embodied dynastic varnsa traditions well-known to most ruling families. In Phase 1, TYPE I we noted that the historical genealogies were simple bearing names of kings not exceeding more than three generations indicating time-cycles that were short. The initial rise to political prominence of the early Chalukyan families obviously meant lesser number of ancestors and further the use of eras, in particular, the Saka era, was used marginal. It was only in TYPE II that long lists of historical genealogies beginning with the founder of the dynasty emerged. This was done alongside the mention of an era and the regnal year as in the case of the Western Chajuyas, while the Eastern Chajukyan inscriptions gave lengthy lists of ancestors along with the number of years each ruler had ruled extending this information to as many as thirty generations. These tendencies emphasized on a linearity of time while recording these historical details within a certain chronological framework to firmly establish the family in its historical context undoubtedly to validate their political power. A peculiar cyclic and linear way of looking at the past both as remembered and recorded co-existed in certain cases wherein the Saka era
was mentioned alongside the use of Kaliyuga to define the past and the present. Clearly, during Phase I, the reckoning of contemporary or dated time was not in a uniform manner reflecting sub-regional variations and also that these inscriptions belonged to the formative stage of each of these dynasty's rise to power. Therefore, a unilinear way of recording events and reigns had not fructified. Reference to the Jupiter's 60 years-cycle that was more profusely used in TYPES III and IV genealogies during Phase 2, indicate an attempt to introduce the cyclic notion of time that now gets integrated within the linear reckoning of time through the prolific use of eras. However, in our over all argument it was the introduction of linear time through the use of historical eras, regnal years and *sarpvatsaras*, over time, located kings in a comparatively more accurate way particularly, with linear time taking a center stage in the records of belonging to Phase 2.

A major conclusion of chapter was to identify how the social identities of these ruling families emerged and changed overtime. In Phase 1, the selective reference to kinship relations in the records of the Badami Chajukyas meant deliberate effort on their part to telescope those names that were politically insignificant. On the other hand, we noted that the Eastern Chalukyan rulers continuously mentioned their linkage with Badami Chajukyan kings. This association with their parent branch, who already had acquired pan-regional identity, we suggested, was not only an attempt to enhance their claims for political legitimation of their authority, but also indicated an attempt on their part to emphasize on a separate identity for them. In Phase 2, a new trend emerged in that historical genealogies of Chalukyan families became more comprehensive by adding the names of kings belonging to their parent branch, namely, of the Badami Chalukyas. The linkages with the parent branch to kings who were far removed in time, we argued was an attempt to resurrect a family history to an antiquity thus establish an that could clearly be differentiated from other competing elites in the region. An interesting tendency arose in Phase 2 with reference to genealogies where, instead of the historical genealogy of the main king, that was found totally absent, we observed the emergence of genealogies of the local chiefs. These resembled TYPE I and II genealogies of the main Chalukyan families and suggests that the local chiefs were just
beginning to emerge as dominant forces in their respective localities and wanted to assert their separate identities.

The use of personal eras named after the king in both TYPE III and IV genealogies like Chalukya Vikrama era, Jagadekamalla era, Bhulokamalla era, etc. was done not only to express political authority but also emphasize the individual greatness of the king and his concern to have a permanent place in history. It also indicates to a mechanism through which the king attempted to seek a special identity. It goes without saying that this type of time reckoning introduced precision in the documentation of various details intended to signify family and individual identity and concomitantly perceptions of the past were articulated as rooted in specific time. A major impact of this was that it rendered the authority of the state a legitimacy to control how they defined their past and their identity, in order to assert political supremacy in the present.

In Chapter IV entitled, CONQUESTS, MIGRATIONS AND SPATIAL EXPANSION. We took a close look at the information from the prasasti sections of inscriptions that contained information such as military conquests, titles, marriage alliances that enabled analyze other different ways in which the past was constructed and retrieved through the memory of past achievements in terms of their expansion and control of space. This entailed on migrations and the establishment of marriage linkages. Thus, we examined the political and social mechanisms that were used as claims for greatness and points of validation by most of the newly emerged ruling elites. By political mechanisms, we understood information pertaining to military achievements, titles assumed by the rulers and the acquisition of political symbols by them. By social mechanisms was meant discussing the pattern of marriage alliances that emerged under different TYPES of genealogical descriptions.

Against the geo-physical configuration of heterogeneous and complex settlement of the Deccan region, we first argued that most of the conquests carried out by various Chalukyan lineages were in areas with substantial resource base that was necessary for the different stages of the evolution of the State to support its administrative structure was central to claim these
resources and once conducted, the military achievements of kings and their ancestors formed an integral part of the genealogical descriptions. The achievements in war were expressed either by giving a simple statement of an individual king subduing hostile kings or, by giving the names of the places he had conquered. The territorial boundaries of various Chajukyan families in different phases of their rise and expansion were further, illustrated by Maps.

