The Cholas
Some Enduring Issues of Statecraft, Military Matters and International Relations

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The article addresses the deficit in the indigenous, rich historical knowledge of south India. It does this by examining the military and political activities of the Cholas to understand the employment of various supplementary strategies. The article deals with the engagements and battles of the Cholas with other kingdoms of south India, and 'externally' with Sri Lanka. It begins with an exposition of various types of alliances that were an integral part of the military strategy of the time. It also seeks to historically contextualize modern diplomatic developments and explains some issues of indigenous historical knowledge of that period that are of relevance even in the twenty-first century: continued phenomenon of changing alliance system in politics; idea of India as a civilization; composition of the army; and the falsehood of the uncontested theory of the Indian defeat syndrome.

INTRODUCTION

In a diverse subcontinental country such as India, as in other regions of the world such as Europe, China and West and Central Asia, over the millennia, a number of kingdoms and empires have come and gone. What is unchanged, as a part of statecraft, is the formation of alliances to suit interests.

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What is not adequately realized is that kingdoms waged war with some powers and allied with other powers. This formation of alliances is clearly not new. The rich diplomatic and military history of south India is not as well known as possibly that of north India. There is a wide knowledge gap in the indigenous, rich historical knowledge of south India. For this reason, I take the example of south India based on the ancient and medieval Cholas, including their engagements and battles within kingdoms of south India, and 'externally' with Sri Lanka. S.N. Prasad, a reputed Indian military historian, has observed that 'military history of South India remains unexplored'.[1] This state of 'unexplored-ness' continues. Upinder Singh's account indicates that major sources of information on the political history of the time are exaggerated laudatory poems and Tamil–Brahmi inscriptions; the emblems of power being the tiger for the Cholas, bow for the Cheras, and fish for the Pandyas.[2] However, even with limited literature and source documents, it is possible to discern the idea of alliances and troop composition.

This article will first cover the alliance systems which cut across Sri Lanka and south India during the Chola period. The second aspect will be the military composition and training. In the end, I give arguments to show that some of the issues from indigenous historical knowledge of that period are relevant even today in the twenty-first century. The issues covered are: alliance system in world and regional politics; idea of India as a civilization; composition of the army; and the falsehood of the uncontested theory of the Indian defeat syndrome.

The Two Chola Periods

From the chronology of important events from 300 BC to AD 1267, as it relates to south India, the Cholas had two tenures: the first from 300 BC to AD 740—Cholas of Cholamandalam (Coromandal coast); and the second from AD 850 to AD 1267 as Imperial Cholas of Tanjore.[3]

The early historical period in south India is generally dated as third/fourth century BCE (before the common era). According to the *Kural*s,[4] the Tamils believed, in fact, that the three monarchies of the Cheras, Cholas and Pandya were of immemorial antiquity, 'dating from the times of creation'.[5] The Mauryan conquest of the south is attested by Asokan inscriptions. Asoka indicates the southern limit of his empire by mentioning its neighbours on that front as: the Cholas and Pandyas, and Satyaputra and Kerala putra, as also the extension of his influence as far as Tamraparni, the old name of Ceylon (Sri Lanka).[6] The principality

of the Cholas in the lower Kaveri valley corresponds to modern Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts of Tamil Nadu with its capital at Uraiyur. The Pandya kingdom corresponds to modern Tirunelveli, Madurai and Ramnad districts, south Travancore, and had the capital at Madurai. The Cheras on the Kerala coast had their capital at Karuvur or Vanji.[7]

POLITICAL HISTORY BETWEEN FIFTH TO TWELFTH CENTURIES AND THE COMPLEX ALLIANCE SYSTEM

The political history between fifth/sixth and twelfth centuries BCE was dominated by Pallavas, Pandyas, Cheras and Cholas (see Figure 1). K.A.

Figure 1 Major Dynasties of Peninsular India, c. 700–1300 BC

Note: Figure 1 is based on a figure in Upinder Singh, *History of Ancient and Early Medieval India: From the Stone Age to the 12th Century*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 556.

