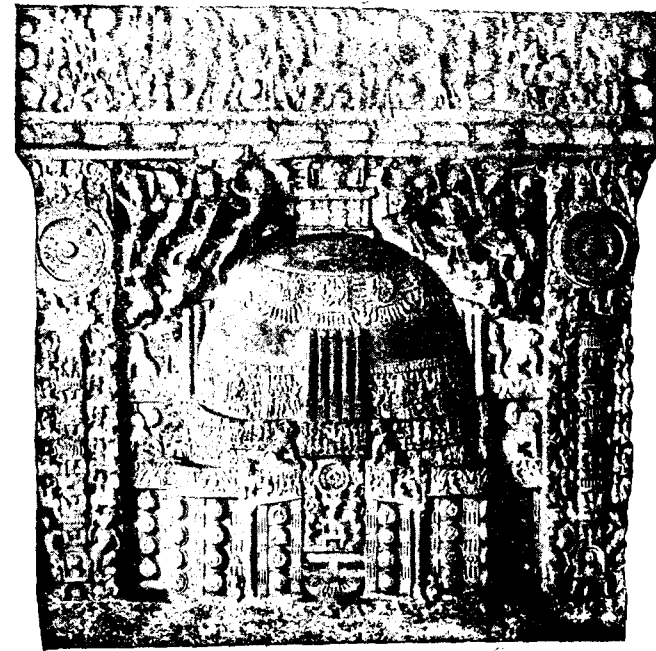


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Amaravati Sculpture depicting a Stupa.

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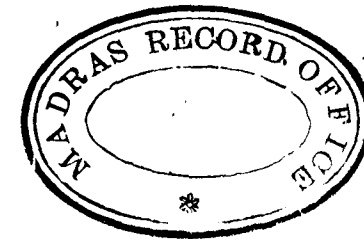
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JOURNAL

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Parts I & 2

DRAVIDIC ETYMOLOGIES.

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L.

I. DRAVIDIAN: *añju* (To Fear), *acc* Fear, *aś* (To Move), etc.

These forms appear to show such a remarkably close correspondence in form and meaning to Sanskrit *anc-* and Greek *az-az* etc. that it used to be said that the Dravidian forms might have been borrowed from Indo-Aryan. The correspondences were pointed out by Pope and Gundert, though they did not discuss the question of the lender or the borrower.

The question of word-relationships between Dravidian and Indo-Aryan is much too complicated to admit of summary solutions such as the earlier Dravidologists contented themselves with. It has been for too long the practice of Sanskritists to trace Dravidian forms to Sanskrit sources; and as a reaction from this, there were also not wanting enthusiastic Dravidists who would father the origin of many Indo-Aryan words upon Dravidian. All this is no longer so easy¹ to-day in view of the complications introduced by recent researches. Word-correspondences between Dravidian and Indo-Aryan have today to be examined with special reference to the following topics, before any conclusions could be formulated:—

(1) The chronology of the contact or contacts² between Indo-Aryan (or even Indo-Iranian and Indo-European) and Dravidian;

¹ See Prof. Jules Bloch's *Sanskrit et Dravidien* (B.S. L., XXIII) and Prof. Sylvian Lévi's *Pre-Aryen et Pre-Dravidien dans l'Inde* (J. A., 1908). Both these papers have been translated recently into English by Dr. Bagchi of the Calcutta University.

Prof. Bloch's paper is specially helpful to the student of Dravidian etymologies in that the last portion of the paper visualises the numerous difficulties surrounding the question of word-correspondences between Dravidian and Sanskrit on the one hand, and Dravidian and the "Austrian" group of languages on the other.

See also Prof. F. O. Schrader's paper on *Dravidisch und Uralisch* (Z.I.I. 1924) where Finno-Dravidian word-correspondences are given.

² This question is closely bound up with the problem of Dravidian linguistic

(2) The nature, extent and chronology of the contact of Dravidian with the other language systems like "Austrie" family of languages³.

As these topics, however, still form subjects of enquiry, on which little light has yet been shed, we are scarcely in a position to come to conclusions about numerous Dravidic-Sanskrit word-correspondences.

Yet it is possible for Dravidologists to examine the etymologies of the Dravidian words and to determine how far these have remained in Dravidian as "assimilated" forms. If a Dravidian word, for instance, which bears close resemblance to a Sanskrit form, is extensively represented in all dialects by cognate forms derived from the same early base, we advance indeed a step nearer to the possibility of these forms being "native" in Dravidian from an early period.

Tamil *ay*—, *ai*—(to move), *añju* (to fear) appear to represent one such set of Dravidian words having cognate forms in all the Dravidian dialects.

TAMIL:—The base *ay* with the signification: *to shake, to move, to be disturbed, etc.* appears in the following in Tamil: *ay-ai*, *ai-ai* (to shake, to tremble, to move), *ay-akku* (to cause to move, to send), *ay-(ə)r* (to become weary, to faint, etc.), *ae-(ə)r* (excrecence), *ay-al* (neighbourhood), *ayā* (languour, faintness), etc.

The suffixes are all characteristically Dravidian and unmistakable.

(2) *añju* (to fear) < *a(ñ)ju* < *aju* < *aiu* < *ay*.

The spontaneous nasal *ñ* is self-evident, and the change of *y* to *s* or *j* is usual in Dravidian.

Añjal (sending, transit, etc.) retains the primary meaning of "moving, transferring".—*al* is a common Dr. noun-forming termination.

Añjal (defeat, laziness, sloth) shows the figurative signification through diasemy.

affinities and origins, about which various theories have been advanced. None of these, however, are strong or scientific enough to compel conviction. It is possible that contact between Indo-Aryan and Dravidian may have occurred at a pre-Indian stage. The whole question is so knotty that hasty and summary conclusions should be carefully avoided.

3 See Prof. Przyluski's "Noms de villes dans la géographie de Ptolémée" (B.S.L. XIX) and 'Un ancien peuple du Penjaub' (J. A., 1926), in both of which references are made to the possibility of Dravidian having come in close contact with ancient Austrie in a pre-historic past.

As for linguistic influence between Dravidian and Austrie, see my paper on "Austrie & Dravidian" in the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society (October 1929).

4 See my Note on "Dravidian Spontaneous nasals" in the Ednl. Review (1927).

añ—ar (to be lazy) is another form which preserves the spontaneous nasal only, having lost *j*.

acc—am (fear), *acc—(e)r u* (to fear) show unvoiced affricates from the original fricative *s* (< *y*).

as (*ə*) *di* (drowsiness) and *asappu* (absence of mind) are related directly to *ay*, *as*.

(3) *ad—ir* (to shake, to quake, etc.) owes its *d* to *j*; compare the change of *j* to *d* in Tamilian adaptations of Skt. words with *s*, e. g., *vayasu*, *vayadu* etc., and further, the change of *j* to *d* Tulu and Kan-
naḍa, etc.

(4) *appu* (to press against, to put on), *ambu* (arrow) are also probably related to *ay—ppu* and *—mbu* (< ultimate *vai*, to place) are Dr.

(5) *a-n-angu* (to move) *a-(n)-u pu* (to send) may also be cognate; the *n* is probably a hiatus-filler as in *ka—n—al*. etc.

KANNADA:—Cognate forms are numerous in Kannada.

(1) *ay—du* (to go), *ay—ilu* (bewilderment), *asi* (to move, to tremble, etc.) *as—ur* (fatigue), *ase* (weariness), *as—ur* (to be impatient) etc.

Kannada *s*—< *s* < *y*, as in *pesar* < *pes'ar* < *peyar*.

(2) *añju* (to fear), *añje* (post, relay), *acca—ga* (agitation of mind), etc.

(3) *ad—aru* (to tremble) and its causative *ad—atu* (to scold), *adir* (to quive, etc.), show *d* from ultimate *y*.

(4) *appu* (to join), *ambu* (that which is made to move, is sent, (arrow), etc.

(5) *an—avu* (suitable place etc.), *anupu* (to send; Cf. *aya—ku*).

TELUGU:—*asi(y)ādu* (to tremble), *antsu* (to send) *añce* (post relay), *añji—ka* (fear), *ad—alus* (to be afraid), *ad—aru* (to shake), *anutsu* (to send), *an—angu* (to mingle), *appagintsu* (to entrust), *appu*, (loan, debit), *ammu* (arrow), etc.;—all these contain the original base *ay*, every one of the terminations being reducible to characteristic Dravidian formative affixes.

pampu (to send) should also go back the original base *ay*; the initial *p* being considered to be an excrement sound influenced by the formative *p*. An initial *p* appears also in *panutsu* (to send).

5 See my 'Dravidian Notes' in the Indian Historical Quarterly, (March 1929).

6 Are the forms *ale*, *alai*, etc. meaning shake, wave, etc. connected with basic *ay*? The terminational *ai*, etc. does not offer any difficulty:—Cf. *Koy* (to reap, mow) *kol* (to kill), and *kolai* (murder), besides *ay* (to move), *al*—(to move etc.). *-l-* is an ancient formative affix, and *-e*, *-ai* are characteristic enunciations.

7 These semantic changes from the basic idea of moving, shaking, are common in Dravidian; compare the idiomatic usage of other words like *elagu* (to move), *kulungu* (to shake) etc.

8 Note also the parallel forms *k-adalu*, *k-adaru* with the same meanings. For initial *k*—, see I. H. Q. (March 1929).

TULU:—*anji* (to fear), *anc-al* (relay, postal transit), *ad-uru* (to tremble), *ade* (fear), *ad-pu* (to release), *appi* to embrace, etc.

Forms with *y*, *s*, are rare, because these sounds in radical positions have changed to *d* in Tuḷu (Vide I. H. Q. March 1929).

KUI:—*āja* (to fear) and *ampu* (arrow) are current in this Central Dravidian dialect.

GONDI:—*anc* (to press), *ass* (to feel), *avv* (to move), *vasa* (to feel) where *v* is a fully developed on-glide (Cf. the numerous instances in Gōṇḍi where an initial on-glide becomes a fully assimilated bilabial voiced plosive.)

KURUKH:—*amb* (to let go), *asr* (to tremble), *asg* (to attach), show the developments of the original base in this dialect.

BRAHUI:—The available words are few; but the following have arisen from *ay*:—*hijēng* (to fear), *hij* (fear); for Br. *i*, compare *ḍis-ing* (to fry) from *bay* (to heat).

The above illustrations show clearly that the base from which all these have been formed, has been "native" in Dravidian from a very ancient time. How then are we to explain the correspondence in form and meaning between this Dr. base and the above-mentioned Indo-Aryan base? Are we to think that the similarity is purely fortuitous? If there is some connection, when and under what circumstances did it arise? Which family is the lender, and which the borrower? These are interesting questions that still await solution.

II DRAVIDIAN: "to sit".

Tamil: *uṭkāru*, *ukkāru*, *iru*, *kundu*.

Telugu: *kūts-unḍu*.

Kannāḍa: *kūr*, *iru*.

Tuḷu: *kuḷḷu*.

Kui: *kok*.

Gōṇḍi: *uddu*.

Kurukh: *okka*.

Brāhūi: *tūl*.

Malto: *okā*.

