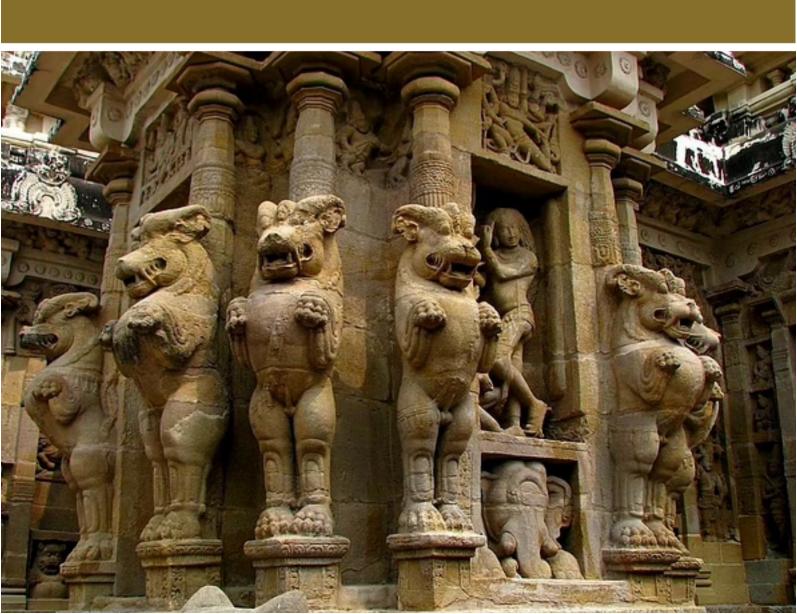
# Indian History 12th Century

**Dennis Harrison** 



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Indian History: 12th Century

by Dennis Harrison

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### Chapter 1

# Western Chalukya Empire

The Western Chalukya Empire ruled most of the western Deccan, South India, between the 10th and 12th centuries. This Kannadiga dynasty is sometimes called the Kalyani Chalukya after regal capital its at Kalyani, today's Basavakalyan in the modern Bidar District of Karnataka state, and alternatively the Later Chalukya from its theoretical relationship to the 6th-century Chalukya dynasty of Badami. The dynasty is called Western Chalukyas to differentiate from the contemporaneous Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi, a separate dynasty. Prior to the rise of these Chalukyas, the Rashtrakuta empire of Manyakheta controlled most of Deccan and Central India for over two centuries. In 973, seeing confusion in the Rashtrakuta empire after a successful invasion of their capital by the ruler of the Paramara dynasty of Malwa, Tailapa II, a feudatory of the Rashtrakuta Dynasty ruling from Bijapur region defeated his overlords and made Manyakheta his capital. The dynasty quickly rose to power and grew into an empire under Someshvara I who moved the capital to Kalyani.

For over a century, the two empires of Southern India, the Western Chalukyas and the Chola dynasty of Tanjore fought many fierce wars to control the fertile region of Vengi. During these conflicts, the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi, distant cousins of the Western Chalukyas but related to the Cholas by marriage took sides with the Cholas further complicating the situation. During the rule of Vikramaditya VI, in the late 11th and early 12th centuries, the Western Chalukyas convincingly contended with the Cholas and reached a peak ruling

territories that spread over most of the Deccan, between the Narmada River in the north and Kaveri River in the south. His exploits were not limited to the south for even as a prince, during the rule of Someshvara I, he had led successful military campaigns as far east as modern Bihar and Bengal. During this period the other major ruling families of the Deccan, the Hoysalas, the Seuna Yadavas of Devagiri, the Kakatiya dynasty and the Southern Kalachuris of Kalyani, were subordinates of the Western Chalukyas and gained their independence only when the power of the Chalukya waned during the later half of the 12th century.

The Western Chalukyas developed an architectural style known today as a transitional style, an architectural link between the style of the early Chalukya dynasty and that of the later Hoysala empire. Most of its monuments are in the districts bordering the Tungabhadra River in central Karnataka. Well known examples are the Kasivisvesvara Temple at Lakkundi, the Mallikarjuna Temple at Kuruvatti, the Kallesvara Temple at Bagali and the Mahadeva Temple at Itagi. This was an important period in the development of fine arts in Southern India, especially in literature as the Western Chalukya kings encouraged writers in their native language Kannada and Sanskrit.

# **History**

Knowledge of Western Chalukya history has come through examination of the numerous Kannada language inscriptions left by the kings (scholars Sheldon Pollock and Jan Houben have claimed 90 percent of the Chalukyan royal inscriptions are in Kannada), and from the study of important

contemporary literary documents in Western Chalukya literature such as Gada Yuddha (982) in Kannada by Ranna and Vikramankadeva Charitam (1120) in Sanskrit by Bilhana. The earliest record is dated 957, during the rule of Tailapa II when the Western Chalukyas were still a feudatory of the Rashtrakutas and Tailapa II governed from Tardavadi in present-day Bijapur district, Karnataka. The genealogy of the kings of this empire is still debated. One theory, based on contemporary literary and inscriptional evidence plus the finding that the Western Chalukyas employed titles and names commonly used by the early Chalukyas, suggests that the Western Chalukya kings belonged to the same family line as the illustrious Badami Chalukya dynasty of the 6th century, while other Western Chalukya inscriptional evidence indicates they were a distinct line unrelated to the early Chalukyas.

The records suggests a possible rebellion by a local Chalukya King, Chattigadeva of Banavasi-12000 province (c. 967), in alliance with local Kadamba chieftains. This rebellion however was unfruitful but paved the way for his successor Tailapa II. A few years later, Tailapa II re-established Chalukya rule and defeated the Rashtrakutas during the reign of Karka II by timing his rebellion to coincide with the confusion caused in the Rashtrakuta capital of Manyakheta by the invading Paramaras of Central India in 973. After overpowering the Rashtrakutas, Tailapa II moved his capital to Manyakheta and consolidated the Chalukya empire in the western Deccan by subjugating the Paramara and other aggressive rivals and extending his control over the land between the Narmada River and Tungabhadra River. However, some inscriptions indicate that Balagamve in Mysore territory may have been a power centre up to the rule of Someshvara I in 1042.

The intense competition between the kingdom of the western Deccan and those of the Tamil country came to the fore in the 11th century over the acutely contested fertile river valleys in the doab region of the Krishna and Godavari River called Vengi (modern coastal Andhra Pradesh). The Western Chalukyas and the Chola Dynasty fought many bitter wars over control of this strategic resource. The imperial Cholas gained power during the time of the famous king Rajaraja Chola I and the crown prince Rajendra Chola I. The Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi were cousins of the Western Chalukyas but became increasingly influenced by the Cholas through their marital ties with the Tamil kingdom. As this was against the interests of the Western Chalukyas, they wasted no time in involving themselves politically and militarily in Vengi. When King Satyashraya succeeded Tailapa II to the throne, he was able to protect his kingdom from Chola aggression as well as his northern territories in Konkan and Gujarat although his control over Vengi was shaky. His successor, Jayasimha II, fought many battles with the Cholas in the south around c. 1020-21 when both these powerful kingdoms struggled to choose the Vengi king. Shortly thereafter in c. Jayasimha II subdued the Paramara of central India and the rebellious Yadava King Bhillama.

It is known from records that Jayasimha's son Someshvara I, whose rule historian Sen considers a brilliant period in the Western Chalukya rule, moved the Chalukya capital to Kalyani in c. 1042. Hostilities with the Cholas continued while both sides won and lost battles, though neither lost significant territory during the ongoing struggle to install a puppet on the Vengi throne. In 1068 Someshvara I, suffering from an incurable illness, drowned himself in the Tungabhadra River

(Paramayoga). Despite many conflicts with the Cholas in the south, Someshvara I had managed to maintain control over the northern territories in Konkan, Gujarat, Malwa and Kalinga during his rule. His successor, his eldest son Someshvara II, younger brother, Vikramaditya VI, feuded with his ambitious warrior who had initially been governor of Gangavadi in the southern Deccan when Someshvara II was the king. Before 1068, even as a prince, Vikramaditya VI had invaded Bengal, weakening the ruling Pala Empire. These incursions led to the establishment of Karnata dynasties such as the Sena dynasty and Varman dynasty in Bengal, and the Nayanadeva dynasty in Bihar., Married to a Chola princess (a daughter of Vira Rajendra Chola), Vikramaditya VI maintained a friendly alliance with them. After the death of the Chola king in 1070, Vikramaditya VI invaded the Tamil kingdom and installed his brother-in-law, Adhirajendra, on the throne creating conflict with Kulothunga Chola I, the powerful ruler of Vengi who sought the Chola throne for himself. At the same time Vikramaditya VI undermined his brother, Someshvara II, by winning the loyalty of the Chalukya feudatories: the Hoysala, the Seuna and the Kadambas of Hangal. Anticipating a civil war, Someshvara II sought help from Vikramaditya VI's enemies, Kulothunga Chola I and the Kadambas of Goa. In the ensuing conflict of 1076, Vikramaditya VI emerged victorious and proclaimed himself king of the Chalukya empire.

The fifty-year reign of Vikramaditya VI, the most successful of the later Chalukya rulers, was an important period in Karnataka's history and is referred to by historians as the "Chalukya Vikrama era". Not only was he successful in controlling his powerful feudatories in the north (Kadamba Jayakesi II of Goa, Silhara Bhoja and the Yadava King) and

south (Hoysala Vishnuvardhana), he successfully dealt with the imperial Cholas whom he defeated in the battle of Vengi in 1093 and again in 1118. He retained this territory for many years despite ongoing hostilities with the Cholas. This victory in Vengi reduced the Chola influence in the eastern Deccan and made him emperor of territories stretching from the Kaveri River in the south to the Narmada River in the north, earning him the titles Permadideva and Tribhuvanamalla (lord of three worlds). The scholars of his time paid him glowing tributes for his military leadership, interest in fine arts and religious tolerance. Literature proliferated and scholars in Kannada and Sanskrit adorned his court. Poet Bilhana, who immigrated from far away Kashmir, eulogised the king in his well-known work Vikramankadeva Charita. Vikramaditya VI was not only an able warrior but also a devout king as indicated by his numerous inscriptions that record grants made to scholars and centers of religion.

The continual warring with the Cholas exhausted both empires, giving their subordinates the opportunity to rebel. In the decades after Vikramaditya VI's death in 1126, the empire steadily decreased in size as their powerful feudatories expanded in autonomy and territorial command. The time period between 1150 and 1200 saw many hard fought battles between the Chalukyas and their feudatories who were also at war with each other. By the time of Jagadhekamalla II, the Chalukyas had lost control of Vengi and his successor, Tailapa III, was defeated by the Kakatiya king Prola in 1149. Tailapa III was taken captive and later released bringing down the prestige of the Western Chalukyas. Seeing decadence and uncertainty seeping into Chalukya rule, the Hoysalas and Seunas also encroached upon the empire. Hoysala Narasimha I

defeated and killed Tailapa III but was unable to overcome the Kalachuris who were vying for control of the same region. In 1157 the Kalachuris of Kalyanis under Bijjala II captured Kalyani and occupied it for the next twenty years, forcing the Chalukyas to move their capital to Annigeri in the present day Dharwad district.

The Kalachuris were originally immigrants into the southern from central India and called themselves Deccan Kalanjarapuravaradhisavaras. Bijjala II and his ancestors had governed as Chalukya commanders (Mahamandaleshwar) over the Karhad-4000 and Tardavadi-1000 provinces (overlapping region in present-day Karnataka and Maharashtra) with Mangalavada or Annigeri as their capital. Bijjala II's Chikkalagi record of 1157 calls him Mahabhujabala Chakravarti ("emperor with powerful shoulders and arms") indicating he no longer was a subordinate of the Chalukyas. However the successors of Bijjala II were unable to hold on to Kalyani and their rule ended in 1183 when the last Chalukya scion, Someshvara IV made a final bid to regain the empire by recapturing Kalyani. Kalachuri King Sankama was killed by Chalukya general Narasimha in this conflict. During this time, Hoysala Veera Ballala II was growing ambitious and clashed on several occasions with the Chalukyas and the other claimants over their empire. He defeated Chalukya Someshvara IV and Seuna Bhillama V bringing large regions in the Krishna River valley under the Hoysala domains, but was unsuccessful against Kalachuris. The Seunas under Bhillama V were imperialistic expansion too when the Chalukyas regained Kalvani. Their ambitions were temporarily stemmed by their defeat against Chalukya general Barma in 1183 but they later had their vengeance in 1189.

The overall effort by Someshvara IV to rebuild the Chalukya empire failed and the dynasty was ended by the Seuna rulers who drove Someshvara IV into exile in Banavasi 1189. After the fall of the Chalukyas, the Seunas and Hoysalas continued warring over the Krishna River region in 1191, each inflicting a defeat on the other at various points in time. This period saw the fall of two great empires, the Chalukyas of the western Deccan and the Cholas of Tamilakam. On the ruins of these two empires were built the Kingdoms of their feudatories whose mutual antagonisms filled the annals of Deccan history for over a hundred years, the Pandyas taking control over some regions of the erstwhile Chola empire.

### **Administration**

The Western Chalukya kingship was hereditary, passing to the king's brother if the king did not have a male heir. The administration was highly decentralised and feudatory clans such as the Alupas, the Hoysalas, the Kakatiya, the Seuna, the southern Kalachuri and others were allowed to rule their annual tribute to the autonomous provinces, paying an Chalukya emperor. Excavated inscriptions record titles such as (Chief Mahapradhana minister), Sandhivigrahika, and Dharmadhikari (chief justice). Some positions such as Tadeyadandanayaka (commander of reserve army) were specialised in function while all ministerial positions included the role of Dandanayaka (commander), showing that cabinet members were trained as army commanders as well as in general administrative skills.

The kingdom was divided into provinces such as Banavasi-12000, Nolambavadi-32000, Gangavadi-96000, each name

including the number of villages under its jurisdiction. The large provinces were divided into smaller provinces containing a lesser number of villages, as in Belavola-300. The big provinces were called Mandala and under them were Nadu further divided into Kampanas (groups of villages) and finally a Bada (village). A Mandala was under a member of the royal family, a trusted feudatory or a senior official. Tailapa II himself was in charge of Tardavadi province during the Rashtrakuta rule. Chiefs of Mandalas were transferable based on political developments. For example, an official named Bammanavya administered Banavasi-12000 under King Someshvara III but was later transferred to Halasige-12000. Women from the royal family also administered Nadus and Kampanas. Army commanders titled were Mahamandaleshwaras and those who headed a Nadu were entitled Nadugouvnda.

The Western Chalukyas minted punch-marked gold pagodas with Kannada and Nagari legends which were large, thin gold coins with several varying punch marks on the obverse side. They usually carried multiple punches of symbols such as a stylised lion, Sri in Kannada, a spearhead, the king's title, a lotus and others. Jayasimha II used the legend Sri Jaya, Someshvara I issued coins with Sri Tre lo ka malla, Someshvara II used Bhuvaneka malla, Lakshmideva's coin carried Sri Lasha, and Jagadhekamalla II coinage had the legend Sri Jagade. The Alupas, a feudatory, minted coins with the Kannada and Nagari legend Sri Pandya Dhanamjaya. Lakkundi in Gadag district and Sudi in Dharwad district were the main mints (Tankhashaley). Their heaviest gold coin was Gadyanaka weighting 96 grains, Dramma weighted 65 grains,

Kalanju 48 grains, Kasu 15 grains, Manjadi 2.5 grains, Akkam 1.25 grains and Pana 9.6 grain.

## **Economy**

Agriculture was the empire's main source of income through taxes on land and produce. The majority of the people lived in villages and worked farming the staple crops of rice, pulses, and cotton in the dry areas and sugarcane in areas having sufficient rainfall, with areca and betel being the chief cash crops. The living conditions of the labourers who farmed the land must have been bearable as there are no records of revolts by the landless against wealthy landlords. If peasants were disgruntled the common practice was to migrate in large numbers out of the jurisdiction of the ruler who was mistreating them, thereby depriving him of revenue from their labor.

Taxes were levied on mining and forest products, and additional income was raised through tolls for the use of transportation facilities. The state also collected fees from customs, professional licenses, and judicial fines. Records show horses and salt were taxed as well as commodities (gold, textiles, perfumes) and agricultural produce (black pepper, paddy, spices, betel leaves, palm leaves, coconuts and sugar). Land tax assessment was based on frequent surveys evaluating the quality of land and the type of produce. Chalukya records specifically mention black soil and red soil lands in addition to wetland, dry land and wasteland in determining taxation rates.

Key figures mentioned in inscriptions from rural areas were the Gavundas (officials) or Goudas. The Gavundas belonged to two levels of economic strata, the *Praja Gavunda* (people's Gavunda) and the *Prabhu Gavunda* (lord of Gavundas). They served the dual purpose of representing the people before the rulers as well as functioning as state appointees for tax collection and the raising of militias. They are mentioned in inscriptions related to land transactions, irrigation maintenance, village tax collection and village council duties.

The organisation of corporate enterprises became common in the 11th century. Almost all arts and crafts were organised into guilds and work was done on a corporate basis; records do not mention individual artists, sculptors and craftsman. Only in the regions ruled by the Hoysala did individual sculptors etched their names below their creations. Merchants organised themselves into powerful guilds that transcended political divisions, allowing their operations to be largely unaffected by wars and revolutions.

Their only threat was the possibility of theft from brigands when their ships and caravans traveled to distant lands. Powerful South Indian merchant guilds included Manigramam, the Nagarattar and the Anjuvannam. Local guilds were called nagaram, while the Nanadesis were traders from neighbouring kingdoms who perhaps mixed business with pleasure. The wealthiest and most influential and celebrated of Indian merchant guilds was the self-styled Ainnurruvar, also known as the 500 Svamis of Ayyavolepura (Brahmins and Mahajanas of present-day Aihole), who trade conducted extensive land and sea and thereby contributed significantly to the total foreign trade of the fiercely protected its trade obligations (Vira Bananjudharma or law of the noble merchants) and its

members often recorded their achievements in inscriptions (*prasasti*). Five hundred such excavated *Prasasti* inscriptions, with their own flag and emblem, the bull, record their pride in their business.

Rich traders contributed significantly to the king's treasury through paying import and export taxes. The edicts of the Aihole *Svamis* mention trade ties with foreign kingdoms such as Chera, Pandya, Maleya (Malaysia), Magadh, Kaushal, Saurashtra, Kurumba, Kambhoja (Cambodia), Lata (Gujarat), Parasa (Persia) and Nepal. Travelling both land and sea routes, these merchants traded mostly in precious stones, spices and perfumes, and other specialty items such as camphor. Business flourished in precious stones such as diamonds, lapis lazuli, onyx, topaz, carbuncles and emeralds. Commonly traded spices were cardamom, saffron, and cloves, while perfumes included the by-products of sandalwood, bdellium, musk, civet and rose. These items were sold either in bulk or hawked on streets by local merchants in towns.

The Western Chalukyas controlled most of South India's west coast and by the 10th century they had established extensive trade ties with the Tang Empire of China, the empires of Southeast Asia and the Abbasid Caliphate in Bhagdad, and by the 12th-century Chinese fleets were frequenting Indian ports. Exports to Song Dynasty China included textiles, spices, medicinal plants, jewels, ivory, rhino horn, ebony and camphor. The same products also reached ports in the west such as Dhofar and Aden. The final destinations for those trading with the west were Persia, Arabia and Egypt. The thriving trade center of Siraf, a port on the eastern coast of the Persian Gulf, served an international clientele of merchants

including those from the Chalukya empire who were feasted by wealthy local merchants during business visits. An indicator of the Indian merchants' importance in Siraf comes from records describing dining plates reserved for them. In addition to this, received Siraf aloe wood. perfumes, sandalwood and condiments. The most expensive import to South India were Arabian horse shipments, this trade being monopolised by Arabs and local Brahmin merchants. Traveller Marco Polo, in the 13th century, recorded that the breeding of horses never succeeded in India due to differing climatic, soil and grassland conditions.

### Culture

#### Religion

The fall of the Rashtrakuta empire to the Western Chalukyas in the 10th century, coinciding with the defeat of the Western Ganga Dynasty by the Cholas in Gangavadi, was a setback to Jainism. The growth of Virashaivism in the Chalukya territory and Vaishnava Hinduism in the Hoysala region paralleled a general decreased interest in Jainism, although the succeeding kingdoms continued to be religiously tolerant. Two locations of Jain worship in the Hoysala territory continued to patronaged, Shravanabelagola and Kambadahalli. The decline of Buddhism in South India had begun in the 8th century with the spread of Adi Shankara's Advaita philosophy. The only places of Buddhist worship that remained during the Western Chalukya rule were at Dambal and Balligavi. There is no mention of religious conflict in the writings and inscriptions of the time which suggest the religious transition was smooth.

Although the origin of the Virashaiva faith has been debated, the movement grew through its association with Basavanna in the 12th century. Basavanna and other Virashaiva saints preached of a faith without a caste system. In his Vachanas (a form of poetry), Basavanna appealed to the masses in simple Kannada and wrote "work is worship" (Kayakave Kailasa). Also known as the Lingayats (worshipers of the Linga, the universal symbol of Shiva), these Virashaivas questioned many of the established norms of society such as the belief in rituals and the theory of rebirth and supported the remarriage of widows and the marriage of unwed older women. This gave more social freedom to women but they were not accepted into the priesthood. Ramanujacharya, the head of the Vaishnava monastery in Srirangam, traveled to the Hoysala territory and preached the way of devotion (bhakti marga). He later wrote Sribhashya, a commentary on Badarayana Brahmasutra, a the Advaita philosophy of critique Adi Shankara. Ramanujacharya's stay in Melkote resulted in the Hoysala King Vishnuvardhana converting to Vaishnavism, a faith that his successors also followed.

The impact of these religious developments on the culture, literature, and architecture in South India was profound. Important works of metaphysics and poetry based on the teachings of these philosophers were written over the next centuries. Akka Mahadevi, Allama Prabhu, and a host of Basavanna's followers, including Chenna Basava, Prabhudeva, Siddharama, and Kondaguli Kesiraja wrote hundreds of poems called Vachanas in praise of Lord Shiva. The esteemed scholars the Hoysala court, Harihara and Raghavanka, were Virashaivas. This tradition continued into the Vijayanagar such well-known empire with scholars as Singiraja,

Mallanarya, Lakkana Dandesa and other prolific writers of Virashaiva literature. The Saluva, Tuluva and the Vijayanagar dynasties of empire followers of were Vaishnavism and a Vaishnava temple with an image of Ramanujacharya exists today in the Vitthalapura area of Vijayanagara. Scholars in the succeeding Mysore Kingdom wrote works Vaishnavite supporting the teachings of Ramanujacharya. King Vishnuvardhana built many temples after his conversion from Jainism to Vaishnavism.

#### **Society**

The rise of Veerashaivaism was revolutionary and challenged the prevailing Hindu caste system which retained royal support. The social role of women largely depended on their economic status and level of education in this relatively liberal period. Freedom was more available to women in the royal and affluent urban families. Records describe the participation of women in the fine arts, such as Chalukya queen Chandala Devi's and Kalachuris of Kalyani queen Sovala Devi's skill in dance and music.

The compositions of thirty Vachana women poets included the work of the 12th-century Virashaiva mystic Akka Mahadevi whose devotion to the *bhakti* movement is well known. Contemporary records indicate some royal women were involved in administrative and martial affairs such as princess Akkadevi, (sister of King Jayasimha II) who fought and defeated rebellious feudals. Inscriptions emphasise public acceptance of widowhood indicating that Sati (a custom in which a dead man's widow used to immolate herself on her husband's funeral pyre) though present was on a voluntary

basis. Ritual deaths to achieve salvation were seen among the Jains who preferred to fast to death (Sallekhana), while people of some other communities chose to jump on spikes (Shoolabrahma) or walking into fire on an eclipse.

In a Hindu caste system that was conspicuously present, Brahmins enjoyed a privileged position as providers of knowledge and local justice. These Brahmins were normally involved in careers that revolved around religion and learning with the exception of a few who achieved success in martial affairs.

They were patronised by kings, nobles and wealthy aristocrats who persuaded learned Brahmins to settle in specific towns and villages by making them grants of land and houses. The relocation of Brahmin scholars was calculated to be in the interest of the kingdom as they were viewed as persons detached from wealth and power and their knowledge was a useful tool to educate and teach ethical conduct and discipline in local communities. Brahmins were also actively involved in solving local problems by functioning as neutral arbiters (*Panchayat*).

Regarding eating habits, Brahmins, Jains, Buddhists and Shaivas were strictly vegetarian while the partaking of different kinds of meat was popular among other communities. Marketplace vendors sold meat from domesticated animals such as goats, sheep, pigs and fowl as well as exotic meat including partridge, hare, wild fowl and boar. People found indoor amusement by attending wrestling matches (*Kusti*) or watching animals fight such as cock fights and ram fights or by gambling. Horse racing was a popular outdoor pastime. In

addition to these leisurely activities, festivals and fairs were frequent and entertainment by traveling troupes of acrobats, dancers, dramatists and musicians was often provided.

Schools and hospitals are mentioned in records and these were built in the vicinity of temples. Marketplaces served as open air town halls where people gathered to discuss and ponder issues. Choirs, whose main function was devotional hymns, were maintained at temple expense. Young men were trained to sing in choirs in schools attached to monasteries such as Hindu Matha, Jain Palli and Buddhist Vihara. These institutions provided advanced education in religion and ethics and were well equipped with libraries (Saraswati Bhandara). Learning was imparted in the local language and in Sanskrit. Schools of higher learning were called Brahmapuri (or Ghatika or Agrahara). Teaching Sanskrit a near monopoly of Brahmins who received royal endowments for their cause. Inscriptions record that the number of subjects taught varied from four to eighteen. The four most popular subjects with royal students were Economics Political Science (Dandaniti), Veda Philosophy (Anvikshiki), subjects that are mentioned as early as Kautilyas Arthashastra.

#### Literature

The Western Chalukya era was one of substantial literary activity in the native Kannada, and Sanskrit. In a golden age of Kannada literature, Jain scholars wrote about the life of Tirthankaras and Virashaiva poets expressed their closeness to God through pithy poems called Vachanas. Nearly three hundred contemporary *Vachanakaras* (*Vachana* poets)

including thirty women poets have been recorded. Early works by Brahmin writers were on the epics, Mahabharata, Bhagavata, Puranas and Vedas. In the field of secular literature, subjects such as romance, medicine, lexicon, mathematics, astrology, encyclopedia etc. were written for the first time.

Kannada scholars Most notable among were Ranna. grammarian Nagavarma II, minister Durgasimha and the Virashaiya saint and social reformer Basayanna. Ranna who was patronised by king Tailapa II and Satyashraya is one among the "three gems of Kannada literature". He was bestowed the title "Emperor among poets" (Kavi Chakravathi) by King Tailapa II and has five major works to his credit. Of these, Saahasabheema Vijayam (or Gada yuddha) of 982 in Champu style is a eulogy of his patron King Satyashraya whom he compares to Bhima in valour and achievements and narrates the duel between Bhima and Duryodhana using clubs on the eighteenth day of the Mahabharata war. He wrote Ajitha purana in 993 describing the life of the second Tirthankara, Ajitanatha.

II, laureate (Katakacharya) Nagavarma poet King Jagadhekamalla II made contributions to Kannada literature in various subjects. His works in poetry, prosody, grammar and vocabulary are standard authorities and their importance to study of Kannada language is well acknowledged. poetics, Karnataka-Bhashabhushana on Kavyavalokana in grammar and Vastukosa a lexicon (with Kannada equivalents of for Sanskrit words) are some his comprehensive contributions. Several works on medicine were produced during this period. Notable among them were Jagaddala Somanatha's *Karnataka Kalyana Karaka*.

A unique and native form of poetic literature in Kannada called Vachanas developed during this time. They were written by mystics, who expressed their devotion to God in simple poems that could appeal to the masses. Basavanna, Akka Mahadevi, Allama Prabhu, Channabasavanna and Siddharama are the best known among them.

In Sanskrit, a well-known poem (*Mahakavya*) in 18 cantos called *Vikramankadeva Charita* by Kashmiri poet Bilhana recounts in epic style the life and achievements of his patron king Vikramaditya VI. The work narrates the episode of Vikramaditya VI's accession to the Chalukya throne after overthrowing his elder brother Someshvara II. The great Indian mathematician Bhāskara II (born c.1114) flourished during this time. From his own account in his famous work *Siddhanta Siromani* (c. 1150, comprising the *Lilavati*, *Bijaganita* on algebra, *Goladhaya* on the celestial globe and *Grahaganita* on planets) Bijjada Bida (modern Bijapur) was his native place.

Manasollasa Abhilashitartha Chintamani or by king Someshvara III (1129) was a Sanskrit work intended for all sections of society. This is an example of an early encyclopedia in Sanskrit covering many subjects including medicine, magic, veterinary science, valuing of precious stones and pearls, fortifications, painting, music, games, amusements etc. While the book does not give any of dealt topics particular hierarchy of importance, it serves as a landmark in understanding the state of knowledge in those subjects at that time. Someshwara III authored of also a biography his famous father

Vikramaditya VI called Vikraman-Kabhyudaya. The text is a historical prose narrative which also includes a graphic description of the geography and people of Karnataka.

A Sanskrit scholar Vijnaneshwara became famous in the field of legal literature for his Mitakshara, in the court Vikramaditya VI. Perhaps the most acknowledged work in that Mitakshara is а treatise on law field. (commentary on earlier writings has Yajnavalkya) based on and acceptance in most parts of modern India. An Englishman Colebrooke later translated into English the section inheritance giving it currency in the British Indian court system. Some important literary works of the time related to music and musical instruments were Sangita Chudamani, Sangita Samayasara and Sangita Ratnakara.

#### Architecture

• The reign of Western Chalukya dynasty was an important period in the development of Deccan architecture. The architecture designed during this time served as a conceptual link between the Badami Chalukya Architecture of the 8th century and the Hoysala architecture popularised in the The art of the Western Chalukyas century. sometimes called the "Gadag style" after the number of ornate temples they built in the Tungabhadra River-Krishna River doab region of present-day Gadag district in Karnataka. The dynasty's temple building activity reached its maturity and culmination in the 12th century with over a hundred temples built across the Deccan, more than half of them in present-day central Karnataka. Apart from temples, the dynasty's architecture is well known for the ornate stepped wells (Pushkarni) which served as ritual bathing places, a few of which are well preserved in Lakkundi. These stepped well designs were later incorporated by the Hoysalas and the Vijayanagara empire in the coming centuries. The Kasivisvesvara Temple at Lakkundi (Gadag district), Dodda Basappa Temple at Dambal (Gadag Mallikarjuna Temple district), the at Kuruvatti (Bellary district), the Kallesvara Temple at Bagali (Davangere district), the Siddhesvara Temple at Haveri (Haveri district), the Amrtesvara Temple at Annigeri (Dharwad district), the Mahadeva Temple at Itagi (Koppal district), the Kaitabheshvara Temple at Kubatur, and the Kedareshvara Temple at Balligavi are the finest examples produced by the later Chalukya architects. The 12th-century Mahadeva Temple with its well executed sculptures is an exquisite example of decorative detail. The intricate, finely crafted carvings on walls, pillars and towers speak volumes about Chalukya taste and culture. An inscription outside the temple calls it "Emperor of Temples" (devalaya chakravarti) and relates that it was built by Mahadeva, a commander in the army of king Vikramaditya VI. The Kedareswara Temple (1060) at Balligavi is an example of a transitional Chalukya-Hoysala architectural style. The Western Chalukyas built temples in Badami and Aihole during their early phase of temple building activity, such as Mallikarjuna Temple, the Yellamma Temple and the Bhutanatha group of Temples.

The vimana of their temples (tower over the shrine) is compromise in detail between the plain stepped style of the early Chalukyas and the decorative finish of the Hoysalas. To of Western Chalukya the credit the architects is development of the lathe turned (tuned) pillars and use of Soapstone (Chloritic Schist) as basic building and sculptural material, a very popular idiom in later Hoysala temples. They popularised the use of decorative Kirtimukha (demon faces) in their sculptures. Famous architects in the Hoysala kingdom included Chalukyan architects who were natives of places such as Balligavi. The artistic wall decor and the general sculptural idiom was dravidian architecture. This style is sometimes called Karnata dravida, one of the notable traditions in Indian architecture.

#### Language

The local language Kannada was mostly used in Western Chalukya inscriptions and (Kalyani) epigraphs. historians assert that ninety percent of their inscriptions are in the Kannada language while the remaining are in Sanskrit language. More inscriptions in Kannada are attributed to Vikramaditya VI than any other king prior to the 12th century, many of which have been deciphered and translated by historians of the Archaeological Survey of India. Inscriptions were generally either on stone (Shilashasana) or copper plates (Tamarashasana). This period saw the growth of Kannada as a language of literature and poetry, impetus to which came from devotional the movement of the Virashaivas Lingayatism) who expressed their closeness to their deity in the form of simple lyrics called Vachanas. At an administrative level, the regional language was used to record locations and rights related to land grants. When bilingual inscriptions were written, the section stating the title, genealogy, origin myths of the king and benedictions were generally done in Sanskrit. Kannada was used to state terms of the grants, including information on the land, its boundaries, the participation of local authorities, rights and obligations of the grantee, taxes and dues, and witnesses. This ensured the content was clearly understood by the local people without any ambiguity.

In addition to inscriptions, chronicles called Vamshavalis were written to provide historical details of dynasties. Writings in Sanskrit included poetry, grammar, lexicon, manuals, rhetoric, commentaries on older works, prose fiction and drama. In Kannada, writings on secular subjects became popular. Some well-known works are Chandombudhi. а prosody, Karnataka Kadambari, a romance, both written by Nagavarma I, a lexicon called Rannakanda by Ranna (993), a book on Karnataka-Kalyanakaraka medicine called by Jagaddala Somanatha. the earliest writing astrology on called Jatakatilaka by Sridharacharya (1049), a writing on erotics called Madanakatilaka by Chandraraja, and an encyclopedia called Lokapakara by Chavundaraya II (1025).

### Chapter 2

# Vikramaditya VI

Vikramaditya VI (r. 1076 - 1126 CE) became the Western Chalukya King after deposing his elder brother Someshvara II, a political move he made by gaining the support of Chalukya vassals during the Chola invasion of Chalukya territory. Vikramaditya's reign is marked with the abolishment of the Saka era and the start of the Chalukya-Vikrama era. He was the greatest of the Western Chalukya kings and had the longest reign in the dynasty. He earned the title Permadideva and Tribhuvanamalla (lit "lord of three worlds"). He had several queens who ably assisted him in administration. One of his queens, Chandala Devi, a princess from the Shilahara ruling family of Karad was called Abhinava Saraswati for her skills as an artist. Queen Kethala Devi administered the Siruguppa region and Savala Devi was in charge of an Agrahara in Naregal. According to the historian Kamath, Vikramaditya VI was a "great king who ruled over South India" and he finds a "pride of place in Karnataka history". More inscriptions in Kannada are attributed to Vikramaditya VI than any other king prior to the Vijayanagara era.