Nilakanta Sastri, an authority on history of the period, categorizes the period of 300 years from the mid-fifth century AD as a 'conflict of three empires'—the Chalukyas (of Badami), the Palavas (of Kanchi) and the Pandyas (of Madurai). The Cholas disappeared in this period in which there were mutual conflicts. What is important in his reading is that political conflict was no obstacle to cultural growth.[8]

In the next period, the Cholas rose from obscurity with conflicts with the Rashtrakutas. This period is termed as the 'balance of two empires' of the Cholas and Chalukyas. From mid-AD 985 for another 350 years till AD 1200, the Chola kings, especially Raja Raja, attacked the confederation between Pandya and Kerala kingdoms and kingdom of Ceylon and destroyed them. This was followed by a naval expedition which overran north Ceylon whereby the Sri Lankan King, Mahinda V, had to take refuge in the jungles. Anuradhapura was destroyed in the expedition. Later, Maldives was annexed and Mahinda V captured and made prisoner. The Cholas then waged war against Srivijaya kingdom of South East Asia (modern Indonesia).

S.N. Prasad describes the period AD 100 to the fourteenth century: 'In the melting pot were Satavahana, Chera, Chola, Pandya, Chalukya, Pallava, Rashtrakuta and other lesser dynasties and their rulers. The Chalukyas, the Pallavas, the Rastrakutas, the Cholas and Pandyas waged wars with each other.'[9]

It is clear that the period of medieval Cholas is very complicated with changing alliances. To look deeper, we need to begin first with the period BCE as it is the time of the first encounter of Cholas with Sri Lanka.

EARLY CHOLAS IN THE PERIOD BEFORE COMMON ERA (BCE) AND SRI LANKA

In the case of Sri Lanka, there exist two quasi-historical, religious stories of glory and trauma taught by the Buddhist order. This is part of school curriculum.[10] The story of Asoka is well known in India, so I will just make a brief mention of it. The narrative in Sri Lanka, according to the *Mahavamsa* and other chronicles, is that from being a tyrant, Asoka transformed on conversion to Buddhism after seeing the bloodshed after his victory over Kalinga. The other story is of Sinhala King, Dutthagamani (161–137 BC). The Tamils invaded Sri Lanka between 177–155 BC. The young Sinhala prince was born to Queen Viharadevi who groomed her son to destroy the Cholas. Prior to seeking battle with Cholas, there were

family feuds where the prince defeated his brother, Tissa. But the most important event of that era still dominant in current public memory in Sri Lanka is his defeat of 32 Tamil kings and the final defeat of Chola Tamil King, Elara, who ruled Anuradhapura for 40 years.[11]

The above was the period of the early Cholas. There are much more historical events of alignment and reversals of alignment in the period after this.

MEDIEVAL CHOLAS AND SRI LANKA

When the Cholas gained prominence by displacing the Pallavas in northern Tamil Nadu by about the end of the ninth century, a new balance of power emerged. The Cholas had to deal with the hostility of the Deccani power of Rashtrakutas, up to the third quarter of the tenth century, and then of the Chalukyas of Kalyana, who in turn replaced Rashtrakutas. To meet this situation, the Chola King Paranataka I (AD 907–AD 955) first took steps to remove the threat from Pandyas and the Sri Lankan rulers in his rear. He conquered the Pandya country and also invaded Sri Lanka. As for Kerala country to the west of Pandya territory, his father, Aditya I, had already secured the alliance of the Cheras through matrimony.[12]

What is of interest in this history is that J. Sundaram shows that earlier in the sixth century, the Pandyas found themselves confined due to Pallavas in the north. Their alliance, which was sought and gained by the Chalukyas in their battles with Pallavas, promoted the interests of the Chalukyas without securing similar gains to the Pandyas. The Pallava monarch ultimately succeeding in throwing the Chalukyas back and, eventually, the Pandyas had to be satisfied with dominance in the area south of the river Kaveri. They (Pandayas) kept fighting with the Chera and other rulers west of the kingdom.[13] The Pandya ruler, Srimara Srivallabha (AD 815–AD 862), invaded Sri Lanka and made his power felt there. However, the sheltered existence of the Pandyas ended by the close of the ninth century when Cholas reappeared from their obscurity and began their imperial career by challenging the Pandyas. In this period of distress, the Pandyas sought the help of the rulers of Sri Lanka. Rajasimha II (AD 905–AD 910), a Pandya king, finding the Sri Lankan help of no use, fled to Sri Lanka. Thus, Sri Lanka became a vigorous participant in the developing political scene in south India, especially a protagonist of the Pandyas. As a consequence, Sri Lanka had to suffer the invasion of Cholas during two centuries, from AD 900 to AD 1100. From about the middle

of the twelfth century, the Sri Lankan rulers got the chance to invade the Tamil country and install their own protégés as kings in the Pandya kingdom.[14]