Of these, *iru* (to sit) appearing in Kannāḍa and Tamil (in certain contexts only) and in Malayālam (in common use as *irikkuka*) may easily be detached from the rest, as going back upon the ancient verb-base *ir* meaning *to be*, and connected with the "local" radical (or base) *il*. The prossemic change of meaning from *remaining* or *being* to *sitting* is self-evident.

Most of the other forms can, I think, be traced to an early base *kur*⁹ (composed of *ku*+*ir*). It is interesting to note that the

base (or radical or particle, whatever it may be) has more or less the connected significations of *joining*, *mingling*, *merging*, *becoming reduced in size*, *sinking*, *deepening*, etc., in a number of Dravidian forms found in all the dialects. I shall here cite a few of such forms from Tamil with initial¹⁰ *ku*:—

Tamil:—*Kumi*, *kuvi* to heap up.

Kuttu to dig

Kundu pit

Kuḍi low hut

Kūḍu nest

Kuru small

Kuḷ-ai to become a paste

Kūndru to fall from a high position, to be ruined, etc.

Kuru (short) also shows the primary meaningnote of *being reduced in size through joining, merging, sinking etc.* The primary note, however is still present in Tamil *kūndru* (hell), Telugu *koṇḍa* etc.

Kurukh *kūb* hump, *kudd-nā* to join *kukko-s* boy, *kūg* to doze off; *Kui kūg* to decrease, *kok* to be small, *kokka* boy. etc; Gōṇḍi *kūg* to slumber, *kur-ung* to become small, etc; Brāhūi *k-uning* to eat, *khutt-ing* to dig, *khull-ing* to pierce,—are also instances where the initial *ku* has some one or other of the above-mentioned primary or secondary significations.

Ku+*ir*, then, as *kūr* or *kur*, would have had the signification of *remaining* or *sitting by being attached to something* i.e. of sitting in the sense in which it is used commonly in Dravidian.

Tamil *uṭkāru*¹¹ may, I think, be resolved into *uḷ* and *kūr* (the vowel of which latter form may have undergone a euphonic mutation owing to the influence of the rounded dorsal vowel of the first syllable).

The popular derivation of the word *uḷḷu-kku*+*āga-iru* is fanciful etymology.

9 Compare the series of forms: *kur-uṅgu*, *kuṭtru*, etc. and *śuruṅgu*, *śuṭtru*, etc. (the latter with initial palatalisation—through ancient front vowels now lost fricatisation of original *k*—) which are represented by numerous variants in all the dialects and all of which should be traced to an original base-*kur*-meaning: to become short. It is probable that initial-*ku*-should have been responsible for a number of connected significations.

10 Compare, in this connection, Austric *kuy* (to lie down), and a number of other cognate forms with initial-*ku*, given by Pater Schmidt in his works.—Cf. further, the same author's observation (Die Mon-khmer Völker, Page 39) about the Austric prefix *ka*:—"Sowohl im Nicobar als in den austronesischen Sprachen bezeichnet das Präfix-*ka*-Zusammengehörigkeit."

11 The common colloquial character of this form probably accounts for the change of the original-*u*-of-*kuru*-to-*ā*.

The forms from *kūru* are so common to most Dravidian dialects that it is scarcely possible that Tamil, a very "conservative", dialect should have failed to possess a representative of these ancient forms. Besides, let us also note that *ku*—appears with the main meaning-notes in many other Tamil forms.

Telugu:—*kūtsu* from *kūr*—*tsu* (with the reinforcing affix *tsu* is directly from *kūr*.

Kannada *kul*, *kur*, and Tuḷu *kullu* are variants of *kur*, the interchange of *r* and *l* being quite common in Dravidian.

Kui:—*kōk* < *kōr*—*k* < *kūr*; the *-k* is a reinforcing affix common in Dravidian. Cf. Tamil *kārita* *k*, *kk* appearing in minor verb-forms

In Gōṇḍi *udd*, the initial *k* has fallen off; *dd* < *dr* < *r*,¹² *kuttul* stool to sit on, retains the initial *k*.

Are the Kurukh and Malto forms related to *o*—*kku*; (to become attached) i. e., to the base *o* as it appears in *or*, etc., or are they connected with *kūru*, through a form like Tamil *utkaru*?

I am inclined to favour the latter view, especially as *kūru* is so common in other dialects and, further, as *okku* does not have the meaning *to sit*, in any of the other dialects.

Brāhūi *tūl* is not susceptible of an easy explanation. If it is not a borrowing from some foreign language-system, and if it is connected with *kūr*, a change like the following is all that we can postulate in the present state of our knowledge: *Kūtir* by a process of vowel-metathesis consequent on the shifting of stress from the first to the second syllable may have turned to *ktūr*, and then the assimilative absorption of the initial *k*, and the change of *r* to *l*, produced *tūl*.

A possible analogy of *kt* having produced *t* is furnished by the plural ending *t* appearing in oblique cases where the inflexional termination *t* appears to have absorbed the plural ending-*k* which appears in the Nom. forms, e. g. *ilumnā* brother, *ilumnā-k* Nominative plural, *ilumnā-t* Oblique Plural.

The discussion of these forms takes us back to a proto-base *kur* which, it may be observed, presents a remarkable similarity in respect of the prefix to certain Austric forms. The question of Dravidian-Austric contact has been posed already by Prof., Przyluski. It is for Dravidian scholars to help the investigation of this question by systematic analysis of the etymologies of Dravidian words like the one under reference, so as to illuminate a chapter in the linguistic history of Dravidian, which might probably furnish as with important clues to the solution of other problems also concerning Dravidian.

¹² I. H. Q. (March 1929)

III. DRAVIDIAN: *vā, bā, vāy, bāy*: mouth.

One or other of these cognate forms occurs in every known Dravidian dialect. The base is presumably, therefore, native¹³ in Dravidian. The base has given rise to a number of secondary forms:—

(a) "To speak" is an idea directly connected with the "mouth". Kurukh *ba'na*, Kui *basa*, both signifying the action of "speaking" appear to be derivative (or connected) verbs.

Tamil *pāy*, *pēs*, kannada *pāl*, *pēl*, *heḷ*, Telugu *paluku*, Tuḷu *bakku* to ask, *paraṇḍu* to murmur, Kurukh *pēs* to command, Kui *vēs* to speak, Gōṇḍi *vēs* in *vēsori* (tale, narration) are, in my opinion, connected with the base *vā* or *bā*. Cf. Tam. *vayyu*, to blame and *paḷi* blame.

The initial *p* is derived from earlier *b*, the change of *v* > *b* > *p* being quite common in Dravidian¹⁴.

The change of *āy* to *ē* through an intermediate *æ* is attested by many parallel instances, e.g. Tam. *kayaru*, *kēru*; *Śāru*, *Śēru*, etc.

The terminations *ś*, *s*, are from an original *y*, while *l*, *l* appear to be verb-endings specially introduced to form verbs.

(b) Tamil *peyar*, *pēr* name, Kannada *besar* name, Telugu *pēru* name, Tuḷu *pudar* name, Kui *bargi* command, Gōṇḍi *poḷar*, Kui *pada*, Kurukh *pinj* to name¹⁵, and Brāhūi *pin* name, are to be, ultimately traced to *pey*, to speak.

r is an ancient Dravidian noun-forming termination, derived from ancient base *ir*, to be, to remain.

pey + *ir* would then be that in which speaking or calling exists, i. e. what acts as a medium of calling others, name.

Kannada¹⁶ *-s* < *y*.

Tuḷu *d* < *dj* < *j* < *y*.

Brāhūi *n* < *ndru* < (*n*) *dru* < *r*.

Gōṇḍi *poḷar* < *peshar* < *pesar*.

Kui *pada* < *pajar* < *pay* + *ar*.

-gi of Kui *bar-gi* is an affix. Cf. Kui *or-gi* rice.

¹³ Compare, however, the Austric forms for mouth, given by Pater Schmidt, (Die Mon-khmer Volker, page 140):—*ba*, *baba*, *vava*, etc. Is the resemblance merely fortuitous?

So long as we confine our view to Dravidian, we might be tempted even to trace *bāy* itself (which has the meaning of place in Old Tamil—Vide Nannul, § 624) to the base *vay* (to place) which is an ancient verb in all Dravidian dialects.

¹⁴ Cf. Tam. *vāngu* (to seize) with Kannada *pāku*; Tam. *vēḷi* (fear) and *pēḷi* (fear) with Tuḷu *boḷi* (fear); Tam. *vēl*, *pēl* and *pēn* (to desire, etc.)

¹⁵ The common Kurukh form *num* (name) appears to be a borrowing from the neighbouring Austric.

¹⁶ For analogies, and for a complete discussion of these phonological changes see I. H. Q. (March 1929) and the Madras Educational Review (1927, 1928).

With the above may be compared Kurukh *ba'r* to be called, to be named, so far as the semantic derivation is concerned. As for structural derivation it is also from *bā* to speak, with the addition of the Middle-passive Kurukh suffix *-r*.

(c) i. Tam. *vānu*, to fashion post, *pān-ai* pot with a mouth, Kannaḍa *bāne* large-mouthed pot, *bānu* (to shape pot.) should also be traced to the old base meaning *mouth*. Also, Kannaḍa *bāpu* swelling, tumour, Tuḷu *bāvu*, to swell, Telugu *Vāpu* swelling, may have their meanings derived from the idea of a mouth-like protuberance being formed in the case of swellings and tumours.

ii. Tam. *vār-kku*¹⁷ to pour out, Kannaḍa *bāru* 'to pour from a vessel, Telugu *bāvu* to gobble up, Tamil *paruḡu* to drink, Kui *vāk* to pour out, are traceable to the base. Cf. also Tuḷu *bālu* to run out.

iii. The South Dravidian form *vāḷ* sword, goes back in meaning and form to the base *vā* mouth. The sharp edge of the sword is still today described by a process of semantic irradiation as its *vāy* or *mouth*. The final *ḷ* is a common noun-forming ending, from *uḷ*. Telugu *bāku* sword, is related.

iv. Tam. *vayal*, *vāsal*, *vadil* door, Kannaḍa *bagil* Tuḷu *bakali* are also derived from the base *vāy*. The meaning has resulted by a process of *metasemy*.

For *-y->-s->-d-*, compare *kayai*, *kasai*, *kadai* and many other variants of this type.

-g- in the Telugu, Kannaḍa and Tuḷu forms¹⁸ is probably from a slight fricative produced between the original base and the formative ending. Compare the colloquial variant *vagiru* for *vajiru* in Tamil.

v. Tamil-Malayāḷam *para* to speak, Tuḷu *paṇ* to speak and Brāhūi *pan-ing* to speak, are also probably connected with the original base for "mouth."

Tamil *paṇi* to say, and Tuḷu *pan* have been described by Caldwell as "borrowings" from Sanskrit *bhan* to speak; but in view of the large number of native Dravidian forms adduced above, would this drastic observation of Caldwell's be justified? So far as the final *ṇ* of the above Dravidian forms are concerned, they may be purely native, being variants of *l* or *ḷ* as in *unnu* from *ul*, etc. The Tuḷu word *patara*, word may, however, be a metathetical variant of *varta > barata > parata > patera*.