Some of the important deductions from a study of this material on the military achievements of the king and his ancestors indicates that in Phase 1 and in TYPE I when the genealogies were brief only a short note on the suppression of hostile kings was mentioned. This suggested to their immediate concern for controlling the areas surrounding their core area and their zeal for conquests and territorial expansion was seemingly very high is attested by the assumption of military titles that emphasized their greatness and love for warfare. For these early rulers there was a well-formulated strategy by the upcoming ruling elites to announce their intentions of greatness and their inherent power and ability. During the same Phase, TYPE II genealogies, the pattern of mentioning military achievements changed. This was mainly because conquests were now made in all directions to expand territorial control. Exaggerated military titles become few but imagined claims put in formulaic form made exaggerated statements of pan-Indian conquests. These exaggerated formulations perhaps emanated from the perceived threat to the political stability of the kingdom, and hence, the need to glorify the deeds and actions of the predecessors and fabricate lengthy genealogies.

In Phase 2, however, we noted a significant change as for the first time, military achievements of the parent branch were enumerated along with the descriptions of the achievements of immediate ancestors. This was characteristic in TYPE III genealogies that also mention Ayodhya as the seat from where the Chajukyas are supposed to have migrated to the Deccan. To make allusion to the control of a "sacred" space indicated that actual territorial control was now rather limited when compared to Phase 1. The "real" or "imagined" territorial control that the kings described in their prasastis was done by retrieving and memorizing the past achievements of various ancestors and this became in defining the mode of historical writing the contemporary
In Phase 2, the description of the military achievements of the local chiefs who made imperial claims indicates to their rise to political status. Hence, it was found that they imitated the kings of the main ruling families in glorifying their military conquests. However, we found that by the end of Phase 2, there was in fact the emergence of local political identities that tried to establish control only over small localities.

Another way through which control was enhanced was by acquiring high sounding royal or administrative titles and obtaining political symbols or royal insignia. In Phase 1 under TYPE I for both kings and their ancestors, we found limited references to this aspect probably because of the minimal nature of their political control. With regard to the king, in some early examples simple titles like *raja* and *nripah* indicate his subsidiary status clearly suggesting once again that their political authority remained small and narrow. This tendency changes in TYPE II, wherein titles become grandiloquent accompanied by the mention of the acquisition of the political symbols and royal insignia from the kings of north India. This is reflective of the expansion of territorial control and therefore, the need to project the achievements of the kings and their ancestors by linking them to pan-Indian symbols of authority. Similarly, in TYPE II, kings increasingly use of high sounding and assertive titles, which suggests a process of transition of small early kingdom to becoming a State with a large territorial entity. The impact of this was further buttressed from reference to the political symbols that denoted to their claims for political supremacy and pan-Indian identity. In contrast, in Phase 2, for TYPE III and IV genealogies, we have significantly noted the absence of royal or administrative titles of the ancestors. Instead, in TYPE III, political symbols were acquired through the favor of Gods and Goddesses. High sounding administrative titles acquired by kings becomes more intense in both TYPES III and IV genealogies in Phase 2 and this, despite the fact that by this time, the actual military conquests of the king were limited. This we argued, was mainly due to the weakening of political control that prompted the kings to legitimize their power, not by referring to the actual events of the past, but by seeking divine
intervention through which the greatness of the family could be enhanced. In
the case of examples of TYPE IV, we noted that the local chiefs were bestowed
with *pancamahasabdas*, thereby gaining a rise in their rank and authority.

Besides the royal and administrative titles, we found that other titles that
defined the character, physical features and talents of the king likened him to
gods and epic heroes. Such titles were more rampant in Phase 1 than in Phase
2. We suggest that these titles further emphasized the king's forceful subjection of
his enemies thus tried to project him as a divine model or as the ruler of the entire
universe.

At the next level of our analysis in this Chapter, we focused on the
social mechanisms and concluded that marriage networks became crucial to
ascertain the pattern of inter-clan and inter-family relationship. In Phase 1, our
data from TYPE I genealogies revealed that the Chalukyas entered into
marriage relationship with such families as Bappuras, Sendrakas, the
Kalachuris and the Pallavas, whereas for TYPE II, they primarily established
marriage relations with the Rastrakutas, Alupas, the kings of Kalinga and the
Pattavardhanis who were local chiefs. The tendency in Phase 1 was for the
Chalukyas to get into marriage alliances with the kings whom they had
conquered or, by whom they were over-powered at certain periods of time.
This clearly suggests that there was a pragmatic aim for which purpose these
marriages were done, namely, to control new areas of extended political
influence or to minimize the border tensions. We further postulated that this
type of data in Phase 1 also asserted the "pan-regional" identity of the
Chalukyan elites by perpetuating their social relationships especially with those
families that had common lineage and ancestral patterns. This meant that
horizontal spread of kinship ties were effected but, at the same time, the "core
social identity" of the family remained intact.