Vikramaditya VI is noted for his patronage of art and letters. His court was adorned with famous Kannada and Sanskrit poets. In Kannada, his brother prince Kirtivarma wrote *Govaidya* on veterinary science and the poet Brahmashiva wrote *Samayaparikshe* ("Analysis of the doctrine", c. 1125) and received the title *Kavi Chakravarti* (lit, "Emperor among poets") Noted Sanskrit scholars such as Bilhana who earned the title *Vidyapati* ("pundit") came to his court from faraway Kashmir

and wrote a panegyric on the life of his patron king in The poet compared Vikramankadevacharita. Ramarajya ("Rama's Kingdom"). Vijnaneshwara the noted jurist in his court wrote Mitakshara, a commentary on Yagnavalkya Smriti (on Hindu family law). Of the king he wrote "A King like Vikramarka is neither to be seen nor heard of". Vikramaditya VI is known to be a Shaiva by faith. His rule saw prolific temple building activity. Notable constructions include the Mallikarjuna temple, the Mahadeva temple the Kaitabheshvara temple and the Kalleshvara temple. According to historian Sen, the 50-year reign of Vikramaditya VI was overall a peaceful and prosperous one. Sen estimates at his peak Vikramaditya VI controlled a vast empire stretching from the Tumkur district and Cuddapah in the south to the Narmada river in the north, and up to the Khammam district and the Godavari district in the east and south-east.

# Vikramaditya's rebellion, rise to power and Chola relations

Vikramaditya displayed his military ambitions even as a prince, prior to 1068, during the rule of his father Someshvara I when he led successful military campaigns as far east as modern Bihar and Bengal. After his father's death, as soon as his elder brother prince Someshvara II who administered the Belavola-300 and Puligere-300 provinces came to the throne, Vikramaditya VI started to plan to overthrow him and contend with the growing Chola power. He achieved his ends with skillful opportunism and diplomacy: by making use of the Chola invasion of Gutti and Kampili and striking diplomatic

relations with Virarajendra Chola, gaining the support his younger brother Jayasimha and of the Chalukya feudatories, the Pandyas of Ucchangi, the Seuna, the Hoysalas of Malnad, the Kadambas of Konkan and Hangal. Someshvara II had the support of the Kulothunga Chola I (also called Rajendra II of the Eastern Chalukya-Chola royal family of Vengi) and the Kadambas of Goa. This sudden change in diplomatic relations practically bifurcated the Chalukya kingdom into two halves, giving Vikramaditya VI independent rule over the southern half (Gangavadi). Vikramaditya married one of Virarajendra Chola's daughters bringing an age-old feud between the two kingdoms to a temporary end.

The balance of power changed again in 1069 with the death of Virarajendra Chola. Vikramaditya VI proceeded via Kanchi where he quelled a rebellion and installed his younger brotherin-law Athirajendra Chola on the throne at Gangaikonda Cholapuram. But this went against the designs of Kulottunga Chola I who had plans of his own. Kulothunga expelled the Vengi ruler Vijayaditya. In a civil uprising in the Chola capital, Athirajendra was killed making way for Kulothunga Chola I to crown himself the monarch of the Chola empire. In 1070-72, when Vijayabahu revolted to rid Ceylon of the Chola rule and succeeded, Vikramaditya VI wasted no time in declaring the new king of Ceylon his "natural ally". By 1076, despite being surrounded by enemies at home (Someshvara II) and in Vengi and Chola country (Kulothunga Chola I), Vikramaditya VI successfully defeated his elder brother and took him captive. He then crowned himself the Chalukya monarch and began a new era, the Vikrama Varsha.

# Hoysala threat

There was a rebellion by the emperor's younger brother Jayasimha, the viceroy of Banavasi, around c.1080-1082 which was quelled and the rebel pardoned. The real threat, however, was from the Hoysala dynasty who rose to prominence from the Malnad region in modern Karnataka. Their territory effectively acted as a buffer between the Chalukya and Chola kingdoms. For several decades, the Hoysalas had been faithful vassals of the Chalukyas. King Someshvara I (Vikramaditya's father) had taken a Hoysala princess as his queen. The Hoysala kings Vinayaditya, Ereyanga and Veera Ballala I had maintained cordial relations with Vikramaditya VI. But Ballala I's younger brother Vishnuvardhana, who according to historians Sastri and Kamath was a "great warrior" and an ambitious ruler had expansionist plans. He had the support of the Pandya ruler of Ucchangi and Kadamba king Jayakesi II of Goa. The Hoysalas under Vishnuvardhana began to expand their territory initially by defeating the Cholas in the famous battle of Talakad in 1116 resulting in the Hoysala annexation of Gangavadi (part of Southern Karnataka). It was Vishnuvardhana turned his attention to the north, conquered Nolambavadi, marched beyond the Tungabhadra river and reached Ballary and Kummata that Vikramaditya VI saw an threat to his power. The Chalukya dispatched his trusted generals Achugi II and Permadi of the Sinda family of Yerambarge (or Yelburga) to deal with the situation. After several pitched battles in Goa, Kannegala, Halasur and Hosavidu between c.1117-1122, Vishnuvardhana and his supporters had to accept Chalukya suzerainty.

# Success in Chola and Gurjara country

From the beginning of his rule, Vikramaditya VI maintained the policy of interference in the affairs of Vengi and Kanchi. He invaded and captured Kanchi in 1085 and held it for a few years. He managed to conquer parts of Vengi in 1088. He held the Kollipakei-7000 province of Vengi for many years. Vengi came under his rule again from 1093 to 1099. The Cholas recaptured it in 1099. In 1115 Kulothunga Chola I recalled his son Vikrama Chola who was the viceroy of Vengi to focus on affairs in Kanchi. Encouraged by the Hoysala success against the Cholas at Talakad and utilising the vacuum in the leadership in Vengi, Vikramaditya VI sent his famous general Anantapala to invade Vengi which was duly conquered and came under his rule from 1118 to 1124. Western Chalukyan commanders are seen controlling some other parts of Telugu country also and the Chola influence over Vengi disappeared for many years. After Vikramaditya's death in 1126, the Cholas began a slow process of encroachment over Vengi. By 1133 Vikrama Chola was able to re-capture Vengi from Vikramaditya VI's mild son Someshvara III. Before 1088, Vikramaditya VI subdued the recalcitrant Shilahara King Bhoja I and the Seuna Yadavas of Devagiri. He invaded Lata (modern Gujarat), plundered and burnt the royal capital of the Gurjara Chalukya King Karna, and stopped the advances of Kalachuri king Jajjaladeva of Ratnapur. He dealt firmly with the revolting Kadamba feudatory of Goa but gave his daughter Maila Devi in marriage to King Jayakeshi II.

#### Chapter 3

#### Basava

Basaveshwara, venerated as Basavanna, was a 12th-century Indian statesman, philosopher, poet, social reformer and Lingayat saint in the Shiva-focussed bhakti movement, and a Hindu Shaivite social reformer during the reign of the Kalyani Chalukya/Kalachuri dynasty. Basava was active during the rule of both dynasties but reached the peak of his influence during the rule of King Bijjala II in Karnataka, India.

Basava spread social awareness through his poetry, popularly known as Vachanaas. He rejected gender or social discrimination, superstitions and rituals but introduced Ishtalinga necklace, with an image of the Shiva Linga, to every person regardless of his or her birth, to be a constant reminder of one's bhakti (devotion) to Shiva. As the chief minister of his kingdom, he introduced new public institutions such as the Anubhava Mantapa (or, the "hall of spiritual experience"), which welcomed men and women from all socio-economic backgrounds to discuss spiritual and mundane questions of life, in open.

The traditional legends and hagiographic texts state Basava to be the founder of the Lingayats. However, modern scholarship relying on historical evidence such as the Kalachuri inscriptions state that Basava was the poet philosopher who revived, refined and energized an already existing tradition. The Basavarajadevara Ragale (13 out of 25 sections are available) by the Kannada poet Harihara (c.1180) is the earliest available account on the life of the social reformer and is

considered important because the author was a near contemporary of his protagonist. A full account of Basava's life and ideas are narrated in a 13th-century sacred Telugu text, the *Basava Purana* by Palkuriki Somanatha.

Basava literary works include the Vachana Sahitya in Kannada Language. He is also known as **Bhaktibhandari** (literally, the treasurer of devotion) and **Basavanna**.

# Early life

Basava was born in 1131 CE in the town of Basavana Bagewadi in the northern part of Karnataka, to Maadarasa and Madalambike, a Kannada Orthodox Brahmin family devoted to Hindu deity Vishnu. He was named Basava, a Kannada form of the Sanskrit *Vrishabha* in honor of Nandi bull (carrier of Shiva) and the local Shaivism tradition.

Basava grew up in Kudalasangama (northwest Karnataka), near the banks of rivers Krishna and its tributary Malaprabha. Basava spent twelve years studying in the Hindu temple in the town of Kudalasangama, at Sangameshwara then a Shaivite school of learning, probably of the *Lakulisha-Pashupata* tradition.

Basava married *Gangambike*, a cousin from his mother's side. Her father was the provincial prime minister of *Bijjala*, the Kalachuri king. He began working as an accountant to the court of the king. When his maternal uncle died, the king invited him to be the chief minister. The king also married Basava's sister named *Nagamma*.

As chief minister of the kingdom, Basava used the state treasury to initiate social reforms and religious movement focussed on reviving Shaivism, recognizing and empowering ascetics who were called Jangamas. One of the innovative institutions he launched in the 12th century was the *Anubhava Mantapa*, a public assembly and gathering that attracted men and women across various walks of life from distant lands to openly discuss spiritual, economic and social issues of life. He composed poetry in local language, and spread his message to the masses. His teachings and verses such as *Káyakavé Kailása* (Work is the path to *Kailash* [bliss, heaven], or Work is Worship) became popular.

### Literary works

Several works are attributed to Basava, which are revered in the Veerashaiva Lingayat community. These include various *Vachana* such as the *Shat-sthala-vachana* (discourses of the six stages of salvation), *Kala-jnana-vachana* (forecasts of the future), *Mantra-gopya*, *Ghatachakra-vachana* and *Raja-yoga-vachana*.

### Hagiography

The *Basava Purana*, a Telugu biographical epic poem, first written by Palkuriki Somanatha in 13th-century, and an updated 14th century Kannada version, written by Bhima Kavi in 1369, are sacred texts in Veerashaiva Lingayat.

Other hagiographic works include the 15th-century Mala Basava-raja-charitre and the 17th-century Vrishabhendra Vijaya, both in Kannada.

### **Authenticity**

Scholars state that the poems and legends about Basava were written down long after his death. This has raised questions about the accuracy and creative interpolation by authors who were not direct witness but derived their work relying on memory, legends, and hearsay of others. Michael states, "All 'Vachana' collections as they exist at present are probably much later than the 15th-century [300 years post-Basava]. Much critical labor needs to be spent in determining the authenticity of portions of these collections".

# **Basaveshwara Philosophy**

Basava grew up in a Shaivite family. As a leader, he developed and inspired a new devotional movement named *Virashaivas*, or "ardent, heroic worshippers of Shiva". This movement shared its roots in the ongoing Tamil Bhakti movement, particularly the Shaiva Nayanars traditions, over the 7th- to 11th-century. However,

Basava championed devotional worship that rejected temple worship and rituals led by Brahmins and replaced it with personalized direct worship of Shiva through practices such as individually worn icons and symbols like a small linga. This approach brought Shiva's presence to everyone and at all times, without gender, class or caste discrimination His Basava's poem, such as Basavanna 703, speak of strong sense of gender equality and community bond, willing to wage war for the right cause, yet being a fellow "devotees' bride" at the time of his or her need.

A recurring contrast in his poems and ideas is of *Sthavara* and *Jangama*, that is, of "what is static, standing" and "what is moving, seeking" respectively. Temples, ancient books represented the former, while work and discussion represented the latter.

The rich will make temples for Shiva, What shall I, a poor man do? My legs are pillars, the body the shrine, the head a cupola of gold. Listen, O lord Kudalasangama, things standing shall fall, but the moving ever shall stay.

### • — Basavanna 820, Translated by Ramanujan

Basava emphasized constant personal spiritual development as the path to profound enlightenment. He championed the use of vernacular language, Kannada, in all spiritual discussions so that translation and interpretation by the elite is unnecessary, and everyone can understand the spiritual ideas. His approach is akin to the protestant movement, states Ramanuja. His philosophy revolves around treating one's own body and soul as a temple; instead of making a temple, he suggests being the temple. His trinity consisted of *guru* (teacher), *linga* (personal symbol of Shiva) and *jangama* (constantly moving and learning).

Basava established, in 12th-century, *Anubhava Mantapa*, a hall for gathering and discussion of spiritual ideas by any member of the society from both genders, where ardent devotees of Shiva shared their achievements and spiritual poems in the local language. He questioned rituals, dualism, and externalization of god, and stated that the true God is "one with himself, self-born".

How can I feel right about a god who eats up lacquer and melts, who wilts when he sees a fire? How can I feel right about gods you sell in your need, and gods you bury for fear of thieves? The lord Kudalasangama, self-born, one with himself, he alone is the true god.

### • — Basavanna 558, Translated by Ramanujan

While Basava rejected rituals, he encouraged icons and symbols such as the wearing of *Istalinga* (necklace with personal linga, symbol of Shiva), of Rudraksha seeds or beads on parts of one body, and apply *Vibhuti* (sacred ash on forehead) as a constant reminder of one's devotion and principles of faith. Another aid to faith, he encouraged was the six-syllable mantra, *Shivaya Namah*, or the *shadhakshara mantra* which is *Om Namah Shivaya*.

### Bhakti marga as the path to liberation

The Basava Purana, in Chapter 1, presents a series of impassioned debates between Basava and his father. Both declare Hindu Sruti and Smriti to be sources of valid knowledge, but they disagree on the *marga* (path) to liberated, righteous life. Basava's father favors the tradition of rituals, while Basava favors the path of direct, personal devotion (bhakti).

According to Velcheru Rao and Gene Roghair, Basava calls the path of devotion as "beyond six systems of philosophy. Sruti has commended it as the all-seeing. the beginning of the beginning. The form of that divine linga is the true God. The guru [teacher] of the creed is an embodiment of kindness and compassion. He places God in your soul, and he also places

God in your hand. The six-syllabled mantra, the supreme mantra, is its mantra. The dress – locks of hair, ashes and rudrashaka beads – place a man beyond the cycle of birth and death. It follows the path of liberation. (...) This path offers nothing less than liberation in this lifetime."

### Roots in the Vedanta philosophy

Sripati, a Virasaiva scholar, explained Basava's philosophy in *Srikara Bhasya*, using the Vedanta Sutra, suggesting Basava's Lingayat theology to be a form of qualified nondualism, wherein the individual Atma (soul) is the body of God, and that there is no difference between Shiva and Atma(self, soul), Shiva is one's Atma, one's Atma is Shiva. Sripati's analysis places Basava's views in Vedanta school, in a form closer to the 11th century Vishishtadvaita philosopher Ramanuja, than to Advaita philosopher Adi Shankara. However, Sripati's analysis has been contested by other scholars.

# Legacy and influence

Modern scholarship relying on historical evidence such as the Kalachuri inscriptions state that Basava was the 12th-century poet-philosopher who revived and energized an already existing tradition. The community he helped form is also known as the Sharanas. The community is largely concentrated Karnataka, but has migrated into other states of India as well as overseas. Towards the end of the 20th century, Michael estimates. one-sixth of the population of the state Karnataka, or about 10 million people, were Veerashaiva Lingayat or of the tradition champione by Basava.

### Social reform

Basava taught that every human being was equal, irrespective of caste, and that all forms of manual labor was equally important. Michael states that it wasn't birth but behavior that determined a true saint and Shaiva bhakta in the view of Basava and the *Sharanas* community.

This, writes Michael, was also the position of south Indian man, that it was "behavior, not birth" that determines the true man. One difference between the two was that Sharanas welcomed anyone, whatever occupation he or she might have been born in, to convert and be reborn into the larger family of Shiva devotees and then adopt any occupation he or she wanted.

### Synthesis of diverse Hindu traditions

Basava is credited with uniting diverse spiritual trends during his era. Jan Peter Schouten states that Virashaivism, the movement championed by Basava, tends towards monotheism with Shiva as the godhead, but with a strong awareness of the unity of the Ultimate Reality. Schouten calls this as synthesis of Ramanuja's Vishishtadvaita and Shankara's Advaita traditions, naming it Shakti-Vishishtadvaita, that is monism fused with Shakti beliefs. An individual's spiritual progress is viewed by Basava's tradition as a six-stage Satsthalasiddhanta, which progressively evolves the individual through phase of the devotee, to phase of the master, then phase of the receiver of grace, thereafter Linga in life-breath (god dwells in his or her soul), the phase of surrender (awareness of no distinction in god and soul, self), to the last stage of complete union of soul and god (liberation, mukti). Basava's approach is different than Adi Shankara, states Schouten, in that Basava emphasizes the path of devotion, compared to Shankara's emphasis on the path of knowledge – a system of monistic Advaita philosophy widely discussed in Karnataka in the time of Basava.

Jessica Frazier et al. state that Basava laid the foundations of a movement that united "Vedic with Tantric practice, and Advaitic monism with effusive Bhakti devotionalism."

# Icons and symbols

#### Basava

advocated the wearing of *Ishtalinga*, a necklace with pendant that contains a small Shiva linga. He was driven by his realization; in one of his Vachanas he says *Arive Guru*, which means one's own awareness is his/her teacher. Many contemporary Vachanakaras (people who have scripted Vachanas) have described him as *Swayankrita Sahaja*, which means "self-made".

# Monuments and recognition

- The then President of India Abdul Kalam inaugurated Basaveshwara's statue on 28 April 2003 in the Parliament of India.
- Basaveshwara is the first Kannadiga in whose honour a commemorative coin has been minted in recognition of his social reforms. The former Prime

### Indian History: 12th Century

Minister of India, Dr Manmohan Singh was in Bengaluru, the capital of Karnataka to release the coins.

- On 14 November 2015 The Prime Minister of India Narendra Modi inaugurated the statue of Basaveshwara along the bank of the river Thames at Lambeth in London.
- Basava Dharma Peetha has constructed 108 ft (33 m) tall statue of Basava in Basavakalyana.

### Chapter 4

### Bhāskara II

**Bhāskara** (c. 1114-1185) also known as **Bhāskarāchārya** ("Bhāskara, the teacher"), and as **Bhāskara II** to avoid confusion with Bhāskara I, was an Indian mathematician and astronomer. He was born in Bijapur in Karnataka.

Born in a Hindu Deshastha Brahmin family of scholars, mathematicians and astronomers, Bhaskara II was the leader of a cosmic observatory at Ujjain, the main mathematical centre of ancient India. Bhāskara and his works represent a significant contribution to mathematical and astronomical knowledge in the 12th century. He has been called the greatest mathematician of medieval India. His main work Siddhānta-Śiromani, (Sanskrit for "Crown of Treatises") is divided into four parts called Līlāvatī, Bījagaāta, Grahagaāta and Golādhyāya, which are also sometimes considered four independent works. These four sections deal with arithmetic, algebra, mathematics of the planets, and spheres respectively. He also wrote another treatise named Karaāā Kautūhala.

Bhāskara's work on calculus predates Newton and Leibniz by over half a millennium. He is particularly known in the discovery of the principles of differential calculus and its application to astronomical problems and computations. While Newton and Leibniz have been credited with differential and integral calculus, there is strong evidence to suggest that Bhāskara was a pioneer in some of the principles of differential calculus. He was perhaps the first to conceive the differential coefficient and differential calculus.

# Date, place and family

Bhāskara gives his date of birth, and date of composition of his major work, in a verse in the Āryā metre: This reveals that he was born in 1036 of the Shaka era (1114 CE), and that he composed the Siddhanta-Śiromalī when he was 36 years old. He also wrote another work called the Kara@a-kutūhala when he was 69 (in 1183). His works show the influence of Brahmagupta, Śrīdhara, Mahāvīra, Padmanābha and other predecessors. He was born in a Deśastha Rigvedi Brahmin family near Vijjadavida (believed to be Bijjaragi of Vijayapur in modern Karnataka). Bhāskara is said to have been the head of astronomical observatory at Ujjain, the leading an mathematical centre of medieval India. He lived in Sahyadri region (Patnadevi, in Jalgaon district, Maharashtra).

History records his great-great-great-grandfather holding a hereditary post as a court scholar, as did his son and other descendants. His father Maheśvara (Maheśvaropādhyāya) was a mathematician, astronomer and astrologer, who taught him mathematics, which he later passed on to his son Loksamudra. Loksamudra's son helped to set up a school in 1207 for the study of Bhāskara's writings. He died in 1185 CE.

# The Siddhanta-Śiromani

### Līlāvatī

The first section  $L\bar{\imath}l\bar{a}vat\bar{\imath}$  (also known as  $p\bar{a}\bar{\imath}l\bar{g}a\bar{\imath}lta$  or  $a\bar{\imath}lkaga\bar{\imath}lta$ ), named after his daughter, consists of 277 verses.

It covers calculations, progressions, measurement, permutations, and other topics.

### **Mathematics**

Some of Bhaskara's contributions to mathematics include the following:

- A proof of the Pythagorean theorem by calculating the same area in two different ways and then cancelling out terms to get a + b = c.
- In *Lilavati*, solutions of quadratic, cubic and quartic indeterminate equations are explained.
- Solutions of indeterminate quadratic equations (of the type ax + b = y).
- Integer solutions of linear and quadratic indeterminate equations ( $Ku \square \square aka$ ). The rules he gives are (in effect) the same as those given by the Renaissance European mathematicians of the 17th century.
- A cyclic Chakravala method for solving indeterminate equations of the form ax + bx + c = y. The solution to this equation was traditionally attributed to William Brouncker in 1657, though his method was more difficult than the *chakravala* method.
- The first general method for finding the solutions of the problem x-ny = 1 (so-called "Pell's equation") was given by Bhaskara II.
- Solutions of Diophantine equations of the second order, such as 61x + 1 = y. This very equation was posed as a problem in 1657 by the French

mathematician Pierre de Fermat, but its solution was unknown in Europe until the time of Euler in the 18th century.

- Solved quadratic equations with more than one unknown, and found negative and irrational solutions.
- Preliminary concept of mathematical analysis.
- Preliminary concept of infinitesimal calculus, along with notable contributions towards integral calculus.
- Conceived differential calculus, after discovering an approximation of the derivative and differential coefficient.
- Stated Rolle's theorem, a special case of one of the most important theorems in analysis, the mean value theorem. Traces of the general mean value theorem are also found in his works.
- Calculated the derivatives of trigonometric functions and formulae. (See Calculus section below.)
- In Siddhanta-Śiromani, Bhaskara developed spherical trigonometry along with a number of other trigonometric results. (See Trigonometry section below.)

### **Arithmetic**

Bhaskara's arithmetic text *Līlāvatī* covers the topics of definitions, arithmetical terms, interest computation, arithmetical and geometrical progressions, plane geometry, solid geometry, the shadow of the gnomon, methods to solve indeterminate equations, and combinations.

Līlāvatī is divided into 13 chapters and covers many branches of mathematics, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, and a little trigonometry and measurement. More specifically the contents include:

- Definitions.
- Properties of zero (including division, and rules of operations with zero).
- Further extensive numerical work, including use of negative numbers and surds.
- Estimation of  $\pi$ .
- Arithmetical terms, methods of multiplication, and squaring.
- Inverse rule of three, and rules of 3, 5, 7, 9, and 11.
- Problems involving interest and interest computation.
- Indeterminate equations (Ku22aka), integer solutions (first and second order). His contributions to this topic are particularly important, since the rules he gives are (in effect) the same as those given by the renaissance European mathematicians of the 17th century, yet his work was of the 12th century. Bhaskara's method of solving was an improvement of the methods found in the work of Aryabhata and subsequent mathematicians.

His work is outstanding for its systematisation, improved methods and the new topics that he introduced. Furthermore, the *Lilavati* contained excellent problems and it is thought that Bhaskara's intention may have been that a student of 'Lilavati' should concern himself with the mechanical application of the method.

### Algebra

His *Bījaganita* ("*Algebra*") was a work in twelve chapters. It was the first text to recognize that a positive number has two square roots (a positive and negative square root). His work *Bījaganita* is effectively a treatise on algebra and contains the following topics:

- Positive and negative numbers.
- The 'unknown' (includes determining unknown quantities).
- Determining unknown quantities.
- Surds (includes evaluating surds).
- *Kualaka* (for solving indeterminate equations and Diophantine equations).
- Simple equations (indeterminate of second, third and fourth degree).
- Simple equations with more than one unknown.
- Indeterminate quadratic equations (of the type ax + b
   = y).
- Solutions of indeterminate equations of the second, third and fourth degree.
- Quadratic equations.
- Quadratic equations with more than one unknown.
- Operations with products of several unknowns.

Bhaskara derived a cyclic, *chakravala* method for solving indeterminate quadratic equations of the form ax + bx + c = y. Bhaskara's method for finding the solutions of the problem Nx + 1 = y (the so-called "Pell's equation") is of considerable importance.

### **Astronomy**

Using an astronomical model developed by Brahmagupta in the 7th century, Bhāskara accurately defined many astronomical quantities, including, for example, the length of the sidereal year, the time that is required for the Earth to orbit the Sun, as approximately 365.2588 days which is the same as in Suryasiddhanta.

The modern accepted measurement is 365.25636 days, a difference of just 3.5 minutes.

His mathematical astronomy text Siddhanta Shiromani is written in two parts: the first part on mathematical astronomy and the second part on the sphere.

The twelve chapters of the first part cover topics such as:

- Mean longitudes of the planets.
- True longitudes of the planets.
- The three problems of diurnal rotation. (Diurnal motion is an astronomical term referring to the apparent daily motion of stars around the Earth, or more precisely around the two celestial poles. It is caused by the Earth's rotation on its axis, so every star apparently moves on a circle, that is called the diurnal circle.)
- Syzygies.
- Lunar eclipses.
- Solar eclipses.
- Latitudes of the planets.
- Sunrise equation

- The Moon's crescent.
- Conjunctions of the planets with each other.
- Conjunctions of the planets with the fixed stars.
- The paths of the Sun and Moon.

The second part contains thirteen chapters on the sphere. It covers topics such as:

- Praise of study of the sphere.
- Nature of the sphere.
- Cosmography and geography.
- Planetary mean motion.
- Eccentric epicyclic model of the planets.
- The armillary sphere.
- Spherical trigonometry.
- Ellipse calculations.
- First visibilities of the planets.
- Calculating the lunar crescent.
- Astronomical instruments.
- The seasons.
- Problems of astronomical calculations.

# **Engineering**

The earliest reference to a perpetual motion machine date back to 1150, when Bhāskara II described a wheel that he claimed would run forever.

Bhāskara II used a measuring device known as Ya@@i-yantra. This device could vary from a simple stick to V-shaped staffs designed specifically for determining angles with the help of a calibrated scale.

# Legends

In his book *Lilavati*, he reasons: "In this quantity also which has zero as its divisor there is no change even when many quantities have entered into it or come out [of it], just as at the time of destruction and creation when throngs of creatures enter into and come out of [him, there is no change in] the infinite and unchanging [Vishnu]".

### "Behold!"

It has been stated, by several authors, that Bhaskara II proved the Pythagorean theorem by drawing a diagram and providing the single word "Behold!". Sometimes Bhaskara's name is omitted and this is referred to as the *Hindu proof*, well known by schoolchildren.

However, as mathematics historian Kim Plofker points out, after presenting a worked out example, Bhaskara II states the Pythagorean theorem:

Hence, for the sake of brevity, the square root of the sum of the squares of the arm and upright is the hypotenuse: thus it is demonstrated.

This is followed by:

And otherwise, when one has set down those parts of the figure there [merely] seeing [it is sufficient].

Plofker suggests that this additional statement may be the ultimate source of the widespread "Behold!" legend.

# Legacy

A number of institutes and colleges in India are named after him, including Bhaskaracharya Pratishthana in Pune, Bhaskaracharya College of Applied Sciences in Delhi, Bhaskaracharya Institute For Space Applications and Geo-Informatics in Gandhinagar.

On 20 November 1981 the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) launched the Bhaskara II satellite honouring the mathematician and astronomer.

Invis Multimedia released *Bhaskaracharya*, an Indian documentary short on the mathematician in 2015.

### Chapter 5

# Kalachuris of Kalyani and Bijjala II

# Kalachuris of Kalyani

The **Kalachuris of Kalyani** were a 12th-century Indian dynasty, who ruled over parts of present-day northern Karnataka and Maharashtra. This dynasty rose to power in the Deccan region between 1156 and 1181 CE (25 years).

The rulers of the dynasty traced their origins to one Krishna, who is said to have conquered Kalinjar and Dahala in present-day Madhya Pradesh (see Kalachuris of Tripuri). Bijjala, a viceroy of the dynasty, is said to have established the authority over Karnataka after wresting power from the Chalukya king Taila III.

Bijjala was succeeded by his sons Someshvara and Sangama but after 1181 CE, the Chalukyas gradually retrieved the territory.

Their rule was short and turbulent and yet very important from a socio-religious point of view; a new sect known as the Lingayat or Virashaiva sect was founded during these times in a time extent of 25 years.

A unique and purely native form of Kannada literature-poetry called the *Vachanas* was also born during this time. The writers of *Vachanas* were called *Vachanakaras* (poets). Many

other important works like Virupaksha Pandita's Chennabasavapurana, Dharani Pandita's Bijjalarayacharite and Chandrasagara Varni's Bijjalarayapurana were also written.

# Origin

The Kalachuris of Kalyani overthrew the Kalyani Chalukyas in the early part of the 12th century, and had a relatively short but stormy rule. The name "Kalachuri" is shared by multiple earlier dynasties, two of which ruled in central India. Some historians such as Dr. P.B. Desai believe that the southern Kalachuris of Kalyani are descendants of these central Indian dynasties. In the 6th century, before the rise of the Badami Chalukyas, the Kalachuris of Mahishmati had carved out an extensive empire covering areas of Gujarat, Malwa, Konkan and parts of Maharashtra. However, after their crippling defeat at the hands of Chalukya Mangalesha, they remained in obscurity for a prolonged period of time. Subsequently, the Kalachuris of Tripuri and their branches rose to power in central India.

An 1174 CE record says the Kalyani Kalachuri dynasty was founded by one Soma who grew beard and moustache to save himself from the wrath of Parashurama, and thereafter the family came to be known as "Kalachuris", Kalli meaning a long moustache and churi meaning a sharp knife. They migrated to the south and made Magaliveda or Mangalavedhe (Mangalavada) their capital. They titled themselves Kalanjarapuravaradhisvara ("Lord of Kalanjara"), which indicates their central Indian origin. Their emblem was Suvarna Vrishabha or the golden bull. They must have started as modest feudatories of the Chalukyas of Kalyani. They were also referred to as

Katachuris (shape of a sharp knife) and *Haihaya* (or *Heheya*). The later records of the dynasty claim that they descended from Brahma, the Creator of the universe.

# As feudatories of Chalukyas

The early Kalachuris of the south were Jains and encouraged Jainism in their kingdom. The first notable chief of the Kalachuri family of Karnataka was Uchita. While there were several kings who followed him ruling as feudatories of the Kalyani Chalukyas, it was Jogama who became an influential vassal of Vikramaditya VI, being related to the great Chalukya king by matrimony.

### **Decline Of Kalachuris**

The Southern Kaluchuri kingdom went into decline after the assassination of Bijjalla. The rulers who followed were weak and incompetent, with the exception of Sovideva, who managed to maintain control over the kingdom. Western Chalukyas ended the Kalachuri Dynasty. Many Kalachuri families migrated to Kanara districts of Karnataka. The Kalachuris are the principal characters in the Andhra epic *The battle of Palnadu*.

### **Rulers**

- Uchita
- Asaga
- Kannam

- Kiriyasaga
- Bijjala I
- Kannama
- Jogama
- Permadi
- Bijjala II (1130–1167): proclaimed independence in 1162.
- Sovideva (1168–1176)
- Mallugi --> overthrown by brother Sankama
- Sankama (1176-1180)
- Ahavamalla (1180–1183)
- Singhana (1183–1184)

# Inscriptions and coinage

As per the 1163 CE inscription which records a religious offering (mahadana) in the presence of Hampi Lord Virupaksha by Bijjala the Kalachuri King.

The Southern Kalachuri kings minted coins with Kannada inscriptions on them.

# Bijjala II

**Bijjala II** (1130–1167 CE) at first bijjala-2 was the mahamandaleshwara of the kalyani chalukya's, he was the most famous of the southern Kalachuri kings who ruled initially as a vassal of Chalukya Vikramaditya VI. He ruled as the *Mahamandalesvara* (chief or governor) over Karhada-4000 and Tardavadi-1000 provinces, designations given to territories within the larger Western Chalukya kingdom.

He revolted against the Western Chalukya Empire, assumed imperial titles in 1157, and ruled along with his successors, the Deccan Plateau for a quarter of a century.

# Bijjala's opportunism

After the death of Vikramaditya VI, seeing the weakening empire, Bijjala II declared independence. The Chikkalagi inscription refers to Bijjala as Mahabhujabalachakravarti, which in Sanskrit literally means the great great (maha) unopposed ruler (cakravartin) with strong (bala) arms (bhuja). By the time of Chalukya Taila III, Bijjala's attempts towards independence seems to have spread to other feudatories as well. Kakatiya Prola II broke free of Chalukya rule in the middle of the 12th century. By 1162 CE. Bijjala II had managed to drive Taila III out of Kalyani, the Chalukya capital. He assumed Chalukyan titles like Sriprithvivallabha and Parameshvara. He shifted his capital from Mangalavada to Kalyani also known as Basavakalyan.

# **Bloody end**

His rule was marked with turbulence, both domestic and social. According to the historian Dr. P.B. Desai, Bijjala II became very unpopular with the followers of Basavanna and was assassinated by them. Dr. Desai however does confirm that Basavanna himself was not responsible for this incident.

### Chapter 6

### **Muhammad of Ghor**

• Mu'izz ad-Din Mohammad Ghori born Shihab ad-**Din** (1149 - March 15, 1206), also known Mohammad of Ghor, was the Sultan of the Ghori empire along with his brother Ghiyath ad-Din Muhammad from 1173 to 1202 and as the sole ruler from 1202 to 1206. He is credited with laying the foundation of Muslim rule in the Indian subcontinent, which lasted for several centuries. He reigned over a territory spanning over parts of modern-day Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Iran, Northern India, Pakistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan.

Mu'izz ad-Din took the city of Ghazni in 1173 to avenge the death of his ancestor Muhammad ibn Suri at the hands of Mahmud of Ghazni and used it as a launching pad for expansion into northern India. In the meantime, he assisted his brother Ghiyath in his contest with the Khwarazmian Empire for the lordship of Khorasan in Western Asia. In 1175, Mu'izz captured Multan from the Hamid Ludi dynasty, and also took Uch in 1175. He also annexed the Ghaznavid principality of Lahore in 1186, the last haven of his Persianised rivals. After consolidating his rule in the North-West domain Mu'izz al-Din wish to invade the heart of Northern India which was then under the control of Rajputs.

A confused struggle then ensued among the remaining Ghuri leaders, and the Khwarizmi were able to take over the Ghori Sultanate in about 1215. Though the Ghori's empire was short-

lived, and petty Ghori states remained in power until the arrival of the Timurids, Mu'izz's conquests laid the foundations of Muslim rule in India. Qutbuddin Aibak, a former slave (Mamluk) of Mu'izz, was the first Sultan of Delhi.

# Early life

Mu'izz ad-Din Muhammad was born in 1149 in the Ghor region of Khorasan. The exact date of his birth is unknown. His father, Baha al-Din Sam I, was the local ruler of the Ghor region at the time. Mu'izz also had an elder brother named Ghiyath al-Din Muhammad. During their early life, Mu'izz and Ghiyath were imprisoned by their uncle Ala al-Din Husayn but were later released by the latter's son Sayf al-Din Muhammad. When Sayf died in 1163, the Ghurid nobles supported Ghiyath and helped him ascend the throne. Ghiyath shortly gave Mu'izz control over Istiyan and Kajuran. However, the throne was challenged by several Ghurid chiefs; Mu'izz aided Ghiyath in defeating and killing a rival Ghurid chief named Abu'l Abbas.