17. Tamil *vali* (to overflow), Kannaḍa *bale*, Kurukh *bayar*, to overflow and Tuḷu *bassa*, overflowing, are probably ultimately related to the original base.

18. What is the relationship of these Dravidian forms to Indo-Aryan *bāgil*, door? There appears to be little doubt that *vāyal*, *vāsal* are very "ancient" in the Southern dialects; and if *bāgil*, etc. is related to *vāsal*, —as we have deemed it to be,—the Indo-Aryan form presents a strange coincidence which requires explanation.

SANTABOMVALI COPPER PLATE GRANT OF NANDAVARMA.

A REPLY TO Mr. RAMADAS' "REVIEW"

SATYANARAYANA RAJAGURU.

All the historical research scholars who have a little interest in dealing with the history of Kalinga know that an Era known as the "*Gāṅgāya vamsa pravarddhamāna Vijaya rājya Samvatsara*", was introduced by the kings of the Ganga dynasty, whose suzerainty was firmly established on the royal throne of Kalinga for no less than six hundred years. Hence the era, which is vitally connected with the chronological history of Ganga kings became a subject of interest to the historians. The curiosity of knowing the period when the Era took its start, has stimulated no less than half a dozen Research Scholars, among whom M. R. Ry. G. Ramadas Garu, B.A. of Jeypore is one. Six years ago, he published a paper on "Chronology of the Eastern Gāṅga kings of Kalinga", in the *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. IX, in which he traced from astronomical calculations that the Gāṅgāya era of Kalinga took its start from Ś. Ś. 271 or A. D. 349. But I regret to say that my theory regarding the Gāṅgāya Era which I am going to discuss in this article does not agree with his theory. In his REVIEW on my article on "Santa Bomvāli Copper-plate Grant of Nandavarma"¹, great anxiety is shown by Mr. Ramadas to find arguments to justify his own theory. In the following pages, the reader can clearly see how far Mr. Ramadas has succeeded in his attempt. Mr. Ramadas says in his REVIEW:

"In the inscriptions of the earlier centuries of the Christian era, the numerical figures have no place values. The figures in the unit's place are quite distinct from the corresponding multiples of ten; these differed from the corresponding multiples of 100. * * * According to this, the figure of the plate under review cannot be taken to express 200."

I admit that in some inscriptions of the earlier centuries of the Christian era, the numerical figures have no place values, and they are distinct from each other. But this distinction is not observed in all the historical documents of Kalinga. In some records, the place value is not observed and the figures of unit's place, ten's place and hundred's place are distinct from each other; while in other records

¹ See J.A.H.R.S. Vol. II, Pts. 3 & 4, pp. 185 ff.

the place value is observed and the same figures are used in every place as at present. Both the methods are adopted in the records of the Gānga kings of Kalinga. But Mr. Ramadas tacitly assumes that the later method is not found in the earlier records of Kalinga. In order to clear this point, some figures of the Copper-plate Grants of the kings of Nandavarma's line are given below: The dates in them are mentioned both in numerical figures and in words as well:—

1. Chidivalasa C. P. grant of Dēvāndravarma, dated 397 of the Gāngāya era. (३९७) = *satatrayāṣṭī saptaḍhika navatī ankēnāpi*
2. Dharmalingeśvara C. P. grant of Anantavarma, son of Dānārṇava, dated in 204 Gāngāya era (२०४) = *satadvayā chaturuttarī*.
3. In the Santa Bomvāli C. P. grant of Nandavarma, the date is given as (२२१) i.e. 221.

From the above mentioned Dharmalingeśvara C. P. Grant of Anantavarma, it is clearly known that the figure used in the hundred's place is 2, and the same figure is used both in the hundred's and ten's place, as in the Plates under review. This figure is also found in the inscriptions of Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭṭa of 9th century A. D. and in the Copper-plate inscriptions of the Rāshtrakūṭa *Śaṅkaragana* of the last part of the 8th century A. D. In the scripts of Nepal, these numerical figures were used in the 9th century A. D.² If Mr. Ramadas wants to verify the figures of Nandavarma's plates with the figures of Anantavarma's plates, I can supply him with a clear ink-impression of Anantavarma's charter, by which, I believe, he will realise his own mistake.

Mr. Ramadas found a curve and a comma-like stroke near the figure 200, and remarks that those who have studied the document previously overlooked the above curve and comma-like-stroke. But having again examined the original plates very carefully and seeing that the plates are so deeply engraved, I can boldly say that no such mistake could be made by those that saw the original plates. Epigraphists place greater reliance on the original texts of historical documents than on their facsimiles, pencil rubbings or ink-impressions. If Mr. Ramadas were to see the original plates, preserved with the Rajah Saheb of Tekkali, he will, I am sure, find neither the curve nor the comma-like stroke, referred to by him, on a mere perusal of the pencil rubbing or the ink-impression.

² See J.A.H.R.S. Vol. II, P. 2.

³ See J.A.H.R.S. Vol. II Pts. 3 & 4 p p. 271—76.

⁴ See "The Palaeography of India" by Pandit G. H. Ojha, Plates LXXI and LXXV.

In editing the Santa-Bomvāli C. P. Grant, I observed that palaeographically the charter belonged to the 9th or 10th century A.D. Mr. Ramadas having put a series of years between 1000 and 1199 A.D., in which some eclipses occurred on the new-moon day of *Āshāḍha* and having made some calculations to verify the years of some documents goes on remarking that "thus in those two centuries (?), assumed on palaeographical authority, not even one year could stand these four tests." Here I wonder how he overlooked the fact that 9th and 10th centuries have no connection with the years that fall between 1000 and 1199 A.D. Such simple blunders can never be expected from any research scholar. Again, he admits that the charter was granted on one date and the plates were engraved on another date. When two dates are clearly found in one document, on what authority could he say that "*Amāvāsyā* when the solar eclipse had occurred must have been the one that immediately preceded the 5th *tithi* of *Āshāḍha*?" I say the charter might have been granted in the month of *Vaiśākha* or *Jyēṣṭha* making due allowance for the delay which is necessarily caused on account of going through usual formalities.

About 35 sets of copper-plate inscriptions of the Gānga kings of Kalinga are discovered up to date, among which the following plates are important as they record eclipses:—

1. C. P. grant of Dēvāndravarma of 397 Gāngāya Era: Solar eclipse;
2. C. P. grant of Indravarma of 128 Gāngāya Era: Lunar eclipse;
3. C. P. grant of Indravarma of 134 Gāngāya Era: Solar eclipse;
4. C. P. grant of Nandavarma of 221 Gāngāya Era: Solar eclipse;
5. C. P. grant of Anantavarma of 304 Gāngāya Era: Solar eclipse;
6. C. P. grant of Saṅgyavarma of 351 Gāngāya Era: Solar eclipse;
7. C. P. grant of Dēvāndravarma of 397 Gāngāya Era: Solar eclipse;

The above mentioned records must correspond, according to the calculation of Mr. Ramadas, to the following years of the Christian era:

Solar eclipses:—505; 570; 600; 653; 700; 746.

Lunar eclipse:—477.

Now, I request Mr. Ramadas to verify the above mentioned dates and to find out whether the eclipses had occurred in those years; Let him see how far his assumption regarding the Gāngāya Era is correct.

Mr. R. Subbarao, M.A., of Rajahmundry, in editing the Chidivalasa Grant of Dēvāndravarma, dated 397 Gāngāya era, stated as follow:

"If according to my friend (Mr. Ramadas) the Gāngāya Era, was founded in Śaka 271, Dēvāndravarma of the present grant would have ruled in Śaka year 668 or A.D. 746 i.e., 17 years after Kīmārṇava's accession to the throne of the later Gānga dynasty, according to my

friend's calculation, and 23 years according to other calculation. In other words, the donor of the Chīdivalasa grant and Kāmārṇava I., the founder of the later Gāṅga line, would not only be contemporaries but would have also ruled from the same place, viz. Kalinga nagara. This would be hard to accept."

Let us see what Mr. Ramadas says on this point. Six years back, when Satyavarma's grant issued in Gāṅgāya Era 351 was known as the latest record of that dynasty, Mr. Ramadas stated thus:—

"Taking the 351st year of the Gāṅgāya Era to be the last year of Satyavarma's reign, Kāmārṇava I. came to the throne in Śaka 651." But when he found Dēvendravarma's grant of the 397th year of the Gāṅgāya Era, he changed his opinion, and he now says:—"According to the Vizagapatam plates, Kāmārṇava I. began his reign in Ś. Ś. 718 or A. D. 786⁵, and according to Naḍagām plates his reign begins in Ś. Ś. 700 or A. D. 778." In order to strengthen his view-point, he says that it is based on the peculiarity of *Anka* system of the Gāṅga kings of Orissa according to which we have to deduct some sixty five years from the regnal period of 16 kings of Kāmārṇava's line, which began from Kāmārṇava I. and ended in the last regnal year of Madhu-Kāmārṇava, father of Vajrahasta, whose rule ended in the 960th year of the Śaka era.

Now let us see how the *Anka* system was worked in Orissa. From the stone inscriptions of the renowned king Anantavarma *alias* Chōḍagangadēva, of the so called later Ganga dynasty, we learn that although the *Anka* or *Śrāhi* prevailed in his time, all the years following 1, 6, 10, 16, 20, 26, 30 etc., were not cut off from his regnal years. From the Korn C. P. grant of Chōḍagangadēva, we know that his reign began from Ś. Ś. 999 or A. D. 1077. Now we shall verify his *Ankas* or *Śrahis* with Śaka years which are mentioned in the stone inscriptions of Mukhalingam and other places of Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts. *Saka* years—1004, 1020, 1033, 1045, 1048, 1050, 1060, 1068, 1069. *Anka* or *Śrāhis*—8, 23, 37, 49, 53, 54, 63, 72, 73.

Since Ś. Ś. 1004 is *Anka* 8, we infer that the 1st year and the 6th year are omitted. In some inscriptions at Mukhalingam, the same Śaka year bore two different *Anka* years (e.g.) Ś. Ś. 1060 is put down both as *Anka* 63 and *Anka* 64. From this what we can infer is that the *Anka* usually began from the 4th day after the 8th *tithi* of the bright half of the month *Bhādrapada*, and that therefore the month of the Śaka year previous to that bore *Anka* 63, while the months from *Bhādrapada* onwards bore a different *Anka* 64. It is on this supposition that Ś. Ś. 1004 bears both of the *Ankas* 7 and 8. During the long reign of Anantavarma *alias* Chōḍagangadēva we see

⁵ This must be A. D. 796, but not 786.

only two years were cut off. The last year of his reign is Ś. Ś. 1069, the *Anka* is 72, of which the total number of years he ruled being 70.