In his historical analysis, S.N. Prasad shows that the Imperial Cholas (AD 885–AD 1251) showed strategic perception and planning when faced with the Pandayas and Sri Lankan resurgence in the south, and the Chalukya threat from the north. The Cholas tackled the lesser danger by invading Sri Lanka via an unexpected route through Kerala, and by establishing a number of cantonments along the main highway from south. The bigger Chalukya threat from the north was contained by an admirable defensive–offensive strategy—defensive aim, offensive method. The Chalukya powers were kept embroiled in palace intrigues and politics of the neighbouring Vengi Kingdom. Then, the enemy's underbelly was attacked by the unexpected western route, instead of the old approach along the eastern seaboard.[15]

Besides the Cholas and the Pandyas, the other south Indian kingdom which had encounters with Sri Lanka in medieval period is that of the Pallavas—in the sixth and the seventh centuries. Pallava rulers conquered land up to the Kaveri, coming into conflict with the Pandyas and the rulers of Sri Lanka. The Pallavas managed to settle score by winning several victories over the Chalukyas with the aid of their ally Manavarma, a Sri Lankan prince who later became ruler of the island kingdom. The Pallava King Narasimhavarman I invaded the Chalukya kingdom and captured Badami. The king claims to have defeated the Cholas, Cheras and Kalabhras. Two naval expeditions were dispatched by the Pallavas to help Manavarma successfully. Manvarma subsequently lost his kingdom and took refuge in the Pallava court.[16]

These selective episodes in history clearly bring out the intra-region power politics, diplomacy and military realignments, including 'international relations' with Sri Lanka, both during ancient and medieval Chola periods. The encounters were not only with the Cholas but also with the Pandyas and Pallavas, with changing alliances. Scholars of international relations of South Asia need to do more research on this region and period to discern the near-similar principles of statecraft.

Military Composition and Training

In Kautilya's explanation, troop composition consists of various classes: *maulabala* (standing army); *bhrtabala* (recruited locally for particular occasion); *srenibala* (band of soldiers from guilds, mercenaries); *mitrabala*

(troops of the ally); *amitrabala* (enemy troops); and *atavibala* (forest tribes such as Sabaras, Pulindas and others).[17] The class composition of the Chola army is of great interest. In the sixfold army mentioned by Kautilya, the *atavikas*, that is, foresters/tribesmen, occupy the last position. However, in the case of the Chola army, tribesmen are seen to have been integrated into regular standing army, and some of them rose high in the ranks.[18] Here, the most prominent were the *Maravas* (once cattle-lifting marauders), the merchant guild (*sreni* in Kautilya's list) called *Kaikkola* units and defectors called *dvishad-balam*—in Kautilya's list, from the army of arch enemies, that is, the Chalukyas of Kalyana (eleventh century). The two units, from their designation, can be seen to belong to the Karnataka country and show good methods of inducement by the Cholas to recruit locals from enemy territory for their military labour market.[19] Armies of several feudatories under each imperial dynasty were also pressed into service. The ruler of Sri Lanka, Mahinda V (AD 1001), is credited to have paid regular wages to the men of Kerala enlisted into his army.[20]

S.N. Prasad's account mentions that due to the Kushan invasion of north India (AD 48), the persecution of Brahmins (who were also instructors in academic and military matters) was so thorough that military thinking, theorizing and academics practically disappeared from north India. However, in the south, academies to provide holistic education continued well into the Chola period in institutions called *ghatika*s in the Pallava region and *salai*s in Kerala. But after the Chola period, these institutions went missing.[21] It is here that more search is required to establish whether the military traditions, including the regimental and martial traditions discussed later, faded away or were preserved in dispersed *gurukul* systems, oral or written traditions and folklore .