In Phase 2, there was an increase in the number of marriage alliances
noted in the inscriptions. For TYPE III, Chalukyan families of Kalyani aligned
with the Chedis and the Rattas and it was also frequently mentioned in
subsequent records that these alliances contributed to the consolidation of their
kingdom during its initial stages of growth. On the other hand, the marriage
alliances of the Eastern Chalukyas with the Cholas brought about the new rule
of the Chajukya-Chojas in the Eastern Deccan. From this, we surmised that
marriage alliances in TYPE III acted both, as a stabilizing force while at the
same time, was an agent for the expansion of the spatial control of these
families into new areas. In the case of the former, the Chajukyan family
identity got firmly entrenched because of the establishment of vertical social
relationships with their subordinates. In the latter case it led to the
transformation of the Chajukyan identity due to the expansion of horizontal
social relations outside of their primary areas of control. Data for TYPE IV
during Phase 2 interestingly gave prolific references to the marriage alliances of
local chiefs. This surely indicates the necessity felt by these chiefs to now
specify, and perhaps, enhance their genealogical status by explicitly and
consciously stating their marriage alliances with families who had a higher
social and political status than them.

We concluded this chapter by suggesting that the larger processes of
territorial integration and its control was possible through both political and
socio-ideological mechanisms. Both, the political claims explicated through the
mention of military conquests and acquisition of various titles, as well as social
concerns to maintain and expand marriage alliances, enhanced our
understanding of the patterns that genealogies of these families acquired and
the way they evolved through time.

In Chapter V on PATRONAGE, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONTROL,
we focussed on the grant portion of the inscription which was intrinsically linked
to the prasasti and its genealogical content. This led us to take a closer look at
both smaller units of time and space. In contrast to larger units of cosmological
and historical time, the smaller units of time were expressed in terms of year,
month, fortnight, weekday and the lunar day and so on. Time reckoned in this
way was more pragmatic and provided the rational for the ruling elites to claim
economic and social control at the local regions that has been conquered by
them. This space of smaller units such as, villages and fields came to be more
firmly controlled than the larger territories.
Manifestations of such control is reflected in the patronage patterns that emerged which we analyzed in terms of: 1) Donor-Donee linkages, 2) Nature and location of grant and 3) Information on other social groups.

Donors in the examples studied by us were largely drawn from the members of the ruling families such as the king, the queen, local potentates and other dominant social groups at the village level. Donees who received the various types of grants were usually *brahmanas*, temples, members of the temple staff and other social groups. It was the prime motive of donors to expand the economic and socio-political control in order to administer the newly acquired territories so that a state could be established. In many cases donees like *brahmanas* played a crucial role in disseminating their patron’s ideology, and simultaneously, acted as political and social mediators in controlling the local society.

Data in this chapter analyzed showed that during Phases 1 for the TYPE I genealogies, when the territorial control of the Chalukyas did not extend beyond their core area, the king as an owner, was the prime donor and made large-scale donations to *brahmanas*. In our opinion, this king-*brahmanas* relationship in the initial stages, not only resulted in enhanced agrarian production, but on the politico-ideological front, they conferred validation to the political power of the king and also fabricated genealogies for the king. When the spatial expansion was at its peak due to vigorous military campaigns of the kings, it was found that the genealogical records under TYPE II though the king as the donor and the *brahmana* as the donee still continued to dominate agrarian relations, yet at the same time, we have also noted a perceptible visibility of other social groups such as warriors, musicians, merchants and institutions like temples emerge as donees. The latter usually got grants apart from the king, from other members of the ruling family such as the queens, princes, local chiefs and so on.

This situation further continues in Phase 2, with reference to TYPE III even though on the political front this Phase was characterized as a turbulent period for which reason also lengthy mythical and semi-historical genealogies were concocted by *brahmanas* for their patron in order to enhance their
antiquity and status. Thus, we find that especially in the Eastern Deccan, the king continued as was the main donor and most of the grants were made to the brahmanas and grants to temples began to emerge. Interestingly, in the Western Deccan, apart from the king other dominant social groups as intermediaries like the mahamandalesvara, mahajanas, etc., emerged as donors. Likewise, among the donees apart from brahmanas, Saivite, Vaisnavite and Jaina temples came to be patronized. Mythical genealogies of the kings were found mentioned even in the donations made by these intermediaries. This is interesting because this suggests that these groups had accepted the supreme authority of the king. We concluded that one cannot attribute the changes in the mode of genealogical writing to the changes as envisaged in patronage patterns for the first three TYPES. On the other hand, in the context of TYPE IV genealogies, we found considerable evidence to dominant social groups at the intermediary level such as mahamandalesvaras, mahasamantas, dandanayakas, gavundas, perggades, reddis, settis, etc., participated in acts of donations. Most of the grants made by these groups were to the temples and temple functionaries and were recorded on the temple walls. Interestingly, in these records we do not have genealogies of ruling elites, but instead, in some examples, we discerned local chiefs and dominant social groups recorded their genealogies similar to those of TYPE I and TYPE II that the main ruling kings had recorded. This clearly suggested that by the end of Phase 2 there was a complete change in the donor-donee image from the earlier times. Genealogies began to now written but now it is for different social groups who had considerable socio-economic power in their respective temporal and local contexts. This, we argued, meant recognizing and accepting the claims of these groups for political suzerainty. Thus, patronage strategies adopted by ruling elites are indicative of integrative mechanisms through which an effective control of various groups at different levels of society was accomplished. However, this was not sufficient, as different levels of the State also required resources for its maintenance and its functioning. This therefore, meant that simultaneously there was also an urgent need to control economic resources.