We thus see that according to the system prevailing in the time of Chōḍagangadēva the years that are omitted are the 1st year and the 6th year. All the other years are shown in the *Anka*.⁶ The same system was continued by his son Ēkajaṭa Kāmārṇavadēva but during the reign of Rāghava, his second son, the 1st, 6th, 10th and the 16th years have been cut off and for his period of about 14 years the *Anka* is put down as 18. But in the subsequent reigns we see that *Anka* 10 finds a place. Since *Anka* 30 also finds a place it can be said that the years ending in zero are not omitted. It can be seen from a close examination of the *Ankas* of Lāṅguhya Narasimhadēva, who flourished during the last part of the 13th century A. D., that the first year and the years ending in 6 (and not in 0) are omitted. But in the subsequent period (in the time of Virabhānudēva of A. D. 1352—1379) figures ending in zero are also omitted and the system in this final shape is in use at present in Orissa. Hence, in dealing with the periods of the Kings of Orissa prior to the 14th century, we are not justified in applying the reduction that came into vogue in the 14th and subsequent centuries of the Christian era. We may, with some show of reason, apply the system, we have seen, to the reign of Anantavarma *alias* Chōḍaganga i.e. the system of reducing the period by 2 years. But even this does not seem to be applicable to the periods recorded in the Vizagapatam plates and the Naḍagām plates, because a period of $\frac{1}{2}$ year is given to one king Madhukāmārṇava in both the plates and in the system of *Anka* calculation, a half

6 (1) Ēkajaṭa Kāmārṇava

For *Saka*—1070, 1071, 1073, 1074, 1075, 1077. *Anka*— 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10

(2) Rāghava

For *Saka*—1082, 1084, 1091, 1092. *Anka*— 5, 8, 17, 18.

(3) Rājarāja

For *Saka*—1093, 1094, 1104, 1109, 1110, 1114. *Anka*— 3, 4, 14, 22, 23, 27.

(4) Narasimha I

For *Saka*—1127, 1228, 1134. *Anka*— 10, 11, 17.

(5) Aniyanka Bhima

For *Saka*—1138, 1152, 1158, 1158. *Anka*— 7, 22, 30, 31.

(6) Narasimha Rājarāja

For *Saka*—1163, 1167, 1168, 1178. *Anka*— 4, 10, 11, 23.

(After some kings)

(7) Lāṅgula Narasimha

Saka—1201, 1204, 1205, 1211, 1212, 1212, 1212, 1213, 1214, 1215, 1217, 1218, 1219, 1221, *Anka*— 3, 7, 7, 13, 14, 14, 15, 15, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 25. For *Saka*—1224. *Anka*— 27.

(After some kings)

(8) Bīra Bānu or Bhānu

and for *Saka*—1275, 1289, 1298. *Anka*— 3, 18, 31. respectively.

(Here the *Anka* system is regulated; and the years following 1, 6, 10, 16, 20, etc., are cut off).

year does not find a place. It can therefore be assumed, that the periods given in the plates are not *Ankas*, but actual years of their reign. And thus Kamarnava I's reign must begin from Ś.Ś. 662 or A. D. 740 according to Vizagapatam plates, and in Ś.Ś. 610 or A.D. 688 according to Nadagām plates. Accepting that the first regnal year of one king and the last year of his predecessor might have fallen in the same year, I deduct 14 years from the regnal period of 16 kings. Now, according to Mr. Ramadas, Devendravarma of 397 Gāngēya Era must have ruled in Ś.Ś. 668 or A. D. 746, and this overlaps the regnal years of Kamarnava I., of the so called later Gānga line, who ruled from the same place, viz: Kalinganagara. Hence, in Mr. Subbarao's words, I can say that the calculation of Mr. Ramadas regarding the Gāngēya Era is really hard to accept. The difficulty in accepting Mr. Ramadas' date is still further increased by a recently discovered set of copper-plates, of Kāmarnava bearing the date 526 Gāngēya Era. This brings Kāmarnava up to A. D. 875, according to the initial date of Mr. Ramadas, while according to Nadagām plates, Vajrahasta II should have been ruling from Kalinganagara.

I may mention that this confusion to which we are thus led can only be cleared by supposing that five collateral branches (according to the C. P. grants of Chōdagangadēva), of the Gānga family were ruling in Kalinga at one and the same time from different cities. The confusion referred to is due to the distinction which scholars have drawn between the earlier Gāngas and the later Gāngas. Among the earlier Gāngas, Hastivarma and others are mentioned; and among the later Gāngas, Kāmarnava and his brother Dānārṇava and others are mentioned. These are supposed to have replaced the earlier Gāngas. But in my article on "Phulasara C. P. grant of Kirttirajadēva" I explained that five collateral branches of Gānga dynasty were ruling in five parts of Kalinga. The *Birudas* (royal titles) of the five collateral branches were quite distinct from one other, though all of them belonged to one Gānga dynasty and all worshipped the God Gōkarnasvāmī. The five branches were ruling from different cities of Kalinga. In order to clear the matter, I mention below the *Birudas* and other necessary information available about each of the lines of the five branches:—

(1) *Kāmarnava's line*:—This was ruling over the kingdom from Dantapura, the reputed capital of Kalinga, which is mentioned in the Buddhist literature. From the Korni C.P. grant of Chōdagangadēva we learn that Dantapura was the 'Rājadhāni' or capital of Kalinga. In the plates of Indravarma (Gāngēya era 139 and 137) the name Dantapura is seen. Hence, it can be inferred that Kalinganagara (City of Kalinga) referred to Dantapura for many years. Afterwards

7 See J.A.H.R.S. Vol. III, Pt. 1, pp. 30—40.

when Vajrahasta of Dānārṇava's family acquired the suzerainty of Kalinga, the name of 'Kalinganagara' or Kalingāvaninagara' was attached to the name of their new city, which at first was simply known as 'Nagara'. The *Birudas* (or titles) of this line will be mentioned in the following paragraphs.

(2) *Dānārṇava's line*:—The geneology of this line is mentioned in the C. P. grants of Vajrahastadēva and Chōdagangadēva. They were ruling from Nagara which was located at Mukhalingam. The *Birudas* of this line run thus:—

"Om! Svasti akhila bhuvana vinuta naya vinaya dayā dāna
"dakshīnya satya śaucha śaurya dhairyaḍi guṇa ratna pavitrakāṇam
"Ātrēyasā gothraṇām vimala vichārāchāra puṇya salila prakṣhālita
"kalikāla kalmasha maśīnam Mahendrāchala śikhara pratishṭhitasya
"sacharāchara gurōh sakala bhuvana nīrammanaika sūtradhārasya
"śaśāṅka chūdāmanār bhagavatō Gōkarnna svāmīnāh prasād-śāditāika
"śankha bhēri pañcha māhāśabda dhavala chhattra hēma chāmara vara
"vṛshabha lāṅchhana samujjvala samasta sāmājya mahīmnamānēka
"samara samghaṭṭa samupalabdha vijaya lakṣmī samalingitōttunga
"bhujadanda maṇḍitāṇām Trikalīnga mahībhujām Gangāpāmanvaya
"malanīkarishnōr-vishnōriva vikramākranta dharmamāṇḍalasya."

(3) *Gunārṇava's line*:—About two sets of C. P. grants of the kings of this line are discovered up to date. No date is given in their charters. They were ruling Bamvādi Vishaya (present Bomvāli Taluk) from the city Syātaka, which may be located near Śrī Kūrmam which was once called Svētāchalam just like Nīlāchalam and Arunāchalam. The *Birudas* of this line run thus:—

"Om Svasti Svētākādhishṭhānat bhagavachcharāchara gurōh.
"sakala śaśāṅka śakharasya sthityupatti pralaya kārana bhōh Mahēn-
"drāchala śikhara nīvasīnāh Śrīmad Gōkarnnēsvara bhāṭṭārakasya
"charaṇa kamalārādhanaivāpta puṇya nichayāh śakti traya prakarahānu-
"rañjita śeśha sāmanta chakra svabhujabala parākṛānta sakala Kalingā
"dhīrājyō parama māhēśvarō mātā pitṛ pādānu dhyatō mahārājadhīrajō
"Gangāmalakula tilakaḥ ***"

(4) *Mārasimha's line*:—Only one C. P. grant of this has come to light i.e. the C. P. grant of Kirttirajadēva. The Kings of this line were ruling Sōdāmaṇḍalam from the Kalyānapura, which may be located near Sōradā taluk of Ganjam District. The *Birudas* of this line run thus:—

"Om Svasti Kalyāna purīṭ parama māhēśvara samarājirānēka
"ripudarpa marddana bhujabala parākrama Gangāpakula valamba-
"nasthambhaḥ śankhaika śabdābhinandita jagajhampa tūrya dhvāna
"vidhvasta samastārāṭi chakra mahāmaṇḍalika Śrīman *** These
"kings were using 'Khaṇḍāṅka' only."

(5) The last line is that of Vajrahasta, about which nothing yet known.

The style of each of the five lines of these collateral branches is quite different from the other. It is thus clear that the Gāngāya Era started in Kalinga, since the time of Kāmārṇava, the first Ganga king who ascended the throne of Kalinga, that is, about the last part of the 7th century or the first part of the 8th century A. D. As I discussed the matter in my article on the "Phulsāra C. P. grant of Kīrthirājadeva"⁸, there is no necessity of going again through the subject.

Again to trace the period of Nandavarma phraseologically, it can be proved that the Santabomvālī charter belongs to the first part of the third century of Gāngāya Era.

If closely examined, it will be seen that the *Birudas* or royal titles of this line have been moulded into three remarkable stages within a period of 250 years from Gāngāya Era 80 to 342.

1. In the first and second centuries of Gāngāya Era, the *Birudas* run thus:—

“ओं स्वस्ति (।*) सर्व्वर्तु सुख रमणीयाद्विजय कलिङ्गनगरात्सकल भुवननिर्माणैक सूत्रधारस्य भगवतो गोकर्णस्वामिनस्य चरणकमल युगल प्रणामादपगत कलिकलङ्को विनय नय सम्पदाधारः स्वासिधारा परिस्पन्दाधिगत सकल कलिङ्गाधिराज्यश्चतुरदधितरङ्गमेखलावनीतल प्रविततामलयशा अनेक समर संक्षेभ जनित जय शब्दा गङ्गामल कुलप्रदीपः प्रतापातिशयानामित समस्त सामन्त चूडामणि प्रभामञ्जरी पुञ्जरञ्जित चरणो मातापितृ पादानुध्याता परममाहेश्वर”

2. In the 2nd and 3rd centuries, the *Birudas* run thus:—

“ओं स्वस्ति (।*) अमरपुरानुकारिणः (or) सकलवसुमतीतल तिलकायमानात्) सर्व्वर्तुसुखरमणीयात् विजयवतः कलिङ्गनगर वासकात् महेन्द्राचलामलशिखर प्रतिष्ठितस्य सचराचरगुरोः सकल भुवननिर्माणैक सूत्रधारस्य शशाङ्कचूडामणे भगवतो गोकर्णस्वामिनः चरणकमलयुगल प्रणामाद्विगत कलिकलङ्को गङ्गामलकुलतिलको निजनिस्त्रिंश धारोपार्जित सकलकलिङ्गाधिराज्यः प्रवितत श्चतुरदधितरङ्ग मेखलावनीतलामलयशा अनेकाहव संक्षेभ जनित जयशब्दः प्रतापावनत समस्त सामन्तचक्र-चूडामणि प्रभामञ्जरीपुञ्ज रञ्जित चरणः परममाहेश्वरो मातापितृपादानुध्याते नयविनय शौर्यैर्दार्य सत्य त्यागादि गुणसम्पदाधारभूतः”