The Chola armies had a regimental system like the modern army and a highly evolved war machine in its non-material and strategic segments. They had units of *kunjar* (elephant), *val* (sword) and *vil* (archery). Other units like *Kaikollar–Kudirai–Chchevakar* (cavalry of the Kaikollar caste/tribe) were named after their caste composition. For ease of understanding and relationship to modern times, S.N. Prasad compares their name to the present Maratha Light Infantry.[22] In the infantry, the *velaikkara* groups are significant. One meaning of *velaikkarar* is 'those who were doing guard duty at the king's palace'. Whatever the origin, the *velaikkara* units proved themselves so reliable a fighting force that it was some of those units that were entrusted to do garrison duty in turbulent Sri Lanka.[23] In fact, *velaikkara* troops had impressed the ruler of Sri Lanka so much by

their efficiency that he showed an eagerness to induct them into his own army when the garrisons of Cholas in Sri Lanka were left in the lurch by the later Cholas who could not reinforce them.[24] *Velaikkara* troops and reinforcements were stationed in Sri Lanka by Raja Raja I/Rajendra I up to time of Virarajendra (AD 1063–AD 1069). By the time the Chalukya–Chola King, Kulottunga I, ascended to the Chola throne, reinforcements to Sri Lanka dwindled and the *velaikkara* contingents in Sri Lanka were ultimately overwhelmed by Sri Lankan armies.[25]

Training

The Pallavas set up *ghatika*s to impart Vedic and military training. A study of the Parthivasekharapuram inscription (ninth century) shows that the *ghatika*s were the model for the setting up of *salai*s, as described in the inscription in Kerala. The *salai* was set up as an institution to house Vedic scholars, who were also trained in the affairs of the government in three *rajya*s (apparently of the Chera, Chola and Pandya). According to inscriptions of the ninth century, training included military training. The institution of the *ghatika* seems to have continued into Chola period also, with the name Tamililized to *kadigai*. Several personages during the Chola period added *kadigai-marayan* (the great lord of the *kadigai*) as their title.[26] Institutions called *ilaiya-val* of the *kaikkola*s for other ranks existed. *Ilaiya-vals* (junior swordsmen) seem to have been cadets in the *kaikkola*s regiment. Other term of interest is *muttaval* (senior swordsman) who was the *valavan* (commandant or captain or *nayakan*) of a cavalry regiment.

Another major characteristic pointed out by historians is about the Cholas not having an institution of a permanent standing army.[27] Ranabir Chakravarti argues that the Chola army was not unified or well organized. It was more of a militia.[28] What remains puzzling is that if we assume the Chola army to be on the paramilitary or militia model, then what accounts for enduring military success of the Cholas? This is one aspect which now needs more study by scholars. The absence of a strong regular army could also be the reason why forest troops were not consigned to the bottom as in north India, as portrayed in the *Arthasastra*. The institutions for military training in south India, as alluded to earlier, also do not appear to be meant for a paramilitary or temporary army. They appear to indicate an organized regular army with strong institutions. The question of type of navy is clearly indicative of an institution which demands professionalism of a regular standing navy. Charles Drekmeier is correct

when he states that 'It appears that the Cholas were the only Indian state to develop a regular navy and make it an effective instrument of military policy.'[29]

The Madras Regiment Today

Today, in modern India, in the evolution of the military system, troops from the south who join as volunteer soldiers are categorized as South Indian Communities (SIC).[30] The Madras Regiment comprises a number of infantry battalions or units. All troops of the SIC are mixed into sections, platoons and companies. Similarly, the Corps of Engineers has the Madras Engineering Group (MEG) having engineer regiments. Regiments of the armoured corps like 8 Cavalry and 16 Cavalry have all-class SIC troop composition and 45 Cavalry has two-third SIC. The artillery regiments, likewise, have many one-class units composed of SIC troops. A few examples of units are 4 Field Regiment, 40 Medium Regiment, 70 Medium Regiment and 191 Field Regiment. 37 Medium Regiment is a Coorg regiment. Besides the all-India, all-class units of arms, combat support arms and services of the army, the navy and air force also have a fair share of these fine troops from south India.[31] *The History of the Madras Regiment* records:

> The Madras soldier, popularly known as 'Thambi' hails mainly from the four southern states (Kerala, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu), Pondicherry, Coorg and southern Islands of the Bay of Bengal. He has time and again heroically vindicated that in his veins courses the blood of martial ancestors, who, for centuries memorably reigned over or valiantly served the Pallava, Chola, Pandya and Chera kingdom.[32]

One interesting and positive tradition is that the regimental language of units of the Madras Regiment is Tamil, though a unit may not have majority of troops from Tamil Nadu and may, for example, be having more number of troops from Karnataka or Andhra Pradesh. The war cry is 'Veer Madrasi, Adi Kollu, Adi Kollu' (O ye valiant Madrasi, Hit and Kill, Hit and Kill). This should lay to rest an inquiry I find which arouses curiosity as to why people from other regions of India may be calling all South Indians 'Madrasis'. At least in military lingo and camp language, it is accepted as normal. Of course, this does not give one the licence to be illiterate, ill-informed or uneducated and be ignorant about the rich language and cultural traditions of the multicultural people of Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Tamil Nadu.[33]