# Early campaigns

Ghiyath was then challenged by his uncle Fakhr al-Din Masud, who claimed the throne for himself and had allied with Tadj al-Din Yildiz, the Seljuq governor of Herat, and Balkh. However, the coalition was defeated by Ghiyath and Mu'izz at Ragh-i Zar. The brothers managed to kill the Seljuq governor during the battle, and then conquered Zamindawar, Badghis, Gharjistan, and Urozgan. Ghiyath, however, spared Fakhr al-Din and restored him as the ruler of Bamiyan. Mu'izz, after returning from an expedition from Sistan, was shortly awarded Kandahar

by his brother. In 1173, the two brothers invaded Ghazni, and defeated the Oghuz Turks who had captured the city from the Ghaznavids. Mu'izz was then appointed as the ruler of Ghazni.

In 1175, the two brothers conquered Herat from its Seljuq governor, Baha al-Din Toghril, and also managed to conquer Pushang. The ruler of Sistan, Taj al-Din Harb ibn Muhammad, shortly acknowledged the sovereignty of the Ghurids, and so did the Oghuz Turks dominating Kirman.

During the same period, the Khwarazmian Sultan Shah, who was expelled from Khwarezm by his brother Tekish, took refuge in Ghor and requested military aid from Ghiyath. Ghiyath, however, did not help the latter. Sultan Shah managed to get help from the Kara-Khitan Khanate, and began plundering the northern Ghurid domains.

### **Invasion of India**

After having helped his brother in expanding the western frontiers of the Ghurid Empire, he began to focus on India. Mu'izz's campaign against the Qarmatians rulers of Multan in 1175 had ended in victory. He turned south, and led his army from Multan to Uch and then across the desert towards the Chaulukya capital of Anhilwara (modern-day Patan in Gujarat) in 1178. On the way, Muizz suffered a defeat at the Battle of Kayadara, during his first campaign against an Indian ruler. Gujarat was ruled by the young Chaulukya ruler Mularaja II; the Chaulukya forces included the armies of their feudatories such as the Naddula Chahamana ruler Kelhanadeva, the Jalor Chahamana ruler Kirtipala, and the Arbuda Paramara ruler Dharavarsha. Mu'izz's army had suffered greatly during the

march across the desert, and the Chalukyas inflicted a major defeat on him at the village of Kayadara (near to Mount Abu, about forty miles to the north-east of Anhilwara). The invading army suffered heavy casualties during the battle, and also in the retreat back across the desert to Multan. However, Mu'izz was able to take Peshawar and Sialkot.

In 1186, Mu'izz, along with Ghiyath, ended the Ghaznavid dynasty after having captured Lahore and executed the Ghaznavid ruler Khusrau-Malik.

Mu'izz shortly returned to Ghor, and along with the rulers of Bamiyan and Sistan, aided his brother Ghiyath in defeating the forces of Sultan Shah at Merv in 1190. He also annexed most of the latter's territories in Khorasan.

### First Battle of Tarain

In 1191, Mu'izz proceeded towards the Indian subcontinent through the Khyber Pass in modern-day Pakistan and was successful in reaching Punjab. Mu'izz captured a fortress, Bathinda in present-day Punjab state on the northwestern frontier of Prithvīrāj Chauhān's kingdom.

After appointing a Qazi Zia-ud-Din as governor of the fortress, he received the news that Prithviraj's army, led by his vassal prince Govind Tai were on their way to besiege the fortress. The two armies eventually met near the town of Tarain, 14 miles from Thanesar in present-day Haryana. The battle was marked by the initial attack of mounted Mamluk archers to which Prithviraj responded by counter-attacking from three sides and thus dominating the battle. Mu'izz mortally wounded Govind Tai in personal combat and in the process was himself

wounded, whereupon his army retreated and Prithvīrāj's army was deemed victorious. According to Rima Hooja and Kaushik Roy, Govind Tal was wounded by Ghori and later fought at the second battle of Tarain, where he was killed.

### **Second Battle of Tarain**

On his return to Ghor, Mu'izz made preparations to avenge the defeat. According to Firishta, the Rajput army consisted of 3,000 elephants, 300,000 cavalry and infantry (most likely a gross exaggeration). Minhaj-i-Siraj, stated Mu'izz brought 120,000 fully armored men to the battle in 1192.

Prithviraj had called his banners but hoped to buy time as his banners (other Rajputs under him or his allies) had not arrived. Before the next day, Mu'izz attacked the Rajput army before dawn.

Although they were able to quickly form formations, they suffered losses due to surprise attacks before sunrise. The Rajput army was eventually defeated and Prithviraj was taken prisoner and subsequently executed.

After Prithviraj's defeat, Mu'izz raided Varanasi. Ibn Asir's Kamil-ut-Tawarikh states that:

"The slaughter of Hindus (at Varanasi) was immense; none were spared except women and children, and the carnage of men went on until the earth was weary...The women and children were spared so that they could be enslaved and sold in Islamic countries. At the same time, the Buddhist complex at Sarnath was also sacked, and the *Bhikshus* were slaughtered".

### Further campaigns

When the state of Ajmer failed to fulfil the tribute demands as per the custom after a defeat, Qutbu l-Din Aibak, in 1193 took over Ajmer and soon established Ghurid control in northern and central India. Hindu kingdoms like Saraswati, Samana, Kohram and Hansi were captured without any difficulty. Finally, his forces advanced on Delhi, capturing it soon after the Battle of Chandwar, defeating Raja Jaichand of Kannauj. Within a year, Mu'izz controlled northern Rajasthan and the northern part of the Ganges-Yamuna Doab. The Kingdom of Ajmer was then given over to Golā, on the condition that he send regular tributes to the Ghurids.

Mu'izz returned west to Ghazni to deal with the threat to his western frontiers from the unrest in Iran, but he appointed Aibak as his regional governor for northern India. His armies, mostly under Turkic and Khalaj generals such as Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji, continued to advance through northern India, raiding as far east as Bengal. Followed by his conquest of Delhi, an army led by Aibak invaded and plundered Anahilapataka in ca. 1195–97.

# War with the Khwarezmians and supreme leader of the Ghurids

In 1200, Tekish died and was succeeded by Muhammad II of Khwarezm (who took the honorific name 'Ala' al-Din). Among the first to hear of this were Ghiyath and Mu'izz al-Din. Within weeks the two brothers had moved their armies westwards into Khorasan. Once they had captured Nishapur, Mu'izz al-Din was

sent on an expedition towards Ray, but he let his troops get out of control and got little further than Gurgan, earning criticism from Ghiyath which led to the only reported quarrel between the brothers.

Ghiyath died at Herat in 1202 after months of illness. Mu'izz, who had quickly returned to Ghor from India, obtained the support of Ghurid nobles, and was crowned as Sultan of the Firuzkuh. Just after his Ghurid Empire at Muhammad II invaded his domains and besieged Herat. Mu'izz managed to repel him from Herat and then pursued him to besieging Gurgani, their Khwarezm. capital. Muhammad desperately requested aid from the Kara-Khitan Khanate, who sent an army to aid Muhammad. Mu'izz, because of the pressure from the Kara-Khitans, was forced to relieve the siege and retreat. However, on his way to his domains in Ghur, he was defeated at Andkhud in 1204. Mu'izz, however, managed to reach Ghur and prepared a counter-attack against the Khwarmezians and Kara-Khitans. A revolt shortly broke out in Punjab and the surrounding regions, which forced Mu'izz to make order in the region before mounting a counter-attack against his enemies.

### Final days and death

In 1206, Mu'izz, having settled the affairs in India, left all the affairs in India in hands of his slave Qutb al-Din Aibak.

On his way back to Ghazni, his caravan rested at Dhamiak near Sohawa (which is near the city of Jhelum in the Punjab province of modern-day Pakistan). He was assassinated on March 15, 1206, while offering his evening prayers. The

identity of his killers is unconfirmed. It may have been the Khokhar Jats or Ismāʿīlīs. One source states that he was assassinated by the Nizari Ismaili Assassins.

In Indian folklore, the death of Mu'izz was caused by Prithviraj Chauhan, but this is not borne out by historical documents and Prithviraj died much earlier before the death of Mu'izz.

### **Succession**

Mu'izz had no offspring, but he treated his Turkic slaves as his sons, who were trained both as soldiers and administrators and provided with the best possible education. Many of his competent and loyal slaves rose to positions of importance in Mu'izz's army and government. When a courtier lamented that the Sultan had no male heirs, Mu'izz retorted:

"Other monarchs may have one son or two sons; I have thousands of sons, my Turkish slaves who will be the heirs of my dominions, and who, after me, will take care to preserve my name in the Khubah (Friday sermon) throughout these territories."

Mu'izz's prediction proved true. After his assassination, his Empire was divided amongst his slaves. Most notably:

• Qutbu l-Din Aibak became ruler of Delhi in 1206, establishing the Sultanate of Delhi, which marked the start of the Slave dynasty.\* K. A. Nizami (1992). "The Early Turkish Sultans of Delhi". In Mohammad Habib; Khaliq Ahmad Nizami (eds.). A Comprehensive History of India: The Delhi Sultanat (A.D. 1206-1526).

- **5** (Second ed.). The Indian History Congress / People's Publishing House. p. 201. OCLC 31870180.
- Nasir-ud-Din Qabacha became ruler of Multan in 1210.
- Tajuddin Yildoz became ruler of Ghazni.
- Ikhtiyar Uddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khilji became ruler in parts of Bengal.

# Legacy

- A mausoleum for Muhammad Ghori was built at his gravesite in Dhamiak by Pakistani scientist Abdul Qadeer Khan in 1994-1995 and was later handed over to the Punjab archaeology department.
- Pakistani military named three of its medium-range ballistic missile Ghauri-I, Ghauri-II and Ghauri-III, in the memory of Mu'izz.
- In the 2022 Bollywood film Prithviraj, Muhammad Ghori is portrayed by actor Manav Vij.

### Chapter 7

# Chaulukya Dynasty

The **Chaulukya dynasty** (IAST: *Caulukya*) was a dynasty that ruled parts of what are now Gujarat and Rajasthan in northwestern India, between c. 940 CE and c. 1244 CE. Their capital was located at Anahilavada (modern Patan). At times, their rule extended to the Malwa region in present-day Madhya Pradesh. The family is also known as the **Solanki dynasty** in the vernacular literature. They belonged to the Solanki clan of Rajputs.

Mularaja, the founder of the dynasty, supplanted the last ruler of the Chavda dynasty around 940 CE. His successors fought several battles with the neighbouring rulers such as the Chudasamas, the Paramaras and the Chahamanas of Shakambhari. During the reign of Bhima I, the Ghaznavid ruler Mahmud invaded the kingdom and raided the Somnath temple during 1024-1025 CE.

The Chaulukyas soon recovered, and the kingdom reached its zenith the rule of Jayasimha Siddharaja Kumarapala in the 12th century. Several minor dynasties, such as the Chahamanas of Jalor and the Chahamanas of Naddula, Chaulukya vassals during this served period. Kumarapala's death, the kingdom was gradually weakened by internal rebellions; uprisings by feudatories; and invasions by the Paramaras, the Ghurids, the Yadavas and others. Taking advantage of this, the Vaghelas, who had earlier served as Chaulukya generals, usurped the power and established a new dynasty in the 1240s.

Several princely state rulers of the Solanki clan claimed descent from the Chaulukyas.

### Name

The dynasty used the self-designation "Chaulukya" in all but four of its records. The four exceptions are:

- "Chaulukika" in the Kadi grant of Mularaja
- "Saulkika" in a grant of Chamundaraja
- "Chaulakya" in the Sambhar inscription of Jayasimha
- "Chaullakya" in the Jalor inscription of Kumarapala

Hemachandra, a Jain scholar in the Chaulukya court, generally used the terms "Chaulukya" and "Chulukya". His Dvyasraya Mahakavya mentions the variants "Chulakya", "Chalukka", and "Chulukka"; his Kumarapala-Charita mentions another variant "Chuluga". The Chaulukya court poet Someshvara describes the dynasty as "Chaulukya" (in Kirti-Kaumudi) and "Chulukya" (in the Abu inscription of Vastupala and Tejapala).

"Solanki" or "Solankhi" is a vernacular form of the term.

# **Origins**

The word "Chaulukya" is thought to be a variant of the word "Chalukya". Several other dynasties were known by the name "Chalukya", including the Chalukyas of Vatapi, Navasarika, Vemulavada, Kalyani, Vengi and Lata. These dynasties are

sometimes thought to be branches of the same family, but the relationship between all of them is not certain. Unlike the Chalukyas of Kalyani and Vengi, the Chaulukyas of Gujarat never claimed a shared descent or any other association with the earliest Chalukya dynasty — the Chalukyas of Vatapi. Moreover, they never used the term "Chalukya" to describe themselves.

However, the Chaulukyas of Gujarat shared a myth of origin with the Chalukyas of Kalyani and Vengi. According to this legend, the progenitor of the dynasty was created by Brahma. The version of the legend mentioned in the Vadnagar *prashasti* inscription of Kumarapala is as follows: the deities once asked the creator god Brahma to protect them from the danavas (demons). Brahma then created a hero from his *chuluka* (pot or folded palm in Sanskrit), which was filled with Ganges water. This hero was named "Chulukya", and became the progenitor of the dynasty.

A variation of this legend is mentioned by Abhayatilaka Gani in commentary Hemachandra's Dvyashraya-Kavya. his on According to this version, Brahma produced the hero to support the earth, after his other creations disappointed him. These stories are of no historical value, as it was customary for contemporary royal houses to claim mythical and heroic origins. The Kumarapala-Bhupala-Charita of Jayasimha Suri presents Chulukya as a historical warrior, whose capital was Madhupadma. Mularaja was his descendant, with nearly a hundred generations separating the two. This account may be partly historical: Madhupadma has been identified variously as a location outside Gujarat, including present-day Mathura.

C. V. Vaidya theorized that the Chaulukyas were different from the Chalukyas. G. H. Ojha opposed this theory, pointing out that an inscription of the Lata Chalukya ruler Kirtiraja describes his family as "Chalukya", while an inscription of his grandson Trilochanapala describes the family as "Chaulukya". According to Asoke Majumdar, while these similar-sounding names suggest a common origin for all these dynasties, there is no concrete evidence to draw any definitive conclusion. Majumdar theorized that the Chaulukyas were connected to the Sulikas or the Chulikas, a tribe mentioned in several ancient records. This tribe is described as living on the northern frontier of ancient India. However, Majumdar admitted that there is not enough evidence to regard this theory as conclusive.

According to the Agnikula myth mentioned in a 16th-century recension of the legendary epic poem *Prithviraj Raso*, four Rajput clans including the Chaulukyas were born from a firepit on Mount Abu. A section of colonial-era historians interpreted this mythical account to suggest that these clans were foreigners who came to India after the decline of the Gupta Empire around the 5th century CE, and were admitted in the Hindu caste system after performing a fire ritual.

The Chaulukya rulers have been called "Gurjararāja" and "Gurjareśvara" ("ruler of Gurjara"). Based on this legend, D. R. Bhandarkar and others theorized that the Chaulukyas were a branch of Gurjaras, whom they believed to be a tribe of foreign origin. Bhandarkar and Augustus Hoernle also believed that the name of the "Lata" region changed to "Gurjaratra" (later Gujarat) during the Chaulukya reign, presumably because they were Gurjaras.

However, this foreign-origin theory is weakened by a number of factors. The Chaulukyas did not claim an Agnikula origin for themselves: it was the neighbouring Paramara rulers who used the legend to explain their own origin.

The inscriptions from the reign of Bhima II prove that the Chaulukyas knew about the Agnikula legend, but associated it with the Paramaras, not themselves. The earliest copies of *Prithviraj Raso* do not mention this legend either.

The legend that includes the Chaulukyas among the fire-born clans is first mentioned by the 16th century poets, who may have extended the Paramara legend to include other dynasties, in order to foster Rajput unity against the Mughals. Moreover, there is no evidence that the Chaulukya territory area came to as "Gurjaratra" during the Chaulukya reign. known "Gurjara" and "Lata" were two distinct historical regions in and southern parts of present-day respectively, and the term "Lata" was never used to describe the whole of Gujarat.

The Chaulukya kings were called "Gurjararāja" and "Gurjareśvara" because they ruled the territory which was already called Gurjara by their time.

Several other kings who held similar epithets had earlier ruled this territory: these include the Gurjara-Pratiharas and the Gurjaras of Nandipuri. Historian Asoke Kumar Majumdar points out that even the southern Ganga chief Marasimha II assumed the title "king of Gurjaras" after defeating a northern king on behalf of the Rashtrakutas.

# **History**

#### Early rulers

The Chaulukyas were one of the several dynasties that rose to power amid the decline of the Gurjara-Pratihara and the Rashtrakuta empires. In the mid-tenth century CE, the dynasty's founder Mularaja supplanted Samantasimha, the last Chavda king. According to legends, he was a nephew of Samantasimha. According to the 12th century chronicler Hemachandra, Mularaja defeated Graharipu, the king of Saurashtra. He also defeated the Lata Chalukya chief Barapa, aided by his son Chamundaraja.

Chamundaraja succeeded Mularaja around 996 CE. During his reign, the Paramara king Sindhuraja appears to have invaded the Lata region, which was under Chaulukya suzerainty. Mularaja forced Sindhuraja to retreat; the 14th century chronicler Jayasimha Suri claims that Chamundaraja killed Sindhuraja in a battle, but this claim appears to be doubtful, as it does not appear in any earlier source. Sometime before 1007 CE, the Lata region was captured by the Chalukyas of Kalyani led by Satyashraya.

Around 1008 CE, Chamundaraja retired after appointing his son Vallabharaja as the next king. Legendary accounts state that he set out for a pilgrimage to Varanasi. During this journey, he was insulted by a ruler whose kingdom lay on the way to Varanasi. He returned to the Chaulukya capital, and asked his son to avenge his insult. Vallabharaja died of smallpox during a march to the enemy kingdom, which is

identified as the Paramara kingdom of Malwa by some chroniclers. Chamundaraja's other son Durlabharaja became the next king in c. 1008 CE. He invaded the Lata region, and defeated the Lata Chalukya ruler Kirtiraja (or Kirtipala), who was a vassal of the Kalyani Chalukyas. However, Kirtiraja regained control of the region within a short time, before being defeated by the Paramara king Bhoja.

#### Neighbouring rivalries

Durlabharaja was succeeded by his nephew Bhima I, who faced an invasion from the Ghaznavid ruler Mahmud during 1024-1025 CE. Bhima fled to Kanthkot, as Mahmud entered the Chaulukya territory unopposed and sacked the Somnath After Mahmud's departure, Bhima restored Chaulukya rule. He crushed revolts by the Paramara chiefs of Arbuda, who used to serve as Chaulukya vassals. Bhima also defeated and imprisoned Krishnadeva, a ruler of the Paramara branch of Bhinmal. He unsuccessfully fought against the ruler Anahilla. Naddula Chahamana Anahilla's Balaprasada and Jendraraja defeated Bhima and forced him to release Krishnadeva. Later legendary accounts credit Bhima with a victory against Hammuka, a ruler of Sindh, although the accuracy of this claim is not certain.

Semi-legendary accounts suggest that Bhima formed an alliance with the Kalachuri king Lakshmi-Karna, and the two played an important role in the downfall of the Paramara king Bhoja around 1055 CE. According to the 14th century chronicler Merutunga, Bhima and Lakshmi-Karna invaded Bhoja's kingdom of Malwa from two opposite directions, and Bhoja died of a disease during this invasion. Some Chaulukya

chroniclers boast that Bhima annexed Bhoja's capital Dhara or that he captured Bhoja alive, but these claims are not corroborated by historical evidence. After Bhoja's death, a rivalry developed between the Bhima and Lakshmi-Karna over sharing the spoils of their victory.

Bhima's son Karna succeeded him around 1064 CE. Bhoja's brother Udayaditya, supported by the Shakambhari Chahamana king Vigraharaja III, forced Karna to retreat from Malwa. Meanwhile, the Kalachuris managed to capture the Lata region. By 1074 CE, Karna evicted the Kalachuris from Lata, and annexed the region to the Chaulukya kingdom, before losing it to one Trivikramapala within three years.

The Naddula Chahamana ruler Prithvipala defeated Karna, and his successor Jojalladeva occupied the Chaulukya capital Anahilapataka, possibly when Karna was busy at another place.

The Shakambhari Chahamana king Durlabharaja III also appears to have achieved some military success against Karna, although the Chahamana descriptions of this victory are highly exaggerated. According to legendary chronicles, Karna also defeated Bhil and Koli tribals, who used to raid the Chaulukya territories. He established a city called Karnavati after defeating a Bhil chief named Asha (Āśā). Karnavati is identified with modern Ahmedabad by some, but this is not certain.

#### Imperial expansion

Karna's son Jayasimha Siddharaja (r. c. 1092–1142 CE) greatly expanded the Chaulukya power. He defeated Khangara alias Navaghana, the Chudasama king of Saurashtra. The

Naddula Chahamana ruler Asharaja, who had been dethroned by his rival Ratnapala, became a vassal of Jayasimha sometime before 1143 CE.

the Shakambhari Chahamana Jayasimha defeated ruler Arnoraja. Later, however, Jayasimha accepted Arnoraja as an ally, and the Chahamana ruler married Jayasimha's daughter Kanchanadevi. The couple's son (and thus Jayasimha's grandson) Someshvara, was brought up at the Chaulukya court. Someshvara's sons Prithviraja III (better known as Prithviraj Chauhan) and Hariraja were also born in Gujarat.

During the 1135-1136 CE, Jayasimha annexed the Paramara kingdom of Malwa, with support from Asharaja and Arnoraja. The Paramara kings defeated by him were Naravarman and his successor Yashovarman. Jayasimha continued his eastward march, and reached as far as the Chandela kingdom ruled by Madanavarman. The Chaulukya-Chandela conflict was inconclusive, with both the sides claiming victory. Jayasimha also defeated several minor rulers, including Sindhuraja, who was probably a Soomra king of Sindh.

Jayasimha was succeeded by his relative Kumarapala, who spent his early life in exile to avoid persecution by Jayasimha. After Jayasimha's death, Kumarapala came back to the Chaulukya capital and ascended the throne in 1043 CE, with help of his brother-in-law Kanhadadeva. Arnoraja opposed Kumarapala's ascension to the throne, but Kumarapala defeated him decisively. Kumarapala seems to have helped Asharaja's son Katukaraja capture the throne of Naddula. Katukaraja's younger brother and successor Alhanadeva continued to rule as Kumarapala's vassal. Arnoraja's son

Vigraharaja IV subdued Kumarapala's Chahamana feudatories at Naddula. The Shakambhari Chahamana-Chaulukya relations seem to have become more cordial when Arnoraja's son (and Jayasimha's grandson) Someshvara became the Chahamana king in later years, possibly with support from Kumarapala.

After Jayasimha's death, the Paramara king Jayavarman I regained control of Malwa, but he was soon dethroned by an usurper named Ballala. Kumarapala captured Malwa from Ballala, who was killed by Kumarapala's Arbuda Paramara feudatory Yashodhavala in a battle. Kumarapala subdued a rebellion by his vassal Vikramasimha, a Paramara chief of Arbuda. The Paramara branch at Kiradu continued to acknowledge Kumarapala's suzerainty.

In the early 1160s, Kumarapala sent an army against Mallikarjuna, the Shilahara king of northern Konkana. This campaign was probably triggered by a Shilahara raid in southern Gujarat, and ended with Mallikarjuna's death. Kumarapala's Naddula Chahamana feudatory Alhana put down disturbances in Saurashtra at Kumarapala's request.

Historical evidence suggests that Kumarapala's empire extended from Chittor and Jaisalmer in the north to the Vindhyas and the Tapti river in the south (ignoring his raid of the Shilahara kingdom of northern Konkana). In the west, it included Kachchha and Saurashtra; in the east, it extended up to at least Vidisha (Bhilsa).

Kumarapala was succeeded by Ajayapala, who retained Kumarapala's territories, but died after a short reign. Ajayapala's young sons Mularaja II and Bhima II succeeded him one after other. During this period, the Ghurid king

Muhammad of Ghor invaded the Chaulukya kingdom in 1178 CE. In the ensuing battle at Kasahrada (or Kayadara), Muhammad was defeated by a large army, which included loyal Chaulukya feudatories such as the Naddula Chahamana ruler Kelhanadeva, the Jalor Chahamana ruler Kirtipala, and the Arbuda Paramara ruler Dharayarsha.

#### **Decline**

Taking advantage of the young age of Bhima II, some provincial governors rebelled against him in order to establish independent states. His loyal Vaghela feudatory Arnoraja came to his rescue, and died fighting the rebels. Arnoraja's descendants Lavanaprasada and Viradhavala became powerful during Bhima's reign.

During Bhima's reign, the Hoysala ruler Veera Ballala II seems to have raided the Lata region. The Yadava ruler Bhillama V also invaded Gujarat, but was forced to retreat by Bhima's feudatory Kelhanadeva. The Shakambhari Chahamana king Prithviraja III also fought with the Chaulukyas, but Bhima's general Jagaddeva managed to conclude a peace treaty with Prithviraja sometime before 1187 CE.

By the mid-1190s CE, the Ghurids defeated the Prithviraja and the other major Hindu kings of northern India. On 4 February 1197 CE, the Ghurid general Qutb al-Din Aibak invaded Bhima's capital Anahilapataka, and inflicted a massive defeat on the Chaulukyas. Bhima's generals Lavanaprasada and Shridhara later forced the Ghurids to retreat, and the capital was back under the Chaulukya rule by 1201 CE.

Subhatavarman, the Paramara king of Malwa, invaded the Lata region around 1204 CE, taking advantage of the turmoil caused by the Ghurid invasions. He probably also sacked the Chaulukya capital Anahilapataka. Once again, Lavanaprasada and Shridhara saved the kingdom by forcing Subhatavarman to retreat. During 1205-1210 CE, Bhima's relative Jayantasimha (or Jayasimha) usurped the throne. In the early 1210s, Subhatavarman's successor Arjunavarman defeated Jayantasimha, and later established a matrimonial alliance with him. Bhima managed to regain control of the throne during 1223-1226 CE.

Meanwhile, the Yadavas invaded the southern part of the Chaulukya kingdom, led by Bhillama's successors Jaitugi and Simhana. During these invasions, the Chaulukya feudatories in the northern region of Marwar rebelled. Lavanaprasada and Viradhavala warded off the Yadava invasions, and also subdued the rebellions. The Guhilas of Medapata (Guhilots of Mewar) also rebelled against Bhima sometime between 1207-1227 CE, and declared their independence.

By the end of Bhima's reign, Lavanaprasada and Viradhavala assumed regal titles such as *Maharajadhiraja* ("king of great kings") and *Maharaja* ("great king"). However, the two continued to nominally acknowledge Bhima (and his successor Tribhuvanapala) as their overlord. After Tribhuvanapala, they seized the throne, establishing the Vaghela dynasty.

### **Architecture**

Māru-Gurjara architecture, or "Sola@kī style", is a style of north Indian temple architecture that originated in Gujarat

and Rajasthan from the 11th to 13th centuries, under the Chaulukya dynasty (or Sola®kī dynasty). Although originating as a regional style in Hindu temple architecture, it became especially popular in Jain temples and, mainly under Jain patronage, later spread across India and to diaspora communities around the world.

# Religion

Most of the dynasty's rulers were Shaivaite, although they also patronized Jainism. The dynasty's founder Mularaja is said to have built Mulavasatika temple for Digambara Jains and the Mulanatha-Jinadeva temple for the Svetambara Jains. The earliest of the Dilwara Temples and the Modhera Sun Temple were constructed during the reign of Bhima I. According to popular tradition, his queen Udayamati also commissioned the Queen's step-well. Kumarapala started patronizing Jainism at some point in his life, and the subsequent Jain accounts portray him as the last great royal patron of Jainism. The Chaulukya rulers also endowed mosques to maintain good relationship with the Muslim traders.

### Claimed descendants

The Vaghela dynasty, which succeeded the Chaulukyas, claimed descent from a sister of Kumarapala.

Various princely state dynasties calling themselves Solanki (the vernacular form of Chaulukya) claimed descent from the Chaulukyas as well. These included the rulers of the Lunavada State, which was a tributary to the Marathas before coming under the British rule. Several of the Bohra Walis and Da'i al-Mutlaqs claimed descent from Jayasimha Siddharaja. These included Syedna Ismail, the 34th Da'i al-Mutlaq.

### List of rulers

The Chalukya rulers of Gujarat, with approximate dates of reign, are as follows:

- Mularaja (c. 940 c. 995)
- Chamundaraja (c. 996 c. 1008)
- Vallabharaja (c. 1008)
- Durlabharaja (c. 1008 c. 1022)
- Bhima I (c. 1022 c. 1064)
- Karna (c. 1064 c. 1092)
- Jayasimha Siddharaja (c. 1092 c. 1142)
- Kumarapala (c. 1142 c. 1171)
- Ajayapala (c. 1171 c. 1175)
- Mularaja II (c. 1175 c. 1178)
- Bhima II (c. 1178 c. 1240)
- Tribhuvanapala (c. 1240 c. 1244)

### Mularaja

**Mularaja** (r. 941 – 996 CE) was the founder of the Chaulukya dynasty of India. Also known as the Chalukyas of Gujarat or Solanki, this dynasty ruled parts of present-day Gujarat. Mularaja supplanted the last Chavda king, and founded an independent kingdom with his capital in Anahilapataka in 940-941 CE.

### **Ancestry**

The Kumarapala-Bhupala-Charita of Jayasimha Suri provides a legendary genealogy of Mularaja. It states that the mythical progenitor of the Chaulukya dynasty was Chulukya, a great warrior. He established his capital at Madhupadma, and the dynasty came to be known as the Chaulukyas after him. His successors included several kings including Simha-Vikrama and Hari-Vikrama. After 85 descendants of Hari-Vikrama came Rama. Bhata or Sahajarama, the son of Rama, defeated the Shakas. Bhata's son Dadakka defeated the Gaja kings of Pipasa. Dadakka's kingdom occupied by Kanchikavyala, who was succeeded by the king Raji. Mularaja was the son of Raji and his queen Liladevi.

The Vadasma (Varunasarmaka) grant inscription of Mularaja's son Chamundaraja states that Mularaja was a descendant of one Vyalakanchi-Prabhu. This Vyalakanchi is probably same as the Kanchikavyala mentioned by Jayasimha Suri. Based on this, historian Asoke Majumdar believes that Suri's legendary account seems to be at least partially accurate: Rama and his successors appear to be historical figures. It is possible that they were small princes of a place called Madhupadma. V. V. Mirashi speculated that this place might have been situated on the banks of the river Madhuveni (present-day Mahuwar), which is a tributary of Betwa. Majumdar, on the other hand, identifies it with modern Mathura.

The 14th century chronicler Merutunga states that Mularaja was so named, because he was born under the auspices of the Mula nakshatra. According to this legend, Raji (or Raja), Bija and Dandaka (or Dadakka) were three brothers. Raji's

knowledge of horse-riding greatly impressed Samanta-simha, the Chapotkata (Chavda) king of Anahilapataka. He became a close friend of the king, and married Liladevi, the king's sister. Liladevi died while she was pregnant; her womb was cut open and the infant Mularaja was taken out.

Three other chroniclers — Arisimha, Udayaprabha and Krishnaji — also describe Mularaja as the son of sister of the last Chapotkata ruler.

### **Ascension**

In the mid-tenth century CE, Mularaja supplanted the last Chavada (Chapotkata) king of Gujarat and established the Chaulukya or Chaulukya dynasty.

According to Merutunga's legend, Mularaja gained reputation as a warrior. His uncle Samanta-simha would often appoint him as the king when drunk, and depose him when he became sober. Mularaja, who was an ambitious man, was regularly disappointed in this way.

One day, when a drunk Samanta-simha appointed him as the king, Mularaja killed his uncle, and became the permanent king. However, Merutunga's legend doesn't seem to be chronologically consistent: it claims that Samanta-simha ruled for 7 years. If Samanta-simha's sister married Raji during his reign, as the legend states, Mularaja would have been less than 7 years old at the time of Samanta-simha's death. This absurdity, coupled with other evidence, has prompted some scholars such as Georg Bühler to dismiss Merutunga's legend as unhistorical.

One of Mularaja's own inscriptions states that he conquered the region watered by Sarasvati river with the strength of his arms. The Vadnagar prashasti inscription of his descendant Kumarapala states that he took the Chapotkata princes captive. Bühler theorized that Mularaja was an outsider who captured Samanta-simha's kingdom. However, Asoke Majumdar proposed that he was indeed a relative of the king, based on the following facts: The Vadnagar inscription as well as the writings of Hemachandra suggest that Mularaja reduced the tax burden on the citizens. The inscription also states that he shared the wealth of the Chapotkata kings with his relatives, Brahmins, bards, and servants. Majumdar argues that if Mularaja had captured the Chapotkata kingdom with an army, he would not have felt the need to resort to such appearement. Therefore, Majumdar theorizes that Mularaja indeed murdered his uncle and then consolidated power with 'soft' measures such as reduced tax burden and sharing of wealth.

However, there is no doubt that Mularaja dethroned the Chapotkata king. One of Mularaja's own inscriptions states that he conquered the region watered by Sarasvati river with the strength of his arms. The Vadnagar *prashasti* inscription of his descendant Kumarapala states that he took the Chapotkata princes captive, took their fortune for his own enjoyment, and became popular among his subjects because of excessively light taxation.

According to the later Chaulukya court poet Someshvara's Surathotsava, Mularaja appointed Sola as his family priest. According to Bühler, such changes to the royal household would have not happened, if Mularaja had ascended the throne by the right of succession after the death of the last

Chapotkata king. Therefore, Bühler theorized that Mularaja was an outsider who captured Samanta-simha's kingdom. However, historian Asoke Majumdar proposed that he was indeed a relative of the king, based on the following facts: The Vadnagar inscription as well as the writings of Hemachandra suggest that Mularaja reduced the tax burden on the citizens. The inscription also states that he shared the wealth of the Chapotkata kings with his relatives, Brahmins, bards, and servants. Majumdar argues that if Mularaja had captured the Chapotkata kingdom with an army, he would not have felt the need to resort to such appeasement. Therefore, Majumdar theorizes that Mularaja indeed murdered his uncle and then consolidated power with 'soft' measures such as reduced tax burden and sharing of wealth.

## Military conflicts

At the time of his ascension, Mularaja's kingdom was probably limited to the territory called Sarasvata-mandala, which included present-day Mehsana, Radhanpur, and Palanpur. By the end of his reign, his kingdom extended from Mount Abu in the north to Lata region in the south.

### War against Graharipu and Laksha

Hemachandra's that defeated writings state Mularaja Graharipu, the "Abhira" (that is, Chudasama) king Saurashtra. Chaulukya-era However. no other accounts mention this victory. According to Hemachandra, one night, Mahadeva appeared in Mularaja's dream, and ordered him to vanquish Graharipu. In the morning, Mularaja consulted his ministers Jambaka and Jehula, as he was apprehensive of causing troubles to the pilgrims who visited Prabhasa in Saurashtra. Jambaka was his Mahamantri (chief minister) while Jehula, the Ranaka of Kahiralu (now Kheralu), was his Mahapradhana (prime minister), according to Hemachandra's commentator Abhayatilaka-Gani. Jehula told Mularaja that Graharipu was a tyrant who tortured pilgrims and indulged in vices such as eating flesh, drinking wine and hunting deer in sacred places. Jambaka described Graharipu as a very strong king, and declared that only Mularaja was capable of defeating him. Both the ministers urged Mularaja to attack Graharipu.