3. In the 3rd and 4th centuries, the *Birudas* run thus:—

“ओं स्वस्ति (।*) अमरपुरानुकारिणः सर्व्वर्तु सुखरमणीया द्विजयवतः कलिङ्ग नगराधिवासकात्महेन्द्राचलामलशिखर प्रतिष्ठितस्य सचराचरगुरोः सकलभुवन निर्माणैक सूत्रधारस्य शशाङ्कचूडामणे भगवतो गोकर्ण स्वामिनश्चरण कमल युगल प्रणामाद्विगत

कलिकलङ्को अनेकाहव संक्षेभ जनित जय शब्द प्रतापावनत समस्त सामन्तचक्रचूडामणि, प्रभामञ्जरीपुञ्जरञ्जित निजनिस्त्रिंश धारोपार्जित वरचरणः सितकुमुद कुन्देन्द्रवदाव दिग्देशविनिर्गतयशोव्यस्ताराति कुलाचलो नयविनयदयादानदक्षिण्य शौर्यैर्दार्य सत्य त्यागादि गुणसम्पदमाधरभूतो परममाहेश्वरा मातापितृपादानुध्यातः गङ्गामलकुलतिलको महाराजः”

Now let us see how the *Birudas* of Ganga kings of Hastivarma's line have developed into three different stages. The main differences that may be observed between the *Birudas* of 1st stage and 2nd stage are:—

1. The following phrases are added in the *Birudas* of second stage:—

“अमरपुरानुकारिण”

“महेन्द्राचलामलशिखर प्रतिष्ठितस्यसचराचरगुरो”

“नयविनय शौर्यैर्दार्य सत्य त्यागादिगुणसम्पदमाधरभूतो.”

2 In the *Birudas* of the 1st stage, the phrase “स्वासिधारापरिस्पन्दाधिगत” is mentioned, whereas in the *Birudas* of the second stage it is written as: “निजनिस्त्रिंशधारोपार्जित”.

But as Indravarma, son of Danarnava of Gāngāya era 154 ruled between the first two stages, in his *Birudas* the phrase of second stage i.e.: “महेन्द्राचलशिखर प्रतिष्ठितस्य” and the phrase of first stage i.e. स्वासिधारापरिस्पन्दाधिगत” are mentioned.

Again, the main differences between the *Birudas* of second stage and third stage are mentioned below:—

(1) In the '*Birudas*' of 3rd stage from the word 'कलिकलङ्को' onward, we find a great change.

(2) The phrase “सितकुमुदकुन्देन्द्रवदावदिग्देश विनिर्गतयशो व्यस्ताराति कुलाचलो” as mentioned in the '*Birudas*' of the third stage, is not found in the '*Birudas*' of first and second stages.

From the above, we can clearly trace the approximate period of any king of this line of Ganga Dynasty only by examining the *Birudas* stated in his grant. The *Birudas* mentioned in the Santa-Bomvālī C. P. Grant of Nandavarma, under review, belong to the 2nd stage. In Ganga era 304 (see the grant of Anantavarma, son of Rajendravarma) the *Birudas* of this line already came to the 3rd stage. Hence Nandavarma must be placed in the middle part of the third period of Gāngāya era, but not in the 4th period of Gāngāya era as presumed by Mr Ramadas.

⁸ See J.A.H.R.S. Vol. III, pp. 30—40.

Mr. Ramadas corroborates his own assumption regarding the date of Santa Bomvali C. P. Grant¹ on Palæographical grounds, that the script of Anantavarma's grant of Gāngēya era 310 resemble the script of Nandavarma's grant. But according to my reading, Nandavarma's grant is about 90 years prior to the plates of Anantavarma and Devendravarma mentioned above. It is not possible for a type of characters to undergo any palæographical change in the course of 80 years, in one province.

Finally, Mr. Ramadas criticised my article on the Tirlingi C. P. Grant of Gāngēya era 28, in which the word *Vijayarājya* has been omitted in the name of era. In his article on "The Chronology of the Eastern Ganga kings of Kalinga", he says:—"Since the reign and exploits of Samudragupta belong to this period, it is probable that he might have wrested Kalinga from Sāmidatta and made it independent under a Ganga prince, who having secured the independence of Kalinga might have started an Era to commemorate it. The expression *Vijayarājya*, in naming the Kalinga era, is, therefore significant but not conventional as many have thought it to be." But the Tirlingi plate of Gāngēya era 28 might have been granted by the first Ganga king, who, according to Mr. Ramadas, might be the same Ganga prince that obtained the throne of Kalinga with the help of Samudragupta, and being grateful to the Gupta Sovereign, adopted the phrase *Vijayarājya* in his era, in order to commemorate the victory of Samudragupta. If so, the omission of the same phrase in his own charter, is really strange. This might be the reason why Mr. Ramadas anxiously wants to prove the spuriousness of the plate.

However, it can be seen that the phrase *Vijayarājya* is not connected with any victory, and apparently, is a mere conventional one because it generally appears in the regnal years of the kings of several dynasties of Southern India. For example, I mention below some ancient records of the kings of different dynasties of Southern India in which the phrase '*Vijayarājya*' is clearly inscribed:—

- (1) Antaringam C.P. grant of Jayabhanja Dēva, of Bhanja dynasty: "प्रवर्धमानविजयराज्य सम्बत्सरे"
- (2) The Bhuvanēśvara stone inscription of Udyotakēsari of Kēsari dynasty:—"परममाहेश्वर महाराजाधिराज सोमवंशोद्भवभूपति श्रीमदुद्योतकेसरी देवस्यविजयराज्ये"
- (3) C. P. inscription of Mahābhavagupta of Cuttack:—"परममहाराज महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीजनमेजयदेवस्य विजयराज्यसम्बत्सरे"
- (4) Stone inscriptions in Bhīmēśvara temple at Dakṣhārāma of Kulōtunga Chālukya Chōla of dynasty:—

"कुलोत्तुंगचोलदेवस्य प्रवर्धमान विजयराज्यसम्बत्सरे"

- (5) Stone inscriptions of Vishṇuvarddhana Mahārāja of Eastern Chalukya dynasty:—
"विष्णुवर्धन महाराजुल प्रवर्धमान विजयराज्य सम्बत्सरंबुलु"
- (6) Kākati Rāja of Kākatiya dynasty⁹:—
प्रवर्धमानविजयराज्य शकवरुंबुलु"

From the above records, we see that Bhanja kings, Kēsari kings, Gupta kings, Eastern Chālukya-Chōla kings and Kākatiya kings used the phrase "*Vijayarājya*" in naming their regnal years. Moreover, almost all the kings of modern Orissa districts use the same phrase. Therefore, it goes without saying that this phrase is merely a conventional one, and not a significant one, as referring to some particular event, as presumed by Mr. Ramadas.

He urged that the Tirlingi plate is a spurious one because:—

- (1) It is full of mistakes.
- (2) It is not approved by Rājasimha, a common title to Hastivarma and Indravarma.
- (3) It is found at the bottom of a well, whereas not even one of the plates of Kalinga has been discovered in a well.
- (4) It is a single plate, whereas all the plates, discovered from Kalinga are found strung together on an uncut ring, the two ends of which are secured in lead soldering, impressed with the royal seal.

My answers to the above arguments are:—

- (1) Rājasimha, who ordered Vinayachandra, son of Bhānuchandra to engrave the charter is probably the chief minister of Kalinga both in the reigns of Hastivarma and Indravarma. But Rājasimha, as presumed by the scholars hitherto, is not a common title to both Hastivarma and Indravarma, because this was not used by the other kings of this dynasty. The name Rājasimha is found in the plates, engraved from the 80th to the 87th years of Gāngēya era. Evidently he was not appointed to Ganga Sovereignty of Kalinga in Ganga era 28, when our Tirlingi plate was engraved. Moreover, in all the plates of Kalinga, the oral order of the king is not mentioned. Then how can it be inferred that the Tirlingi plate is a spurious one on the simple ground that no mention is made about the king's order?

- (2) This plate is found at the bottom of a well. Mr. Ramadas remarks that unserviceable articles are generally thrown into wells. And hence this plate is an unserviceable document. I do not understand how Mr. Ramadas could believe that the well which was dug in the 7th

century A.D. (according to his calculations in the 4th century A. D.) could still exist? Again many might have known that some illiterate people who found C. P. grants made copper bangles and thus destroyed them; and others having thought that some 'mantrams' (mystic formulæ) are inscribed on the plates, broke the rings and threw them in tanks. I know that one set was thrown into a tank near Tekkali, which I tried twice to secure, but in vain. This Tirilingi plate might have been thrown into the well by one of such people.

(3) Finally he urged that it is a single plate, unusual to Kalinga. As stated above, this plate may be a missing one from a set, the ring of which, might have been broken by some one. The woman of Tirilingi who discovered this plate was going to prepare a pair of copper-bangles out of that when my friend Pandit Lingaraja Misro of Parsurāmpuram saw it and took it from her. Similarly the other plates of the set might be still lying in the muddy bottom of the well. I myself discovered a similar missing plate of a Śailādbhava king of Orissa in Puri, and I know some missing plates of the Ganga kings of Hastivarma's line are still preserved with the Rājah Sāheb of Tekkali. Thus such single plates are not unusual to Kalinga.

As for the plate having mistakes, several other plates have mistakes, but from that it cannot be said that the plates are spurious. With regard to the mistakes he says, "the date of Tirilingi plate is 'प्रवर्धमानराज्य सम्वत्सरअष्टाविति' and this ought to be 'सम्वत्सरअष्टाविति' in correct Sanskrit; whereas my reading is:— 'प्रवर्धमानसम्वत्सरस्य अष्टाविंशति' I do not understand how he interprets the letter 'sya' as 'sitya', and overlooks the letter 'msa' between the letters 'vi' and 'ti'? Mr. Ramadas' reading is clearly incorrect. The plate has been published in the previous volume of this Journal and readers can judge for themselves whether his reading is possible.

Finally Mr. Ramadas discussed the controversial point with regard to name of its donor, and urged that the name must be Indravarma but not Nandavarma as read by me. The name of the donor is mentioned clearly in two places (e.g. II-1.7 and III-1.2) of the charter as 'श्रीमानन्दवर्मा'.

The omission of one symbol 'n' is more natural than that of two symbols 'e' and 'r'. In the charters of Ganga kings, it is generally seen that many letters are made single where they ought to have been doubled. Again he says that Nandavarma is not a name commonly met with in this family. I admit this, but would add that there are some other names used in this family as Hastivarma, Jayavarma, Satyavarma etc., which are also not commonly met with in this family. Thus this is also an unsound point.

SANTABOMMALI PLATES OF INDRAVARMA.

(VIJAYA RAJYA ERA: 87.)