INDIGENOUS HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE AS RELEVANT TODAY

Based on this snapshot of a brief history of the Cholas in south India, we can see that some matters are relevant even to this day and are unlikely to change in the future. The first is that the alliance system is axiomatic. This has been seen so often in the twentieth century, for example, Japan being an ally of Britain in the First World War and becoming an enemy in the Second World War, or Germany initially having a pact with the Soviet Union and then attacking her later. Today, the United States (US) provides a security umbrella to Japan—its foe and nuclear target during the Second World War. Vietnam—the enemy of the US in the mid-twentieth century—is today an ally of the US in its effort to contain China. Likewise, in arenas other than war, changing alliances for economic interests continue in power politics amongst nations. The formation of the like-minded Brazil, South Africa, India and China (BASIC) grouping in climate change negotiations against the industrialized and developed countries exists in spite of the strains of territorial issues between India and China.

The second is that seeing the various warring states and kingdoms, it is clear that an idea of India as a political entity did not exist. There is an ongoing debate over the question of whether India is a nation or a state. To my way of thinking, at best, it was and is a civilization, and there should be no doubt about that. There is lot of weight in the argument put forth by K.A. Nilakanta Sastri: '[P]olitical conflict was no obstacle to cultural growth'.[34] Regional identities and histories play an important role in our understanding of India. Bhiku Parekh eloquently explains that strong regional loyalties nurture national loyalty. One does not need to stop being a proud Bengali or a proud Kashmiri in order to be a proud Indian,[35] and in this spirit, a proud South Indian.

Strategies to integrate India spiritually and culturally have been in vogue since the early times. One legendary account popular in imagination is the story that Agastya and Panini, the Sanskrit and Tamil grammarians, learned the languages from the sound beat of Shiva's *mridangam*. The left face of the drum produced Tamil and the right, Sanskrit. The Pandavs of the Mahabharata learnt the life story of Agastya while visiting holy places. He is mentioned in the Vedas and Puranas. When Shiva celebrated his marriage with Uma, people migrated from the south to witness the celebration in large numbers. This transfer of people threatened to tilt the earth's balance. To redress the balance, Shiva chose Agastya for the task of migrating to the south and attracting the surplus population

there. The most fascinating legend is when Agastya crossed the Vindhya mountains of central India on his journey due south to create the famous fountainhead of Tamil grammar. The Vindhyas in the centre of India bowed down in respect and stopped growing till he returned. He never returned, and the Vindhyas are still waiting to grow skywards. It is said that the stunted growth of the Vindhyas is due to this. The sage Agastya is said to have enchanted Ravana by his music and persuade him to quit south India and put an end to his depredations there. The sage, a resident of Podiyil mountain, was also the purohit of the Pandyas.[36] This could well be a cultural construct but it seems that the forces that unite Indians cannot be seen in an isolated positivist mode of inquiry. Here, it needs to be mentioned that Adi Sankaracharya's revival of Hinduism was a pan-Indian effort crossing political boundaries of that time. Similar is the power of attraction of the Kumbh Mela from antiquity, which takes place at Hardwar, Allahabad, Nashik and Ujjain in recurring cycles of 12 years, attracting all categories of people across the country. The theme of classical dances from the south like that of Kathakali is based on the epics (Mahabharata and Ramayana).

The cultural integration may be one main reason that India remained a nation bound by civilization. But we must admit that political unification was not there as we know it today. During the ancient and medieval period, barring the Mauryan Empire in the north, there was no one empire. The Cholas had the maximum territory, but it can never be said that they integrated, at least, the entire south. And yet, they remained a power to reckon with, including their expeditions to South East Asia.