At the next level of our analysis in this Chapter, we discussed the nature of the grant and their location. Grants were usually in the form of villages, fields, commodities, cash, etc. The unit of grant made varied in size depending
on who the donor was and to whom the grant was made. Witnesses to when
the grants were made were usually administrators of local areas and hence,
played an important role in the controlling of small localities and also in
cementing the social linkages between the donor, the donee and the people of
the area.

Some of the deductions for Phase 1 are well-known from the earlier
studies on the land grant economy. Thus, for TYPE I, most of the grants were
made in the form of big villages which were in the process of being inhabited.
In this case most of the grants made were found located around the core area
clearly suggesting to us that the earliest expansion and control of resources
took place around the core area of early Chajukyan rule. Thus, gradually the
adjoining rural and tribal areas were acculturated through creating new
agrahara villages that contributed to steady agrarian expansion. When most of
the grants were made in rural uninhabited areas, it is noticed that lengthy
fabricated genealogies do not appear under TYPE I. On the other hand, in TYPE
II, we observed that land donations in the form of villages and sometimes
groups of villages were given in both the rural and urban areas. Most of these
also appeared to be inhabited areas. This information occurs frequently along
with mention of administrative groups in these localities. In this regard, we
argued that with the consolidation of the kings power in small localities through
extensive land donations was motivated by the urge to enhance their royal
image and they did so by universalizing and legitimizing their authority by
creating lengthy family genealogies extending up to more than 25 generations.

For Phase 2, an analysis of the data for TYPE III on nature of grants
revealed differences between the Eastern Deccan and the Western Deccan. We
observed that in the Eastern Deccan, most of the grants were still made in the
form of villages as converted agraharas that were all inhabited as indicated by
reference to an increased number of administrators. By this time, the political
control of the main ruling family was beginning to diminish and this further
accentuated the need to redefine specific socially powerful identity in the
villages that were given these grants. Consequently, one noted that the
fabrication of lengthy mythical and semi-historical genealogies that glorified the
king’s ancestry by connecting his linkages with legendary families of the hoary
past were generally prefixed to these types of grants. These genealogies ensured legitimacy to king's claims for superior authority over and above other contending elites in these localities. On the other hand, in the Western Deccan, we noticed that most of the grants were made in the form of small pieces of land given in different measurements. This indicated that the exclusive donation of big villages as noted in Phase 1 was now giving way to other forms of grants that were smaller in size. This also testified to the existence of multiplicity of rights on land. Hence, we noted that grants were not only made by the ruling elites, but also local chiefs and other dominant social groups. Further, most of the grants were found to be chiefly made to the temple. In these cases reference to lengthy mythical genealogies of the king in the grants made to the temple by local chiefs is significant because, by now, the temple had emerged as a dominant ideological institution providing legitimization and identity to the ruling elite. It would also mean the acceptance of king's authority by the ever-increasing challenge provided by the local chiefs.

During Phase 2 for TYPE IV, we observed that the practice of land donations in the form of villages was completely absent. Instead, we noted that grants in this TYPE were invariably made in small pieces of land given in different measurements, commodities, taxes, cash, revenues, and so on. This, we suggested was due to the rise of new economic forces leading to the development of an urban economy. Economic resources came to be vested not only in various functionaries of the temple and the State but it also led consequentially, to the creation of a powerful class of landed aristocracy. This had a concomitant effect leading to the declining direct influence of the king as the owner of the land. Though, ruling elites continued to make grants these were, however, donated only in small portions of land. Apart from this, a variety of commodities were donated depending on the economic capacity of the donor. Thus, the nature of economic control underwent significant changes during this Phase. In many ways these changes were tied up to how various social groups interacted with the State and also, the way they engaged in competing in the new economic scenario. The impact of all these changes on the way the genealogies of ruling elites were written in TYPE IV became clearly apparent. Genealogies of ruling elites are now completely absent and instead genealogies of the local chiefs emerge. We have argued that this was primarily
because of the change in the control of the economic resources from the king to the local political and social elite.