Mularaja launched a campaign against Graharipu on the day of Vijayadashami. When the Chalukya army reached Jambumali forest, Graharipu attempted a peaceful resolution by sending his messenger, who asked Mularaja to retreat, stating that there was no enmity between the two kings. However, Mularaja refused to do so, declaring that Mularaja was a despicable person whose vices could be attributed to his mlechchha maternal ancestry. When Mularaja continued his march, Graharipu started his war preparations. His allies included Medas (Bhillas according to Abhayatilaka-Gani), his friend Laksha (who had freed Kachchha from the Turushkas), and a king named Sindhuraja. After the war began, he was joined by a mlechchha chief (a Turushka, according to Abhayatilaka-Gani).

Mularaja was supported by the kings Gangamaha of Gangadvara and his younger brother, Mahitrata, Revatimitra, and Shailaprastha. The Paramara king of Abu, who lived at Shrimala, also joined him. In addition, Mularaja was supported by the Bhillas and the Kauravas. After the battle began,

several others including the king of Saptakashi and a number of Gujarati soldiers, joined him.

The battle took place on the river Jambumalli (identified as Bhogavo River in Saurashtra; a village named Jambu near Limbdi is located on the banks of this river). The battle continued for two days indecisively. On third day, Mularaja entered battle on an elephant and Graharipu mounted on his elephant in rage. Mularaja overpowered Graharipu in a single combat and throw him down from his elephant, and had him tied up with ropes.

Laksha, wearing white clothes, rushed in and abused Mularaja calling him Mula. He asked Mularaja to release Graharipu, but Mularaja refused to comply, on the grounds that the captive was a beef-eater. This led to another single combat, in which Mularaja killed Laksha with a spear. The men of Saurashtra then made a submission before Mularaja, dressed as women. Queen and children of Graharipu requested Mularaja to release him which he did. The king then released the prisoners and visited the Prabhasa city in Saurashtra. According to Abhayatilaka-Gani, Mularaja prayed on the day of Shivaratri. Within five-six days, Mularaja returned capital with 108 elephants.

The between Mularaja and Laksha has also been century mentioned by the 14th writer Merutunga Prabandha-Chintamani. According to this version, Laksha (or Lakha) was the son of Phulada, who was a meat-herd. Phulada married Kamalata, a daughter of Paramara king Kirtiraja. Laksha repulsed Mularaja's attacks 11 times. However, in their 12th fight, Mularaja besieged his fort Kapilkot (now Kera, Kutch), killed him, and trod him on his beard. Enraged by his insulting action, Laksha's mother cursed Mularaja's family to be afflicted with leprosy. A similar account is also given in *Kumarapalacharita*.

Most of Graharipu's allies named by Hemachandra appear to be fictional, but Laksha appears to be a historical character, as he has been mentioned in several other chronicles including *Kirti-Kaumudi, Vasanta-Vilasa*, and *Sukrita-Sankirtana*. He may be same as Lakha Phulani, whom the Jadeja princes of Kutch count among their ancestors, and whom the bardic chronicles variously date between 841 and 1144 CE.

Historian Asoke Majumdar theorizes that Mularaja attacked Graharipu on "some flimsy pretext", as Mahadeva's-order-in-adream was a popular device used by Sanskrit authors to justify the otherwise inexcusable actions of their heroes. Mularaja's descendants fought against the kings of Kachchha and Saurashtra, so it appears that he managed to annex some parts of these kingdoms, but could not completely subjugate them.

### Conflict with Vigraharaja II

Merutunga states that Mularaja once faced simultaneous invasions at the northern and southern frontiers of his kingdom. The northern invader was the king of Sapadalaksha, who can be identified as the Shakambhari Chahamana ruler Vigraharaja II. This invasion finds a mention in the later Chahamana accounts, but is not mentioned in Vigraharaja's 973 CE inscription, so it must have happened sometime after

973 CE. The southern invader was the Lata Chalukya ruler Barapa, a vassal of the Kalyani Chalukya ruler Tailapa II.

According to Merutunga, Mularaja's ministers advised him to take shelter in the Kantha-durga fort until Navaratri, when Vigraharaja would depart to perform the traditional worship of his family deity, and then attack Barapa. Mularaja agreed to this suggestion, but unexpectedly, Vigraharaja did not depart on Navaratri. Mularaja then collected a large number of soldiers from different parts of his kingdom, and led an army to the Chahamana camp. He managed to enter the royal pavallion of Vigraharaja, who, after a short conversation, was impressed with his bravery. Mularaja asked Vigraharaja not to attack him while he was engaged in a war with Barapa, and the Chahamana agreed to the demand. Vigraharaja also promised to maintain friendly relations with Mularaja, who subsequently attacked and killed Barapa.

Prithviraja Vijaya, which was composed under Chahamana patronage, states that Vigraharaja forced Mularaja to take shelter in Kantha-durga, and advanced as far as Bhrigukachchha (modern Bharuch), where he built a temple dedicated to the goddess Ashapuri. The 15th century Hammira Mahakavya, which glorifies the Chahamana lineage, inaccurate claims that Vigraharaja killed Mularaja.

It is hard to determine the historical truth from these different accounts. Historian R. B. Singh theorizes that Mularaja ceded a part of his territory to the Chahamanas. Historian Dasharatha Sharma also believes that the conflict ended with some advantage for Vigraharaja, who allied with Barapa and helped him achieve independence. Historian Asoke Kumar

Majumdar theorizes that Mularaja may have paid Vigraharaja money to win him over, and the two kings may have then jointly marched up to Bhrighkachchha against Barapa.

# Religion

The Jain authors present Mularaja as fully involved in Vedic and Brahmanical notions of kingship, while at the same time extensively supporting the Jains as a matter of royal policy. Although he was a Shaivaite, he built Mulavasatika (Mula's residence) temple for Digambaras and the Mulanatha-jinadeva (the Jina who is Mula's lord) temple for the Svetambaras.

Surathotsava of Someshvara, a thirteenth century Brahmana, describes Mularaja being consecrated as king through the performance of a Vedic *Vajapeya* sacrifice.

### **Temples**

original Rudra Mahalaya Temple at Shristhala (now Siddhpur) is ascribed to him traditionally. According to Kadi copperplate grant, Rudra Mahalaya was already there in 987 CE. He had constructed Munjaladevaswami and Tripurushaprasada temples in Anahilapataka (now Patan). He had built Mulnarayana-prasada at Siddhpur. also Mulavasahika Jain temple is ascribed to him. Jinaprabha mentions the temple of Mulanathjinadeva which is probably same as Munjaladevaswami. In 954 CE, Minister Kunkana built a Jain temple at Chandravati which was consecrated by Sarvadevasuri. The Mulavastika temple in Patan constructed Mularaja is also mentioned in an Digambara inscription dated Samvat 1250s of Bhima II rule. Merutunga's

Prabandha-Chintamani mentions building of Muleshwara temple at Mandali (now Mandal) which is the same as Mulanathadeva temple mentioned in Kadi copperplate grants. This is last temple built before 987 CE.

After defeating Graharipu, he had probably rebuilt large temple at Somnath. H. P. Shastri and M. A. Dhaky had concluded this based on paleographic and stylistic evidences. He had settled Brahmans in Vadnagar migrated from North India. He probably had built Hatakeshwara temple for them but the original temple is obscured following major renovation in 19th century.

Muni Bawa Temple near Thangadh is an extant temple of this period. The older part of Adinath temple at Vadnagar and ruins of Khokhra-dera at Kanthkot were built during later period of his reign. The temple of Harishchandra-ni-Chori in Shamlaji also belongs to this period.

# Chamundaraja (Chaulukya dynasty)

**Chamundaraja** (IAST: Cāmullarāja, r. c. 996–1008 CE) was an Indian king who ruled parts of present-day Gujarat from his capital at Anahilapataka (modern Patan). He was a member of the Chaulukya (also called Chalukya or Solanki) dynasty.

## Early life

Chamundaraja was the son of the Chaulukya king Mularaja. Inscriptions recording grants made by him as a prince are dated as early as 976 CE, although he ascended the throne much later, sometime during 996-997 CE.

## Military career

The Vastupala-Tejapala *prashasti* includes conventional praise for Chamundaraja, boasting that he decorated the earth with the heads of his enemies, but does not name any specific enemies. According to the 12th century Jain author Hemachandra, Chamundaraja defeated the Lata Chalukya chief Barapa, although other chroniclers attribute this victory to his father Mularaja. Therefore, it appears that Chamundaraja participated in the war against Barappa as a prince.

According to the 12th century Vadnagar prashasti inscription, a king named Sindhuraja fled with his elephant forces when he saw Chamundaraja's army at a distance, thus losing his well-established fame. This king can be identified with Sindhuraja, the Paramara king of Gujarat's neighbour Malwa. According to Sindhuraja's court poet Padmagupta, the Paramara king defeated the rulers of Vagada and Lata, which bordered Chamundaraja's kingdom. It is possible that the ruler of Lata was a vassal of Chamundaraja at this time. Accordingly, Chamundaraja came to the rescue of his vassal, forcing Sindhuraja to retreat. The 14th century Jain chronicler Jayasimha Suri claims that Chamundaraja killed Sindhuraja in a battle. However, this claim doesn't appear in the earlier sources, and therefore, cannot be taken literally.

The Chalukyas of Kalyani captured the Lata region during Chamundaraja's reign. The 1007 CE Lakkundi inscription mentions that the Kalyani Chalukya ruler Satyashraya had returned from a successful campaign in the Gurjara country. The Kalyani Chalukya poet Ranna also states that Satyashraya defeated the Gurjaras with an elephant force. One theory is

that the "Gurjara" ruler defeated by Satyashraya in this particular campaign was Chamundaraja. However, there is no direct evidence to support this identification. It is possible that the ruler defeated by Satyashraya was the Lata Chalukya ruler Barapa or an obscure descendant of the Gurjaras of Nandipuri.

### Personal life

Hemachandra states that Chamundaraja had three sons: Durlabha-raja, Naga-raja, and Vallabha-raja. Abhayatilaka Gani, who wrote a commentary on Hemachandra's work in the 13th century, states that Chamundaraja became licentious, because of which his sister Vachinidevi placed his son Vallabha on the throne. It is not clear how Vachinidevi became powerful enough to replace a ruling king with another.

According to Hemachandra, Chamundaraja left for a pilgrimage to Varanasi after his retirement. During this journey, his royal umbrella was confiscated (presumably, by the ruler of a kingdom lying on the way; identified as Malwa by some later chroniclers). As a result, he returned to Gujarat, and asked Vallabha to avenge this insult. However, Vallabha died of smallpox during a march, and Durlabha became the new Chaulukya king. Chamundaraja then retired to Shuklatirtha (modern Shuklatirth) on the banks of Narmada, where he died.

## **Temples**

Chamundaraja built Chandanatha and Vachineshwra temples in Anahilapataka (now Patan). The Vachineshwara temple was probably built for merit of his sister Vachinidevi. Other extant temples attributed to the first quarter of 11th century include original Bhadreshwar Jain Temple (now completely rebuilt following 2001 Gujarat earthquake); Vishnu Temple at Sander village in Patan district; Akhada Mahadeva temple at Vasai and Vishnu Temple at Khandosan, both in Vijapur Taluka of Mehsana district in Gujarat. Two pieces of parshwadevatas, of Uma-Maheshwara and Ganesha, from old Brahminical temple at Jhinjhuwada is recovered dated circa 1000 CE.

# Vallabharaja

**Vallabha-raja** (r. c. 1008 CE) was an Indian king who ruled parts of present-day Gujarat. He was a member of the Chaulukya (also called Chalukya or Solanki) dynasty. He ruled for less than a year, and died of smallpox while marching against an enemy.

Vallabha was a son of his predecessor, Chamundaraja. According to the 13th Jain scholar Abhayatilaka Gani, when Chamundaraja became incapable of governing the kingdom, his sister Vachinidevi appointed Vallabha as the new king. The 14th century writer Merutunga, on the other hand, claims that Vallabha ascended the throne after his father's death, and ruled for six months.

Some of the Chaulukya inscriptions omit his name in the genealogical lists, probably because of his short reign. However, most inscriptions (including the Vadnagar *prashasti*) mention him as the successor of Chamundaraja. The 12th century Jain scholar Hemachandra composed a benedectory verse devoted to him. Such verses were composed only for the

Chaulukya kings, which indicates that Vallabha indeeded ruled a king, although for a very brief period.

### Death

According to the later Jain chronicles, Durlabharaja marched against a kingdom, because its ruler had insulted his father Chamundaraja. However, he died of smallpox during this march. Some of these chronicles identify the enemy kingdom as Malwa, which was ruled by the Paramaras.

The 12th century writer Hemachandra states that Chamundaraja left for a pilgrimage to Varanasi after his retirement. On the way, his royal umbrella was confiscated (presumably, by the ruler of a kingdom located on the way). He returned to Gujarat, and asked Vallabha to avenge this insult. The 14th century writer Merutunga mentions the same incident, but replaces Chamunda with Durlabha, and Vallabha with Bhima I. Merutunga's version is known to have historical inaccuracies.

The 12th century Vadnagar prashasti inscription states that the kings of Malwa were shaken when they heard about Vallabha's marches. It does not state that he actually reached Malwa. The 13th century writer Abhayatilaka Gani, who wrote a commentary on Hemachandra's work, states that Malwa was the kingdom against which Vallabha marched to avenge the insult against Chamundaraja. However, his conclusion was based on a particular verse in which Hemachandra states that Vallabha passed by the confluence of the Para and the Sindhu to the 12th century rivers. According text Sarasvati-Kanthabharana, the country where these two rivers met was

ruled by the Naga kings. Historian A. K. Majumdar speculates that Vallabha died not during a march against Malwa, but during a march to a northern kingdom, where he intended to secure allies for his upcoming campaign against Malwa.

The 14th century writer Merutunga embellishes the earlier accounts by claiming that Vallabha not only reached Malwa, but also besieged the Paramara capital Dhara. The later writer Jayasimha Suri states that king against whom Vallabha marchced was Munja.

These accounts by the later writers are not historically accurate. For example, it is known that Munja died in the 990s, around a decade before the said march, which took place around 1008 CE. Hemachandra's *Dvyashraya* makes it clear the Vallabha died before achieving any tangible success in the campaign. Some other works written under Chaulukya patronage, such as *Sukrita Sankirtana* by Arisimha and *Sukrita-Kirti-Kallolini* by Udayaprabha, claim that Vallabha defeated the king of Malwa. These claims are not supported by any historical evidence either. Only the fact that Vallabha marched against Malwa appears to be historically true.

Vallabha suffered from a severe disease during the march, and asked his army to return to the Chaulukya capital. Hemachandra does not name this disease, but describes the symptoms of the disease from which Vallabha died. Based on these, Abhayatilaka Gani correctly identified the disease as smallpox.

After Vallabha's death, his brother Durlabharaja ascended the throne.

# Durlabharaja (Chaulukya dynasty)

**Durlabha-raja** (r. c. 1008–1022 CE) was an Indian king who ruled parts of present-day Gujarat from his capital at Anahilapataka (modern Patan). He was a member of the Chaulukya (also called Chalukya or Solanki) dynasty.

## Early life

Durlabha was a son of the Chaulukya king Chamundaraja. He ascended the throne after his brother Vallabharaja unexpectedly died of smallpox.

## Military career

Durlabha's biggest achievement was his successful invasion of the Lata region. He probably defeated the Lata Chalukya ruler Kirtiraja (or Kirtipala), who was a vassal of the Kalyani Chalukyas. The Kalyani Chalukya king Jayasimha was preoccupied in wars against the Chola dynasty, taking advantage of which Durlabha may have invaded Lata. Shortly after, Kirtiraja appears to have regained independence (or regained the Kalyani Chalukya vassalship). However, in 1018 CE, the Paramara king Bhoja also invaded Lata and defeated Kirtiraja.

A legendary account by the 12th century writer Hemachandra mentions that Durlabha defeated a confederacy of several kings. According to this account, Durlabha was invited to the svayamvara (husband-selection) ceremony of Durlabha-devi,

the sister of king Mahendra of Naddula. His rivals at the ceremony included the kings of Andhra, Anga, Avanti, Chedi, Gurjara, Huna, Kashi, Kuru, Mathura, and Vindhya. Among all these kings, Durlabha-devi chose Durlabha. Mahendra also gave his younger sister Lakshmi in marriage to Durlabha's younger brother Nagaraja. The rejected suitors jointly attacked Durlabha's party during his return journey to Gujarat. Durlabha repulsed the attack and marched home with his new bride. This legend does not seem to be historically accurate. The chief of Naddula was a relatively insignificant ruler, and it is hard to believe that so many major rulers left their kingdoms to attend his ceremony at a time when northern India was under attacks from Mahmud of Ghazni. The defeat of all these powerful kings by Durlabha also seems implausible.

The 14th century writer Merutunga claims that after his retirement, Durlabha passed through Malwa on his way to Kashi. There, he was insulted by the Paramara king Munja. He returned to Gujarat, and asked his successor Bhima I to punish Munja. This account is an adaption of earlier legends, which name the insulted king as Chamundaraja. It is historically inaccurate, because Munja died nearly a decade before Durlabha's ascension.

According to Hemachandra, Durlabha died childless, and was succeeded by his nephew Bhima I.

### **Cultural activities**

According to the 14th century writer Merutunga, Durlabha built a 7-storey palace in his capital Anahilapataka, along with an elephant stable and a clock tower. He also commissioned

the Madanashankara Shiva temple in memory of his brother Vallabha. In addition he also commissioned the Durlabha Sarovar (water tank). The Durlabhmeru temple is probably built by him too. The *Upakeshagaccha-pattavali* mentions the Mahavira temple built by Shreshthi Kapardi in 1016 CE which was consecrated by Siddhasuri.

Other extant temples attributed to the first quarter of 11th century include original Bhadreshwar Jain Temple (now completely rebuilt following 2001 Gujarat earthquake); Vishnu Temple at Sander village in Patan district; Akhada Mahadeva temple at Vasai and Vishnu Temple at Khandosan, both in Vijapur Taluka of Mehsana district in Gujarat.

According to the Jain writer Jnanavimala, the Kharatara gachchha (sect) of Jain monks was established during Durlabha's reign. The group's founder Vardhamana Suri and his disciple Jineshvara visited Durlabha's court. There, Jineshvara defeated the Chaityavasins (another sect) in a philosophical debate. Durlabha conferred the title *kharatara* (very keen) on Jineshvara. When Jineshvara succeeded Vardhamana Suri as the head monk, his sect came to be known as the Kharatara gachchha.

### Bhima I

**Bhima I** (r. c. 1022–1064 CE) was a Chaulukya king who ruled parts of present-day Gujarat, India. The early years of his reign saw an invasion from the Ghaznavid ruler Mahmud, who sacked the Somnath temple. Bhima left his capital and took shelter in Kanthkot during this invasion, but after Mahmud's departure, he recovered his power and retained his ancestral

territories. He crushed a rebellion by his vassals at Arbuda, and unsuccessfully tried to invade the Naddula Chahamana kingdom. Towards the end of his reign, he formed an alliance with the Kalachuri king Lakshmi-Karna, and played an important role in the downfall of the Paramara king Bhoja.

The earliest of the Dilwara Temples and the Modhera Sun Temple were built during Bhima's reign. The construction of Rani ki vav is attributed to his queen Udayamati.

# Early life

Bhima's father Nagaraja was a son of the Chaulukya king Chamunda-raja. Chamunda was succeeded by Nagaraja's brothers, Vallabha-raja and Durlabha-raja, in that order. Both Vallabha and Durlabha died childless. According to the 12th century author Hemachandra, Durlabha was very fond of his nephew Bhima, and appointed Bhima as his successor before his death. Durlabha and Nagaraja died soon after Bhima's ascension to throne.

## Military career

#### Ghaznavid invasion

Early during his reign, Bhima faced an invasion by Mahmud of Ghazni, whose plunder of the Somnath temple has been described in detail by the medieval Muslim historians. According to Ali ibn al-Athir, Mahmud started out from Ghazni on 18 October 1025. At Multan, he planned his march in detail and gathered supplies. He left Multan on 26 November, with a

large army well-equipped to cross the Thar desert, and reached the Chaulukya capital in December 1025 CE.

According to the Muslim accounts, Bhima fled his capital Anahilapataka (called Nahrwala by the medieval Muslim historians). He took shelter in Kanthkot, allowing Mahmud to enter the Chaulukya capital unopposed. Mahmud's sudden invasion, coupled with the lack of any fortifications in Anahilapataka, may have forced Bhima to abandon his capital. Other residents of the city also appear to have evacuated it, as the Muslim historians do not mention any massacre or looting in the Chaulukya capital.

 Mahmud rested at Anahilapataka for a few days, replenished his supplies, and then left for Somnath. relatively small force of 20,000 unsuccessfully tried to check Mahmud's advance at Modhera. Historian A. K. Majumdar theorizes that the Modhera Sun Temple, might have been built to this defence. commemorate The upside down the cella of the inscription in temple proper evidences the destruction and reconstruction probably shortly after 1026 CE.

Mahmud then advanced to Delvada. Although the town surrendered without offering any resistance, Mahmud massacred all its residents. Finally, Mahmud's army reached Somnath on 6 January 1026 CE. The Muslim historians suggest that the town was well-defended, probably by a fort guarding the temple. According to Abu Sa'id Gardezi, the commander of the defending force fled to a nearby island. Other defenders put up a resistance, but Mahmud managed to

capture the fort by 8 January. Mahmud then desecrated the temple, and looted a huge amount of wealth including jewels and silver idols.

During his return journey, Mahmud came to know that a powerful Hindu king named Param Dev had gathered a large army to fight him. Gardezi, in his *Kitab Zainu'l-Akhbar* (c. 1048 CE), states that Mahmud chose to avoid any confrontation with this king. The invader was carrying back a large amount of looted wealth, which may have motivated him to avoid a battle. Mahmud decided to return via Mansura in Sindh, although the route connecting Gujarat and Sindh was more dangerous than the desert route to Multan. Later Muslim historians also mention this incident.

The 16th century historian Firishta identified Param Dev with Bhima I, calling him the king of Nahrwala. Historian A. K. Majumdar agrees with this identification, arguing that "Param" might be a Muslim mistranscription of "Bhima". Scholars who are critical of this theory identify Param dev with the Paramara king Bhoja, who ruled the neighbouring territory of Malwa. K. N. Seth and Mahesh Singh point out that Bhima had ascended the throne recently, and was not a powerful ruler at the time of Mahmud's raid. In fact, as attested by the Muslim historians, he had fled his capital and hid in Kanthkot. The Muslim historians before Firishta, such as Gardezi and Nizamuddin Ahmad, mention the king of Nahrwala and Param Dev as two distinct kings. Unlike Bhima, Bhoja was a powerful and famous ruler at that time. Bhoja was also a Shaivite, and according to the Udaipur Prashasti, had constructed a temple dedicated to Somnath (an aspect of Shiva). Thus Mahmud's desecration of the Somnath temple in Gujarat would have motivated Bhoja to

lead an army against him. Based on these evidences, several scholars identify Param Dev with Bhoja. "Param Dev" is probably a corruption of "Paramara-Deva" or of Bhoja's titles Paramabhattakara-Parameshvara.

#### **Invasion of Sindh**

According to the 12th century scholar Hemachandra, who was patronized by the Chaulukyas, Bhima defeated Hammuka, a ruler of Sindh. This claim has also been repeated by the 14th century chronicler Merutunga. Hemachandra's account of Bhima's war against Sindh goes like this: one day Bhima's spies told him that the kings of Andhra, Pundra and Magadha obeyed him. On the other hand, Hammuka (the king of Sindhu, that is, Sindh) and Karna (the king of Chedi) not only refused to acknowledge his supremacy, but also defamed him. Bhima then marched to Sindh, bridging and crossing the Indus river in the process. He defeated Hammuka, who was forced to acknowledge his supremacy. Later, he also defeated Karna.

According to the epic *Mahabharata*, the legendary hero Bhima defeated two other warriors: Jayadratha (the king of Sindhu Kingdom) and Karna. Hemachandra's poetic account compares Bhima I to his legendary namesake, because the Chaulukya king had also defeated the king of Sindhu and Karna (the king of Chedi).

There is no epigraphic evidence of Bhima having defeated the king of Sindh. In absence of any corroborating evidence, the historical accuracy of this account is uncertain. Historian A. K. Majumdar theorizes that Hammuka might have been a descendant of the Saindhava dynasty, which probably

originated from Sindh. This dynasty is known to have last ruled western Saurashtra in 915 CE. Like Hammuka, the names of its rulers ended in -ka: Ranaka, Jaika and Agguka.

#### **Paramaras of Arbuda**

The Paramara branch of Arbuda had been feudatories of the Chaulukyas since Mularaja's reign. However, sometime before 1031 CE, the Abu Paramara ruler Dhandhuka rebelled against Bhima. Bhima defeated him, and appointed Vimala as the new dandapati (governor) of Arbuda. Vimala commissioned the shrine of Adinatha at Mount Abu in 1031 CE, so Dhandhuka's rebellion must have happened before this year.

Dhandhuka took shelter with Bhoja, the Paramara king of Malwa. According to Jinaprabha Suri's *Tirtha Kalpa*, Bhima later restored Dhandhuka as his vassal.

A 1042 CE inscription of Dhandhuka's son Purnapala states that he was ruling over Arbuda-mandala as a Maharajadhiraja ("king of great kings"), after having defeated his enemy. This suggests that the Paramaras of Arbuda may have again rebelled against Bhima's authority. However, the area was back under Bhima's control by 1062 CE, as attested by an inscription of Vimala.

#### Paramaras of Bhinmal

Bhima defeated and imprisoned Krishna-deva, a ruler of the Paramara branch of Bhinmal. However, the Naddula Chahamanas defeated Bhima, and freed Krishna-deva. This is attested by the Sundha Hill inscription of the Chahamanas.

Subsequently, Krishna-deva ruled independent of Bhima; his inscriptions describe him as a Maharajadhiraja.

#### Chahamanas of Naddula

The Chahamanas of Naddula ruled the territory to the north of the Chaulukya kingdom. According to their Sundha Hill inscription, the Chahamana king Ahila defeated Bhima. Ahila probably repulsed an invasion from Bhima.

The Sundha Hill inscription as well as another Chahamana inscription state that the later king Anahilla also defeated the elephant force of Bhima. Anahilla is also said to have destroyed Bhima's army and captured a large part of his territory. His sons Balaprasada and Jendraraja also took part in the war against Bhima. Balaprasada forced Bhima to release Krishna-deva (the Paramara ruler of Bhimal) from the prison. Jendraraja defeated Bhima's force at Shanderaka (modern Sanderao).

The location of the battles suggests that Bhima was the aggressor in this war, and the Chahamanas repulsed his invasion. The war continued during the reign of Bhima's successor Karna.

#### **Paramaras of Malwa**

Bhima formed an alliance with the Kalachuri king Lakshmi-Karna, and played a significant role in the downfall of Bhoja, the Paramara dynasty of Malwa. This achievement has been recorded by several Chaulukya chroniclers and inscriptions.

The most detailed account of the rivalry between Bhima and Bhoja is given by the 14th century chronicler Merutunga. However, it is hard to separate the historical truth from fiction in Merutunga's legendary account, which goes like this: Bhima and Bhoja were initially friends, but Bhoja made a plan to invade Gujarat. When Bhima's spy informed him about Bhoja's plan, Bhima sent his ambassador Damara to Bhoja's court. Damara instigated Bhoja to attack the Chalukyas of Kalyani, who had killed the earlier Paramara ruler Munja. Thus, Damara managed to divert Bhoja's attention away from Bhima's kingdom. While Bhoja was facing a war with the Kalyani Chalukyas, Damara lied to him that Bhima had also started a march against him. This worried Bhoja, who begged Damara to convince Bhima to abandon his march towards Malwa. Damara agreed to do so if Bhoja gifted Bhima an elephant couple, which Bhoja did.

Merutunga further states that while Bhima was engaged in a war against the king of Sindh, Bhoja's digambara general Kulachandra sacked the Chaulukya capital Anahilapataka. Subsequently, Merutunga mentions several incidents that suggest that the two kings maintained diplomatic ties. One day, while Bhoja was worshipping his family deity at a temple on the outskirts of his capital Dhara, the goddess warned him that he was surrounded by enemy soldiers. Bhoja was nearly killed by the Gujarati soldiers Aluya and Koluya, but managed to escape.

Merutunga finally describes Bhoja's death as follows: One day, the Kalachuri king Karna challenged Bhoja to a war or a temple-building contest. Bhoja chose the second option, and lost the contest to Karna. However, Bhoja refused to

acknowledge Karna's supremacy. As a result, Karna invaded Malwa from the east, supported by 136 vassals. He also asked Bhima to invade Malwa from the east. Bhoja died of a disease, as these two kings invaded his kingdom. After his death, Karna captured his capital and all his wealth.

According to Merutunga, it was Karna who captured Dhara after Bhoja's death. Other Chaulukya chroniclers claim that Bhima captured Dhara. It is possible that Bhima raided Dhara at a later date. One particular chronicle *Kirti-Kaumudi* claims that Bhima captured Bhoja, but generously released him and spared his life. This is not corroborated by historical evidence.

### **Kalachuris of Tripuri**

Bhima and the Kalachuri king Lakshmi-Karna remained allies until Bhoja's death. Subsequently, there seems to have been a dispute between them over sharing the spoils of their victory. The Chaulukya chroniclers claim that Bhima subdued Karna easily, but such claims are of little historical value.

The 12th century writer Hemachandra claims that Bhima sent his ambassador Damodara to Karna, demanding his share of the Paramara assets. Damodara's description of Bhima's power scared Karna, who started praising Bhima and gifted him Bhoja's golden throne. The 14th century chronicler Merutunga claims that Bhima demanded half of Bhoja's kingdom from Karna. When Karna refused, Bhima's ambassador Damara entered Karna's palace with 32 foot soldiers and abducted Karna as the Kalachuri king slept. Karna ultimately made peace by surrendering a golden shrine to Bhima.

These accounts by the Chaulukya chroniclers appear to be historically inaccurate, as Karna was too powerful to be subdued by an ambassador of Bhima. Hemachandra does not mention Bhima's conflict with Bhoja at all, and Bhima's allies named by him in the struggle against Karna are all fictitious. Merutunga's account seems to be derived partly from Hemachandra's *Dvyashraya* and partly from *Kirti-Kaumudi*.

That said, there is some historical evidence of a conflict between Bhima and Karna. Karna's Rewa stone inscription claims that when he approached the Gurjara country (that is, Bhima's kingdom of Gujarat), the Gurjara women shed tears and became widows. It is possible that Bhima gained some advantage over Karna, after the Kalachuris were decisively defeated by the Kalyani Chalukya king Someshvara I.

### Personal life

Bhima's queen was Udayamati. According to Hemachandra, he had three sons: Mularaja, Kshemaraja, and Karna. Mularaja died during Bhima's lifetime, and Kshemaraja rejected the throne. As a result, Karna succeeded Bhima.

Merutunga, on the other hand, states that Bhima's three sons were Mularaja, Karna and Haripala. Of these, Haripala was born of a courtesan named Bakuladevi. Historian A. K. Majumdar theorizes that Merutunga's account appears to be more accurate, since voluntary rejections of thrones were very rare. Hemachandra, who was a royal courtier, probably wanted to avoid mentioning the illegitimate son Haripala, and therefore, glossed over the genealogy.

### Temples and constructions

Merutunga states that he built Tripurushaprasada temple at Anahilapataka (now Patan) for merit of his deceased son. He also built Bhimeshwara and Bhattarika Bhiruani temples. He rebuilt Somnath Temple after its destruction by Ghazni. Merutunga credits Udayamati with excavating a reservoir at Anahilapataka; this tank is said to have been better than the to Sahastralinga Tank in the town. According popular tradition, she also commissioned the Rani ki vav (Queen's stepwell). His minister and later governor of Chandravati, Vimala built Adinath Jain temple, one of the Dilwara Temples, on Mount Abu during the last years of Bhima's reign. He had also built one more temple at Patan and Vimala Vasahi on Shatrunjaya (renovated in 17th century). The Modhera Sun Temple (1026-27 CE) except its Rangamandapa and tank was reconstructed during Bhima's reign. Bhaktamarastrotra Vritti (1370 CE) and Ratnamandira's Upadeshatarangini (c. of mentions the construction century) Adinatha and Parshwanatha temples by Shreshthi Jhinah at Dhavalakka (Dholka) during this period.

Vagheshwari/Khambhalai Mata temple at Dhinoj in Patan district was built during the same period as Modhera Sun temple. Achaleshwara Mahadev and Jagannatha temples on Mount Abu were contemporary of Adinath temple. Limboji Mata temple at Delmal in north Gujarat is also of the same period. The small shrine of Someshwara at Gorad near Mehsana; Shiva temple and Sanderi Mata temple at Sander in Patan district belongs to 11th century. A ruined shrine in Mulamadhavpura in Saurashtra is contemporary of Shiva temple at Sander. Pankhnath Mahadev and the early surviving parts of Ambika

temples at Khedbrahma are also of this period. The large marble temple of Mahavira (1062 CE), of five Jain temples at Kumbhariya, is the last major temple of this period.

The vase-and-foliage pillars and lintels of a temple of this period at Patan is reused in the inlet sluice chamber of Khan Sarovar. The Tanka Mosque in Dholka has four decorated bhadraka pillars reused from a small shrine of this age. The badly renovated Sun temple and another temple dedicated to Daityasudana Vishnu at Prabhas Patan also belongs to this period.

Ankol Mata stepwell at Davad and Mata Bhavani's Stepwell in Ahmedabad belonged to the third quarter of the 11th century.

# Karna (Chaulukya dynasty)

**Karna** (r. c. 1064–1092 CE) was an Indian king from the Chaulukya (Solanki) dynasty of Gujarat. He ruled the present-day Gujarat and surrounding areas, from his capital Anahilapataka (modern Patan).

Karna succeeded his father Bhima I, who had invaded the Paramara kingdom of Malwa at the time of Bhoja's death. Karna was forced to retreat from Malwa by Bhoja's brother Udayaditya.

He annexed Lata to the Chaulukya territory by defeating a Kalachuri general, but lost it within a few years. He also suffered a defeat against the Chahamanas of Naddula, who raided the Chaulukya capital during his reign.

Karna is credited with defeating a Bhil chief of Ashapalli, and laying the foundation of the Karnavati city, identified with the modern Ahmedabad in western India. Karna married Mayanalladevi, who was the mother of his son and successor Jayasimha Siddharaja.

# Early life

Karna was born to the Chaulukya monarch Bhima I and Queen Udayamati. According to the 12th century Jain chronicler Hemachandra, Bhima had three sons: Mularaja, Kshemaraja, and Karna. Mularaja died during Bhima's lifetime. Kshemaraja, the elder surviving son, renounced his rights to the throne, and retired to Dadhisthali as an ascetic. Bhima then placed Karna on the throne and retired. After becoming the king, Karna sent Kshemaraja's son Devaprasada to Dadisthali to take care of his father.

The of Hemachandra is doubtful, and is not corroborated by any historical evidence. The 14th century chronicler Merutunga states that Bhima's three sons were Mularaja, Karna and Haripala. Of these, Haripala was born of a concubine named Bakuladevi. According to historian A. K. Majumdar, Merutunga's be account appears to more satisfactory, since voluntary rejections of thrones were very rare. Karna may have banished his half-brother and nephew to eliminate any rival claimants to the throne. Hemachandra was a royal courtier of Karna's son Jayasimha Siddharaja as well Kumarapala (a descendant of Kshemaraja/Haripala). Therefore, he probably invented a fictional narrative to avoid mentioning Bhima's illegitimate son as an ancestor of his patron. This

theory is corroborated by the fact that Jayasimha Siddharaja hated Kumarapala. Karna bore the title Trailokyamalla.