Third, if we see the composition of the Chola army and go back to Kautilyan times during the Mauryan Empire, we find that Indian society was very heterogeneous. This phenomenon is common and has not changed till now as indicated by the present composition of the Indian military portrayed earlier. This continues with effect till date and the policymakers, scholars and society have to be mindful of this. This makes the study of the military an important parameter of nation-building. More so, it is clear that there were very rich traditions in the training of the military. Therefore, it is important that we carry out more research from text, archeology and oral traditions. For example, how strategic planning was done and diplomacy or war executed may be other exciting areas of this new inquiry. As mentioned earlier, research is also required to establish whether the military traditions, including the regimental and martial traditions, faded away or were preserved in dispersed *gurukul*

systems, oral or written traditions, folklore and performing art. The work of scholars should now attempt to reverse what S.N. Prasad had observed: '[M]ilitary history of South India remains unexplored.' K.K. Nair's new book, *By Sweat and Sword: Trade, Diplomacy and War in Kerala through the Ages* (2013), is a good step in this direction. The book covers *kalari pyatta* (battle training), now preserved as a popular martial art, and *nadu-kalari*s (military academies), besides many other facets.[37]

Finally, the fourth point of relevance of traditional historical knowledge is how a general self-defeating discourse has flourished. Many Indian historians have been very negative and pessimistic about the Indian defeat syndrome. Here, mostly invaders from outside are mentioned in north of India.[38] This is not a full picture. One author concludes that except for Chandragupta Maurya, Tughlaq and Shah Jahan, Indian wars were mainly defensive.[39] This is not borne out of our brief survey of the Cholas. The geographical expanse of the military campaigns of the Cholas, regardless
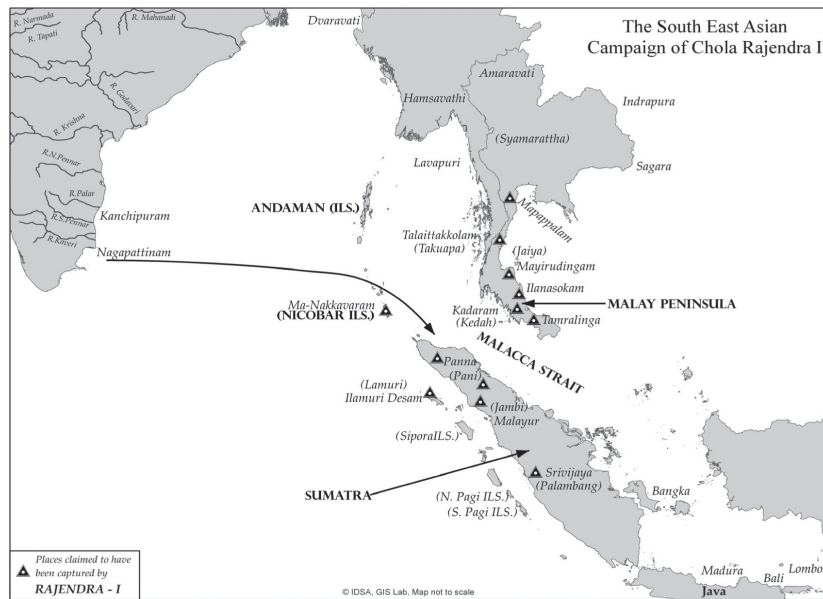

Figure 2 The South East Asian Campaign of Chola Rajendra I

Note: Figure 2 is based on 'Map 2 J: "Chronology of Important Events"', in S.N. Prasad (ed.), *Historical Perspectives of Warfare in India: Some Morale and Material Determinants*, in P. Chattopadhyaya (general editor), *History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization*, Vol. X, Part 3, New Delhi: Centre for Studies in Civilizations, 2002, p. 240.

of the outcome of these expeditions, is one example (see Figure 2). With an attack on Bengal, the Cholas exceeded the geographical limits of the movements which even otherwise were impressive—from Cape Comorin to Gulbarga on one hand, and the Vengi–Kalinga territory on the other, and this in addition to their Sri Lankan, Maldivian and South East Asian conquests.[40] There is a lot of weight in the argument that the Cholas undertook maritime expeditions to South East Asia not for short-term plunder motive, but with a long-range view of minimizing the role of Srivijaya as the intermediary between the Cholas and the Sung Dynasty in China.[41] I will call this good strategic thinking by the Cholas as we know it today. The Cholas continued to be a power to be reckoned with, including in their maritime exploits. It is now up to scholars to revive and dig into this treasure trove of ancient and medieval Indian history.[42]