In this Chapter, we have also discussed the role of scribes in different TYPE of genealogies, because they formed the literate group who were not only employed to document land transactions, but most importantly, they were also the writers of genealogies in inscriptions. This, we suggested not only permitted an effective communication across time and space, but also provided certain immortality to the written source. As writers of 'history' for the ruling families, they collated and collected various sources in order to provide a justifiable identity and status to their respective patrons from these families.

In our concluding analysis in this Chapter, we highlighted that noting of smaller units of specific and 'real' time with reference to economic transactions that had a bearing on genealogies. This recording in inscriptions was done at the time when the grant was actually effected and therefore, carried much significance as it basically emphasized on contemporary time and as an effective mechanism to simultaneously become an agency of social control. This is indicative of the ruling elite's concern about contemporary issues and not only about their past. Thus, despite the fact that the genealogical narratives of these families were rooted in larger notions of time and identity, to control specific regions and localities they had to define the rules of governance in terms of small and specific units of time while handling the most pragmatic issues of resource production, mobilization and control.

Conquests resulting in spatial control or marriage alliances and establishing an elaborate network of patronage, however, were still not sufficient for the ruling elite to legitimate their complete authority both regionally and locally. Hence in Chapter VI, on IDEOLOGY, REGION AND PAN-INDIAN LINKAGES, we focussed on the ideological elements found in the prasastis of inscriptions that were embedded alongside the genealogical and military information. These elements, we argued, were crucial for our understanding of certain well-founded ideological and cultural traits and beliefs as found in the Vedic, Itihasa-Puran3 and local tradition implicated and reflected on the ideology of the ruling elite and their conscious attempts to link up their regional identities with Pan-India traditions, which were rooted in the
past. To understand this, we grouped the data into three broad categories: 1) Vedic/ Puranic linkages of the Pan-Indian tradition, 2) Beliefs systems at the regional as connected to Puranic forms of worship and 3) acculturation of tribal/ autochthonous and local elements into the temple cults. In our view, these were important to understand as they defined how the king's authority and his actions were linked to the cosmic powers. Order versus disorder as found effecting the Universe was used a metaphor to explain the king's task of overcoming his enemies and establishing order on earth.

Vedic sacrifices performed by kings and the knowledge of Smrti provided them a special prowess and status. They were also often said to draw strength from the Gods and heroes of the Itihasa-Purana to glorify their physical valor, courage, righteousness, generosity, and so on.

The deductions made in Chapter from this type of data for Phase 1 in the TYPE I and II genealogies provided information where the king as the performer of Vedic sacrifice (asvamedha). In the Eastern Deccan, however, the individual identity of the king as the performer of these sacrifices was replaced with the family identity, wherein the Chajukyas as a family entity have been described as the performer of sacrifices. In Phase 2, for TYPE III we observed reference to Vedic sacrifices only in the records from the Eastern Deccan and they were conspicuously absent in the Western Deccan — a trend that continued in TYPE IV. From, the above descriptions, we concluded that the preponderance of Vedic sacrifices in Phase 1, especially when the kingdom was expanding, were crucial primarily, because this type of pan-Indian linkages placed the king and his ancestors on a superior plane vis-a-vis his enemy who typified "disorder". These actions linked him up to cosmic forces that defined the order of the Universe. The origin of the king from cosmic forces was further buttressed from the mention of hiranyagartha (great gift) ceremony where the king was shown discarding his human body to assume a powerful divine body. Though references to this were found only in a couple of examples in TYPE I, it nonetheless, conveys its importance for the king to enhance his claims for absolute, sovereign authority during the initial stages of the growth of his power.
The next important category of pan-Indian linkage that we discussed in this Chapter, pertained to comparisons of king and his ancestors with the authors of legal texts that were primarily based on the *Sruti* and *Smfti* traditions and hence, were considered to be divine in origin. We argued that the main intention in drawing such comparisons was basically, to project the king as the upholder of *dharma* that bound him to maintain the hierarchical order of social relationships. This further raised the king to be almost like a super human being. Our data revealed more instances for TYPE I perhaps because during these early days these genealogies of kings were short and therefore, reference to these pan-Indian traditions was important to justify his claims for political authority. On the other hand, the declining references to these symbols in TYPE II alluded to the fact that by now a well-entrenched kingdom had evolved and new mechanisms for legitimation were in place and the need to project the king as an authority of law was superfluous. This legitimation was provided through greater descriptive accounts of extended genealogies as noted for TYPE II in Chapter III. Even under TYPE III, when the actual political power was seen waning, more than asserting the authority of the king through pan-Indian symbols of *dharma* as a legitimizing mechanism, the ruling elite fabricated genealogies from the *itihasa-purana* tradition of pan-Indian importance, as this provided a far more viable validation for their authority. Significantly, the local elite who had emerged to political prominence by Phase 2, were found comparing themselves with the law-makers, as exemplified in some examples of TYPE IV. This was surely an attempt by the local elite to enhance their status by adopting pan-India ideology of the symbols of *dharma* that served the purpose of apparently bringing them on par with the main ruling families and further, validate their authority in local situations.