# Military career

#### **Paramaras of Malwa**

Karna was a contemporary of his Kalachuri namesake Karna (also known as Lakshmi-Karna). Karna's father Bhima I had formed an alliance with the Lakshmi-Karna to defeat the Paramaras of Malwa. The Paramara king Bhoja died as the alliance attacked Malwa, and a war of succession broke out between the Paramara relatives Jayasimha I and Udayaditya. Lakshmi-Karna seems to have occupied Malwa for sometime, but he soon suffered a series defeats against other neighbouring kings, and Bhima broke away from him.

Udayaditya ultimately ascended the Paramara throne in Malwa. The Chaulukya inscriptions and chronicles claim that Karna defeated the new Paramara king. An inscription Kumarapala's reign states that Karna defeated the Malwa monarch at the Sudakupa pass. The Gujarat chronicler Arisimha claims that Karna brought a statue of Nilakantha to Gujarat as a result of his victory against the Malwa ruler. Another Gujarat poet Someshvara claims that Karna overran Malwa, and the Paramara priest magically invoked an evil spirit to defeat him. However, Karna's priest Ama (who was an ancestor of Someshvara), turned this evil spirit against the Paramara priest, who was killed as a result.

The non-Chaulukya records, on the other hand, suggest that Udayaditya defeated Karna. According to the Paramara inscriptions, Udayaditya defeated three kings to ascend the Paramara throne. One of these three kings was Karna, who is identified with the Chaulukya king. Chahamana chronicle Prithviraja Vijaya states that the Chahamana king Vigraharaja III gave a horse named Saranga to Udayaditya, with whose help Udayaditya defeated Karna. The text specifically mentions Karna as "Gurjara", that is the ruler of the Gurjara region. The Jagaddeva of Udayaditya's son Jainad inscription also mentions that he subdued Karna, and made the wives of the cry. These evidences indicate that Gurjara warriors claims of victory over Karna pertain the Paramara Chaulukya Karna (and not the Kalachuri Karna).

These opposing claims indicate that Karna defeated Udayaditya at first, but then Udayaditya was able to defeat him and ascend the throne of Malwa with Chahamana support. Udayaditya's son Jagaddeva seems to have accompanied his father in the battle against Karna.

### **Kalachuris of Tripuri**

After the death of the Paramara king Bhoja, the Kalachuris of Tripuri briefly occupied Malwa. The Kalachuri general Vapullaka also conquered the Lata region (present-day south Gujarat), which was located between the Chaulukya and the Paramara kingdoms. By 1074 CE, Lata was under Chaulukya control, as attested by one of Karna's Navsari inscription. Thus, it appears that Karna expelled the Kalachuris from Lata, and annexed the region to the Chaulukya kingdom.

Karna's victory appears to have been achieved during the reign of the Kalachuri king Yashah-Karna, as suggested by a verse of the Gujarat poet Someshvara. This verse talks about how the rivalry between the legendary heroes Karna and Arjuna resulted in Arjuna's *yashah* (fame) being driven away. It appears that Karna lost Lata to one Trivikramapala within three years, but the region was recaptured by his son Jayasimha Siddharaja.

### Other campaigns

The Chahamanas of Naddula invaded the Chaulukya kingdom during Karna's reign. According to their Sundha Hill inscription, the Chahamana ruler Prithvipala defeated Karna, and his successor Jojalladeva occupied the Chaulukya capital Anahilapataka by force. It is possible that the Naddula Chahamanas raided the Chaulukya capital while Karna was busy at another place.

According to a *Ras-Mala* account based on the writings of the 14th century chronicler Merutunga, Karna defeated the Bhils and the Kolis. The two tribes lived between the Rann of Kutch and the Sabarmati River, and plundered the Chaulukya territories. As a result, Karna led a series of expeditions against them. In one such campaign, he defeated a Bhil chief named Asha (Āśā), who lived at Ashapalli. According to Merutunga, Karna established the city of Karnavati after this victory. Karnavati is identified with modern Ahmedabad by some, but this is not certain.

Bilhana's poem *Karna-Sundari*, which presents Karna as a hero, claims that he conquered Sindh. But this claim is historically inaccurate.

Two relatively late texts suggest that Karna was defeated by the Chahamana king Durlabharaja III. The 14th century text Prabandha Kosha claims that Durlabha defeated the Gurjara king, brought him to the Chahamana capital Ajmer in chains and forced him to sell yogurt in a market. The 15th century Hammira Mahakavya claims that Karna was killed in a battle However, this claim against Durlabha. is historically inaccurate: Durlabha died around 1070 CE, while Karna lived until 1092 CE. Moreover, the earlier Chahamana records (such as Prithviraja Vijaya) do not mention any such conflict. It is possible that Durlabha achieved a minor military success against Karna, which was magnified into a major victory by the later panegyrists.

### Personal life

Karna married Mayanalla, a daughter of the Kadamba king Jayakeshi I (r. c. 1050-1080). The various legends provide contradictory accounts of how this marriage happened. 12th According to Hemachandra's century Dvyashraya, Mayanalla was an extremely beautiful Kadamba princess. She once saw Karna's painting by a Buddhist artist. Enamoured by Karna's looks, she rejected all other suitors, and resolved to marry him. With the approval of her father Jayakeshi, she sent an artist to Karna's court with her own portrait. The Kadamba king also sent gifts for Karna, including an elephant. When Karna went out in the garden to check out the gifted elephant, he found the princess waiting for him. He verified her identity by asking certain questions, and then married her.

According to Merutunga's 14th century *Prabandha-Chintamani*, Mayanalla-devi was an ugly princess of Karnata. One day, she

remembered her past life. In that past life, she was a devout Shaivite, who had planned to visit the Somanath temple in Gujarat. However, she was stopped at Bahuloda for being unable to pay a pilgrim tax imposed by the rulers of Gujarat. When Mayanalla recalled this incident from her past life, she decided to marry the king of Gujarat and waive this unfair tax. At her insistence, her father Jayakeshi sent a marriage proposal to Karna, but Karna rejected the ugly princess.

Mayanalla then came to Karna's court with her eight female companions, and threatened to commit suicide. Karna still refused to marry her, but unable to witness their deaths, Karna's mother Udayamati declared that she would die with the girls. As a result, Karna had to relent. He married Mayanalla, but kept neglecting her. Ultimately, she was able to win him over with help of a minister. Later, she convinced their son Jayasimha Siddharaja to waive the pilgrim tax. This is also attested by another chronicler.

The Kashmiri poet Bilhana also appears to allude to this incident. He stayed at Karna's court for sometime, and composed the poetic drama *Karna-Sundari*, which presents Karna as a hero. According to this work, Karna dreamt of the princess (called Karnasundari, or "Karna's beautiful woman"), and decided to marry her. His jealous queen attempted to get him married to a boy disguised in Karnasundari's dress. However, Karna's clever minister foiled her plan by replacing the boy with the real Karnasundari. Although Bilhana was a contemporary of Karna, his account is the least accurate one, because it is intended to be a drama. Nevertheless, his account is helpful in estimating the date of this marriage. Bilhana probably left Karna's court somewhere between 1072 and 1078

CE. Assuming that Karnasundari is same as Mayanalla, Karna's marriage to her would have taken place sometime before this.

It is difficult to determine whether Mayanalla was beautiful (as claimed by Hemachandra and Bilhana), or ugly (as claimed by Merutunga). Both Hemachandra and Bilhana wrote under Chaulukya patronage, so they had a vested interest in portraying Karna's queen in a positive light.

Merutunga was not under any such pressure, but his account is fanciful and full of historical inaccuracies. For example, he claims that Jayakeshi's father was Shubhakeshi (it was actually Shashthi II). Merutunga further provides an absurd account of how Shubhakeshi chose to die with a tree in a wildfire, because he was grateful to the tree for having given him shade during a journey.

# Religion and constructions

Like his predecessors, Karna was a Shaivite, and is said to have built three temples. According to the 14th century chronicler Merutunga, he built a temple dedicated to the goddess Kochharba at Ashapalli after defeating its Bhil chief Asha. He also established the Karnavati city nearby, where he commissioned the Karneshvara and Jayantidevi temples. He also built the Karnasagara tank at Modhera and Karnavati. In his capital Anahilapataka (now Patan), he erected the Karnameru temple. He is also ascribed a *vapi* at Bhadravati (Bhadreshwar). According to Hemachandra, Karna repaired a temple of the goddess Lakshmi, and prayed her for a son; as a result of the Lakshmi's blessings, Jayasimha Siddharaja was

born to him. His minister Shantu built Shantu Vasatika at Karnavati, Patan, Vanka and Nihala. His another minister Munjala built Munjala Vasati at Patan somewhere before 1900 CE. Saliga Jinalaya or Sagal Vasatika was built in Khambhat before 1094 CE. None of these temples survives. According to Bhaktamara-stotra-vritti. Shreshthi Chanaka built Adinath Minister Dhavala, temple at Patan. nephew of Vimala, constructed Revanta-prasada. Vayatiya Vasati at Ashapalli probably constructed in early years of Karna, existed before Udayana arrived there. Udayana-vihaea in Karnavati was completed in 1093 CE. The temple discussed is Mahendrasuri's Vadasthala and its rejoiner Prabodhyavadasthala by Jinapatisuri it had raised as controversies in 1192 regarding its sanctity due consecration by a Chaityavasi abbot.

Based on style-critical analysis, the *rangamandapa* and *torana* at Sun Temple, Modhera is ascribed the early years of Karna's reign.

The extant temples built during this period include the Brahma temple at Khedbrahma, the Limboji Mata temple at Delmal, Nilkantha Mahadev temple at Sunak, the completely ruined Vishnu Temple on the bank of lake at Ganja, Dugdheshwara Mahadev temple at Madrodpur in Kheralu Taluka of Mehsana district. Shantinatha Jain temple of the group of temples at Kumbhariya belongs to this period. Lakulisha Temple at Pavagadh is stylistically attributed to this period.

Karna was also tolerant towards Jainism, as evident from Rajashekhara's 15th century commentary on Sridhara's *Nyaya-Kandali*. One legend claims that as Karna became a disciple of

Vardhamana Suri, but this is historically inaccurate since Vardhamana Suri had starved himself to death at an earlier date.

# In popular culture

The story of Karandev (Karna), Minaldevi (Mayanalla) and their son Siddhraj (Jayasimha Siddharaja) is depicted in the Gujarati historical fiction *Patan ni Prabhuta* (The Glory of Patan) by Kanhaiyalal Munshi.

# Jayasimha Siddharaja

**Jayasi** Tha (r. c. 1092 - c. 1142), who assumed the title **Siddharāja** (♣pronunciation), was an Indian king who ruled western parts of India. He was a member of the Chaulukya (also called Chalukya or Solanki) dynasty.

Jayasimha's capital was located at Anahilapataka (modern Patan) in present-day Gujarat. Besides large parts of Gujarat, his control also extended to parts of Rajasthan: he subdued the Shakambhari Chahamana king Arnoraja, and the former Naddula Chahamana ruler Asharaja acknowledged his suzerainty. Jayasimha also annexed a part of Malwa (in present-day Madhya Pradesh) by defeating the Paramaras. He also waged an inconclusive war against the Chandela king Madanayarman.

Jayasimha's daughter Kanchana married Arnoraja. The couple's son Someshvara (the father of Prithviraj Chauhan) was brought up by Jayasimha at the Chaulukya court.

# Early life

Jayasimha was a son of the Chaulukya king Karna and queen Mayanalla-devi. According to folklore, he was born there is no historical of Palanpur, but evidence Jayasimha ("victory lion") was so named by the old ladies of the Chaulukya palace. He later assumed the title "Siddharaja".

The 12th century Jain scholar Hemachandra mentions a legend according to which Karna prayed to the goddess Lakshmi for a son. He restored a temple of Lakshmi, and meditated for a long time, overcoming seductive apsaras and a threatening demon. Ultimately, the goddess Lakshmi appeared before him, and blessed him, as a result of which Jayasimha was born.

The century author Merutunga 14th does not mention Hemachandra's semi-mythical account. But he mentions another legend about Jayasimha's childhood: at the age of 3, Jayasimha climbed on the royal throne, and sat there. The astrologers declared that this had happened at an auspicious moment, so Karna performed his son's coronation ceremony then and there. Merutunga dates this event to 7 January 1094, and therefore, suggests that Jayasimha was born in 1091 CE. However, this account does not seem to be accurate as it has not been mentioned by earlier authors such as Hemachandra. In his Dvyashraya, Hemachandra mentions several mythical tales presenting Jayasimha as an epic hero. Had Merutunga's account been historically accurate, Hemachandra would not have failed to mention it.

According to Hemachandra, Jayasimha's father Karna had a brother named Kshemaraja who renounced his rights to the throne. Kshemaraja's descendants were Devaprasada, Tribhuvanapala and Kumarapala (who was Jayasimha's successor). When Karna died, Devaprasada left his son Tribhuvanapala in Jayasimha's care and committed suicide by immolating himself on Karna's funeral pyre. Jayasimha treated Tribhuvanapala like his own son.

All other chroniclers state that Jayasimha hated Tribhuvanapala's son Kumarapala. As Hemachandra was a courtier of both Jayasimha and Kumarapala, historian A. K. Majumdar theorizes that he created a fictional account to hide an unpleasant truth.

According to Majumdar, Karna probably banished Devaprasada to avoid any rival claims to the throne. After Karna's death, Devaprasada tried to usurp the throne, taking advantage of Jayasimha's young age. However, Karna's wife Mayanalla and her loyal minister Santu had Devaprasada killed. Mayanalla then acted as a regent for the young king Jayasimha.

### Military career

#### Saurashtra

Multiple literary sources as well as inscriptions establish that Jayasimha defeated Khangara alias Navaghana, the king of Saurashtra. According to Merutunga, Khangara was an Abhira, which suggests that this is a reference to king Khengara of Chudasama dynasty. Jayasimha's Dahod inscription boasts that he imprisoned the king of Saurashtra; this is most probably a reference to his victory over Khangara.

According to bardic legends, Khangara married a woman coveted by Jayasimha, because of which the Chaulukya king invaded Khangara's kingdom. However, this legend is not credible. Jain chronicler Prabhachandra mentions that Siddharaja had first dispatched an army led by Kirtipala (brother of Kumarapala) to attack Navaghana. When this army led unsuccessful, another force was by Udayana dispatched in its support. This joint army defeated Navagaha, but Udayana was killed in the battle. Prabhachandra goes on to mention that Jayasimha later killed Khangara. According to Merutunga, Navaghana was another name of Khangara. So, it appears that Khangara was not completely subdued in the battle in which Udayana was killed.

Merutunga claims that Khangara defeated Jayasimha 11 times, but the Chaulukya king emerged victorious in the 12th battle. Merutunga's claim cannot be taken literally: 12 was a favourite number of the Jain writers, and he may have used the number to emphasize the seriousness of the war. Merutunga's legend also states that Khangara fortified Vardhamana and other cities. He did not want to die by weapons, and therefore, asked his nephew to kill him with coins if the enemy succeeded in scaling the ramparts. As a result, he was beaten to death with boxes full of coins.

According to Jayasimha Suri, after defeating Khangara, Jayasimha appointed Sajjana as the governor of Girnar (a town in Saurashtra). This is corroborated by an 1120 CE inscription found at Girnar. Merutunga also supports this claim, although he calls Sajjana the governor of Saurashtra. Historical evidence indicates that Jayasimha was unable to capture all of Khangara's territories in Saurashtra: Jayasimha's successor

Kumarapala had to send an army against the Abhiras. According to Prabhachandra, Jayasimha was unable to annex Khangara's kingdom because a large number of Khangara's followers continued to offer resistance.

### Chahamanas of Naddula

The Naddula Chahamana ruler Asharaja (alias Ashvaraja) became a vassal of Jayasimha. It appears that Asharaja was dethroned by his rival Ratnapala, because of which he sought Jayasimha's help. Ashraja's 1110 CE and 1116 CE inscriptions do not mention Jayasimha as his overlord. Ratnapala's 1120 CE and 1135 CE inscriptions prove that he was the ruler of Naddula during this period. Thus, Ratnapala must have displaced Asharaja sometime during 1116-1119 CE.

Ashraja must have sought help from Jayasimha sometime before 1143 CE; his 1143 CE inscription describes him as subsisting on the feet of Jayasimha. The later 1262 CE Sundha Hill inscription also states that Asharaja pleased Jayasimha by helping him in a campaign in Malwa.

Despite gaining Jayasimha's favour, Asharaja was not able to recapture Naddula. This is proved by the fact that Ratnapala's son and successor Rayapala issued eight inscriptions from Naddula during 1132-1145 CE.

#### Chahamanas of Shakambhari

Several sources suggest that Jayasimha subdued the Shakambhari Chahamana ruler Arnoraja. Arnoraja's ancestor Vigraharaja III had helped the Paramara king Udayaditya against Jayasimha's father Karna. So, the two kingdoms most

probably did not have friendly relations when Jayasimha ascended the throne. The conflict between Arnoraja and Jayasimha may have been triggered by their attempts to control the weakening Paramara kingdom of Malwa.

The Chaulukya poet Someshvara, in his Kirti-Kaumudi, states that when Arnoraja saw the decapitated heads of kings lying feet. he bowed to Jayasimha out Hemachandra's Dvyashraya also that Ānā states of Sapadalaksha (that is, Arnoraja), bent his head Jayasimha. An inscription discovered at the Chahamana capital Shakambhari (modern Sambhar) provides a genealogy of the Chaulukya kings, from Mularaja to Jayasimha. It mentions Shakambhari, which indicates that Jayasimha may have even occupied the Chahamana capital for a brief period.

Jayasimha's daughter Kanchana-devi married Arnoraja. The poet Someshvara declares that the only difference between Jayasimha and the deity Vishnu was that Vishnu took the daughter of the Arno (literally "ocean") as his wife, while Siddharaja gave away his daughter in marriage to Arno-raja. The Chahamana chronicle *Prithviraja Vijaya* also states that Jayasimha's daughter was one of the two wives of Arnoraja. Usually, the defeated kings would give their daughters in marriage to the victor. So, it is not certain why Jayasimha married his daughter to Arnoraja. He probably saw this as a diplomatic way to end the hostility between the two families. This strategy seems to have been successful, as Arnoraja helped him against the Paramara king Naravarman.

Someshvara (not to be confused with the poet), who later became the Chahamana king, was a son of Arnoraja and Kanchana. According to *Prithviraja Vijaya*, some astrologers told Jayasimha that Someshvara's son (Prithviraja III) would be an incarnation of Rama. Therefore, Jayasimha brought up Someshvara in his own kingdom.

#### Paramaras of Malwa

During the 1130s CE, Jayasimha defeated a Paramara king of Malwa (or Avanti). The Vadnagarprashasti inscription of his successor states that he imprisoned the king of Malwa, which scared all other rulers of the earth. The Dahod inscription also confirms Jayasimha's victory, but doesn't name the Paramara king. The Talwara inscription states that Jayasimha humbled the pride of Naravarman, but the Ujjain inscription states that Jayasimha defeated Naravarman's successor Yashovarman. Multiple chronicles also mention this victory. According to the chronicles written by Someshvara, Jinamandana and Jayasimha Suri, the Paramara king was Naravarman. However, such chroniclers as Hemachandra. Arisimha, Merutunga state that he was Yashovarman.

Historian A. K. Majumdar theorizes that the Chaulukya-Paramara war began during the reign of Naravarman (r. c. 1094-1133 CE), and ended during the reign of Yashovarman (c. Jayasimha's title Avantinatha ("Lord 1133-1142 CE). Avanti") first appears in the 1137 CE Gala inscription. The Naddula Chahamana ruler Asharaja as well the Shakambhari Chahamana ruler Arnoraja (r. c. 1135-1150 CE) helped Jayasimha in this campaign. Based on these evidences, Jayasimha's conquest of the Paramara capital Dhara can be dated to 1135-1136 CE.

According to the 12th century chronicler Hemachandra, Jayasimha was the aggressor in this conflict, while the 14th century chronicler Merutunga claims that the war started with a Paramara invasion of the Chaulukya kingdom. Hemachandra claims that some yoginis once asked Jayasimha to visit Ujjain, and worship the goddess Kalika there. Since Ujjain was located in the Paramara territory, Jayasimha invaded the Paramara kingdom. He first marched to Ujjain, and then captured the Paramara capital Dhara. He tied up Yashovarman "like a bird" and subdued the entire Avanti region (the Paramara territory). Hemachandra's account features elements of fantasy.

According to Merutunga's legend, Jayasimha once went on a pilgrimage to Somnath with his mother. Taking advantage of his absence, Yashovarman invaded the Chaulukya capital. Javasimha's minister Santu requested Yashovarman negotiate a peace treaty. Yashovarman replied that he would leave if he was granted all the merits (punya) gained by Jayasimha during the Somnath pilgrimage. Santu agreed, and conducted a ceremony to symbolically transfer Jayasimha's merits to Yashovarman. The Paramara king then returned to Malwa. When Jayasimha returned to his capital and learned about what had happened in his absence, he became furious. He invaded Malwa, and defeated the Paramara king after a 12-Merutunga's account does not seem credible, because the Paramaras were too weak at this time to invade the powerful Chaulukya kingdom.

The poet Someshvara states that Jayasimha put Naravarman in a wooden cage like a parrot. Balachandra adds that Naravarman was brought to Gujarat in a wooden cage. Jayasimha Suri claims that when Siddharaja decided to invade the Paramara kingdom, he took a vow to make a scabbard for his sword with Naravarman's skin. He defeated Naravarman after a 12-year campaign, and fulfilled this vow. Jina-Mandana repeats the same story, but states that Jayasimha's ministers convinced him to give up this vow.

The Ujjain inscription states that Jayasimha appointed one Mahadeva as the governor of Avanti. Yashovarman may have also ruled the Paramara kingdom as Jayasimha's vassal. It is not known for how long did Jayasimha control Malwa. Yashovarman's successor Jayavarman I (Paramara dynasty) (r. c. 1142-43) assumed the title *Maharajadhiraja*, which indicates that he managed to restore the Paramara ruler in at least a part of Malwa. However, he was dethroned by an usurper named Ballala, apparently after Jayasimha's death.

#### Chandelas

Jayasimha's conquest of Malwa made him a neighbour of the Chandela kingdom, which was located to the east of Malwa. Several Chaulukya chronicles claim that Jayasimha subdued the Chandela king Madanavarman. On the other hand, the Kalanjara inscription of the Chandelas states (that Madanavarman defeated the king of Gurjara Jayasimha) in an instant, just like Krishna had defeated Kamsa. The Prithviraj Raso of Chand Bardai also corroborates this claim. These contradictory claims suggest that the conflict between Jayasimha and Madanavarman was inconclusive, with both the sides claiming victory.

The Chaulukya court poet Someshvara claims that the Chandela king submitted to Jayasimha, frightened by the Chaulukya conquest of Malwa. Another chronicler Jayasimha Suri claims that Jayasimha Siddharaja defeated Madanavarman, and took 960 million gold coins from the Chandela king.

According to Jina Mandana's Kumarapala-Prabandha, a bard once told Jayasimha that Madanavarman was a very wise, generous and pleasure-loving ruler, whose court was splendid as that of Jayasimha. Jayasimha confirmed the veracity of this claim by sending a person to Mahoba. He then invaded the Chandela kingdom. After reaching the outskirts of Mahoba, he sent an emissary, asking Madanavarman to surrender. Madanavarman was busy celebrating the spring festival, and did not take the demand seriously. When the emissary reminded him about the fate of the Paramaras, he derisively asked his minister to make Jayasimha return by paying him some money. Jayasimha received the money, but when he heard about Madanavarman's nonchalance, he refused to return without meeting the Chandela king. He visited the Chandela palace with a large retinue. Only four of his attendants were allowed to accompany him inside the palace, offered Madanavarman him а warm Consequently, Jayasimha returned to his capital peacefully. According to K. M. Munshi, this legend is "fanciful", and Javasimha did not achieve much success against the Chandelas.

#### Other conflicts

The Talwara inscription of the Chaulukyas boasts that Jayasimha crushed Permardi. "Permardi" was a title used by the contemporary Kalyani Chalukya monarch Vikramaditya VI,

as well as several other rulers. The Permardi mentioned in the Talwara inscription is unlikely to be Vikramaditya VI, since such a victory would have been the greatest military success of Jayasimha. Jayasimha's victory over Permardi is not mentioned in other records, and finds only a casual mention in the Talwara inscription. This suggests that Permardi was an insignificant ruler. Historian A. K. Majumdar identifies him with Perma-nripa, the son of an obscure king named Pitta, mentioned in a Huli inscription.

The Kalyani Chalukya records claim that Vikramaditya VI crossed the Narmada river, and conquered the Lata and Gurjara regions. This claim is not supported by historical evidence, though it is possible that Vikramaditya raided the territory to the north of Narmada.

Jayasimha helped Someshvara, a ruler of the Paramara branch of Bhinmal, regain his lost throne. Someshvara's father Udayaraja claims to have conquered "Choda, Gauda and Karnata". This probably refers to the wars he fought as one of Jayasimha's generals. In this context, Gauda may refer to eastern Punjab.

The 1158 Ujjain inscription describes Jayasimha as *Barbaraka-jishnu* ("conqueror of Barbaraka"), an epithet also used by his successors. According to Hemachandra, Barbaraka was a rakshasa (demon), who harassed the sages of the hermitage located on the banks of the Sarasvati river at Shristhala (Siddhapura). Jayasimha defeated Barbaraka at the request of the sages, but later released him. Barbaraka then gifted precious jewels to Jayasimha, and became his follower. Later chroniclers also repeat this legendary account with some

variations. The historical identification of Barbaraka is not certain, but scholars such as Georg Bühler and Bhagwan Lal Indraji speculated that he was a non-Aryan tribal chief.

The Dahod inscription states that Jayasimha defeated Sindhuraja, who was probably a Soomra king of Sindh.

### Succession

Jayasimha did not have a son. According to his Jain courtier Hemachandra, he had visited several Hindu and Jain shrines to pray for a male heir, but then came to learn through divination that he would be succeeded by his grand-nephew Kumarapala. According to the legends in the later Jain chronicles, Jayasimha hated Kumarapala, and tried to persecute him during his lifetime. However, Kumarapala escaped, and became the king after his death.

# **Diplomatic relations**

According to Merutunga, the king of Dahala (the Tripuri Kalachuri ruler) sent a letter of alliance to Jayasimha. This Kalachuri king was probably Yashah-Karna.

Merutunga also claims that Jayasimha had a diplomatic agent at the court of Jayachandra, the king of Varanasi. However, Jayachandra's reign started in c. 1170 CE, nearly three decades after the end of Jayasimha's reign in c. 1142 CE. During Jayasimha's reign, the king of Varanasi was the Gahadavala ruler Govindachandra, who was Jayachandra's grandfather. Historian A. K. Majumdar speculates that

Jayachandra may have assisted his grandfather in an expedition; Merutunga's claim probably refers to an alliance between the Chaulukyas and the Gahadavalas.

### **Cultural activities**

#### Literature

Jayasimha patronized several scholars, and made Gujarat a noted centre of learning and literature.

Most notably, he was patron of the Jain a According the Jain Hemachandra. to chronicles. when Jayasimha defeated the Paramaras of Malwa, he brought several Sanskrit manuscripts form Malwa to Gujarat. One of these manuscripts included a treatise on grammar written by the 11th century Paramara king Bhoja. Impressed by this work, Jayasimha commissioned Hemachandra to write a and more comprehensive treatise simpler on grammar. Hemachandra completed the new treatise after consulting several other works, and included the king's name in the title of the new work, Siddha Hema Shabdanushasana. Jayasimha had the treatise distributed all over India. Hemachandra also composed other works such as Dvyashraya Kavya, which were completed after Jayasimha's death.

Jayasimha also patronized the poet Sripala, who composed the Vadnagar prashasti inscription after his death. The poet described himself as the king's brother. This is corroborated by the chronicler Somaprabha who mentions that Jayasimha considered Sripala his brother, and bestowed the title of Kavindra upon him.

Other poets and writers who flourished during Jayasimha's reign included Hemachandra's disciple Ramachandra, Acharya Jayamangala, (author of *Kavi-shiksha*), the dramatist Yashahchandra (author of *Mudrita-Kumudachandra*), the poet Vardhamana (author of *Siddharaja-Varnana*).

#### **Coins**

The gold coins attributed to Siddharaja are found in Pandwaha near Jhansi, Uttar Pradesh. The gold coins are round weights 65-66 grains and measures 0.8" to 0.9". It has legend Shri Siddharajah on reverse and obverse. The silver coins attributed to him are found at Vanthali, Junagadh and Pilwai in North Gujarat. On obverse of these silver coins, the three lines legend Shri Jayasimha in Nagari script appears; with one more word priya in some coins. On reverse there is an image of an elephant. These elephant either represents Laxmi commemorates victory in war with Avanti in which his beloved elephant Yasahapatala which was killed. They are 20 grains (1.715 gram) in weight and 0.3" in measure. Some small copper coins are also reported.

### Religion and constructions

Jayasimha was a Shaivite, but he showed tolerance to other sects and religions. It is believed that people of 98 different faiths and creeds were living peacefully in his capital.

The king's religious perceptor was Bhava Brihaspati, who originally lived in Malwa, and had been brought to Gujarat after Jayasimha's victory over the Paramaras. Jayasimha either renovated or rebuilt the Rudra Mahalaya Temple at Siddhapura

(modern Siddhpur). It was the greatest temple of his period, of which only some pillars, shrines and arches survives today. It was completed in 1142 CE. He renovated a lake built by his ancestor Durlabha in Patan, and named it Sahastralinga ("1000 lingas"). The lake was surrounded by 1008 small shrines, each of which housed a linga (symbols of Shiva). Jayasimha diverted the flow of the entire Saraswati River into the lake. Many artificial islands were created on which many temples, palaces, and gardens were built. On the banks of this lake were thousands of temples to Shiva. Apart from these, there were 108 temples to Devi, Yagnashala and Matha for pupils. Jayasimha invited 1001 Brahmans from Varanasi at the time of the renovation of Sahastralinga lake; their successors are known as Audichya Brahmin. There is a legend of Jasma Odan associated with the lake who had cursed Jayasimha to remain childless. According to Jain sources, he also built Siddhavihara at Siddhpur. The stepwell in Dhandhalpur is also ascribed to Jayasimha Siddharaja. His mother Mayanalladevi is credited for building lakes at Viramgam and Dholka. The Minal stepwell in Balej village in Sabarkantha district are ascribed to her and was built in 1095 CE. A stepwell in Nadiad and Minaldevi Vav in Virpur in Rajkot district are also ascribed to her and has stylistic affinities to Chaulukya architecture. The fort of Jhinjhuwada with its well-carved gates as well as the five kunds at Sihor were built during his period.

Jayasimha patronized several Jain scholars, and the Jains occupied important positions in his kingdom. The Jain authors show him treating all the different religious communities impartially. According to Hemachandra's *Dvyashrya-Kavya*, Jayasimha made arrangements for the maintenance of Jain monks, and also visited the shrine of Neminatha on his way to

Somanatha. The Jain chronicles state that Sajjana, the governor of Saurashtra, appropriated the state funds to build a temple of Neminatha.

However, Jayasimha was so impressed by the temple's beauty that he forgave Sajjana. Some later Jain chronicles claim that Hemachandra convinced Jayasimha that Jainism was superior to Shaivism, and that the king banned animal slaughter for 8 days in each year. However, these stories are apocryphal in nature and were invented several centuries after Jayasimha's death.

The 14th century chronicler Merutunga states that Jayasimha once banned the Jain temples from hoisting their banners, but later revoked it, acknowledging it as a mistake. In Patan, Jayasimha built Rayavihara or Rajavihara, the great temple commemorating victory of Shwetambara Jain Acharya Vadi Devsuri over Digambara Jain pontiff Kumudchandra. It was constructed under Minister Ashuka and consecrated in 1127 CE. His minister Udayana built Udayana-vasatika at Khambhat mentioned by Kavi Dungara's *Khambhayat-chaitya-paripati*. Minister Solaka built Solaka-vasati at Patan before 1112 CE. Another Shantinath Jain temple was built in Patan somewhere before 1125 CE.

His minister and later governor of Sorath, Sajjana built Neminath temple on Mount Girnar which was consecrated in 1129 CE according to Jinaprabha and other sources. Hemchandra also mentions his erection of Mahavira temple at Siddhpur which appears same as the Siddhavihara mentioned in *Kumarapalapratibodha* (1185 CE). It was also known as Raivihara. This *chaturmukha* temple was supervised by Minister

Aliga and consecrated by Vadi Devasuri in 1142 CE. Later it was used as a model for Dharana-vihara temple at Ranakpur. Other temples mentioned are Ukesha-vasati (before 1109 CE) at Patan, Parshwanath temple (after 1118 CE) by Nittala Devi at Patadi, the Jain temple (1119 CE) at Patan by Dandanayaka Kapardi and installed by Jayasimhasuri, Simandhara temple (1119 CE) at Dholka by Minister Udayana and installed by Vadi Devasuri, Munisuvrata temple (1137 CE) at Dholka by Shreshthi Dhavala. The Neminatha temple at Kumbhariya was consecrated in 1137 CE by Vadi Devasuri.

The Bhattarika Temple with Vinayaka-kulika at Gala in Saurashtra as well as Udaleshwara and Kurpaleshwara temples in Bhadravati (Bhadreshwar) were erected in 1137 CE. The Dahod inscription mentions Goga Narayan temple built by Senapati Keshava in memory of his mother in 1140 CE. Kokavasati mentioned in *Vividha-tirthakalpa* as well as the Jain temple at Bhalej by Shreshti Yashodhana were built during this period.

The extant temples of his period include Parshwanath Jain temple at Kumbhariya, Shrikrishna temple at Valam, Jasmalnathji Mahadev Temple at Asoda near Vijapur, Shitalamata temple at Piludra, small double Khandoran, the shrines at Munsar lake at Viramgam, two temples at Chaubari in Saurashtra, Chandramauli temple at Kamboi, the shrines in compound old Limboji Mata temple and some other shrines in and around Delmal, old Shiva temple at Ruhavi, the triple shrine at Kasara; many of them are in north Gujarat. Other temples include the best surviving Navlakha temple, Shiva shrine opposite it and a small Jain temple at Sejakpur as well as the Navlakha temple at Anandpur.

Jayasimha extended his religious tolerance to Islam as well, and the Muslim historian Muhammad Aufi has recorded stories about his impartiality. During his rule, there were communal clashes in the city of Khambhat and a congregational mosque was damaged. He had ordered its rebuilding. According to a legend, a da'i named Ahmad once took two Gujarati orphans (Abdullah and Nuruddin) to Cairo, trained them in the Ismaili doctrine, and sent them back to Gujarat as missionary. laid the foundation of Abdullah the Bohra community. According to the Bohra myths, Jayasimha sent an army to capture Abdullah, but Abdullah converted him to Islam by performing miracles and by exposing the purported miracles of Hindu pandits as fake. There is no evidence that Jayasimha ever gave up Shaivism, but several of the Bohra Walis and Da'i al-Mutlags claimed descent from him. These included Syedna Ismail, the 34th Da'i al-Mutlag. In another Ismaili tradition called Satpanth, it is claimed that Jayasimha was converted to their tradition by their allegedly the first leader, Pir Satgur Nur.

# Kumarapala (Chaulukya dynasty)

**Kumarapala** (r. 1143 – 1172 CE) was an Indian king from the Chaulukya (Solanki) dynasty of Gujarat. He ruled present-day Gujarat and surrounding areas, from his capital Anahilapataka (modern Patan).