SRI LAKSMINARAYAN HARICHANDAN JAGADEV RAJAH BAHADUR

I secured this set of copper plates in Santa-Bommali¹ from a certain farmer in 1925. These plates, three in number, are hung on a ring the ends of which, were secured in the back of a seal which contained the royal insignia of the Varman dynasty of Kalinga. On the seal is engraved the figure of a bull. The length of each of the plates is $6\frac{3}{4}$ " and the breadth is $2\frac{2}{5}$ " and the circumference of the ring is $2\frac{1}{8}$ ". The weight of the plates together with the ring is 52 tolas. The circumference of the seal is $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches (?) The first side of the first plate and the second side of the last plate do not contain any writing. They might have been left so, in order to protect the writing inside. The characters of this grant resemble those of the grant of Hastivarma of 80th year of *viṣṇurājya* era. There are six lines on each side of these plates, thus making in all 24 lines. The script employed is Brāhmi characters. The grant is partly in prose and partly in poetry. Lines 1 to the middle of the 19th line are written in prose and the remaining, which contain the usual *vyāsa gītas*, are in metre. In the second half of the 23rd line the date, month and the year of the grant are given; and the 24th line contains a *śloka* in *anustup* metre which mentions the writer and the donor of the grant. This inscription supplies us a new fact, namely that Indravarma had another name, Rājasimha.

The inscription relates to the grant of a piece of land in Haribhaṭa village in the Krōṣṭrukavartani *viśaya* as *dēvāgrahāra* to the deity known as Rāmēśvara Bhaṭṭāraka.² This grant was made in the 87th year of the *Pravardhamāna viṣṇurājya samvatsara*, on the tenth day of Jyēṣṭha. The donor of the grant is Rājasimha and the name of the composer is Vinayachandra son of Bhānuchandra. The writer is said to

1 Banamalinagara is corrupted into Bommali and since shandy used to take place there the town came to be called Santa-Bommali. *Santa* in Telugu means a shandy.

2 At a distance from Santa-Bommali where the subjoined grant is found is a Siva temple of Palesvara or Phalesvar and an old rock inscription. Perhaps this deity might be the Rāmēśvara Bhaṭṭāraka referred to in the inscription. Vide also my article on the Rock inscription near this place where the deity is mentioned in *Sadhana* Vol. V. part 32.

be one Stapuñuju. The order was published orally through Talavaradāva Bhōgika. Of the rulers of the *varman* dynasty known to us from other copper plate grants discovered till now, the donor of the present plates, Indravarman is the third king.

LIST OF AVAILABLE COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF KINGS
WHO BORE THE TITLE *VARMA*.

1	Tirlingi Copper Plate Grant.	<i>Gānga Era</i>	28th year.
2	Utlām Plates of Hastivarma.	...	80th year.
3	Tekkali Plates of Indravarma.	...	87th year.
4 (a)	Achyutāpuram Plates of Dēvēndra- varma, son of Rājēndravarma.	...	91st year.
	(b) Tekkali Plates of the same king.	...	110th year.
5 (a)	Chicacole Plates of Indravarma	...	128th year.
	(b) Do Do.	...	138th year.
6 (a)	Purlipeta Plates of Indravarma, son of Danarnava	...	149th year
	(b) Tekkali Plates of the same king.	...	154th year.
7 (a)	Chicacole Plates of Dēvēndravarma, son of Gunārnavā.	...	183rd year.
	(b) Aḍava Plates of Do.	...	184th year.
	(c) Sidhāntam Plates of Do.	...	195th year.
8	Talatāru Plates of Anantavarma son of Dēvēndravarma.	...	204th year.
9	Tekkali Plates of Indravarma son of Anantavarma	...	221st year.
10 (a)	Kalinga Copper Plate Grant of Dēvēn- dravarma, son of Anantavarma	...	251st year.
	(b) Vizagapatam Plates of the above king.	...	254th year.
11	C. P. grant of Dēvēndravarma son of Rājēndravarma (1918 Ep. Rep.)	...	308th year.
12	Jirjāngi C. P. grant of Indravarma.	...	309th year.
13	C. P. grant of Rājēndravarma, son of Dēvēndravarma.	...	342nd year. (<i>J.B.O.R.S.</i>)
14	Chicacole Plates of Satyavarma, son of Dēvēndravarma. (<i>N. B. Nos. 13 & 14 might be brothers</i>)	<i>Vol. XII p. 101 pp.</i> ...	351st year.
15	Chīḍivalasa C. P. grant of Indravarma or Vajri, Manasimha, son of Dēvēndra- varma. His son Bhūpēndravarma, his son Dēvēndravarma.	...	397th year.

ABSTRACT OF TRANSLATION.

He, who is the worshipper of Śrī Gōkarnēśvara svāmi, the creator and supporter of this Universe, who is the source of *vinaya* (modesty), *naya* (politics), and *sampada* (wealth), whose sins of the Kali age were washed away, who, by the prowess of his own sword (arms) defeated his enemies and acquired suzerainty over them, whose glory spread through the length and the breath of the country, who won innumerable battles and who was born in the spotless Ganga family, whose feet were resplendent with the bright lustre of the precious stones contained in the crowns of vassals defeated in many a battle, and who meditates upon the feet of his parents: that Mahārājah Indravarmān from Kalinga, which is a pleasant place in all seasons, issues a command to all the assembled inhabitants of the village of Haribhaṭa in the division of Krōṣṭrukavartani, to the effect that two ploughshares of land in the said village, whose boundaries are given below, are given away to be enjoyed as *Deva agrahāra* to God Rāmēśvara Bhaṭṭaraka Svāmi, for offerings and prayers, festivities and other repairs for the temple, free from all taxes, and in perpetuity.

The boundaries of the land granted are:—

North:—The canal from Khatriya tank,

East:—Arjuna tree, Valmīkamāla, fields, stones, bushes and a margosa tree,

South:—The canal from Khatriya tank,

West:—Well, Jamālārjuna trees and the public road (or a highway)

SATAVAHANAS, WERE THEY ANDHRAS?

PANDIT V. PRABHAKARA SASTRI.

(Translated from the Telugu by Bhavaraj V. Krishna Rao, B.A., B.L.)

Some scholars believe that the Sātavāhanas were not Āndhras. Their main argument is that the more distinguished of the Sātavāhanas ruled over the Kuntaladēśa, i.e., the modern Mahārāshṭra and Guzerat with their capital at Paiṭhan (Pratisṭhāna) as all their inscriptions go to show and not Āndhradēśa for none of their inscriptions have been discovered so far in Āndhradēśa. But the *Puranas* mention the Sātavāhanas as Andhras. As these *Puranas* do not support their view they regard the *Puranas* as worthless records of untrustworthy legends, and therefore give them no historical value. Then we ask, is there is no evidence to establish that the Sātavāhanas were Āndhras and that they ruled over Āndhradēśa?

Let us see. Of the inscriptions of the Caves of Nāsik, Kārle and other places, those relating to Vāsishṭiputra Śrī Pulumāyi are by far the most important. It is from this circumstance alone that scholars like Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, Dr. Sukhtankar, Prof. Subrahmanya Iyer and several others have advanced the theory that the Sātavāhanas were not Āndhras.¹ This is the passage in the famous inscription of Vāsishṭiputra Śrī Pulumāyi which has lent support to their view, rather formed the basis upon which their theory has been advanced: “*Rājarājñō Gotamiputasa Himavata Meru Mandara pavata samasārasa, Asika, Asaka Muḷaka, Surāṭha, Kukurāparanta, Anupa Vidabha, Akaravati, rājasa, Vijha, Chavata, Parichata, Sahya, Kanḥagiri, Macha, Siriṭana, Malaya, Mahinda, Setagiri, Chakora pavata patisa*”² This inscription was edited successively by Bhandarkar, Bühler, Bhagavanlal Indrajī, Senārt and others, several times. Many of the names of places and mountains

¹ Mr. Somasekhara Sarma has in a very interesting and thoughtful article on the *Andhra Maha Samrajyam* in the *Bharati* (Prabhava Chaitra Number) discussed the various theories regarding the Sātavāhanas being Andhras or not.

² The Sanskrit Ohhāya is as follows:—

“राजराजस्य गौतमीपुत्रस्य हिमवन्मेरुमंदरपर्वतसमसारस्य, असिक, अश्वक, मुलक, सुराष्ट्र, कुरुरापरान्तानूप विदर्भाक्षवर्त राजस्य, विन्ध्यश्रक्षवत पारियात्र सद्य कृष्णागिरि मञ्ज श्रीस्थान मलयमहेन्द्रश्चेतगिरि चकोरपर्वतपतेः”

mentioned in this inscription have been identified by them to a large extent. But curiously enough every one of them had failed to identify *Mulaka* with any known province or district of India. I think it was Dr. Bühler who suggested that *Mulaka* might be a mistake for *Mundaka* and accordingly corrected the reading. Another scholar suggested that *Mulaka* becomes *Mundaka* and quoted elaborately rules of grammar and other authorities in support of his view. And every one of these scholars that edited the inscription, in their anxiety to know the correct form of the word, lost sight of the correct identity of the province or district called *Mulaka*.

I think there is something really interesting in the suggestion that *Mulaka* becomes *Mundaka* or *Munduka*. I shall come to it at the end. But meanwhile I think that *Mulaka* country mentioned in the above inscription, is that part of the *Āndhradeśa* which is still known as *Muliki nādu*. There is evidence to show that the *Āndhra* country at one time, prior to its being called *Vāṅgideśa*, was also known as *Mulaka*. The territory comprising the present districts of Cuddapah, Kurnool and Bellary of the Madras Presidency and a part of the south-eastern portion of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, was at one time known as *Muliki nādu*. The territorial name has become somewhat obsolete to-day though it still remains in the name of a community of *Andhra* Brahmins, suggesting their place of origin. The capital of ancient *Mulikinādu* was *Śrīgiri*, which is situated in the centre. It is a well known fact that ancient kingdoms changed their dimensions from time to time and their capitals lost their importance in course of time and have become deserted villages. And therefore it is now difficult to determine exactly the extent of the territory called *Mulaka* during the *Sātavāhana* times. Space also forbids me here to enter into an elaborate discussion of that topic. There is ample evidence to show that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of the Christian era, the country known as *Palnādu* in the Guntur District was called *Mulikinādu*. The following verse from *Kṛidābhīrāmamu*, a Telugu *Vidhi* of the fifteenth century bears ample testimony to this.

చిత్తమగూర్చి మాచెరల చెన్నుడు శ్రీగిరిలింగముం గృహ
యత్తజూడ ముల్కివిషయంబున కామహిమంబు చెల్లె గా
కుత్తరలోన మింట జలముట్టిన మాత్రన నాపతాలలో
విత్తిన యావనాళ మభివృద్ధి ఫలించుట యెట్లు చెప్పడు!

(Because Chenna (*Kāśavāsāmi*) of *Mācharis* (*Palnādu*) and *Siva* (*linga*), lord of *Śrīgiri* (Kurnool District) protect the *Muliki Viśaya* out of their kindness, these extraordinary things are happening: otherwise on the mere appearance of a cloud on the north how is this miracle, the growth and the harvest of mustard seedlings planted in layers of *napa* stones possible?)