As part of Pan-Indian linkages, we next discussed in this Chapter, the various comparisons the king drew with the Gods and the epic and puranic heroes to highlight not only his, but also his ancestors, personal attributes such as military prowess, diplomacy, righteousness, generosity and so on. For instance, in such references we noted that the king was likened with Visnu in conquering the world, Indra in valor, Bhima in prowess, Yudhisthira in righteousness, Sibi in liberality, and so on. For TYPE I during Phase 1,
numerically more examples of these references were found alluding both to the
king and his ancestors, than in TYPE II and III. Interestingly, these references
increased in TYPE IV during Phase 2, where the local chief was found drawing
comparisons with the epic and puranic heroes. From these descriptions in
different Phases, we concluded that when the political authority was in the
incipient stage of development at the local level, there was a tendency among
the ruling elite, as noted in TYPE I, or even a local chief as in TYPE IV, to linkup
with the pan-Indian mythic images of Gods and epic heroes, as this enhanced
their political and military images that had become a necessity to establish
effective moral and political authority. On the other hand, fewer examples in
TYPE II suggest that a greater stability during the later half of Phase 1 meant
that drawing on the immediate historical past was enough rather than making
exaggerated claims to pan-Indian linkages. However, in TYPE III, the
fabrication of lengthy mythical and semi-historical genealogy that connected
the ruling elites origins to pan-Indian traditions provided an alternative way to
solidify their new social and political identity especially at the time when their
political authority was diminishing at the beginning of Phase 2.

On the basis of these various types of pan-Indian linkages mentioned in
our data, we have concluded that these eulogistic accounts integrated with
different TYPES of genealogies, clearly reflected a tendency to refer to the past
culture that was based on unflinching belief in Vedic, Sastric and Puranic
tradition. The king with exaggerated attributes of divine and omnipotent
powers was only to reflect that the enemy had been over powered atleast in
rhetoric. These ideological moorings of memorizing and retrieving the mythic
past in a selective manner was equally crucial to enhance ruling elites present
sense of social identity.

In fact, the notion of ascribing divine characteristics to the king through
pan-Indian linkages referred to only one dimension of ideological mechanism.
At the other level of ideology, we have belief systems rooted in religious
consciousness that provided the king with another method through which he
drew parallelism with God. In the context of our study, we find that there
existed different religious faiths such as Saivism, Vaisnavism, Jainism and other
sectarian groups like Kalamukhas, the Pasupatas, etc, who had a large social base.

To understand these dimensions of ideological linkages, we first described the various beginning with worship of Gods of pan-Indian importance, such as Lord Narayana, Mahasena, Karttikeya, Jina and so on. A natural corollary of worshipping Gods was the construction of temples and performing of rituals and festivals that squarely corresponded with the life-style of the king. Next, we discussed the various boons and favors, which the Chajukyan kings are supposed to have received from the various Gods and Goddesses. Thus, for instance, we noticed Chajukyas referring to themselves as being protected by the Saptamatrikas, acquired the kingdom by the favor of Goddess Kausiki or that they accomplished prosperity of the kingdom by the favor of Karttikeya and so on. This data was found invariably in first three TYPES of genealogies. These categories of information was crucial for us as it enabled to envisage clearly how the king tried to linkup himself with the macro-cosmic god while reinforcing his micro-cosmic representation on the earth.

In Phase 1 it was found that in both TYPE I and II genealogies the information revealed that the ruling elites were more inclined towards Brahmanism as known from their adoption of titles namely, paramabrahmanya. Further, patronization of brahmanas, well-versed in Vedas and the performance of Vedic sacrifices buttresses this assumption. Brahmanas as religious specialists representing the "sacred power" could provide validation to "temporal authority" and further, elevated the status of the king to the level of a micro-cosmic power through performing various rituals. Nonetheless, along with Brahmanism, there also co-existed elements of Puranic religion through the mention of gods like 6iva and Visnu in their prasastis. Jainism also received patronage from ruling elite during this Phase, but to a limited extent.