A descendant of the Chaulukya ruler Bhima I, Kumarapala appears to have spent his early life in exile to avoid persecution by his relative and predecessor Jayasimha Siddharaja. He ascended the throne after Jayasimha's death, with help of his brother-in-law. He ruled for nearly three

decades, during which he subdued a number of neighbouring kings, including the Chahamana king Arnoraja and the Shilahara king Mallikarjuna. He also annexed the Paramara territory of Malwa to his kingdom by defeating an usurper named Ballala.

Kumarapala was a disciple of the Jain scholar Hemachandra, and adopted Jainism towards the end of his reign. Multiple legendary biographies by medieval Jain chroniclers present him as the last great royal patron of Jainism.

# **Background**

#### Sources of information

Kumarapala was well known for his patronage of Jainism, and several medieval Jain scholars wrote chronicles about him. These scholars include Hemachandra (*Dvyashraya* and *Mahaviracharita*), Prabhachandra, Somaprabha (*Kumarapala-Pratibodha*), Merutunga (*Prabandha-Chintamani*), Jayasimha Suri, Rajashekhara and Jina-Mandana Suri, among others. Of all the Indian kings, the largest number of chronicles have been written about Kumarapala. However, these chronicles differ substantially in important details about his life.

### Ancestry

All sources state that Kumarapala was the successor of Jayasimha Siddharaja, who was his relative and hated him.

According to Hemachandra, Kumarapala was a descendant of the earlier Chaulukya king Bhima I through Kshemaraja, Devaprasada and Tribhuvanapala. Kshemaraja, who was the elder son of Bhima, renounced his rights to the throne, and retired to Dadhisthali as an ascetic. His younger brother Karna succeeded their father on the throne. Karna sent Keshmaraja's son Devaprasada to look after him at Dadhisthali. After Karna's death, his own son Jayasimha ascended the throne. When Devaprasada learned about Karna's death, he sent his son Tribhuvanapala to Jayasimha's court, and committed suicide. Kumarapala was Tribhuvanapala's son, and succeeded Jayasimha.

Jayasimha Suri also provides a similar genealogy. He mentions some additional details: Kshemaraja and Karna were Bhima's sons by different women; and Kumarapala was the eldest son of Tribhuvanapala and Kashmiradevi. The genealogy given by Somaprabha and Prabhachandra is similar to the one provided by Hemachandra, but Prabhachandra omits the name of Kshemaraja.

According to Merutugna, Kumarapala was a descendant of Bhima I through Haripala and Tribhuvanapala. Haripala was a son of Bhima and a concubine named Bakuladevi. Merutunga's genealogy seems to be historically inaccurate, Chittorgarh corroborates fragmentary inscription Hemachandra's genealogy. However, historian A. K. Majumdar notes that the voluntary rejections of thrones are very rare, and therefore, Hemachandra's claim of Kshemaraja having voluntary give up his throne is doubtful. Hemachandra, who was a royal courtier, probably invented a fictional narrative to avoid mentioning the illegitimate son Haripala. This also explains why Karna's Jayasimha Siddharaja son Kumarapala.

Jina-Mandana Suri attempted to reconcile Merutunga's account with Jayasimha Suri's account. According to him, Kshemaraja's mother was Bakuladevi and Karna's mother was Udayamati. Bhima gave his kingdom to his younger son Karna, to please his younger wife Udayamati.

Multiple chroniclers state that Kumarapala's brother-in-law Krishna-deva served as Jayasimha's general. According to Prabhachandra, Kumarapala's brother Kirtipala also served as Jayasimha's general, in an expedition against Navaghana.

# Early life and ascension

Kumarapala's contemporary chronicler Hemachandra does not mention anything about the king's life before his ascension to the throne. This is unusual, because Hemachandra's narratives about other kings of the dynasty describe their early lives. Historian Ashoke Majumdar theorizes that this might Hemachandra played significant because a role in Kumarapala's early life, as mentioned by later chroniclers. Yashahpala, another contemporary writer, provides a hint about the king's early life in his drama Maharaja-Parajaya. In this play, a character states that Kumarapala "wandered alone through the whole world", suggesting that the king spent his early life wandering away from the royal court.

Prabhachandra provides the following account of Kumarapala's early life: One day, Jayasimha Siddharaja learned through divination that Kumarapala would be his successor. This made Jayasimha very angry, because he hated Kumarapala. Fearing for his life, Kumarapala fled the kingdom in form of a mendicant. Sometime later, Jayasimha's spies told him that

Kumarapala had returned to the capital disguised as an ascetic. Jayasimha then invited 300 ascetics to a feast, and washed their feet in order to identify Kumarapala (who had royal marks on his feet). Kumarapala was recognized, but fled to Hemachandra's house before he could be arrested. Jayasimha's men followed him, but Hemachandra hid him under palm leaves.

After leaving Hemachandra's house, Kumarapala was similarly saved by a farmer named Ali. He then went to Khambhat, accompanied by a Brahmin named Bosari. There, he sought shelter with a rich man named Udayana, who turned him away to avoid enmity with the king Jayasimha. Fortunately for Hemachandra had also Kumarapala, arrived at monastery in Khambhat. Hemachandra gave him food and shelter, and predicted that he would become the king after 7 years. The Jain scholar also took 3,200 drammas (gold coins) layman, and gave them to Jain Kumarapala. Subsequently, Kumarapala spent years traveling as a Kapalika ascetic, before being joined by his wife Bhopaladevi and their children. When Jayasimha died, Kumarapala returned to the capital and met Hemachandra. The next day, he arrived at the royal palace, accompanied by his brother-in-law Krishna-deva, who commanded 10,000 horses. There, he was proclaimed as the new king after two other claimants were rejected.

Merutunga mentions a similar legend: Some astrologers told Jayasimha that Kumarapala would succeed him. To escape Jayasimha's anger, Kumarapala spent many years in foreign lands, disguised as an ascetic. Subsequently, he returned to the capital Anahilapataka, and lived in a monastery. One day, Jayasimha invited several monks and washed their feet on the

occasion of his father's shraddha (a ceremony for the deceased ancestors). Kumarapala was recognized, but managed to escape. He was saved by a potter named Āliga, took 20 silver coins from a mouse, and was given food by an unnamed rich lady. Later, Kumarapala reached Khambhat, planning to seek resources from the royal minister Udayana.

He learned that Udayana had gone to a Jain monastery, and followed him there. At the monastery, he met Hemachandra, who prophesied that Kumarapala will become a monarch in 1199 VS. Kumarapala was astonished at this prophecy, and promised to become a Jain if it came true. Udayana then arranged for Kumarapala to travel to Malava. In Malava, Kumarapala saw an inscription at the Kudangeshvara temple, predicting his ascension to the throne in 1199 VS. After Jayasimha's death, Kumarapala returned to Anahilapataka, and visited his sister's husband Kanhada-deva. The next morning, he arrived at the royal palace, accompanied by army. After rejecting two Kanhada's princes, Kanhada appointed Kumarapala as the new king.

Jayasimha Suri provides a slightly different account: Kumarapala lived at Dadhisthali, where his great-grandfather had retired. Once, he came to Anahilapataka, where he received a sermon from Hemachandra, before returning to Dadhisthali. Jayasimha Siddharaja, who was childless, was devastated when Hemachandra predicted that Kumarapala would succeed him as the king. He had Kumarapala's father Tribhuvanapala murdered. Kumarapala sought advice from his brother-in-law Krishna-deva, who told him to leave Dadisthali in a mendicant's disguise. Kumarapala followed the advice, but returned to the capital sometime later. When Jayasimha learned about this, he invited all the mendicants to his father's shraddha ceremony, and recognized Kumarapala while washing his feet. Kumarapala managed to escape. He was saved by a farmer named Bhimasimha, took money from a mouse, was given food by a woman named Devashri, and was again saved by a potter named Sajjana. Next, he met his friend Bosari and the two went to the monastery at Khambhat. At the monastery, Hemachandra told Udayana that Kumarapala would become the king one day. He also saved Kumarapala from Jayasimha's spies. With help from Udayana, Kumarapala then traveled to Bharuch. From there, he proceeded to Ujjain, Kollapura, Kanchi, and finally Kolambapattana.

There, the deity Somanatha appeared in the dream of the local king Pratapasimha, and ordered him to help Kumarapala. After spending some days in Kollambapattana, Kumarapala returned to Ujjain, where he read the prophecy about his future kingship at the Kundageshvara temple. Next, he visited Chittor with his family. As the date of his prophesied kingship (1199 VS) came closer, he returned to Anahilapataka. Shortly after, Jayasimha died, and Kumarapala reached the palace with Krishna-deva. There, he was made the king after two other claimants were found unsuitable. His sister Premaladevi performed the *mangalika* ceremony, and Udayana's son Vagabhata was made an *amatya* (minister).

Jina-Mandana Suri's account of Kumarapala's early life is largely borrowed from the earlier chroniclers. But it does contain some original elements: for example, Kumarapala does not go to Hemachandra; rather, Hemachandra realizes that he is nearby, by sensing some signs indicating presence of a prince, such as "a lizard dancing on a serpent's head". Abul

Fazl also states that Kumarapala lived in exile fearing for his life, and returned to the capital only after the death of Jai Singh (that is, Jayasimha).

The contemporary Muslim historian Muhammad Aufi mentioned a king called Rai Gurpal (of Nahrawala), who surpassed all other kings of Hindustan in good qualities. According to Aufi, Gurpal spent many years as a mendicant and suffered "all the miseries of travel", before he became a king. Historian Ashoke Majumdar identifies Gurpal with Kumarapala.

The historicity of these legendary narratives is debatable, but it is known that Kumarapala seized the throne after sudden death of Jayasimha. This is known from two inscriptions dated to Kumarapala's reign: the 1145 CE Mangrol inscription issued by his Guhila feudatory, and the 1169 CE Veraval prashasti inscription issued by the Shaivite priest Bhava Brihaspati. Jayasimha's only known male descendant was his daughter's son, the Chahamana prince Someshvara. Someshvara was too young to become a king at that time, and Kumarapala may have seized the throne with the support of powerful persons, including his brother-in-law Krishna-deva (Kanhada-deva) and rich Jains such as Udayana. There might be some truth to Kumarapala's wanderings during his early years as well. But the greater part of the legendary narratives appears to be fanciful.

The Jain chronicles mention that Kumarapala ascended the throne in 1199 VS (1042 CE). However, this is known to be inaccurate: a 1200 VS (1043 CE) inscription of Jayasimha has been found at Bali in Pali district of Rajasthan. The inaccuracy

appears to have resulted from the later chroniclers' misinterpretation of Hemachandra's *Mahaviracharita*. In this text, Mahavira tells Hemachandra that Kumarapala will become a king when 1669 years have *passed* after his death. This implies that Kumarapala became the king after the *end* of the year 1199 VS, that is in 1200 VS.

## Reign and military career

According to Merutunga, the ministers who had served Jayasimha tried to have the newly crowned Kumarapala assassinated. But Kumarapala survived after being forewarned by a loyal servant, and had the conspirators killed. Sometime later, his brother-in-law Kanhada-deva, who had played an important role in his ascension, started making fun of him by divulging secrets from his days as a mendicant. Kumarapala warned him to stop doing this, but Kanhada didn't comply with this request.

As a result, Kumarapala had his limbs paralyzed by wrestlers and also blinded him. After this incident, all the officers and samantas (feudatories) started treating the new king with respect.

Historical evidence suggests that Kumarapala's empire extended from Chittor and Jaisalmer in the north to the Vindhyas and the Tapti river in the south (ignoring his raid of the Shilahara kingdom of northern Konkana). In the west, it included Kachchha and Saurashtra; in the east, it extended up to at least Vidisha (Bhilsa). The Jain chroniclers provide highly exaggerated accounts of the territorial extent of Kumarapala's kingdom. For example, Udayaprabha claims that Kumarapala's

empire included Andhra, Anga, Chauda, Gauda, Kalinga, Karnata, Kuru, Lata, Medapata, Maru, and Vanga. Such claims are of little historical value.

### Chahamanas of Shakambhari

#### Arnoraja

Arnoraja, the Shakambhari Chahamana king, ruled the Sapadalaksha country to the north of Kumarapala's kingdom. His wife was a daughter of Jayasimha Siddharaja, and their son Someshvara had been brought up at the Chaulukya court. There appear to have been two wars between Arnoraja and Kumarapala.

The first war appears to have been caused by Arnoraja's opposition to Kumarapala's ascension to the Gujarat throne. According to historian A. K. Majumdar, Arnoraja may have planned to replace Kumarapala with his son Someshvara. Jayasimha's nominee and adopted son Chahada (also called Bahada or Charubhatta) formed an alliance with Arnoraja, and instigated him to fight Kumarapala. This is attested by several sources, including Dvyashraya (Kumarapala Charita), and Prabandha Chintamani. Merutunga's Prabandha Chintamani states that Chahada felt insulted by Kumarapala, and went to Sapdalaksha, where he instigated the king and his feudatories to attack Kumarapala by bribing them. Chahada also managed to win over a large part of Kumarapala's army. As a result, Kumarapala was betrayed by several of his own soldiers on the battlefield. Despite this, he won the battle. Chahada was captured, after he fell to ground while trying to jump on Kumarapala's elephant. Kumarapala also wounded Arnoraja with an iron dart, and captured the horses of the Chahamana generals. The accounts of Prabhachandra, Jayasimha Suri, Rajashekhara and Jina-Mandana are similar to that of Merutunga. According to Kumarapala Charita, Arnoraja suffered from an arrow shot in his face during the war. Prabachandra states that Kumarapala's army unsuccessfully capital Ajayameru 11 besieged Arnoraja's times. Before launching the 12th campaign, Kumarapala prayed Ajitanatha on his minister's advice. This time, he defeated Arnoraja, whose ally included Jayasimha's adopted son Charubhata.

Hemachandra's *Dvyashraya* states that after being defeated, Arnoraja concluded a peace treaty by arranging the marriage of his daughter Jahlana to Kumarapala. According to *Kumarapala Charita*, Kumarapala's sister also married Arnoraja. Despite the conflict, Kumarapala treated Arnoraja's son Someshvara well. According to the Chahamana chronicle *Prithviraja Vijaya*, Kumarapala (literally "Boy Protector") became worthy of his name through his treatment of Someshvara.

Sometime around 1150 CE, there was a second war between Arnoraja and Kumarapala. According to the Jain chroniclers of Gujarat (such as Jayasimha Suri, Rajashekhara and Jina-Mandana), Arnoraja once insulted Jains while playing chess with his wife Devalladevi. Devalladevi, a devout Jain and a sister of Kumarapala, asked her brother to avenge this insult. Historian A. K. Majumdar points out that Kumarapala converted to Jainism at a later date, so the legend about his sister getting offended by Arnoraja appears to be historically inaccurate. According to Dasharatha Sharma, Devalladevi is a fictional character created by either Rajashekhara or another

Jain writer, as none of the chronicles written before 14th century mention her. According to Majumdar, Arnoraja invaded the Chaulukya kingdom taking advantage of Kumarapala's involvement in other conflicts.

This second war also ended with Arnoraja's defeat. Kumarapala's victory over Arnoraja is corroborated by the Vadnagar prashasti inscription. His 1150 CE Chittorgarh that he inscription also states defeated the Shakambhari, devastated the Sapadalaksha country and then set up a camp at Shalipura. The Veraval prashasti also states that Kumarapala defeated the king of Jangala (another name for the Chahamana territory).

### Vigraharaja IV

Arnoraja's son Vigraharaja IV launched several expeditions against the Chaulukyas to avenge his father's defeat. According to the Bijolia rock inscription, he killed one Sajjana, a feudatory (samanta) of Kumarapala at Chitrakuta (Chittor). The Jain author Somatilaka Suri states that Vigraharaja's army captured Sajjana's elephant force. While Vigraharaja was busy fighting at Chittor, Kumarapala tried to create a diversion by besieging Nagaur, but lifted the siege after learning about Vigraharaja's victory at Chittor.

Vigraharaja also subdued the Chahamanas of Naddula, who were feudatories of Kumarapala. The Bijolia inscription boasts that he destroyed the enemy cities of Javalipura (Jalore), Pallika (Pali) and Naddula (Nadol). The Naddula ruler subdued by him may have been Alhanadeva. Vigraharaja also defeated

one Kuntapala, who can be identified with a Naddula Chahamana subordinate of Kumarapala.

A Chahamana *prashasti* (eulogy) boasts that Vigraharaja reduced Kumarapala to a *karavalapala* (probably the designation of a subordinate officer). This is obviously an exaggeration, but it does appear that Vigraharaja conquered some of Kumarapala's territories. The Chahamana-Chaulukya relations probably became normal when Arnoraja's son Someshvara became the Chahamana king in later years, possibly with support from Kumarapala.

#### Paramaras of Abu

The writings of Prabhachandra, Jayasimha Suri, and Jina-Mandana Suri mention Kumarapala's conflict with Vikramasimha, a ruler of the Paramara branch of Abu. Kumarapala passed through Abu during his march against Arnoraja. Vikramasimha considered Kumarapala an usurper, and made a plan to assassinate him. He invited Kumarapala to dinner at his palace, but Kumarapala sent his officers instead. One of these officers told Kumarapala about Vikramasimha's treacherous plan.

After defeating Arnoraja, Kumarapala returned to Abu, and had Vikramasimha imprisoned. He appointed Vikramasimha's nephew Yashodhavala as the new chief of Abu.

#### Chahamanas of Naddula

The Chahamanas of Naddula were the northern neighbours and longstanding rivals of the Chaulukyas. Asharaja, a former king of Naddula, had accepted Chaulukya suzerainty during

Jayasimha's reign, after being dislodged by his nephew Ratnapala. Asharaja's son Katukaraja seized the throne of Naddula around 1145 CE. His inscriptions of Katukaraja are dated in the Simha calendar era, which was used in the present-day Gujarat region. Based on this, historian R. B. Singh believes that he captured Naddula with help of Kumarapala. Katukaraja's younger brother and successor Alhanadeva ruled as Kumarapala's vassal.

After becoming Kumarapala's feudatories, the Chahamanas of Naddula suffered an invasion by the Shakambhari Chahamanas. During this time, in the 1150s CE, Kumarapala appointed his own governors at Naddula. In 1156 CE. Kumarapala's governor Pratapasimha was ruling at Naddula. In 1159 CE, another governor Vayajaladeva was in charge of Naddula. This governor is also known as Vaijalladeva and historical records. However, by in CE. Kumarapala had restored Alhanadeva's rule in Naddula.

Historian A. K. Majumdar theorizes that the Shakambhari Chahamana king Vigraharaja IV subdued Alhanadeva. As a result, Kumarapala placed Naddula under his own governors, and restored Alhanadeva's rule when Vigraharaja turned his attention away from Naddula to focus on northern campaigns. Historian R. B. Singh theorizes that Alhanadeva joined Vigraharaja's predecessor Arnoraja against Kumarapala. As a result, Kumarapala appointed his own governors at Naddula. Later, Alhanadeva came back to Kumarapala, and helped him defeat Arnoraja. Kumarapala restored Alhanadeva's rule in a part of his former kingdom, but retained control of Naddula through his own governors. Later, Alhanadeva served him in a southern campaign, as a result of which Kumarapala restored

Naddula to him. According to a Sundha Hill inscription, the Gurjara king (that is, Kumarapala) sought Alhanadeva's assistance in establishing peace in the hilly areas of Saurashtra. An 1171 CE inscription proves that Alhanadeva's son Kelhanadeva continued to serve Kumarapala as a feudatory.

#### Paramaras of Kiradu

The Paramara branch at Kiradu continued to acknowledge the Chaulukya suzerainty during Kumarapala's reign, as it had done under Jayasimha. The Kiradu inscription of the Paramara ruler Someshvara states that he gained control Sindhurajapura with Jayasimha's help in 1141 CE, and made it secure in 1148 CE after gaining Kumarapala's favour. Alhana, the Chahamana ruler of Naddula, also issued an inscription from Kiradu in 1152 CE. It is possible he was temporarily appointed as the governor of Kiradu during this period. In 1161 CE, Someshvara captured two forts from a man named Jajjaka, as a result of which he gained a considerable wealth, including 1,700 horses. Jajjaka managed to get back his territories after acknowledging Kumarapala's suzerainty.

#### **Ballala of Malwa**

Jayasimha Siddharaja had captured a large part of the Paramara kingdom of Malwa. After his death, the Paramara king Jayavarman I regained control of his kingdom. However, his reign was cut short by an usurper named Ballala. According to Hemachandra, Ballala had agreed to join Arnoraja's invasion of Gujarat. However, Hemachandra does not describe him as actually participating in Arnoraja's battle

against Kumarapala. It is possible that Ballala had to change his plans because of the matrimonial alliance between Arnoraja and Kumarapala. Two of Kumarapala's generals - Vijaya and Krishna - betrayed him, and joined Ballala. Kumarapala then sent an army against Ballala around 1150-51 CE.

Kumarapala's Abu Paramara feudatory Yashodhavala killed Ballala in a battle, as attested by a Mount Abu inscription. The Vadnagar *prashasti* inscription of Kumarapala boasts that the head of the lord of Malwa hung at the gates of the Chaulukya palace. This "lord of Malwa" is identified with Ballala.

### Mallikarjuna

Kumarapala sent an army against Mallikarjuna, the Shilahara king of northern Konkana. This campaign resulted in Mallikarjuna's death.

According to Merutunga, Kumarapala ordered an attack against Mallikarjuna, because the Shilahara king bore the pompous title *raja-pitamiha* ("grandfather of kings"). However, the earlier writers such as Hemachandra do not mention any such reason for Kumarapala's aggression. This claim appears to be an invention of the later writers. It is possible that Kumarapala simply wanted to expand his kingdom, or was forced to take action against Mallikarjuna after a Shilhara raid in southern Gujarat.

Merutunga states that Kumarapala's army was led by Amrabhata (alias Ambada), the son of Udayana. Amrabhata's first march against Mallikarjuna was unsuccessful: the Shilaharas attacked him while his army was crossing the Kalavini river. Amrabhata was forced to retreat, and lived in

seclusion as a result of this embarrassment. But Kumarapala dispatched him to Konkana with another army. During this second invasion, Amrabhata defeated Mallikarjuna. Jayasimha Suri and Jina-Mandana state that the Chaulukya army defeated Mallikarjuna during the first invasion.

Apart from Amrabhata, the Chahamana prince Someshvara and the Abu Paramara prince Dharavarsha (son of Yashodhavala) appear to have participated in this battle. The Abu prashasti of Tejapala states that Yashodhavala performed well in a battle that made the wives of the Kunkuna (Konkana) ruler cry. According to Hemachandra, Mallikarjuna fell from his elephant during the battle, and was beheaded by the Gujarat soldiers. The Chahamana chronicle Prithviraja Vijaya claims that Someshvara personally beheaded Mallikarjuna. Balachandra's Vasantavilasa claims that it Amrabhata killed Mallikarjuna. It appears that the Amrabhata was the nominal leader of the second campaign, which was actually led by Someshvara and Dharavarsha.

#### Saurashtra

Kumarapala waged war against a ruler of Saurashtra. Later chroniclers such as Merutunga, Jayasimha Suri and Jina-Mandana state that Kumarapala's army was led by Udayana, who was mortally wounded during this campaign. However, this claim appears to be incorrect, as the earlier writer Prabachandra states that Udayana died fighting Navaghana of Saurashtra during the reign of Jayasimha Siddharaja.

The later writers seem to have confused Jayasimha's Saurashtra campaign with that of Kumarapala. Kumarapala's

Saurashtra campaign was probably against the Abhiras. His Prachi stone inscription states that he appointed one Gumadeva to control the Abhiras, and that Gumadeva's sword frightened the Abhiras. The Naddula Chahamana chief Alhana seems to have participated in this campaign, as his Sundha Hill inscription boasts that he put down disturbances in Saurashtra at Kumarapala's request.

#### After conversion to Jainism

The Jain chronicles state a rival king decided to invade Gujarat, taking advantage of Kumarapala's conversion to the non-violent Jain fath. This greatly worried Kumarapala, but Hemachandra assured him that the Jain deities would protect him. Hemachandra also correctly predicted that the invading king would die on a specific day during the march.

According to Prabhachandra, the invading king was the ruler of Kalyanakataka (identified with Kalyani). According to Merutunga and Jina-Mandana, the invader was Karna, the Kalachuri king of the Dahala country. When he was sleeping on his elephant, his gold chain got caught in a tree branch, strangling him to death.

The historicity of these legends is doubtful, as they claim that Hemachandra had the supernatural power to predict the invader's death on a certain day. Neither the Kalyani Chalukyas, nor the Kalachuris were in a position to attack the powerful Gujarat Chaulukya kingdom during Kumarapala's reign. Therefore, these legends appear to have been invented by the Jain chroniclers to glorify Hemachandra and to prove that Kumarapala's adoption of Jainism did not weaken him.

## Last years

According to Jayasimha Suri, Kumarapala planned to pass on the throne to either his nephew Ajayapala or his grandson Pratapamalla. One day, he asked Hemachandra for advice. Hemachandra recommended Pratapamalla's name, and declared that Ajayapala was not fit to be a king.

This conversation was overheard by Hemachandra's disciple Balachandra, who was a childhood friend of Ajayapala. Balachandra informed Ajayapala about the king's plan. Sometime later, Hemachandra died, and Kumarapala fell ill with grief.

Before the king could appoint Pratapamalla as his heir, Ajayapala mixed poison in his milk. When Kumarapala realized that he had been poisoned, he asked for an antidote from the royal store. However, Ajayapala had already hidden this antidote, and as a result, Kumarapala died of poisoning.

Other Jain chroniclers such as Rajashekhara and Jina-Mandana give similar accounts of Kumarapala's However, these accounts do not appear to be historically accurate. Ajayapala was a follower of Brahmanism, because of which the later Jain chroniclers portrayed him in a negative light. The early Jain chroniclers do not mention him as the murderer of Kumarapala. Moreover, Surathotsava by Someshvara (the priest of Ajayapala's son Bhima) suggests that Ajayapala was a son (not nephew) of Kumarapala.

Kumarapala's body was cremated, and his ashes were immersed at Prayag, at the confluence of Ganga and Yamuna.

## **Administration**

Three sons of Udayana, who is said to have helped Kumarapala during his early years, became highly influential and powerful politicians during Kumarapala's reign. These were Vagabhata, Amrabhata and Charubhata. Vagabhata-deva was made a minister, and a man named Āliga was made the chief of council (jyayana-pradhana).

The coins attributed to Kumarapala has his name on reverse and seated goddess, probably Lakshmi, on obverse.

# Religion

Kumarapala was born in a Shaivite family, but started patronizing Jainism at some point in life. The later Jain accounts portray him as the last great royal patron of Jainism, and as a righteous Jain king. During his reign, Jainism became prominent in Gujarat. It is not certain when exactly Kumarapala adopted the Jain faith. While several legendary chronicles state that he met the Jain scholar Hemachandra early in his life, the historical accuracy of this claim is doubtful.

According to Kumarapala's near-contemporary Somaprabha, the king used to hold religious meetings with Brahmins, but remained unsatisfied with their discussions. One day, his minister Vahada noticed this and told him about Hemachandra. The king requested a meeting with the Jain monk, who later converted him to Jainism. Hemachandra himself gives a similar account in his *Mahavira-Charita*. The

later legendary accounts of Kumarapala's conversion to Jainism are too fanciful to be true. For example, Merutunga claims that Hemachandra made the god Shiva appear before Kumarapala at the Somanatha temple. Shiva told Kumarapala that Hemachandra was an incarnation of all the gods. On Hemachandra's advice, Kumarapala gave up the consumption of meat and wine. After return to his capital, Kumarapala took the twelve vows and became a Jain.

The Jain chronicles state that Kumarapala banned animal slaughter, alcohol, gambling and adultery after his conversion to Jainism. However, no extant inscriptions issued by the king announce any such ban. Two inscriptions issued by his feudatories ban animal slaughter on certain days of the month. These are the Ratanpur inscription and the 1152 CE Kiradu inscription.

Even after his conversion to Jainism, Kumarapala did not stop patronizing Shaivism. Hemachandra himself states that Kumarapala restored the temples of Shiva-Kedaranatha and Somanatha, and also erected the Kumareshvara temple after being told to do so by Shiva in a dream. Although Jain accounts unanimously state that Kumarapala converted to Jainism, none of the king's extant inscriptions invoke Jain deities.

Most of his inscriptions began with invocations to Shiva. Even the Ratanpur inscription of his feudatory, which bans animal slaughter in accordance with Jain principles, begins with an invocation to Shankara (Shiva). The Kiradu inscription also states that Kumarapala achieved his conquests by the grace of Shankara. The 1169 CE Veraval *prasasti* inscription issued by

the Shaivite priest Bhava Brihaspati describes Kumarapala as the leader of the rulers who worship Maheshvara (Shiva).

In view of these evidences, historian H. C. Ray theorizes that Kumarapala leaned towards Jainism because of financial considerations: he simply wanted to win over the support of rich Jain merchants, who controlled the economy of Gujarat. Historian Ashoke Kumar Majumdar criticizes this theory, arguing that the rich merchants in Gujarat probably became Jain *after* Kumarapala's conversion to Jainism, and because of his attempts to promote Jainism.

According to Hemachandra's *Dvyashraya*, Kumarapala began his day with blessings from the Brahmins and accepted a tilaka. Later in the day, he visited a Jain temple (named as *Kumarapala-Vihara* by a commentator). At the temple, he worshipped Parshvanatha. Thus, Hemachandra's writings indicate that Kumarapala did not give up Brahaminical rituals completely. However, the writings of the later Jain writers suggest that Kumarapala was completely devoted to Jainism. For example:

- Jina-Mandana states that Kumarapala stopped worshipping the Brahmanical idols.
- Somaprabha, writing around a decade after Kumarapala's death, claims that the king recited Jain mantras and the *Pancha Namaskara* prayer after waking up. After meditating and taking a bath, he worshipped Jain images. Time permitting, he visited the Kumarapala-Vihara and performed the Jain eight-fold worship there. After this, he visited Hemachandra and listen to his teachings. At noon,

the king had lunch only after he offered food to the Jain deities. Next, he discussed religion and philosophy with an assembly of learned men, and then attended his court.

It is possible that Kumarapala gave up the Brahminical rituals during the last years of his life. Another possibility is that the later Jain writers made concerted attempts to falsely portray him as a completely devout Jain.

The Shaivite texts claim that Kumarapala converted back to Shaivism. For example, a *Skanda Purana* story states that Brahmins appealed to Hanuman for Kumarapala's reconversion to Shaivism: a talisman given by Hanuman resulted in the destruction of Kumarapala's capital, and ultimately, his re-conversion.

Gadadhara's Sampradaya Pradipa (1554) claims that Hemachandra was defeated in a debate and sentenced to death, after which Kumarapala became a Shaivite. Such stories, which appear to be imaginary, conceded that at some point, Kumarapala believed in Jainism.

## **Constructions**

The Vadnagar inscription (1152 CE) mentions that Kumarapala built the fort of Vadnagar. *Jagaducharita* mentions that he ordered a tank to be built at Bhadravati (Bhadreshwar). The stepwell at Vayad near Patan was built during Kumarapala's reign. Ganga stepwell at Wadhwan has been dated to 1169 CE (Samvat 1225).

#### **Temples**

Kumarapala had constructed many temples; Brahminical temples as well as Jain temples due to his leaning towards it. According to the Jain texts, he was responsible for building a large number of temples in his capital Anahilapataka (modern Patan).

He built the temple at Somanatha in 1169 CE which the grandest and the most beautiful of his time. It's gudhamandapa (shrine proper) had the ceiling of about 341/2 feet which is the largest known in India. He built Kumarapaleshwar temple and renovated Kedareshwar temples at Anahilapataka (now Patan). He replaced Phase II Somnath Temple (Bhima II's temple) at Prabhas with large Kailash-Meru temple on the place. He also constructed Somnath Temple in Pali, Rajasthan.

According to Jain prabandhas, he built 32 Jain temples as the repentance of his non-vegetarianism in early life. This is mentioned in Yashapala's Mohaparajaya-nataka (VS 1229-32, 1173-76 CE) well as Prabhachandracharya's as in Prabhavakacharita (VS 1334, 1278 CE) and Merutunga's Prabandhachintamani (VS 1361, 1305 CE). Though it may be not be true explanation, he had constructed large number of temples himself or were constructed by his governors, administrators and officers.

He built Kumara-vihara dedicated to Parshwanath which had 24 devkulikas (shrines) in Anahilapataka. He built Trivihara and Tribhuvana-vihara (1160 CE) at Anahilapataka in merit of his father Tribhuvanpla which had 72 devkulikas and was dedicated to Neminatha. The large Ajitnatha temple at Taranga

built by Kumarapala still survives while most of his other temples no longer exists. He also built temples at several sites, many of which are already Jain sites of pilgrimage: Shatrunjaya, Arbudagiri (Abu), Stambhatirtha (Khambhat), Prabhas (of Parshwanatha). He also built Kumaravihara at Tharapadra (Tharad), Iladurga (Idar), Jabaliputra (Jalore, 1165 CE), Dwipa (Diu), Latapalli (Ladol), Karkarapuri (Kakar), Mandali (Mandal) and Mangalpura (Mangrol). He built Jholikavihara (1163 CE) at the birthplace of Memachandra in Dhandhuka. Kumarapalapratibodha mentions his excavation of Jivantaswami Mahavira image from Vitabhayapura and its installation in the temple at Anahilapataka. Karmba-vihara, Yuka-vihara and the Mushaka-vihara are mentioned with a bizarre story in Prabandhachintamani, Puratan-prabandhasangraha and Kumarapala-charitra-sangraha.

His Jain ministers built large number of temples. His minister Prithvipala built mandapa in front of the Vanrajavihara at Anahilapatak and the extant mandapa (c. 1150 CE) at the Vimala Temple on Mount Abu. He also built a mandapa the Ninnaya's temple built by his ancestor at Chandravati for the merits of his maternal grandmother. He also built Shantinath temple in Shayanvadapura in Rohamandal for the merits of his maternal grandfather. These two were between Minister Amrabhatta, son of Udayana, replaced old Shakunikavihara at Bhrigukutch (Bharuch) with new grand temple. The relics of it are reused in extant Jami mosque at Bharuch. Minister Amarabhatta built Shakuni-chaitya (1166 CE) (Bharuch) which Bhrigukutch was consecrated Hemachandra. His brother Vagbhatta replaced old temple of Adinatha with new magnificent temple. Siddhapala, son of poet Shripala, built Siddhapala-vasati at Anahilapataka. Governor

Muluka built Sahajigeshwara temple in 1146 CE in memory of his father, as mentioned in the inscription in Sodhli stepwell in Mangrol.

Anchalagaccha-pattavali mentions that Minister Vagbhatta built the Adinath temple (1155-1157 CE) on Shatrunjaya hill. On its foothill, he established the Vagbhattapura town and built Tribhuvana-vihara. Dholka inscription mentions that minister Vagbhatta added 24 devakulikas to Udayana-vihara (about 1167 CE) in Dholka. Dholka-prashasti mentions that Vairisimha, a friend or a relative of Minister Vagbhatta, built the Parshwanatha temple in Khambhat.

Kavi Vagbhatta who wrote *Vagbhattalankara*, built the Mahavira temple known as Undira-vasahika at Padra which was consecrated by Jinabhadrasuri. Minister Vadhuyana's son Kapardi built the Adinath temple at Vatesara. A mutilated Junagdh inscription mentions many temples built by Minister Dhavala.