Sātavāhanas came to be overlords of '*Siriṭana*' (*Śrīsthāna*) because *Muliki nādu* happened to be under their sway. *Śrīsthāna* is no other than *Śrīsaila* or *Śrīgiri*. The name *Siriṭana* occurs in the list of the mountains and therefore there is no doubt that it is identical with *Śrīsaila* Hill, though some scholars still question the identification. One error has led our scholars to commit another error and this is fully justified in the present circumstance. Because they could not identify *Mulaka* with the *Mulikinādu* of the *Andhra* country, they could not also identify *Siriṭana* (*Śrīsthāna*) with *Śrīgiri* or *Śrīsaila*. But one may ask the question. How could *Sātavāhanas* be lords of the Mountains only without being rulers of the country in which they were situated? It cannot be said that they were controlling the mountains by having access to them through the air! It is this difficulty that baffled many able scholars and prevented them from identifying *Siriṭana* with *Śrīsaila* or *Śrīgiri*, and led them into confusion. In one of the Nasik cave inscriptions of *Vāsishtiputra Śrī Pulumāyi*, we come across a grant made to the *Bhikkus* of '*Dhanakaṭa*'. Some scholars doubted whether *Dhanakaṭa* could be *Dharaṇikōṭa* on the *Krishna* river, and identified it with some place in the north, somewhere about *Malwa*. This is the third error into which they have fallen. The great and beautiful *Stūpa* at *Amarāvati*-*Dharaṇikōṭa* is entirely lost sight of as a Buddhist centre by them. Even till the days of *Yuwān Chwāng*'s visit to *Mahāndhra* and *Dhanakaṭaka*, there existed a great Buddhist monastery at *Dhanakaṭaka* which was inhabited by *Bhikkus* of the *Mahāyana* School. And yet if those scholars did not think of *Dhanakaṭaka* when they found *Dhanakaṭa* in the inscriptions, then it must be said that their oversight was due to their not having recognised the *Sātavāhana* rule over *Āndhradeśa*.

The *Myākadoni* and the *Harpanahalli* inscriptions of *Śivaskandavarma* mention '*Sātavāhana hara*' and '*Sātavāhana raṭha*' as names of a certain province. All scholars agree that the names apply to that part of the country where the inscriptions were found. One of the names of villages mentioned in the grants is '*Chillarekakadunka*'. In the Telugu country, there are many brahmins belonging to the *advaita* (*Madhwa*) school, of the village name of '*Chillarige*'. We do not know of any village of the name of '*Chillarige*' in Bellary district, and therefore I am inclined to hold that *Chillareka* might be *Chillarige*. If therefore Bellary district formed part of *Sātavāhanaraṭha*, it is not improper to assume that the *Sātavāhanas* were *Andhras*. But, it has been suggested against this, that since these inscriptions belonged roughly to the third century of the Christian era, it cannot be said that the *Sātavāhanas* were ruling there at that time. This objection is, indeed, absurd. When *Śivaskandavarma* ruled the country *Sātavāhanaraṭha*, it would be his territory for he made grants in that province even though it had the name *Sātavāhanaraṭha*, and it cannot be assumed for a minute that the name meant the territory governed by the *Sātavāhanas*.

nas. King Śivaskandavarma mentioned the name Sātavāhana ratha because it was an ancient and traditional name for that part of the country for a very long time prior to his rule. That was not the name given to the country at the time of making of the grant, or during his reign. There is yet another thing. When there were several provinces under the sway of the Sātavāhanas, why then should this particular district alone be called after them, as Sātavāhanarāṭha or Sātavāhana hara? Does not this fact alone lead us to the irresistible conclusion that Sātavāhanas originally belonged to this district and that in course of time they lent their name to the district from which they migrated? From the inscriptions of Śivaskandavarma, it may be assumed that the Sātavāhanas, in the early days of their expansion of their Empire, ruled over Mulaka or a part of that province comprising the present district of Bellary and that tract of the country came to be called Sātavāhana rāṭha or Sātavāhana hara. Scholars have again erred here. Originally the Sātavāhanas might be vassals of the Ikhākus (Ikshvākus) of Vāṅgi country and that might be the reason why the Sātavāhanas were referred to as Āndhra bhṛtyas or servants of the Andhras, in some Purāṇas. These Āndhrabhṛtyas became powerful and independent in course of time, and after the fall of the Ikhākus (Andhras) they extended their power and influence over the whole of the western Dekkan including the Karnāṭa country. The Sātavāhana kings were known as Śatakarnis also and they might have lent their name as Karni-nāḍu (the land of the Karni kings) to the province over which they ruled in the beginning, which became distorted into Karnāṭa and Kannāḍa in course of time. In a stone pillar inscription in the Śiva temple in Sthānakundūra in Talkonda district in Mysore, the *archaka* calls himself a worshipper of the *linga* which was at one time worshipped by the king Śatakarni. All these facts go to establish that the Sātavāhanas or Śatakarnis gradually rose to power, till they held sway over the Karnāṭa country and gradually extended the borders of their empire into Mahārāṣṭra and Guzerat (Ghūrjara) and the entire portion of the middle and western Dekkan known as Kuntaladēśa and finally selected as their capital a convenient place on the river Gōdāvari and called it Paithan (Pratishṭhāna), which meant the newly established 'city'. I believe for this reason that Pratishṭhāna (Paithan) was originally built by the Sātavāhanas. The *Jātaka* stories, the *Padma*, *Kūrma* *Linga*, and *Bhaviṣya* Puranas, the *Uttara-kāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Kathāsaritsāgara*, the *Mahābhārata*, and lastly Kalidasa's *Vikramōrvaṣī*, all these mention Pratishṭhāna as a glorious city. The name Pratishṭhāna itself is clearly suggestive of the fact that it was a newly built city, of the Sātavāhanas who were the Āndhrabhṛtyas and therefore themselves Andhras. When the Sātavāhanas were ruling at Pratishṭhāna, the Sakas invaded their empire and wrested from them a portion of their northern dominions, which necessitated the shifting of their capital from Pratishṭhāna on the Gōdāvari to Dhanakataka or Dhanikōṭa or

Krishna, which was till then a provincial town or capital like Vaijayanti on the extreme south west. By that time, the Ikhākus might have sunk into a subordinate position and become weak. These Ikhākus were originally followers of the *Vedic Brahminism* having performed several *kratus* and *yāgās*, and their erstwhile subordinates the Sātavāhanas, too, were likewise followers of the Vedic Brahminical religion. And like the Ikhākus, the Sātavāhanas tolerated and even protected other religions like the Buddhism and the Jainism. They made liberal grants to the Jain Bastis and Buddhist monasteries, protected their stupas and now and then even built new stupas. The whole country lying between the two mighty rivers of the Dekkan, the Krishna and the Godavari, stretching from the shores of the Arabian Sea on the west to the coast of the Bay of Bengal on the east, came under their rule. The *Gāthā Sapta Śati* of King Hala Sātavāhana contains many references and descriptions relating to the Andhra country proper.

In one of the *Gāthas* of Hala's *Sapta śati*, it is said that there was no royal house equal in prowess and nobility to that of the Sātavāhanas in all the country wherein the Godavari rises, flows and falls into the Sea. Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi, M.A., brings to light a new Prakrit work of an unknown poet, called '*Lilāvati parinīya*'³ in the pages of the Telugu monthly *Bhārati*, of Madras. This work describes the marriage of king Hala with princess Lilāvati, daughter of the lord of Sṛṅgala *dvīpa*, in the shrine of *Nagna (Pāsupata) Bhīma* on the sacred banks of the *Sapta Gōdāvarā*.⁴ *Sapta Gōdāvarā* is no other than the

3 *Bharati*. Vol. III Part I. pp. 3 ff.

4 *Prakrit*

Sanskrit Chchaya

तंसत्तमुहाविहतां
बुनिवहनिद्धो अकलिमलुपंकं।
कहकह विदेव सुईरे
णसत्त गोदावरी भीमं॥ v. 190.
इयतस्सकण अदेवा
लयस्सदाहिण दिसइ अणुलगं
गोलाणइवयणविसे
सअंवरम्मं मठायअणं॥ v. 242.
एवं भणिओसोते
णरनव ई अगणिएहि दियहेहि।
संपत्तो कमलदल
चित्तसत्तगोदावरी भीमं॥ v. 1117.

तं सप्तमुखाविहतां
बुनिवहनिर्धूत कलिमलोत्पंकम्।
कथं कथमपिदेव सुचिरेण
सप्तगोदावरी भीमं॥
इततस्य कनकदेवा
लयस्य दक्षिणादिश्यनुलगम्
गोदावरीनदीवदनविशे
षकमिव रम्यंमठायतनम्॥
एवं भणितसः सते
नरपतिरगणितौ दिवसैः।
संप्राप्तः कमलदलाक्षि
सप्तगोदावरी भीमम्॥

modern village of Dakshārāma, Ramachandrapur Taluk, in the East Godavari district, where stands to this day the magnificent Eastern Chālukya temple of Bhīmeśvara and a holy tank (now a small pond, but at one time a huge one into which the waters from the seven streams of the Godavari flowed) called *Sapta Gōdāvari*. On the Amarāvati *stūpa*, there is an inscription of Gōtamiputra Śrī Sātakarnī and quite recently his statue also has been found in the Amarāvati collections in the Madras Museum. Another inscription of Yajña Śrī Sātakarnī recording a grant to a Buddhist monastery in the eighteenth year of his victorious reign, was found in a place adjacent to the mouths of the Krishna river. I think the Vishnu deity known as *Āndhra Vallabha*, or *Āndhra Nāyaka* or *Āndhra Vishnu* and *Śrī Vallabha* and *Śrī Kūkolani nātha* at Srikākulam on the Krishna river might be the deity called after one of the famous Sātavāhana princes. '*Sirika Kolanu*' appears to have been the original name of the village now called *Śrī-kākulam*. The Andhra word 'kolanu' became *koḷa* when the place became a place of Vaishnavite importance and pilgrimage. The '*Stahlamahātmya*' records that at some remote past, there existed a huge tank near the shrine or the village, from which the village acquired its name. But the word '*Sirika*' appears to be Andhra Prakṛt *vikṛti* of the Sanskrit name, *Śrīmukha*. And then in the inscriptions of Vāsishṭiputra Śrī Pulumāyi, Sātavāhanas were mentioned as *Brahmanas*. The *Śrīkūkola Sthalamahātmya* also states that the *Āndhra nāyakasvāmi* (Vishnu) was born as a *Brahman* in the house of Nāgadēva Bhaṭṭāraka and married a brahmin girl. This story might relate Śrīmukha Satakarnī, one of the earliest of the Sātavāhana kings. It is said in one of the Buddhist *Jataka* stories, that the Andhra kings originally ruled over the country near the Telivāha river. The story of Lilavati's marriage shows that by the time of Hāla Sātavāhana, the Gōdavari river had branched off before it fell into the sea. I think the Telivāha river mentioned in the Buddhist *Jataka* stories might be the *Tulyabhāga* river, one of the seven branches of the Gōdavari. In the erotic poetry of Sanskrit and other *dēśi* languages, Andhra women are praised for their extraordinarily proportionate features of their body. And this fact finds ample proof in the marvellous sculptures of the Amarāvati *stupa*. That Andhra ladies did not wear any bodice or any such garment to cover their breasts, before or during the long period of construction of that edifice, the Amarāvati *stupa*, is amply borne out by its beautiful sculptures of Andhra feminine beauty. The ancient Andhra women copied their fashions from Paithān (Pratishṭhāna), from the Mahārāshtra and the Ghūrjara (Guzerati) women, when they went there, and thus they began to wear a bodice which is called in Andhra language '*ravika*', and covered their bosom with a portion of their garment called "*payita*". *Payita* is only a *tadbhava* of the name