In Phase 2 for both TYPES III and IV genealogies, the data showed a perceptible change in the attitude of the ruling elites towards different religious sects. During this phase, we find a clear dominance of such religious sects like
Saivism and Vaisnavism. These two religious sects emerged in a big way so as to overshadow the earlier importance given to the Vedic religion. In fact, *bhakti*, became the dominant ideology, which with its messianic appeal integrated new values of devotion, loyalty and complete surrender towards the deity. Further, by drawing parallelism of the deity and king, *bhakti* acted as an important ideology of the ruling elites for legitimization. Thus, we noted that the data for Phase 2 revealed proliferation of both the Saivite and Jaina temples. This is inferred from the numerous grants given for the construction of these temples, their repairs and to religious teachers of these affiliations. Attempts were made by kings of the main ruling families as well as dominant social groups to seek affiliation with a deity in the temple. This is inferred from the variety of the names of deities that corresponded squarely with the names of social groups that installed them or patronized them. And these descriptions were clearly indicative of a significant expansion in the social base of temple patronage, which, we argued, had crucial implications for the acculturation and appropriation of the local cults such as the cult of Narasimha and so on and the consequent absorption of the local tribal groups at various levels of the social structure. Thus, from the discussions in this Chapter at different levels, we observed that pan-India linkages alluding to a sense of past co-existed with adopting the local belief systems and these enabled the ruling groups to resurrect and protect their special identity while, at the same time being inclusive to change from time to time.

In each of the Chapters, we have been able to arrive at the following conclusions for different TYPES of genealogies delineated for the present study. Thus we concluded that for TYPE I, when the genealogies were simple the mythical notions of time dealt with was hazy and the historical time remembered was very short. Hence, this also precluded these families having a strong cohesive social identity based on well-ordered and comprehensible family history. The reason why small genealogies are representative for this TYPE was not difficult to explain. It was mainly due to the fact that the Chalukyas were just emerging as strong political power, their military conquests were limited in the early Phase and their spatial expansion was mostly around the core area of their control. Further, we deduced that most of the grants they made were largely in the rural virgin lands. Hence, their
economic control too was rather limited. However, for new ruling elites it was equally important to have firm identity in their localities and this was done by referring to pompous military titles, patronizing *brahmanas*, performing Vedic sacrifices, drawing comparisons with Gods and puranic and epic heroes that linked them to pan-Indian traditions of the mythical past. All these mechanisms that alluded to divine attributes of the king were clearly meant to provide him with immediate validation for his authority, especially when he could not use a family past and glory that had been impossible to articulate at this stage.

The emergence of TYPE II genealogies with an extended historical genealogy, we concluded took place at a time when the political expansion of the kingdom through military conquests was at its peak. Not only did the kings expand their spatial control at this time but, to control these larger areas they contracted marriage alliances with powerful neighboring kings and donated large groups of villages to *brahmanas*, warriors and, in some cases, to temples in order to exercise effective control over smaller localities and thus enhance agrarian production. With a well-entrenched socio-administrative system to lean on and with a now strong family history constructed, naturally other ideological mechanisms like drawing on pan-Indian linkages gradually decreased in this TYPE. On the other hand, on the religious front, patronage of Puranic religions like Saivism and Vaisnavism and construction of temples gained momentum. This clearly indicates to us that with an enlargement of historical genealogies the patronage of religious cults that had a strong local social base increased and an identity on the based on only pan-Indian linkages was minimized.

In the context of TYPE III, we concluded that, for the first time, the fabrication of lengthy mythical and semi-historical genealogies connected the origins of the ruling family to the Lunar and Solar families of the hoary and legendary past. Use of eras had become more prolific in this TYPE, significantly indicating the concern of these families to preserve this past and to enhance their claims for powerful social and political identity by locating it in more pragmatic terms by recording present time, thus giving it a certain fixity. The need for writing such a past resulted from the political and economic compulsions of the time. In this regard, we noted that the period between the
11th to the 12th century witnessed political and economic transformations. On the political front, the control of kings was gradually weakening giving way to the rise of new local political and landed elites. Further, the brahmanical domination noticed in the earlier Phase was getting overshadowed by the growing influence of temple. This had its implications on the changes in economy that in Phase 2 appeared relatively urban than only the agrarian in nature. Further, with the growing influence of the Puranic religion and the emergence of temple as a dominant ideological force, meant that attempts to glorify the divine image of the king through Vedic sacrifices and analogies was greatly reduced in this TYPE. However, this does not mean weakening of pan-Indian linkages, since, at the same time the lengthy mythical genealogies were purely drawn from the puranic and epic sources and these sharply characterized the genealogies we had categorized as TYPE III. Thus a new concern to write family history using the mythical past to create a strong social identity came to dominate the inscriptions.

In TYPE IV, for same Phase, we conclude that the genealogies of local chiefs appeared in the records issued by kings, but with an absence of their own genealogies. Not only had the local chiefs emerged as politico-economic force by this time, but in order to assert their power and social identity in newly emerging complex society, they naturally tried to emulate the genealogies of kings and imitating them in drawing comparisons with Gods and epic heroes.