The earliest extant temple of his period is small temple of Sarvamangala Devi at Khandoran. Other extant temples include Khandeshwari-mata Temple at Math near Kasangadh near Idar, the Mata temple (1146 CE) at Kanoda, the triple shrine at Parbadi in Saurashtra, Kumbheshwara Temple at Kumbhariya. The mandapa was added to Akhada Mahadeva temple at Vasai during his time. The temple at Galteshwar in Kheda district is a rare Bhumija style temple of Chalukyan style, devoid of any Paramara influence. There is a temple of Shashibhushana (c. 1169 CE) at Prabhas which is mentioned as one of five sacred temples of the town according to Prabhaskanda. Kumarapala's Somanatha inscription mentions its

renovation by Pashupatacharya Bhava Brihaspati. Some older parts of the temple still survives.

# Ajayapala (Chaulukya dynasty)

**Ajayapala** (r. c. 1171 – 1175 CE) was an Indian king from the Chaulukya (Solanki) dynasty of Gujarat. He ruled the present-day Gujarat and surrounding areas for a short period, from his capital Anahilapataka (modern Patan).

Unlike his predecessor Kumarapala, Ajayapala did not patronize Jainism. Because of this, the later Jain chroniclers have portrayed him in a negative light, accusing him of persecuting Jains and even poisoning Kumarapala. These claims do not appear to be historically accurate.

# Early life

Ajayapala succeeded Kumarapala on the Chaulukya throne. According to *Surathotsava* written by the poet Someshvara, Ajayapala was a son of Kumarapala. Someshvara was a contemporary of Ajayapala's son Bhima II (and probably Ajayapala).

However, some later Jain writers describe Ajayapala as a nephew of Kumarapala and a son of Mahipala. The earliest of these is Abhayatilaka Gani, who wrote a commentary on Hemachandra's *Dvyashraya* in 13th century. The 14th century chronicler Merutunga also repeats this claim in his *Theravali*, but describes Ajayapala as a son of Kumarapala in his *Prabandha-Chintamani*. The later Jain chroniclers such as

Jayasimha Suri, Rajashekhara and Jinamandana repeat the claim that Ajayapala was a nephew of Kumarapala.

It seems more likely that Ajayapala was a son of Kumarapala. The later Jain writers probably branded him as a nephew of Kumarapala and portrayed him negatively, because he did not patronize the Jain faith.

## **Ascension**

The later Jain chroniclers claim that Ajayapala Kumarapala to gain the throne. According to Jayasimha Suri's account, Kumarapala wanted to appoint either his nephew Ajayapala or his grandson Pratapamalla as his successor. He sought advice from his preceptor, the Jain leader Hemachandra. Hemachandra told Kumarapala that Ajayapala was not fit to be a king, and recommended Pratapamalla instead. Balachandra, a wicked disciple of Hemachandra and a friend of Ajayapala, overheard this conversation. He informed Ajayapala, who promised to make him the royal preceptor upon becoming the king. After Hemachandra's death, Kumarapala fell ill with grief. Ajayapala mixed poison in his milk, and hid the only known antidote. Kumarapala died of poisoning, and Ajayapala succeeded him. This legend has been repeated by other chroniclers such as Rajashekhara and Jinamandana with minor variations.

This account does not appear to be true, as it has not been mentioned in the writings on the earlier Jain chroniclers, such as Prabhachandra and Merutunga. The later chroniclers seem to have invented these stories to portray Ajayapala in negative light, as he did not patronize Jainism.

## Military career

Ajayapala seems to have retained the territory he inherited from Kumarapala. This included Malwa, as attested by an inscription found at Udaipur, Madhya Pradesh.

#### Chahamanas of Shakambhari

According to one theory, Ajayapala subdued a Shakambhari Chahamana ruler of Sapadalaksha, possibly Someshvara. This is suggested by the epithet *Karadikrita-Sapadalaksha-Kshmapala*, which has been bestowed upon him in the copperplate inscriptions of his son Bhima. The 13th century text *Kirti-Kaumudi* states that the king of Jangala-desha (that is, Sapadalaksha) had to give a gold pavilion and some elephants to Ajayapala as a punishment. Another writer Arisimha states that the king of Sapadalaksha sent a silver pavilion to Ajayapala. The chronicler Balachandra states that the king of Jangala used to send gifts to Ajayapala.

Based on these statements, historians Asoke Majumdar and Dasharatha Sharma theorize that Ajayapala defeated Someshvara, and extracted tribute from him. Historian R. B. Singh, on the other hand, theorizes that the supposed 'tribute' was merely a gift sent by Someshvara to Ajayapala's on latter's ascension to the throne; the event was exaggerated into a claim of victory by the Gujarat poets. To support his theory, Singh argues that the Chaulukya power had weakened considerably after Kumarapala's death, and they could not have subdued the powerful Chahamanas at this time.

### **Guhilas of Medapata**

Ajayapala fought a war against Samantasimha, the Guhila ruler of Medapata (modern Mewar). The Guhilas had been subdued by the Chaulukyas in the preceding years, and Samantasimha appears to have made an attempt to throw off the Chaulukya suzerainty.

It appears that Samantasimha achieved some success against Ajayapala, but was ultimately defeated by Ajayapala's feudatory Prahladana, the Paramara chief of Abu.

This is suggested by the 1231 CE Abu *prashasti* inscription, which states that Prahladana defended the Gurjara king (that is, Ajayapala) after Samantasimha had broken the king's power on the battlefield.

The text *Sukrita-Kirti-Kallolini* mentions an incident in which Ajayapala narrowly defeated an enemy king. This is probably a reference to his conflict with Samantasimha.

#### Death

Ajayapala died in 1175 CE, sometime between 25 March and 7 April. The 14th century chronicler Merutunga states that a Pratihara named Vayajaladeva stabbed Ajayapala to death. The accuracy of this claim is doubtful, as Merutunga's account of Ajayapala is generally unreliable. Mularaja II, the son of Ajayapala and Naikidevi, succeeded him on the Chaulukya throne. After Mularaja's death, Ajayapala's younger son Bhima II ascended the throne.

# Religion

Ajayapala patronized the Brahmanical faith, unlike his predecessor Kumarapala who was a great patron of Jainism. The Devapattana *prashasti* inscription of the Chaulukya general Sridhara boasts that Ajayapala caused the tree of the Vedic religion to grow again.

The inscriptions of Ajayapala, as well as those of his sons, describe him as a *Parama-Maheshvara* ("devotee of Shiva"), which is unusual for Chaulukyas. According to the contemporary poet Someshvara, during his reign, Shiva was worshipped daily, and the Brahmins were rewarded well.

#### Portrayal in Jain accounts

The later Jain chroniclers accuse Ajayapala of persecuting the Jains. This claim does not appear to be historically correct: these Jain authors probably painted Ajayapala in a negative light, because he did not support Jainism as much as Kumarapala did.

The 14th century chronicler Merutunga was the earliest Jain writer to present Ajayapala in a negative light. He gives the following account of Ajayapala's misdeeds: Ajayapala began destroying the temples constructed by Kumarapala, although he stopped such activities after hearing sarcastic remarks of a jester. Amrabhata (or Ambada), the general who had led a successful military campaign against the Shilahara king Mallikarjuna during Kumarapala's reign, refused to accept Ajayapala as the new king. As a result, Ajayapala's soldiers killed Amrabhata. Ajayapala also ordered his newly appointed

chief minister Kapardin to be roasted alive. He also had Hemachandra's pupil Ramachandra killed by placing him on a heated copper plate. The post-Merutunga chroniclers, starting with Jayasimha Suri, go on to accuse Ajayapala of poisoning Kumarapala.

The Jain writers before Merutunga, including those contemporary to Ajayapala, do not mention any anti-Jain activities of Ajayapala.

For example, Yashahapala describes Ajayapala as a great king, and describes himself as a "swan on the lotus-like feet of Ajayadeva" (that is, Ajayapala). Somaprabha, in his Satartha-Kavya, also lauds Ajayapala.

Arisimha and Balachandra also praise Ajayapala. Udayaprabha compares him to the deity Indra. The Vastupala-Tejapala prashasti inscription applauds his self-control. Manikyachandra, in his Parshvanatha-Charita (c. 1219 CE), explicitly states that the Jain scholar Vardhamana was a jewel of the courts of Kumarapala and Ajayapala, and brightened their courts with his discussions on the Jain doctrine.

# Tribhuvanapala

**Tribhuvanapala** (r. c. 1240–1244 CE) was the last king of the Chaulukya dynasty of western India. He ruled parts of present-day Gujarat from his capital at Anahilapataka (modern Patan). He ruled for a short period before dying heirless or being dethroned, after which the Vaghelas assumed control of the kingdom.

# Early life

Tribhuvanapala succeeded Bhima II as the Chaulukya king. He is known from a 1242-43 CE Kadi inscription, some *pattavalis*, and the prologue of a drama. The chronicles about the dynasty do not mention him.

Tribhuvanapala's relationship to Bhima is not certain, although the various records suggest that he was the legal heir to the throne. His inscription states that he meditated at the feet of Bhima (a conventional way to describe a rightful heir). The inscriber of his inscription was Somasimha, and its drafter (dutaka) was Vayajaladeva: both these persons also worked on the grant inscriptions of Bhima. Tribhuvanapala's inscription records a grant to Vedagarbharashi, who had been appointed as a trustee of a Shaivite monastery by Bhima. Thus, Tribhuvanapala appears to have been a legitimate successor.

## Reign

The prologue of Subhata's Sanskrit play *Dutangada* states that the play was composed by the order of the *parishad* (council) of *Maharajadhiraja* Tribhuvanapala. The occasion was a spring festival procession of *Kumarapaleshvara* ("Lord of Kumarapala") at Devapattana (modern Prabhas Patan or Somnath). The festival was probably held to celebrate the restoration of a Shiva temple commissioned by the earlier king Kumarapala.

According to one record, a ruler called Tribhuvana-Ranaka killed Bala, a general of the Guhila ruler Jaitrasimha, who was trying to recapture Kottadaka (modern Kotada). This Tribhuvana-Ranaka is identified with Tribhuvanapala.

The Chaulukya dynasty ended with Tribhuvanapala. The Vaghela generals Lavanaprasada and Viradhavala had become powerful during the reign of his predecessor Bhima II. Viradhavala's son Visaladeva became the next king after Tribhuvanapala's death. One theory is that the Vaghelas forcibly dethroned Tribhuvanapala. However, it is also possible that Tribhuvanapala died heirless, because of which the Vaghelas assumed the control of the kingdom.

### **Chapter 8**

# Mularaja II

Mularaja (r. 1175 – 1178 CE), also known as *Bala Mularaja* ("Child Mularaja"), was an Indian king from the Chaulukya dynasty of Gujarat. He ruled the present-day Gujarat and surrounding areas from his capital Anahilapataka (modern Patan). He ascended the throne as a child, and his mother Naikidevi acted as the regent during his short reign. The Chaulukyas repulsed a Ghurid invasion during his reign. The Paramara king Vindhyavarman made attempts to evict the Chaulukyas from Malwa during his reign, and succeeded in regaining control of Malwa either during Mularaja's lieftime or shortly after his death.

# Early life

Mularaja succeeded his father Ajayapala on the Chaulukya throne. His mother Naikidevi was the daughter of one Paramardin. According to one theory, this Paramardin was the Goa Kadamba king Shivachitta Paramadideva (1148-1179 CE). Another theory identifies him with the Chandela Paramardi. The second theory is based on the identification of "Kaka@ādaha" with similar-sounding "Gā@āragha@@a". The Chandela-era Garra inscription mentions that a Chandela warrior named Rauta Pape lost his life in a battle at Kaka@ādaha. According to the 14th century chronicler Merutunga, Naikidevi fought the Muslims at Gā@āragha@@a. This appears to be same as Kasahrada, where a Chaulukya army defeated the Ghurids in 1178 CE.

Mularaja ascended the throne as a young child after his father's death. His mother Naikidevi acted as the regent during his short reign.

### **Battle of Kasahrada**

The most notable event of Mularaja's short reign was the Battle of Kasahrada, which took place in 1178 CE at modern Kyara (in Sirohi district; also called Kayadara or Kayadram in some records). In this battle, the Chaulukya forces defeated the Ghurid army led by Muhammad of Ghor. The Chaulukya forces included the armies of their feudatories such as the Naddula Chahamana ruler Kelhanadeva, the Jalor Chahamana ruler Kirtipala, and the Arbuda Paramara ruler Dharavarsha.

#### **Native accounts**

The later Chaulukya inscriptions, as well as the chroniclers of Gujarat, greatly praise Mularaja for this victory:

- The poet Someshvara boasts that Mularaja defeated the lord of Turushkas (Turkic people), and crushed the *mlechchha* (foreign) army.
- Balachandra mentions that Mularaja defeated the mlechchha king despite being an infant.
- Udayaprabha Suri, in his Sukrita-Kirti-Kallolini, states that Naikidevi gave Mularaja an army to play with. With this army, Mularaja defeated the Hammira (Sanskrit form of Emir) and his mlechchha army, whose soldiers were covered from head to toe in order to protect themselves.

- Arisimha also mentions that Mularaja defeated the Muslims.
- An inscription of Bhima II states that even a woman could defeat Hammira during the reign of Mularaja.

The 14th century chronicler Merutunga credits the victory to Mularaja's mother Naikidevi, introducing supernatural elements in his account of the battle. According to Merutunga, Naikidevi fought with the *mlechchhas* at Gā@āragha@@a, and conquered their king. Massive unseasonal rain clouds came to support her, attracted by her virtuous character.

The Sundha Hill inscription of the Jalor Chahamanas boasts that Kirtipala routed the Turushka army at Kasahrada. It also states that his brother Kelhanadeva erected a golden gateway (torana) at the shrine of the deity Somesha after destroying the Turushkas. Kelhanadeva was the ruler of Naddula; according to the legendary chronicle *Prithviraja Vijaya*, Muhammad of Ghor had captured Naddula during his invasion of India. Kelhanadeva managed to regain control of Naddula after the victory at Kasahrada.

#### Muslim accounts

According to the 13th century Persian chronicler *Minhaj-i-Siraj*, Muhammad of Ghor marched towards Nahrwala (the Chaulukya capital Anahilavada) via Uchchha and Multan. The "Rae of Nahrwala" (the Chaulukya king) was young but commanded a huge army with elephants. In the ensuing battle, "the army of Islam was defeated and put to rout", and the invading ruler had to return to without any accomplishment.

Nizam-ud-din gives a similar account and states that Muhammad of Ghor marched to Gujarat via desert. The 16th century writer Badauni also mentions the invader's defeat, and states that he retreated to Ghazni with great difficulty. Firishta also states that the ruler of Gujarat defeated the Muslim army "with great slaughter", and the remnant of the defeated army faced many hardships during its return journey to Ghazni.

#### Alternative chronology

None of the Chaulukya inscriptions and chroniclers mentions the invading king's name, simply describing him as a *mlechchha*, Turushka or Hammira. However, modern historians identify him with Muhammad of Ghor.

According to an alternative theory, the Battle of Kasahrada took place during the reign of Mularaja's successor Bhima II. This theory is based on some Muslim chronicles, which state that "Bhim Dev" was the one who defeated Muhammad of Ghor. Moreover, an 1178 Kiradu inscription, issued during Bhima's reign, records repairs to a temple damaged by the Turushkas. The proponents of this theory argue that Mularaja's forces defeated another king, or that Muhammad of Ghor invaded the Chaulukya territory twice around 1178 CE. For example, H. C. Ray suggests the following alternative identifications of the invaders during Mularaja's reign:

- The Ghaznavids
- Mularaja has been described as the conqueror of "Garjanaka" in some records. The term "Garjanaka" refers to the Ghaznavids in some other Sanskrit records, and therefore, the invaders during

Mularaja's reign may have been the Ghaznavids. However, Ray himself points out that the Ghaznavid ruler Khusrau Malik was not strong enough to launch an expedition against the Chalukyas in the mid-1170s. Therefore, this identification is unlikely to be accurate.

- The Sumras
- The Sumras ruled the neighbouring region of Sindh of during this time. However, this identification is also doubtful. A. K. Majumdar points out that the Soomras, though Muslim, were not called "Turushkas". Moreover, they were petty chiefs at this time, and their own kingdom was threatened by the rising Ghurid power.
- A Ghurid reconnaissance army
- According to this theory, Muhammad of Ghor sent a reconnaissance mission to the Chaulukya territory, sometime during 1176-1178 CE, in preparation of his later invasion in 1178 CE during Bhima's reign: reconnaissance army was defeated Mularaja's reign, while the main Ghurid army was defeated at Kasahrada during Bhima's reign. This theory is also unlikely to be accurate. None of the chronicles mentions earlier Muslim an expedition to the Chaulukya territory. Most notably, none of the Chaulukya (or other Indian) accounts mention that Bhima achieved a victory against the Ghurids. Such a significant victory would not have been overlooked by the native chroniclers. It is more likely that Mularaja died shortly after the battle, and the Muslim chroniclers wrongly mentioned

successor Bhima as the king who was reigning at the time of the battle.

### Rebellion in Malwa

The Paramara kingdom of Malwa had come under Chaulukya control during the reign of Mularaja's predecessors. During Mularaja's reign, a famine occurred in Gujarat. advantage of this, the Paramara king Vindhyavarman made attempts to regain control of Malwa. The Chaulukya general of Kumara was in-charge the operations against Vindhyavarman. According to Surathotsava, Kumara's son Someshvara, Kumara defeated Vindhyavarman.

After his victory, Kumara destroyed Vindhyavarman's town Gogasthana, sank a well where the Paramara palace once stood, and plundered Malwa. Vindhyavarman was ultimately successful in regaining control of Malwa. According to historian R. C. Majumdar, he accomplished this during the reign of Mularaja. However, A. K. Majumdar believes that Malwa remained under Chaululkya control during Mularaja's reign.

### Death

Mularaja died at a very young age in 1178 CE, and was succeeded by his brother Bhima II.

### Chapter 9

# **Ghurid Dynasty**

The **Ghurids** or **Ghorids** were a dynasty of Iranian origin from the Ghor region of present-day central Afghanistan, but the exact ethnic origin is uncertain. dynasty converted The to Sunni Islam from after the conquest of Ghor by Buddhism, Ghaznavid sultan Mahmud of Ghazni in 1011. The dynasty overthrew the Ghaznavid Empire in 1186 when Sultan Mu'izz ad-Din Muhammad of Ghor conquered the last Ghaznavid capital of Lahore.

At their zenith, the Ghurid empire encompassed Khorasan in the west and reached northern India as far as Bengal in the east. Their first capital was Firozkoh in Mandesh, Ghor, which was later replaced by Herat, and finally Ghazna. The Ghurids were patrons of Persian culture and heritage.

Abu Ali ibn Muhammad (reigned 1011–1035) was the first Muslim king of the Ghurid dynasty to construct mosques and Islamic schools in Ghor. The Ghurids were succeeded in Khorasan and Persia by the Khwarazmian dynasty, and in northern India by the Mamluk dynasty of the Delhi Sultanate.

# **Origins**

In the 19th century some European scholars, such as Mountstuart Elphinstone, favoured the idea that the Ghurid dynasty was related to today's Pashtun people but this is generally rejected by modern scholarship and, as explained by

Morgenstierne in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, is for "various reasons very improbable". Instead scholars assume that the dynasty might have been of Tajik origin. Bosworth further points out that the actual name of the Ghurid family,  $\bar{A}l$ -e  $\bar{S}ansab$  (Persianized:  $\bar{S}ansab\bar{a}n\bar{\imath}$ ), is the Arabic pronunciation of the originally Middle Persian name  $Wi\bar{s}nasp$ .

When the Ghurids started to distinguish themselves during their conquests, courtiers and genealogists (such as Fakhr al-Din Mubarakshah al-Marwarrudhi and al-Juzjani) forged a fictive genealogy which connected the Ghurids with the Iranian past.

They traced the Ghurid family back to the legendary Arab tyrant Zahhak, mentioned in the medieval Persian epic *Shahnameh* ("The Book of Kings"), whose family had reportedly settled in Ghur after the Iranian hero Fereydun had ended his thousand-year tyranny. Ghur remained primarily populated by Buddhists till the 11th century. It was then Islamised and gave rise to the Ghurids.

### Language

The Ghurids' native language was apparently different from their court language, Persian. Abu'l-Fadl Bayhaqi, the famous historian of the Ghaznavid era, wrote on page 117 in his book *Tarikh-i Bayhaqi*: "Sultan Mas'ud I of Ghazni left for Ghoristan and sent his learned companion with two people from Ghor as interpreters between this person and the people of that region." However, like the Samanids and Ghaznavids, the Ghurids were great patrons of Persian literature, poetry, and culture, and

promoted these in their courts as their own. Contemporary book writers refer to them as the "Persianized Ghurids".

There is nothing to confirm the recent surmise that the inhabitants of Ghor were originally Pashto-speaking, and claims of the existence of Pashto poetry (as in Pata Khazana) from the Ghurid period are unsubstantiated.

## **History**

#### **Early history**

A certain Ghurid prince named Amir Banji was the ruler of Ghor and ancestor of the medieval Ghurid rulers. His rule was legitimized by the Abbasid caliph Harun al-Rashid. Before the mid-12th century, the Ghurids had been bound to the Ghaznavids and Seljuks for about 150 years. Beginning in the mid-12th century, Ghor expressed its independence from the Ghaznavid Empire.

In 1149 the Ghaznavid ruler Bahram-Shah of Ghazna poisoned a local Ghurid leader, Qutb al-Din Muhammad, who had taken refuge in the city of Ghazna after having a quarrel with his brother Sayf al-Din Suri. In revenge, Sayf marched towards Ghazna and defeated Bahram-Shah. However, one year later, Bahram returned and scored a decisive victory against Sayf, who was shortly captured and crucified at Pul-i Yak Taq. Baha al-Din Sam I, another brother of Sayf, set out to avenge the death of his two brothers, but died of natural causes before he could reach Ghazna. Ala al-Din Husayn, one of the youngest of Sayf's brothers and newly crowned Ghurid king, also set out to avenge the death of his two brothers. He managed to defeat

Bahram-Shah, and then had Ghazna sacked; the city burned for seven days and seven nights. It earned him the title of *Jahānsūz*, meaning "the world burner". The Ghaznavids retook the city with Seljuq help, but lost it to Oghuz Turks.

In 1152, Ala al-Din Husayn refused to pay tribute to the Seljuks and instead marched an army from Firozkoh but was defeated and captured at Nab by Sultan Ahmed Sanjar. Ala al-Din Husayn remained a prisoner for two years, until he was released in return for a heavy ransom to the Seljuqs. Meanwhile, a rival of Ala al-Din named Husayn ibn Nasir al-Din Muhammad al-Madini had seized Firozkoh, but was murdered at the right moment when Ala al-Din returned to reclaim his ancestral domain. Ala al-Din spent the rest of his reign expanding the domains of his kingdom; he managed to conquer Garchistan, Tukharistan, and Bamiyan, and later gave Bamiyan and Tukharistan to Fakhr al-Din Masud, starting the Bamiyan branch of the Ghurids. Ala al-Din died in 1161, and was succeeded by his son Sayf al-Din Muhammad, who died two years later in a battle.

#### The Ghurids at their zenith

Sayf al-Din Muhammad was succeeded by his cousin Ghiyath al-Din Muhammad, who was the son of Baha al-Din Sam I, and proved himself to be a capable king. Right after Ghiyath's ascension, he, with the aid of his loyal brother Mu'izz al-Din Muhammad, killed a rival Ghurid chief named Abu'l Abbas. Ghiyath then defeated his uncle Fakhr al-Din Masud who claimed the Ghurid throne and had allied with the Seljuq governor of Herat and Balkh.

In 1173, Mu'izz al-Din Muhammad reconquered the city of Ghazna and assisted his brother Ghiyath in his contest with the Khwarezmid Empire for the lordship of Khorasan. In 1175, Mu'izz al-Din Muhammad captured and annexed the Ghaznavid principality of Punjab in 1186. He was alleged by contemporary historians to have exacted revenge for his great-grandfather Muhammad ibn Suri.

After the death of his brother Ghiyath in 1202, he became the successor of his empire and ruled until his assassination in 1206 near Jhelum by Khokhar tribesmen (in modern-day Pakistan).

#### Decline and fall

A confused struggle then ensued among the remaining Ghūrid leaders, and the Khwarezmids were able to take over the Ghūrids' empire in about 1215. Though the Ghūrids' empire was short-lived, Mu'izz al-Din Muhammad's conquests strengthened the foundations of Muslim rule in India. On his death, the importance of Ghazna and Ghor dissipated, and they were replaced by Delhi as the power centre in India during the rule of his Mamluk successors.

# Cultural influences

The Ghurids were great patrons of Persian culture and literature and lay the basis for a Persianized state in the Indian subcontinent. However, most of the literature produced during the Ghurid era has been lost. They also transferred Iranian architecture to India.

Out of the Ghurid state grew the Delhi Sultanate which established the Persian language as the official court language of the region – a status it retained until the late Mughal era in the 19th century.

## **Amir Suri**

**Amīr Sūrī** was the king of the Ghurid dynasty from the 9th-century to the 10th-century. He was a descendant of the Ghurid king Amir Banji, whose rule was legitimized by the Abbasid caliph Harun al-Rashid. Amir Suri is known to have fought the Saffarid ruler Ya'qub ibn al-Layth al-Saffar, who managed to conquer much of Khurasan except Ghur. Amir Suri was later succeeded by his son Muhammad ibn Suri.

Although Amir Suri bore an Arabic title and his son had an Islamic name, they were both Buddhists and were considered pagans by the surrounding Muslim people, and it was only during the reign of Muhammad's son Abu Ali ibn Muhammad that the Ghurid dynasty became an Islamic dynasty.

The Ghurids originated from the Ghuristan mountains, and were divided into numerous tribes, among which, the Shansabani tribe had the most authority.

Abu'l-Fadl Bayhaqi, the famous historian of the Ghaznavid era, wrote on page 117 in his book Tarikh-i Bayhaqi: "Sultan Mas'ud left for Ghuristan and sent his learned companion with two people from Ghor as interpreters between this person and the people of that region."

## Muhammad ibn Suri

Muhammad ibn Suri (died 1011) was the king of the Ghurid dynasty from the 10th-century to 1011. During his reign, he was defeated by the Ghaznavid emperor Mahmud of Ghazni and his domains were conquered. According to Minhaj-us-Siraj, Muhammad was captured by Mahmud of Ghazni, made prisoner along with his son, and taken to Ghazni, where Muhammad died by poisoning himself. Subsequently, the whole population of Ghuristan was taught the precepts of Islam and converted from Mahayana Buddhism to Islam. Mu'izz ad-Din Muhammad of Ghor later overthrew the Ghaznavid Empire in 1186 and conquered their last capital at Lahore.

It is said that Muhammad was a great king and most of the territories of Ghor were in his possession. But as many of the inhabitants of Ghor of High and low degree had not yet embraced Islam, there was constant strife among them. The Saffarids came from Nimruz to Bust and Dawar, Ya'qub al-Saffar overpowered Lak-Lak, who was the chief of Takinabad, in the country of Rukhaj. The Ghorians sought the safety in Sara-sang and dwelt there in security but even among them hostilities constantly prevailed between the Muslims and the infidels. One castle was at war with another castle, and their feuds were unceasing; but owing to the inaccessibility of the mountains of Rasiat, which are in Ghor no foreigner was able to overcome them, and Muhammad was the head of all the Mandeshis.

# **History**

The region was governed under a Malik named Amir Suri and the population was not yet converted to Islam. His son Muhammad who was attacked by Mahmud of Ghazni is also stated in the Rauzat al Safa to still been a pagan despite his name, and Al Otbi calls him a Buddhist. Mahmud took his stronghold in the year 400 (1009) and carried the chief into captivity, where he is said to have poisoned himself. His son Abu Ali ibn Muhammad was put in his place by Mahmud, no doubt had embraced Islam, and is said to have built Masjids. Nevertheless he was seized and imprisoned by his nephew Abbas ibn Shith, after Massud had succeeded to the throne of Ghazana.

Muhammad has also been referred to as Ibn I Suri,

It was also the last stronghold of an ancient religion professed by the inhabitants when all their neighbors had become Muhammadan. Mahmud of Ghazni defeated the prince of Ghor Ibn –I-Suri, and made him prisoner in a severely-contested engagement in the valley of Ahingaran. Ibn-I-Suri is called a Buddhist by the author, who has recorded his overthrow; it does not follow that he was one by religion or by race, but merely that he was not Muhammadan.

### Chapter 10

# First and Second Battle of Tarain

The **First Battle of Tarain** was fought in 1191 between the Ghurids against the Chahamanas and their allies, near Tarain (modern Taraori in Haryana, India). The Chahamana king Prithiviraj Chauhan defeated the Ghurid king Mu'izz al-Din, who avenged this defeat at the Second Battle of Tarain a year later.

### **Sources**

The contemporary sources for the battle include *Tajul-Ma'asir* of Hasan Nizami (on the Ghurid side) and Jayanaka's *Prithviraja Vijaya* (on the Chahamana side). Later sources for the battle include the following Persian-language chronicles:

- Minhaj-i-Siraj's Tabaqat-i Nasiri (1260 CE)
- Abdul Malik Isami's Futuh-us-Salatin (c. 1350)
- Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi's *Tarikh-I-Mubarakshahi* (1434 CE)
- Nizam al-Din Ahmad's *Tabaqat-i Akbari* (1593-1594 CE)
- `Abd al-Qadir Bada'uni's *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (c. 1590s CE)
- Firishta's Tarikh-i Firishta (early 17th century)

These chroniclers call Prithviraj by various names including "Rae Kolah Pithorā" (Minhaj), "Pithor Rai" (Sirhindi), and "Pithow Ray" (Firishta). They call Prithviraj's commander-inchief Govind Rai as "Gobind Rae" (Minhaj); "Gobind Rai"

(Sirhindi); Khand, Khanda, or Khandi (Nizam al-Din and Bada'uni); and Chawund Ray (Firishta). The later sources written in Indic languages include *Hammira Mahakavya* and *Prithviraj Raso*.

# **Background**

Mu'izz ad-Din captured Multan in 1175, and in 1178, unsuccessfully invaded the Chaulukya Kingdom in present-day Gujarat and northern Rajasthan. Subsequently, the Ghurids defeated the Ghaznavids, and conquered Lahore in 1186.

Mu'izz ad-Din sent his envoy - the Chief Judge Qiwam-ul Mulk Ruknud Din Hamza - to the court of Prithviraj, to persuade the Indian king to come to a peaceful agreement.

Tajul-Ma'asir, a chronicle by the Muslim writer Hasan Nizami, describes the envoy as a "prominent dignitary", who conveyed Mu'izz ad-Din's message to Prithviraj "in a refined and graceful manner", using "elegant language".

The Chahamana-sponsored text *Prithviraja Vijaya*, which describes Mu'izz ad-Din as an "evil" beef-eating "demon", portrays the envoy as an extremely ugly person whose "ghastly white" complexion made him appear to be suffering from a skin disease, and whose speech was like "the cry of wild birds".

Prithviraj refused to agree to the Ghurid envoy's terms, which according to Hasan Nizami, included converting to Islam and accepting the Ghurid suzerainty. Mu'izz ad-Din then decided to invade the Chahamana kingdom.

The Ghurid campaign that led to the first battle of Tarain may have started in 1190, but the actual battle was most probably fought in the winter of 1191 CE.

## The battle

Sometime before 1191, Mu'izz ad-Din's army captured the Tabarhindah fort (probably present-day Bathinda), which was presumably under Chahamana control. According to Sirhindi, sometime in 1191 (Hijri year 587), Prithviraj marched against the Ghurid army with infantry, cavalry, and an elephant force. Mu'izz ad-Din was about to leave Tabarhindah, when he received the news of Prithviraj's approach; he then marched against Prithviraj, and the two armies met at Tarain.

Prithviraj was accompanied by a number of feudatory rulers, whom Minhaj describes as "the whole of the Ranas of Hind". These rulers included Govind Rai, the ruler of Delhi. Sirhindi states that Govind Rai, seated on an elephant, was at the frontline, suggesting that he was the commander-in-chief of Prithviraj's army. Sirhindi and later chroniclers, such as Nizam al-Din and Bada'uni, describe Govind Rai as a brother of Prithviraj. Firishta also describes Prithviraj and Govind Rai as brothers, stating that the two men marched against the Ghurids in alliance with other Indian rulers. Firishta portrays Govind Rai as someone who was almost equally as powerful as Prithviraj, presumably because Govind Rai was the ruler of Delhi, which had become politically important by Firishta's time.

The Ghurid cavalry initiated the battle by launching arrows at the enemy center. The Chahamana forces counter-attacked from three sides and dominated the battle, pressuring the Ghurid army into a withdrawal.

According to Sirhindi, the Ghurid troops suffered reverses despite having fought bravely: when Mu'izz ad-Din saw this, he charged against Govind Rai. Minhaj states that Mu'izz ad-Din, who was riding a horse, attacked Govind Rai with a lance, hitting his mouth and breaking two of his teeth. Govind Rai retaliated with a javelin, severely wounding Mu'izz ad-Din's upper arm.

According to Minhaj, Mu'izz ad-Din would have died or been captured, had a young soldier not led his horse to safety. After his departure from the battlefield, the Ghurid troops were disheartened and defeated.

Mu'izz ad-Din left for Ghazni, leaving behind a garrison at Tabarhindah. Prithviraj besieged the fort, and captured it sometime before the second battle of Tarain. He did not pursue the Ghurid army, either not wanting to invade hostile territory or misjudging Mu'izz ad-Din's ambition.

# **Second Battle of Tarain**

The **Second Battle of Tarain** was fought in 1192 by the Ghurids against the Chahamanas and their allies, near Tarain (modern Taraori in Haryana, India). The Ghurid king Mu'izz al-Din Muhammad Ghori defeated the Chahamana king Prithiviraj Chauhan thus avenging his earlier defeat at the First Battle of Tarain.

# **Background**

Prithviraj Chauhan's forces had defeated the Ghurids at the First Battle of Tarain in 1191. The Ghurid king Mu'izz al-Din, who was seriously injured in the battle, returned to Ghazni, and made preparations to avenge his defeat.

Historians generally date the second battle of Tarain to 1192, although there is a possibility that it happened in late 1191.

## Size of the forces

According to the 16th-17th century writer Firishta, the battle, "the Chauhan army consisted of 3,000 elephants, 300,000 cavalry and infantry", which is considered an exaggeration by modern historians.

According to Satish Chandra the figures were exaggerated in order to "emphasise the challenge faced by Muizzuddin and the scale of his victory". Kaushik Roy similarly notes that Muslim chroniclers regularly exaggerated Hindu military strength to glorify the Muslim kings, and 300,000 was probably the theoretical number that could potentially be mobilized by all the Rajput kingdoms at the time.

According to Minhaj-i-Siraj, Mu'izz al-Din brought 120,000 fully armored men to battle, He personally commanded an elite cavalry force of 40,000 men. According to historian Kaushik Roy, while the real strength of the armies is not certain, it can be speculated that Prithviraj's army was numerically superior.

# **Battle**

The battle occurred in the same field as the first one. Knowing the Chahamana forces were well-disciplined, the Ghurids did not want to engage in melee combat with them. Instead the Ghurids army was formed into five units, and four units were sent to attack the enemy flanks and rear.

According to Minhaj, Mu'izz ad-Din directed a light cavalry force of 10,000 mounted archers, divided into four divisions, to surround the Chahamana forces on the four sides.

He instructed these soldiers not to engage in combat when the enemy advanced to attack, and instead feign retreat in order to exhaust the Chahamana elephants, horses, and infantry.

In hopes of causing a break in the enemy lines, Mu'izz al-Din ordered his fifth unit to feign retreat. The Chahamana forces charged the fleeing Ghurid unit, as the Ghurids expected. The Ghurids then sent a fresh cavalry unit of 12,000 and they managed to throw back the enemy advance.