CONCLUSION

Due to a variety of reasons, traditional historical knowledge of south India is not well developed and even known to Indians outside the south. This does not mean that it had no wisdom, tradition and knowledge of worth. Rather, as the rich literature, architecture, performing art and musical traditions of this part of India show, south India, and Sri Lanka, is unique. It is a region that the world community can be proud of. This brief framework or sketch of Cholas indicates that all attributes of international behaviour also operated in parallel with other regions of India (like north India) or even Europe. Thus, the current textbooks and discourses need to be supplemented and complimented with this vast expanse of understudied traditional historic knowledge to establish continuity and change in international politics. Knowing the past is important. First, it humbles the present generation by the fact that just a well-informed understanding of current events and presentism are not great gems of political wisdom. Second, by a scholarly study and research of the past, more number of perspectives can be discerned. This will not permit narrow state-sponsored selective historical episodes that evoke trauma narrative (from the ancient Cholas only and ignoring other alignments), as in the case of Sri Lanka, to be the dominant one.

NOTES

1. Prasad, S.N., 'Introduction', in S.N. Prasad (ed.), *Historical Perspectives of Warfare in India: Some Morale and Material Determinants*, in P. Chattopadhyaya (general editor), *History of Science, Philosophy and Culture*

in Indian Civilization, Vol. X, Part 3, New Delhi: Centre for Studies in Civilizations, 2002, p. 31.

2. Singh, Upinder, *A History of Ancient and Early Medieval India: From the Stone Age to the 12th Century*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 384.

3. 'Chronology of Important Events', in S.N. Prasad (ed.), *Historical Perspectives of Warfare in India*, n. 1, pp. 156–57.

4. The work is also known as *Tiru-k-kural* of the Tamil poet, Tiruvalluvar, of second century AD, like the *Arthasastra.*

5. Sastri, K.A. Nilakanta, 'South India—Part I', in K.A. Nilakanta Sastri (ed.), *A Comprehensive History of India, Vol. II: The Mauryan and Satavahans, 325 BC–AD 300*, published under auspices of the Indian History Congress and the Bhartiya Itihas Parishad, New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1957 (Second Imprint, 1987), p. 499.

6. Mookerji, R.K., 'The Foundation of Mauryan Empire', in K.A. Nilakanta Sastri (ed.), *A Comprehensive History of India*, p. 9.

7. Singh, *A History of Ancient and Early Medieval India*, n. 2, p. 384.

8. Sastri, K.A. Nilakanta, A *History of South India*: *From Prehistorical Times to the Fall of Vijayanagar*, London: Oxford University Press, 1955, pp. 141–42.

9. Chattopadhyaya, D.P., 'Foreword', in S.N. Prasad (ed.), *Historical Perspectives of Warfare in India*, pp. xiii–iv. The Chalukya Empire disappeared at the end of the twelfth century and the Cholas at the beginning of the thirteenth century. See Sastri, A *History of South India*, n. 8, p. 202.

10. Ramanathenpillai, Rajmohan, 'Past Traumas and Present Suffering: Consequences of Buddhist Narrative in the Sri Lankan Process', *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. XXXV, No. 4, December 2012, pp. 332–57.

11. Ibid.

12. Sundaram, J., 'Warfare in South India: The Background', in S.N. Prasad (ed.), *Historical Perspectives of Warfare in India*, Section II, South India, chapter 6, p. 178. Matrimonial alliances were a unique feature of those times. The Cholas maintained friendly relations with eastern Chalukyas by cementing it by matrimonial alliances. This facilitated conquest of Kalinga. I thank the anonymous referee who pointed this out. Also, see Ranabir Chakravarti, *Exploring Early India: Up to c. AD 1300*, 2nd edition, New Delhi: Macmillan, 2013, p. 305.

13. Sundaram, 'Warfare in South India', n. 12, pp. 176–77.

14. Ibid., p. 177.

15. Prasad, 'Introduction', n. 1, pp. 31–32.

16. Singh, *A History of Ancient and Early Medieval India*, n. 2, pp. 557–58.

17. Book Nine, *The Activity of the King About to March*, Chapter Two, sections 137, 138 and 139. Here, employment of heredity, the hired, the banded, the

ally's, the alien and forest troops are mentioned. Also see R.P. Kangle, *The Kautilya Arthasastra*, *Part 3: A Study*, 2nd edition, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2010, pp. 245–46.

18. Sundaram, J., 'Chola and Other Armies—Organization', in S.N. Prasad (ed.), *Historical Perspectives of Warfare in India*, Section II, South India, chapter 5, pp. 191–92.