Our over all conclusions suggest that the process of writing genealogies sometimes drawing on an imagined past were essential to resurrect one's social identity. However, this could not be only be drawing on powerful and exaggerated imagery and was coterminous with the political, economic, social and ideological transformations that took place over the period of our study. Thus, by bring out the interplay of these various factors in their totality, we were clearly able to envisage how, memory and history as depicted through genealogies got transformed by the external forces that equally played a crucial role in controlling the society. Thus, explaining the necessity of carefully articulating narration about the past, consolidating and refurbishing social identities and maintaining political and economic order, have been the core of our concerns in writing this thesis. Having done this in a regional context and within the specific parameters of the early medieval period, now recognized as
a critical period of transition, has enabled us to conclude on the vastness of social complexity on the Indian sub-continent, which must necessarily be revealed through micro-level studies, not withstanding that these must incessantly be linked to pan-Indian civilizational concerns.

Our major contributions in terms of historical research carried out in this study are at two levels, the empirical and the theoretical. At the empirical level, for the first time a microscopic categorization 220 Chalukyan inscriptions has been done in four broad themes of data collected for this thesis on genealogies, titles, grants and belief systems.

By classifying this data in a new way, we have been able to first effectively highlight changes in the mode of writing genealogies. It in fact, it needs to be reiterated here, that hitherto, scholars have used these sources to write only political history. But, our study has clearly shown how genealogies can be more effectively used to write social history, as this was also the main concern of the ruling elite. The perceptions of the past were entwined into framing their family history, on the one hand, to distance themselves from their immediate local situations while, on the other hand to, establish pan-Indian linkages to bolster their social status.

Similarly, whereas in conventional historiography, scholars have used the data on the acquisition of various titles after military conquests to glorify the greatness of the king and to demarcate the physical extent of his empire, in the present thesis, by classifying this information on this aspect pertaining to the king and his ancestors, we were able to describe how new spatial control necessitated a drawing on the past military achievements of ancestors. Some of these were based on memory, others were fictitious, but they all suggested a mode of history writing essential for the ruling family to maintain control over the newly conquered territories. The classification of data on economic and social aspects enabled us to juxtapose the ideological and political factors of controlling the past with more pragmatic concerns of controlling the present. We argued that the grant portions of inscriptions should not be absolutely detached from the prasasti sections but should be read together. At the ideological level, by looking at the pan-Indian linkages we not only referred to
the religious ideology of ruling elites, but also by classified the information on various comparisons drawn between the king and Gods and Puranic heroes. Further looking at this information in the context of both the king and his ancestors, we were able to clearly show the presence of a historical consciousness hidden in this data.

Since, all this information is presented in a single source namely, the inscriptions, we pertinently moved away from the conventional method of narrating political history in linear time to a more complex method of describing social history that manifested a complex matrix of the co-existence of linear and cyclic notions of time. The regional specificity of this case study further highlighted a clearly formulated Chajukyan identities but that which also recognized differences between the various families. Rigid formulations of maintaining exclusionary identities was not the norm but rather, the focus was on continuing and expanding it through marriage alliances outside their own gotra or kin affiliation. Thus, a detailed study of these sources helped us to clearly envisage homogeneous and heterogeneous elements that made Chaiukyan family history at one level cohesive, and at the other expressive of individual identity.

At the theoretical level, our efforts in this study have been to enrich the ongoing debate in recent historical research to re-looking at specific source materials for different periods of pre-modern history, so as to dispel the misconceptions that early Indians lacked in a sense of history. Our study not only dismisses this erroneous notion, but more pertinently, we have been able to clearly show that not one, but multiple notions of historical consciousness had existed in the writing of genealogies. Further, we were also able to clearly indicate through the changes reflected in the writing of our sources that this looking back to the past was important as the Chaiukyan ruling elites used it to lay claims over peoples they conquered during the course of their history. Family history was thus a critical and sensitive to provide self-esteem to them but equally valid to handle contemporary local concerns.

Finally, by studying genealogies and making them a core part of this historical analysis, we were able to argue how a social variable highlighted
historical narration. The complex structures of memory and time that were intrinsic to it, however, underwent changes in sequel with the other changes that marked the social, political, economic and ideological spheres of activity during the early medieval times. Social history need not therefore, be seen as a separate entity. Rather, it was a dimension that was presented in all aspects of historical activity; be it military, political, economic or ideological. It is our overall assessment that if one has to rid oneself of popular notions that social categories of identity formation were rigid in the past, or that Indians lacked a sense of history, the only way to do so is to contextualize studies of these aspects to a regional level. It is in the smaller narratives scattered all over the country in different forms of recording that enables us to get a sense of how social and ideological moorings of this country had evolved. The discourse of History as it has developed in the context of the nation-state was clearly absent in early medieval times but, history as a mode of remembering, recording and manipulating for political and ideological purposes was very much present. To decipher the innumerable trajectories of how this was done one has to move to smaller domains of time and space as done by us in taking u a case study of the Chajukyan families. Their genealogies had simultaneously inherent in them modes of historical narration and social concerns that were seminal to their cementing of socio-political and socio-economic power,