The remaining Ghurid forces then attacked and the Chahamana troops fled in panic. According to Minhaj, Mu'izz ad-Din's strategy "exhausted and wearied the unbelievers", ultimately resulting in a "victory to Islam".

# **Aftermath**

Minhaj states that Prithviraj ("Rae Pithora") dismounted from his elephant, and fled from the battlefield on a horse. He was, however, captured in the neighbourhood of Sursuti, and later "dispatched to hell". Most medieval sources state that Prithviraj was taken to the Chahamana capital Ajmer, where Muhammad planned to reinstate him as a Ghurid vassal. Sometime later, Prithviraj rebelled against Muhammad, and was killed for 'treason'.

The Ghurid forces subjugated the entire Chahamana territory of "Siwalikh" (or Sawalakh, that is, Sapadalaksha). The Ghurids then appointed his son Govindaraja IV on the throne of Ajmer as their vassal.

Prithviraj's younger brother Hariraja dethroned Govindaraja, and recaptured a part of his ancestral kingdom, but was later defeated by the Ghurid general Qutb al-Din Aibak.

The Ghurids subsequently defeated another powerful king - Jayachandra of Gahadavala dynasty - at the Battle of Chandawar, and conquered parts of northern India as far as Bengal.

# **Battle of Chandawar**

The **Battle of Chandawar** (1193 or 1194) was fought between Mohammad Ghori and Jaichand of Kannauj of the Gahadavala dynasty. It took place at Chandawar (modern Chandawal near Ferozabad), on the Yamuna River close to Agra., giving Ghori control of much of northern India. The battle was hotly contested.

The Kannauj army expected Ghori to attack the capital next, but he chose to target the defenseless city of Varanasi, a famous Hindu pilgrim center. Turkic garrisons were placed in Varanasi, Asni, and other wealthy towns. However, Jayachandra's son, Harishchandra, was able to expel them, recovering Kanauj, Jaunpur and Mirzapur in AD 1197. Kannauj seems to have stayed independent until Iltumish conquered it.

### Chapter 11

# Prithviraj Chauhan

Prithviraja III (IAST: Pathvī-rāja; reign. c. 1178-1192 CE), popularly known as Prithviraj Chauhan or Rai Pithora was a Rajput king from the Chahamana (Chauhan) dynasty. He ruled Sapadalaksha, the traditional Chahamana territory, in present-day north-western India. He controlled much of the present-day Rajasthan, Haryana, and Delhi; and some parts of Punjab, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. His capital was located at Ajayameru (modern Ajmer).

Early in his career, Prithviraj achieved military successes against several neighbouring Hindu kingdoms, most notably against the Chandela king Paramardi. He also repulsed the early invasions by Muhammad of Ghor, a ruler of the Muslim Ghurid dynasty.

However, in 1192 CE, the Ghurids defeated Prithviraj at the Second battle of Tarain, and executed him shortly after. His defeat at Tarain is seen as a landmark event in the Islamic conquest of India, and has been described in several semilegendary accounts. The most popular of these accounts is *Prithviraj Raso*, which presents him as a Rajput.

## Sources of information

The extant inscriptions from Prithviraj's reign are few in number and were not issued by the king himself. Much of the information about him comes from the medieval legendary chronicles. Besides the Muslim accounts of Battles of Tarain.

he has been mentioned in several medieval *kavyas* (epic poems) by Hindu and Jain authors. These include *Prithviraja Vijaya*, *Hammira Mahakavya* and *Prithviraj Raso*.

These texts contain eulogistic descriptions, and are, therefore, not entirely reliable. *Prithviraja Vijaya* is the only surviving literary text from the reign of Prithviraj. *Prithviraj Raso*, which popularized Prithviraj as a great king, is purported to be written by his court poet Chand Bardai. However, it contains many exaggerated accounts, much of which is not useful for the purposes of history.

Other chronicles and texts that mention Prithviraj include Prabandha-Chintamani, Prabandha Kosha and Prithviraja Prabandha. These were composed centuries after his death, and contain exaggerations and anachronistic anecdotes. Prithviraj has also been mentioned in Kharatara-Gachchha-Pattavali, a Sanskrit text containing biographies of the Kharatara Jain monks.

While the work was completed in 1336 CE, the part that mentions Prithviraj was written around 1250 CE. The *Alha-Khanda* (or *Alha Raso*) of the Chandela poet Jaganika also provides an exaggerated account of Prithviraj's war against the Chandelas.

Some other Indian texts also mention Prithviraj but do not provide much information of historical value. For example, the Sanskrit poem anthology *Sharngadhara-paddhati* (1363) contains a verse praising him, and the *Kanhadade Prabandha* (1455) mentions him as an earlier incarnation of the Jalore Chahamana king Viramade.

# Early life

Prithviraj was born to the Chahamana king Someshvara and queen Karpuradevi (a Kalachuri princess). Both Prithviraj and his younger brother Hariraja were born in Gujarat, where their father Someshvara was brought up at the Chaulukya court by maternal relatives. According to Prithviraja his Prithviraj was born on the 12th day of the Jyeshtha month. The text does not mention the year of his birth, but provides some of the astrological planetary positions at the time of his birth, calling them auspicious. Based on these positions and assuming certain other planetary positions, Dasharatha Sharma calculated the year of Prithviraj's birth as 1166 CE (1223 VS).

The medieval biographies of Prithviraj suggest that he was educated well. The *Prithviraja Vijaya* states that he mastered 6 languages; the *Prithviraj Raso* claims that he learned 14 languages, which appears to be an exaggeration. The *Raso* goes on to claim that he became well-versed in a number of subjects, including history, mathematics, medicine, military, painting, philosophy (mimamsa), and theology. Both the texts state that he was particularly proficient in archery.

# Early reign

Prithviraj moved from Gujarat to Ajmer, when his father Someshvara was crowned the Chahamana king after the death of Prithviraja II. Someshvara died in 1177 CE (1234 VS), when Prithviraj was around 11 years old. The last inscription from Someshvara's reign and the first inscription from Prithviraj's

reign are both dated to this year. Prithviraj, who was a minor at the time, ascended the throne with his mother as the regent. The *Hammira Mahakavya* claims that Someshvara himself installed Prithviraj on the throne, and then retired to the forest. However, this is doubtful.

During his early years as the king, Prithviraj's mother managed the administration, assisted by a regency council.

Kadambavasa served as the chief minister of the kingdom during this period. He is also known as Kaimasa, Kaimash or Kaimbasa in the folk legends, which describe him as an able administrator and soldier devoted to the young king. Prithviraja Vijaya states that he was responsible for all the military victories during the early years of Prithviraj's reign. According to two different legends, Kadambavasa was later killed by Prithviraj. The Prithviraja-Raso claims that Prithviraj killed the minister after finding him in the apartment of the favourite concubine Karnati. Prithviraja-Prabandha claims that a man named Pratapa-Simha conspired against the minister, and convinced Prithviraj that the minister was responsible for the repeated Muslim invasions. Both these claims appear to be historically inaccurate, as the much more historically reliable Prithviraja Vijaya does not mention any such incident.

Bhuvanaikamalla, the paternal uncle of Prithviraj's mother, was another important minister during this time. According to *Prithviraja Vijaya*, he was a valiant general who served Prithviraj as Garuda serves Vishnu. The text also states that he was "proficient in the art of subduing *nāgas*". According to the 15th-century historian Jonaraja, "naga" here refers to

elephants. However, Har Bilas Sarda interpreted Naga as the name of a tribe, and theorized that Bhuvanaikamalla defeated this tribe.

According to historian Dasharatha Sharma, Prithviraj assumed actual control of the administration in 1180 CE (1237 VS).

## Conflicts with other Indian rulers

### Nagarjuna

The first military achievement of Prithviraj was his suppression of a revolt by his cousin Nagarjuna, and recapture of Gudapura (IAST: Guapura; possibly modern Gurgaon). Nagarjuna was a son of Prithviraj's uncle Vigraharaja IV, and the struggle for the Chahamana throne had led to a rivalry between the two branches of the family.

According to *Prithviraja Vijaya*, Nagarjuna rebelled against Prithviraj's authority and occupied the fort of Gudapura. Prithviraj besieged Gudapura with a large army comprising infantry, camels, elephants and horses. Nagarjuna fled the fort, but Devabhata (possibly his general) continued to offer resistance. Ultimately, Prithviraj's army emerged victorious, and captured the wife, mother, and followers of Nagarjuna. According to *Prithviraja Vijaya*, a garland made of the defeated soldiers' heads was hung across the Ajmer fort gate.

#### **Bhadanakas**

Two verses of Kharatara-Gachchha-Pattavali mention the victory of Prithviraj over the Bhadanakas, while describing a

debate between two Jain monks. This victory can be dated to sometime before 1182 CE, when the said debate took place.

According to Cynthia Talbot, the Bhadanakas were an obscure dynasty who controlled the area around Bayana. According to Dasharatha Sharma, the Bhadanaka territory comprised the area around present-day Bhiwani, Rewari and Alwar.

### Chandelas of Jejakabhukti

1182-83 CE (1239 VS) Madanpur inscriptions from The Prithviraj's reign claim that he "laid to waste" Jejakabhukti (present-day Bundelkhand), which was ruled by the Chandela king Paramardi. Prithviraj's invasion of the Chandela territory is also described in the later folk legends, such as Prithviraj Raso, Paramal Raso, and Alha-Raso. Other texts such as Sarangadhara Paddhati and Prabandha Chintamani also mention Prithviraj's attack on Paramardi. The Kharatara-Gachchha-Pattavali mentions that Prithviraj had embarked upon a digvijaya (conquest of all the regions). This appears to reference to the start of Prithviraj's Jejakabhukti.

The legendary account of Prithviraj's campaign against the Chandelas goes like this: Prithviraj was returning to Delhi after marrying the daughter of Padamsen, when his contingent was attacked by the "Turkic" forces (Ghurids). His army repulsed the attacks but suffered serious casualties in the process. Amid this chaos, the Chahamana soldiers lost their way and unknowingly encamped in the Chandela capital Mahoba. They killed the Chandela royal gardener for objecting to their presence, which led to a skirmish between the two

sides. The Chandela king Paramardi asked his general Udal to attack Prithviraj's camp, but Udal advised against this move. Paramardi's brother-in-law Mahil Parihar ruled modern-day Orai; he harboured ill-will against Paramardi and instigated the king to go ahead with the attack. Prithviraj defeated Udal's contingent and then left for Delhi. Subsequently, unhappy with Mahil's scheming, Udal and his brother Alha left the Chandela court. They started serving Jaichand, the Gahadavala ruler of Kannauj. Mahil then secretly informed Prithviraj that Chandela kingdom had become weak in absence of its strongest generals. Prithviraj invaded the Chandela kingdom and besieged Sirsagarh, which was held by Udal's cousin Malkhan.

After failing to win over Malkhan through peaceful methods and losing eight generals, Prithviraj captured the fort. The Chandelas then appealed for a truce, and used this time to recall Alha and Udal from Kannauj. In support of the Chandelas, Jaichand dispatched an army led by his best generals, including two of his own sons. The combined Chandela-Gahadavala army attacked Prithviraj's camp, but was defeated. After his victory, Prithviraj sacked Mahoba. He then dispatched his general Chavand Rai to Kalinjar Fort to capture Paramardi. According to the various legends, Paramardi either died or retired shortly after the attack. Prithviraj returned to Delhi after appointing Pajjun Rai as the governor of Mahoba. Later, Paramardi's son recaptured Mahoba.

The exact historicity of this legendary narrative is debatable. The Madanpur inscriptions establish that Prithviraj sacked Mahoba, but historical evidence suggests that his occupation of Chandela territory is either a fabrication by the bards, or did not last long. It is known that Paramardi did not die or

retire immediately after the Chauhan victory; in fact, he continued ruling as a sovereign nearly a decade Prithviraj's death. Cynthia Talbot asserts that Prithviraj only raided Jejakabhukti, and Paramardi regained control of his kingdom soon after his departure from Mahoba. Talbot continues that Prithviraj was not able to annex the Chandela territory to his kingdom. Conversely, according to R.B. Singh, it is probable that some part of Chandela territory was annexed by Chahmanas albeit for a short time.

### Chaulukyas of Gujarat

The *Kharatara-Gachchha-Pattavali* mentions a peace treaty between Prithviraj, and Bhima II, the Chaulukya (Solanki) king of Gujarat. This implies that the two kings were previously at war. This war can be dated to sometime before 1187 CE (1244 VS). The Veraval inscription states that Bhima's prime minister Jagaddeva Pratihara was "the moon to the lotus-like queens of Prithviraja" (a reference to the belief that the moon-rise causes a day-blooming lotus to close its petals). Since Bhima was a minor at the time, it appears that Jagaddeva led the campaign on the Chaulukya side.

The historically unreliable *Prithviraj Raso* provides some details about the Chahamana-Chaulukya struggle. According to it, both Prithviraj and Bhima wanted to marry Ichchhini, the Paramara princess of Abu. Prithviraj's marriage to her led to a rivalry between the two kings. Historian G. H. Ojha dismisses this legend as fiction, because it states that Ichchhini was a daughter of Salakha, while Dharavarsha was the Paramara ruler of Abu at the time. Historian R. B. Singh, on the other hand, believes that Salakha was the head of another Paramara

branch at Abu. The Raso also mentions that Prithviraj's uncle killed of uncle Kanhadeva had seven sons Bhima's Sarangadeva. To avenge these murders, Bhima invaded the Chahamana kingdom and killed Prithviraj's father Someshvara, capturing Nagor in the process. Prithviraj re-captured Nagor, and defeated and killed Bhima. This is known to be historically false, as the reign of Bhima II lasted nearly half a century after Prithviraj's death. Similarly, historical evidence suggests Bhima II was a child at the time of Someshvara's death, and therefore, could not have killed him.

Despite these discrepancies, there is some evidence of a battle between the Chahamanas and the Chaulukyas at Nagor. Two found at Charlu village inscriptions near Bikaner commemorate the death of Mohil soldiers at the battle of Nagor in 1184 CE (1241 VS). The Mohils are a branch of the (the Chahamanas). Chauhans and it is possible the inscriptions refer to the battle described in Prithviraj Raso.

Sometime before 1187 CE, Jagaddeva Pratihara signed a peace treaty with Prithviraj. According to Kharatara-Gachchha-Pattavali, a chief named Abhayada once sought Jagaddeva's permission to attack and rob the wealthy visitors from Sapadalaksha country (the Chahamana territory). In response, Jagaddeva told Abhayada that he had concluded a treaty with Prithviraj with much difficulty. Jaggadeva then threatened to have Abhayada sewn in a donkey's belly if he harassed the Sapadalaksha. Dasharatha people of Historian Sharma theorizes that the Chahamana-Chaulukya conflict ended with some advantage for Prithviraj, as Jagaddeva appears to have been very anxious to preserve the treaty.

#### Paramaras of Abu

The area around Mount Abu was ruled by the Chandravati Paramara ruler Dharavarsha, who was a Chaulukya feudatory. *Partha-Parakrama-Vyayoga*, a text written by his younger brother Prahaladana, describes Prithviraj's night attack on Abu. This attack, according to the text, was a failure for the Chahamanas. It probably happened during the Gujarat campaign of Prithviraj.

### Gahadavalas of Kannauj

The Gahadavala kingdom, centered around Kannauj and headed by another powerful king Jayachandra, was located to the east of the Chahamana kingdom. According to a legend mentioned in *Prithviraj Raso*, Prithviraj eloped with Jayachandra's daughter Samyogita, leading to a rivalry between the two kings.

The legend goes like this: King Jaichand (Jayachandra) of Kannauj decided to conduct a Rajasuya ceremony to proclaim his supremacy. Prithviraj refused to participate in this ceremony, and thus, refused to acknowledge Jaichand as the supreme king. Jaichand's daughter Samyogita fell in love with Prithviraj after hearing about his heroic exploits, and declared that she would marry only him. Jaichand arranged a swayamvara (husband-selection) ceremony for his daughter, but did not invite Prithviraj. Nevertheless, Prithviraj marched to Kannauj with a hundred warriors and eloped with Samyogita. Two-thirds of his warriors sacrificed their life in fight against the Gahadavala army, allowing him to escape to Delhi with Samyogita. In Delhi, Prithviraj became infatuated

with his new wife, and started spending most of his time with her. He started ignoring the state affairs, which ultimately led to his defeat against Muhammad of Ghor.

This legend is also mentioned in Abu'l-Fazl's Ain-i-Akbari and Chandrashekhara's Surjana-Charita (which the names "Kantimati"). Gahadavala princess as Prithviraja mentions that Prithviraj fell in love with the incarnation of an apsara Tilottama, although he had never seen this woman and was already married to other women. According to historian Dasharatha Sharma, this is probably a reference to Samyogita. However, this legend is not mentioned in other historical sources such as Prithviraja-Prabandha, Prabandha-Chintamani, Prabandha-Kosha and Hammira-Mahakavya. The Gahadavala records are also silent about this event, including the supposed Rajasuya performance by Jayachandra.

According to Dasharatha Sharma and R. B. Singh, there might be some historical truth in this legend, as it is mentioned in three different sources. All three sources place the event sometime before Prithviraj's final confrontation with Muhammad of Ghor in 1192 CE.

#### Other rulers

The *Prithviraj Raso* mentions that Prithviraj defeated Nahar Rai of Mandovara and the Mughal chief Mudgala Rai, but these stories appear to be pure fiction. No historical records suggest existence of these persons.

The construction of the now-ruined Qila Rai Pithora fort in Delhi is attributed to Prithviraj. According to *Prithviraj Raso*, Delhi's ruler Anangpal Tomar gave the city to his son-in-law

Prithviraj, and was defeated when he wanted it back. This is historically inaccurate, as Delhi was annexed to the Chahamana territory by Prithviraj's uncle Vigraharaja IV. In addition, historical evidence suggests that Anangpal Tomar died before the birth of Prithviraj. The claim about his daughter's marriage to Prithviraj appears to have been concocted at a later date.

## War with the Ghurids

Prithviraj's predecessors had faced multiple raids from the Muslim dynasties that had captured the north-western areas of the Indian subcontinent by the 12th century. By the late 12th century, the Ghazna-based Ghurid dynasty controlled the territory to the west of the Chahamana kingdom. While Prithviraj was still a child, in 1175 CE, the Ghurid ruler Muhammad of Ghor crossed the Indus River and captured Multan. In 1178 CE, he invaded Gujarat, which was ruled by the Chaulukyas (Solankis).

During its march to Gujarat, the Ghurid army appears to have passed through the western frontier of the Chahamana kingdom, as evident by the destruction of several temples and sacking of the Bhati-ruled Lodhruva. The Prithviraja Vijaya mentions that the activities of the Ghurid army were like Rahu Chahamana kingdom (in Hindu mythology, Rahu swallows the Sun, causing a solar eclipse). However, it does not mention any military engagement between the kingdoms. On its way to Gujarat, the Ghurid army besieged the Naddula (Nadol) fort, which was controlled by the Chahamanas of Naddula. Prithviraj's chief minister Kadambavasa advised him not to offer any assistance to the rivals of the Ghurids,

and to stay away from this conflict. The Chahamanas did not immediately face a Ghurid invasion, because the Chaulukyas of Gujarat defeated Muhammad at the Battle of Kasahrada in 1178 CE, forcing the Ghurids to retreat.

Over the next few years, Muhammad of Ghor consolidated his power in the territory to the west of the Chahamanas, conquering Peshawar, Sindh, and Punjab. He shifted his base from Ghazna to Punjab, and made attempts to expand his empire eastwards, which brought him into conflict with Prithviraj.

Prithviraja Vijaya mentions that Muhammad of Ghor sent an ambassador to Prithviraj, but does not provide any details. Hasan Nizami's Taj-ul-Maasir (13th century CE) states that Muhammad sent his chief judge Qiwam-ul Mulk Ruknud Din Hamza to Prithviraj's court. The envoy tried to convince Prithviraj to "abandon belligerence and pursue the path of rectitude", but was unsuccessful. As a result, Muhammad decided to wage a war against Prithviraj.

The medieval Muslim writers mention only one or two battles between the two rulers. The *Tabaqat-i Nasiri* and *Tarikh-i-Firishta* mention the two Battles of Tarain. *Jami-ul-Hikaya* and *Taj-ul-Maasir* mention only the second battle of Tarain, in which Prithviraj was defeated. However, the Hindu and Jain writers state that Prithviraj defeated Muhammad multiple times before being killed:

• The Hammira Mahakavya claims that after defeating Muhammad for the first time, Prithviraj forced him to apologize to the princes whose territories he had ransacked, before letting him go. Muhammad

invaded the Chahamana kingdom seven more times, but was defeated each time. However, his ninth invasion succeeded.

- The *Prithviraja Prabandha* states that the two kings fought 8 battles; Prithviraj defeated and captured the Ghurid king in the first seven of these, but released him unharmed each time.
- The *Prabandha Kosha* claims that Prithviraj captured Muhammad 20 times, but was himself imprisoned during the 21st battle. The *Surjana Charita* and *Prithviraj Raso* also enumerate 21 battles.
- The *Prabandha Chintamani* gives the number of battles between Muhammad and Prithviraj as 22. It also states that Prithviraj's army defeated the preceding enemy king in a previous battle, in which a subordinate of Prithviraj heroically sacrificed himself.

While these accounts seem to exaggerate the number, it is possible that more than two engagements took place between the Ghurids and the Chahamanas during Prithviraj's reign. The early victories mentioned by the Hindu and Jain writers probably refer to Prithviraj's successful repulsion of raids by Ghurid generals.

#### First battle of Tarain

During 1190–1191 CE, Muhammad of Ghor invaded the Chahamana territory, and captured Tabarhindah or Tabar-e-Hind (identified with Bathinda). He placed it under the charge of Zia-ud-din, the Qazi of Tulak, supported by 1200 horsemen. When Prithviraj learned about this, marched towards

Tabarhindah with his feudatories, including Govindaraja of Delhi. According to the 16th-century Muslim historian Firishta, his force comprised 200,000 horses and 3,000 elephants.

Muhammad's original plan was to return to his base after conquering Tabarhindah, but when he heard about Prithviraj's march, he decided to put up a fight. He set out with an army, and encountered Prithviraj's forces at Tarain. In the ensuing battle, Prithviraj's army decisively defeated the Ghurids. Muhammad of Ghor was injured and forced to retreat.

Prithviraj did not pursue the retreating Ghurid army, not wanting to invade hostile territory or misjudge Ghori's ambition. He only besieged the Ghurid garrison at Tabarhindah, which surrendered after 13 months of siege.

#### Second battle of Tarain

Prithviraj seems to have treated the first battle of Tarain as merely a frontier fight. This view is strengthened by the fact that he made little preparations for any future clash with Muhammad of Ghor. According to *Prithviraj Raso*, during the period preceding his final confrontation with the Ghurids, he neglected the affairs of the state and spent time in merrymaking.

Meanwhile, Muhammad of Ghor returned to Ghazna, and made preparations to avenge his defeat. According to *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, he gathered a well-equipped army of 120,000 select Afghan, Tajik and Turkic horsemen over the next few months. He then marched towards the Chahamana kingdom via Multan and Lahore, aided by Vijayaraja of Jammu.

Prithviraj had been left without any allies as a result of his wars against the neighbouring Hindu kings. Nevertheless, he managed to gather a large army to counter the Ghurids. The 16th century Muslim historian Firishta estimated the strength of Prithviraj's army as 300,000 horses and 3,000 elephants, in addition to a large infantry. This is most likely a gross exaggeration, aimed at emphasizing the scale of the Ghurid victory. Prithviraj's camp, which comprised 150 feudatory chiefs, wrote a letter to Muhammad of Ghor, promising him no harm if he decided to return to his own country. Muhammad insisted that he needed time to confer his Ghazna-based brother Ghiyath al-Din. According to Firishta, he agreed to a truce until he received an answer from his brother. However, he planned an attack against the Chahamanas.

According to Jawami ul-Hikayat, Muhammad assigned a few men to keep the fires in his camp burning at night, while he marched off in another direction with the rest of his army. This gave the Chahamanas an impression that the Ghurid army was still encamped, observing the truce. After reaching several miles away, Muhammad formed four divisions, with 10,000 archers each. He kept the rest of his army in reserve. He ordered the four divisions to launch an attack on the Chahamana camp, and then pretend a retreat.

At dawn, the four divisions of the Ghurid army attacked the Chahamana camp, while Prithviraj was still asleep. After a brief fight, the Ghurid divisions pretended to retreat in accordance with Muhammad's strategy. Prithviraj was thus lured into chasing them, and by the afternoon, the Chahamana army was exhausted as a result of this pursuit. At this point, Muhammad led his reserve force and attacked the

Chahamanas, decisively defeating them. According to Taj-ul-Maasir, Prithviraj's camp lost 100,000 men (including Govindaraja of Delhi) in this debacle. Prithviraj himself tried to escape on a horse, but was pursued and caught near the modern Sirsa). Sarasvati fort (possibly Subsequently, Muhammad of Ghor captured Ajmer after killing several thousand defenders, enslaved many more, and destroyed the city's temples.

### Jain accounts of Prithviraj's downfall

Prabandha Chintamani by the 14th-century Jain scholar Merutunga states that Prithviraj cut off the ears of one of his ministers, who guided the Ghurid invaders to his camp as revenge. Prithviraj was in deep sleep after a day of religious fasting, and therefore, was easily captured.

Hammira Mahakavya by the 15th-century Jain scholar Nayachandra Suri states that after his initial defeat, the Ghurid king raised a fresh army with the support of a neighboring king, and marched to Delhi. Before the battle, he bribed Prithviraj's master of horses and musicians with gold coins. The master of horses had trained Prithviraj's horse to prance to drumbeats. The Ghurids attacked the Chahamana camp just before dawn, when Prithviraj was sleeping. Prithviraj tried to escape on his horse, but his musicians sounded the drums. The horse started prancing, and the invaders easily captured Prithviraj.

another text, Prithviraja Prabandha, According to Jain Prithviraj's minister Kaimbasa and his spear-bearer good terms. Kaimbasa Pratapasimha were not on

complained to king against Pratapasimha, who convinced the king that Kaimbasa was aiding the Ghurids. An angry Prithviraj attempted to kill Kaimbasa with an arrow one night, but ended up killing another man. When his bard Chand Baliddika admonished him, the king dismissed both the bard and the minister.

At the time of Ghurid invasion of Delhi, Prithviraj had been sleeping for ten days. When the Ghurids came close, his sister woke him up: Prithviraj tried to flee on a horse, but Kaimbasa helped the Ghurids capture him by telling them about a certain sound that caused his horse to prance.

#### Death

Most medieval sources state that Prithviraj was taken to the Chahamana capital Ajmer, where Muhammad planned to reinstate him as a Ghurid vassal. Sometime later, Prithviraj rebelled against Muhammad, and was killed for treason. This is corroborated by numismatic evidence: some 'horse-and-bullman'-style coins bearing names of both Prithviraj and "Muhammad bin Sam" were issued from the Delhi mint, although another possibility is that the Ghurids initially used Chahamana-style coinage to ensure greater acceptance of their own coinage in the former Chahamana territory. After Prithviraj's death, Muhammad installed the Chahamana prince Govindaraja on the throne of Ajmer, which further supports this theory.

The various sources differ on the exact circumstances:

• The contemporary Muslim historian Hasan Nizami states that Prithviraj was caught conspiring against

Muhammad, prompting the Ghurid king to order his beheading. Nizami does not describe the nature of this conspiracy.

- According to Prabandha Chintamani (c. 1304), Muhammad took him to Ajmer, intending to let him rule as a vassal. However, in Ajmer, he saw paintings depicting Muslims being killed by pigs in the Chahamana gallery. Enraged, he beheaded Prithviraj with an axe.
- Hammira Mahakavya states that Prithviraj refused to eat food after being captured. The noblemen of the Ghurid king suggested that he release Prithviraj, just like the Chahamana king had done to him in the past. But Muhammad ignored their advice, and Prithviraj died in captivity.
- Prithviraja-Prabandha (dated 15th century or earlier) states the Ghurids placed Prithviraj in gold chains and brought him to Delhi. Prithviraj reproached the Ghurid king for not following his example releasing the captured enemy. Some days later, while imprisoned in Ajmer, Prithviraj asked his ex-minister Kaimbasa for his bow-and-arrows to kill Muhammad in the court, which was held in front of the house where he was imprisoned. The treacherous minister the bow-and-arrows, supplied him but secretly informed Muhammad of his plan. As a result, Muhammad did not sit at his usual place, and instead kept a metal statue there. Prithviraj fired an arrow at the statue, breaking it into two. As a punishment, Muhammad had him cast into a pit and stoned to death.

The 13th-century Persian historian Minhaj-i-Siraj states that Prithviraj was "sent to hell" after being captured. The 16th-century historian Firishta also supports this account. According to historian Satish Chandra, Minhaj's account suggests that Prithviraj was executed immediately after his defeat, but R. B. Singh believes that no such conclusion can be drawn from Minhaj's writings. *Viruddha-Vidhi Vidhvansa* by the Hindu writer Lakshmidhara claims that Prithviraj was killed on the battlefield.

The *Prithviraj Raso* claims that Prithviraj was taken to Ghazna as a prisoner, and blinded. On hearing this, the poet Chand Bardai traveled to Ghazna and tricked Muhammad of Ghor into watching an archery performance by the blind Prithviraj. During this performance, Prithviraj shot the arrow in the direction of Muhammad's voice and killed him. Shortly after, Prithviraj and Chand Bardai killed each other. This is a fictional narrative, not supported by historical evidence: Muhammad of Ghor continued to rule for more than a decade after Prithviraj's death.

After Prithviraj's death, the Ghurids appointed his Govindaraja on the throne of Ajmer as their vassal. In 1192 dethroned CE, Prithviraj's younger brother Hariraja Govindaraja, and recaptured a part of his ancestral kingdom. Govindaraja moved to Ranastambhapura (modern Ranthambore), where he established a new Chahamana branch of vassal rulers. Hariraja was later defeated by the Ghurid general Qutb al-Din Aibak.

# **Cultural activities**

Prithviraj had a dedicated ministry for pandits (scholars) and poets, which was under the charge of Padmanabha. His court had a number of poets and scholars, including:

- Jayanaka, a poet-historian who wrote *Prithviraja* Vijaya
- Vidyapati Gauda
- Vagisvara Janardana
- Vishvarupa, a poet
- Prithvibhata, a royal bard (identified as Chand Bardai by some scholars)

Kharatara-Gachchha-Pattavali mentions a debate that took place between the Jain monks Jinapati Suri and Padmaprabha at Naranayana (modern Narena near Ajmer). Prithviraj had encamped there at the time. Jinapati was later invited to Ajmer by a rich Jain merchant. There, Prithviraj issued him a jayapatra (certificate of victory).

# Legacy

### **Inscriptions**

According to historian R. B. Singh, at its height, Prithviraj's empire extended from Sutlej river in the west to the Betwa river in the east, and from the Himalayan foothills in the north to the foot of Mount Abu in the south. Thus, it included parts of present-day Rajasthan, southern Punjab, northern Madhya Pradesh, and western Uttar Pradesh.

Only seven inscriptions dated to Prithviraj's reign are available; none of these were issued by the king himself:

- Barla or Badla inscription, 1177 CE (1234 VS)
- Phalodi inscription, 1179 CE (1236 VS): records the grants made by Prithviraj's vassal *Ranaka* Katiya.
- Madanpur inscriptions of 1182 CE (1239 VS)
- Inscription 1: Mentions that Prithviraj invaded the territory of the Chandela ruler Paramardi
- Inscription 2: Names Prithviraj's father (Someshvara) and grandfather (Arnoraja), and states that he plundered Jejakabhukti (the Chandela territory)
- Inscription 3: Contains names of Shiva (Tryambaka, Chandrashekhara, and Tripuranta).
- Udaipur Victoria Hall Museum inscription, 1187 CE (1244 VS)
- Visalpur (Bisalpur near Tonk) inscription, 1187 CE (1244 VS)

#### Characterization

The late medieval (14th and 15th centuries) Sanskrit stories about Prithviraj, present him as an unsuccessful king who was memorable only for his defeat against a foreign king. Prabandha-Chintamani and Prithviraja-Prabandha, written by Jain authors, portray him as an inept and unworthy king who was responsible for his own downfall, and whose mistreatment of his devout subordinates turned them into traitors. In contrast, the Hammira Mahakavya, also written by a Jain author, presents him as a brave man whose subordinates turned against him out of pure greed. The Hammira Mahakavya, which was probably intended to please a Chauhan

lord, retains the elements of the Jain tradition that occur in the two *Prabandha* texts, but also attempts to glorify Prithviraj who was an ancestor of the text's hero Hammira.

Prithviraj Raso, a legendary text patronized largely by the Rajput courts, portrays Prithviraj as a great hero. Prithviraj's dynasty was classified as one of the Rajput clans in the later period, including in *Prithviraj Raso*, although the "Rajput" identity did not exist during his time.

Over time, Prithviraj came to be portrayed as a patriotic Hindu warrior who fought against Muslim enemies. He is remembered as a king whose reign separated the two major epochs of Indian history. The convention of portraying Prithviraj as a Hindu king defeated as part of the Islamic conquest of India appears to have started with Hasan Nizami's *Tajul-Ma'asir* (early 13th century). Nizami presents his narrative as a description of "war with enemies of the faith" and of how "the Islamic way of life was established in the land of the Hindus." *Tajul-Ma'asir* as well as the later text *Tabaqat-i Nasiri* (c. 1260) present the Ghurid victory over Prithviraj as an important milestone leading to the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate.

The 16th century legends describe him as the ruler of India's political centre Delhi (rather than Ajmer, which was his actual capital). For example, Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari* does not associate the Chahamana dynasty with Ajmer at all. Prithviraj's association with Delhi in these legends further strengthened his status as a symbol of pre-Islamic Indian power.

Prithviraj has been described as "the last Hindu emperor" in eulogies. This designation is inaccurate, as several stronger

Hindu rulers flourished in South India after him, and even some contemporary Hindu rulers in northern India were at least as powerful as him.

Nevertheless, the 19th-century British officer James Tod repeatedly used this term to describe Prithviraj in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han*. Tod was influenced by the medieval Persian language Muslim accounts, which present Prithviraj as a major ruler and portray his defeat as a major milestone in the Islamic conquest of India. After Tod, several narratives continued to describe Prithviraj as "the last Hindu emperor".

For example, the inscriptions at the Ajmer memorial (*smarak*) to Prithviraj also honour him as "the last Hindu emperor".

# In popular culture

Memorials dedicated to Prithviraj have been constructed in Ajmer and Delhi. A number of Indian films and television series have been made on his life.

These include: Prithviraj Chouhan (1924), Prithviraj Sanyogita (1929) by Narayanrao D. Sarpotdar, Prithviraj (1931) by R. N. Vaidya, Prithviraj Sanyogita (1933), Prithviraj Samyogita (1946) by Najam Naqvi, Samrat Prithviraj Chauhan (1959) by Harsukh Jagneshwar Bhatt,

Prithviraj (2021) by Chandraprakash Dwivedi; and the Hindi television serials Main Dilli Hoon (1998–1999) and Dharti Ka Veer Yodha Prithviraj Chauhan (2006–2009). The Indian animated film Veer Yodha Prithviraj Chauhan(2008) was

released by Rakesh Prasad. Prithviraj was also one of the first historical figures to be covered in *Amar Chitra Katha* (No. 25). Many of these modern retellings depict Prithviraj as a flawless hero, and emphasize a message of Hindu national unity. The video game *Age of Empires II HD: The Forgotten* contains a five-chapter campaign titled "Prithviraj".