19. Ibid., p. 192.

20. Ibid., p. 197.

21. Prasad, 'Introduction', n. 1, p. 28.

22. Ibid., p. 32.

23. Sundaram, 'Chola and Other Armies—Organization', n. 18, p. 191. A list of over 100 military units of the Cholas under each king has been included in this study by J. Sundaram (see Ibid., Appendix 1, pp. 243–48). This sort of historical data is unique.

24. Ibid., pp. 196–97.

25. Due to lack of information, scholars dispute over the actual composition and functions of regiments like the Kaikkola and the Velaikkara. The spellings in English also vary. Y. Subbarayalu mentions the following designations used to indicate the structural features of different regiments for the period of the early 10th century: *kaikkola*, *velaikkara*, *parivaram*, *kongaval*, *villigal*, *anaiyatkal*, *kutirai-chevagar*, *orrai-chevagar*, and so on. The names suggest that there were archers, swordsmen, cavalry, elephantry, infantry. See Y. Subbarayalu, 'A Note on the Navy of the Chola State', in Herman Kulke, K.Kesavapany and Vijay Sakhuja (eds), *Nagapattinam to Survarnadwipa: Reflections on the Chola Naval Expedition to Southeast Asia*, New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2010, pp. 91–101.

26. Ibid., p. 192.

27. Stein, Burton, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1980.

28. Chakravarti, *Exploring Early India*, n. 12, p. 148.

29. Drekmeier, Charles, *Kingship and Community in Early India*, Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1962, p. 188.

30. Officer cadre is recruited on an all-India basis by way of competitive examination and selection. On commissioning, officers are posted to any regiment or service they chose and based on vacancies, they are adjusted. The regiment is then for life. In the military career, only a lieutenant commissioned in the Madras Regiment is entitled and eligible to command a battalion as the commanding officer. Most officers are not from south India, but are more south Indian than those who may be so by birth, but do not serve in the Madras Regiment or with SIC troop units in the engineer, armoured or artillery corps.

31. Recruitment is carried out according to recruitable male population (RMP) of each state which is 10 per cent of the male population. See P.K. Gautam, *Composition and Regimental System of the Indian Army: Continuity and Change*, New Delhi: IDSA/Shipra, 2008, pp. 35, 41 and 51.

32. Daniels, J.R., *The Black Pom-Poms: History of the Madras Regiment 1941–1983*, Coonor: Madras Regimental Centre, 1986, p. iv.

33. Like the comparison of Kautilya's *Arthasastra* with the *Kural*s, another apt area of research and reinterpretation may be the comparative study of *Tolkappiyam* with *Manusmriti*. *Tolkappiyam* is the most ancient Tamil grammar (it pre-dates Sangam literature) ascribed to the poet called Tolkappiyar of the first century BC.

34. Sastri, A. *History of South India*, n. 8, pp. 141–42.

35. Parekh, Bhiku, 'The Constitution as a Statement of Indian Identity', in Rajeev Bhargava (ed.), *Politics and Ethics of the Indian Constitution*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 55.

36. Sastri, K.A. Nilakanta, 'South India—Part II', in K.A. Kilakanta Sastri (ed.), *A Comprehensive History of India*, n. 5, p. 551.

37. Nair, K.K., *By Sweat and Sword: Trade, Diplomacy and War in Kerala through the Ages*, New Delhi: Centre for Armed Forces Historical Research, United Service Institution of India/Manohar Publishers, 2013.

38. Some examples are: S.N. Prasad, 'Introduction', 36–42, and Uma Prasad Thapliyal, *Warfare in Ancient India: Organisational and Operational Dimensions*, New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2010, pp. 411–12.

39. Sarkar, Jagadish Narayan, *The Art of War in Medieval India*, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1984, pp. 330–31.

40. Chakrabarti, Dilip K., *The Geopolitical Orbits of Ancient India*: *The Geographic Frames of the Ancient Indian Dynasties*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010, pp. 186–87.

41. Chakravarti, *Exploring Early India*, n. 12, p. 333.

42. A project of indigenous historical knowledge is in progress at the IDSA. It began with Kautilya. See YouTube at IDSA web of 18 October 2012 workshop on Kautilya under title 'indigenous historical knowledge', available at http://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLrR2OTOrNPrhiTv3 m5lhklOzTAXtqrFMk. Besides YouTube, the report of 18 October 2012 workshop, including National Security Agency's (NSA) lecture, is available at http://idsa.in/event/Kautilya. The proceedings are being made into a free e-book soon (forthcoming). More events are planned for the future.