Paithān or Pratishṭhāna. This only denotes that the name of the *Nagara* Paithān lent its name to the bosom-covering cloth of the Andhra ladies! Even the bodice *ravika* has retained its Paithān influence for it is called to this day *Paithini ravika* or *Paithāni ravika*. The Sanskrit word '*kanchuka*' was not used evidently to denote the new fashion in the Andhra ladies' costume for it happened to be an article of dress common both to the gentlemen and ladies. Further it appears to have been used as a synonym for the Ghūrjara women's veil over her face in the *Gāthā Sapta Sati*. In those days the Āndhra, Drāvira and Maḷayāla women wore no bodices, and only the Andhra and the Karnāṭaka women, after they came in contact with Paithān began to wear bodices, and cover their bosom with a *payita*. Still in the *Drāviḍa* and the *Maḷayāla* countries, women do not wear bodices (*ravika*) to this day. And even to this day men and women in Malabar, Travancore and Cochin wear alike a small upper cloth (*uttariya*) to cover the upper part of their bodies, and curiously enough their women do not wear any bodices (*ravika*) at all. After the fall of the Sātavāhanas, the Andhras lost all touch with Paithān and that erstwhile fashionable city and capital of the Sātavāhana kings dwindled itself into a small village and became almost forgotten in course of time. *Paithini-ravika* and *payita*, thus became fashion for the Andhra women ever since they came into contact with the Sātavāhana capital in the west when it was in its hey-day of glory, magnificence and luxury. That Paithān had close contact with the Andhra country, stretching as far as the shores of Bay of Bengal and the mouths of the Godavari and the Krishna, is clearly established by the fact of the exclusive use of the words *Paithāni-ravika* and *Payita* in the Andhra language even to this day. The Sātavāhana inscriptions mention the Sātavāhanas as having ruled over the whole of the Andhra country, i. e. Muḷaka *dēśa*. The *Purāṇas* clearly state that the Sātavāhana were Andhras. No other part of India except the country lying between the rivers Gōdavari and the Krishna, as far as the sea on the east, i. e. practically the whole of the central and the eastern Dekhan, retains the name Andhra and no other province or people had ever claimed to be Andhra or Andhras during the last two thousand years. It is therefore certainly a matter of pride and joy to know that their ancestors conquered other lands and peoples and carved a great empire and handed down a great heritage to them. The original home of the Sātavāhanas might be Muḷaka (Southern Andhra) or Sātavāhana *raṭṭha*, in the Muḷakadēśa. In the face of these facts it is ridiculous to contend that the Sātavāhanas were not Andhras and that they did not rule over the Andhra country. Pandit Bhagavanla

Indraji thought that *Mulakas* might be the people mentioned as *Mundakas* in the *Vishnupurāna*. This might be so. In my article on the *Ikshvakus* in the pages of *Bhārati* (*Prabhava: Pushya* Number) I stated that the Andhras were also called *Mundiyas* in the *Dharmamṛta katha*.⁵ *Mundiyu* and *Mundaka* might mean the same thing and the *Mundiyus* mentioned in the *Dharmamṛtakatha* might be identical with the *Mundakas* referred to in the *Vishnupurana*.

All the evidence discussed above, I think, is sufficient to answer their charge that the *Sātavāhanas* were not Andhras and refute their arguments. In the story of the *Lilāvati* referred to above, *Sidha Nāgārjuna* is said to be the minister of king *Hala Sātavāhana*.⁶ The *Sidha Nāgārjunakṛāṇḍa* in the Guntur district and the various ancient monuments consisting of Buddhist stūpas and other monastery-halls point out that *Nāgārjuna* was an Andhra. Besides, there are many more things in the *Gāthā Sapta Sati* that would clearly illustrate the fact that the *Sātavāhanas* were Andhras. I shall deal with them in a separate paper.

⁵ There is a *sloka* in praise of Buddha dēva which is quoted in the *Kavindra vachana samuchchaya*, which is said to have been composed by one *Sangha Sri*. I think this *Sangha Sri* might be same person mentioned on the *Dharmamṛta katha* brought to light recently by the Mysore Archaeological Department (1927). In this *sloka*, *Sangha Sri*'s family is called 'Mundiya'. *Sangha Sri* is the father-in-law of the *Ikshvāku* being *Dhanada* of *Bhattiprōlu*, lord of *Vēṅgidēsa*.

⁶ भहुमन्नंतोतं चि अ
मरणसंतोसदिन्ननियहि अ ओ ।
नायज्जुणोवरोहे
णनिग्गओनियपुराहिंतो ॥ V. 1018.
नायज्जुणभिक्षुपुर
स्सरेणसरित्तिरसंठिओराया ।
विजयानंदेणसमं
विवराहुत्तं परिकंतो ॥ V. 1019.

भहुमन्यतस्तमेव
मरणं सतोषदत्तनिजहृदये ।
नागार्जुनोपरोधेन
निर्गतोनिजपुराभिमुखः ॥
नागार्जुनभिक्षुपुर
स्सरेणसरित्तिरसंस्थितोराजा ।
विजयानं देवसमं
विवशभिमुखं परिक्रान्तः ॥

JUDICIAL PROCEDURE IN ANCIENT INDIA.

II. TRIAL BY ORDEAL.

J. RAMAYYA PANTULU, B.A., B.L.

TRIAL BY ORDEAL is recognized by the Hindu Law as a special procedure to be resorted to under special circumstances. It is called *divyam* because the Gods (*devās*) are said to resort to it when they are in doubt in important matters.¹ It is of nine kinds, viz. ordeal by scales (*dhatā*), by fire (*agni*) by water (*jala*), by poison (*visha*), water in which Gods are bathed (*kōs'a*), by rice (*tandula*), by boiled black gram (*tapta māshaka*), by the ploughshare (*phālam*)² and by justice (*dharmajam*). Of these, the first five are major ordeals and the other four are minor ordeals, recognized only by some lawgivers. Before describing these ordeals in detail, it is desirable to refer to certain general considerations applicable to all ordeals.

In the first place, ordeal should be resorted to only in cases in which the ordinary method of trial is not feasible. In the opinion of *Nārada*, ordeal is to be preferred to a regular enquiry because the former is based on infallible truths while the latter depends on evidence which is fallible.³ Nevertheless the accepted rule is that, trial by evidence is the ordinary procedure and trial by ordeal is an extraordinary procedure.⁴ Ordeal should be adopted only in important cases (*pushka-rārdha*), the smaller cases (*alpārādha*) being disposed of by swearing (*śapatha*). Swearing may be by truth, by a riding-horse, by weapons, by a bow, by seeds of grain, by gold, by the feet of brahmins, by the gods or by the heads of one's own wife or children.⁵

1. యస్మాద్దేవైః పృథ్వీకాని పుష్కరాథే మహాత్మభిః Sankha.
2. ధన్వన్తరీయకం చైవవిషంకోశశ్చపంచమం । పష్టశ్చతండులః ప్రోక్షః సప్తమం తప్తమాషకం । అప్తమంఘాల మిత్త్యక్తం నవమంధర్మజంతథా॥ Brihaspati.
3. తత్రసత్యేస్థితో ధన్వన్తరీయహరస్తు సాక్షిణి । చైవసాధ్యే పౌరుషేయాం నత్యేభ్యం వాప్రయో జయేత్ ॥
4. ప్రమాణ హి నేవాదేతు కర్తవ్యం చైవక్రియా. Brihaspati.
5. సత్యవాహన కస్త్రాణి గోబీజకనకానిచ । కేవలబ్రాహ్మణ పాదాశ్చ పుత్రదారకీరాణిచ॥ Brihaspati.

A Brahmin should be sworn by truth, a Kshatriya by the riding horse or weapons, a Vaisya by cows, gold or seeds of grain and a Sudra by the terrors of all sins.⁶ Swearing by truth means expatiating on the virtues of truth-speaking and pointing out the evils of lying. As the best cultured class in society, Brahmins seem to have been considered capable of appreciating the virtues of truth-speaking more than others and hence fit to be sworn in the manner. Applying this method of reasoning, the appropriateness of swearing a Kshatriya (soldier) by the riding-horse and fighting weapons, and a Vaisya (trader and cultivator) by gold, cows and seeds is obvious. The lowest stratum of society is to be sworn by holding forth the terrors of hell which will be the portion of those who speak untruth.

As a rule, an ordeal should be ordered only when the complainant undertakes to abide by its result which involves punishments for making a false complaint if the result of the ordeal should go against him.⁷ Exceptions to this rule are cases of offences against the states and offences involving moral turpitude.⁸

The general rule is that only the accused person should be required to undergo an ordeal, but by consent of parties, a complainant may undergo it, provided the accused undertakes to abide by its result.

There are restrictions in regard to the applications of the different kinds of ordeals. The principle underlying them is that in order that an ordeal may produce its proper result, the person who is to undergo it, should possess a normal degree of physical health and of moral sense and that any deficiency in either of these respects, vitiates the result of the ordeal to that extent. These regulations are designed to remove the causes of error as far as possible. The presence of an adequate ethical sense causes a *sine qua non* to all kinds of ordeals and it is, therefore, provided that the following classes of persons are ineligible for ordeals, viz., persons addicted to do violence to those who are entitled to their reverence, such as parents, teachers and brahmins, and to persons

6. సత్యసకాపయే ద్విప్రంక్షత్రియం వాహనాయుధైః ।

గోవీజకాంచ నైర్వైశ్యం కూద్రం సర్వైస్తు పాతకైః॥

Pitamaha.

7. అభియోక్తా శిరస్థానే వివేకః పరికల్పితః । అభియోక్తాయ దాతవ్యం క్షుణ్ణినిదర్శనాత్ ।

శిరోవర్తియదా సస్వార్థదాదివ్యం సదాయతే

Narada.

8. వివాపిశీర్ష కాతుశ్చాన్యైస్త్వదో ఆహాధపాతకే॥

Yajnavalkya.

9. సకల్విదభియోక్తాం దివ్యేషు వినియోజయేత్ । అభియోక్తాయ దాతవ్యం దివ్యం దివ్య విజ్ఞానైః॥ రుచ్యావాన్యతః కుర్యాదితగోవర్తయేచ్చిత్॥ అభియోక్తా శిరస్థానే దివ్యేషు పరికల్పితః । Yajnavalkya. ఇచ్చయాత్వితః కుర్యాదితగో వర్తయేచ్చిత్॥ Narada

who are entitled to protection from these viz. children, old people and women, persons who are guilty of heinous sins (*mahāpātakas*), atheists wicked persons generally, persons of mixed parentage and generally all persons addicted to sinning.¹⁰ But these people may nominate eligible persons to undergo the ordeal on their behalf and, if they do so, they will, of course, be bound by the result of the ordeal.¹¹ As regards physical capacity, different kinds of ordeal require different degrees of health and it is, therefore, provided that the more arduous ordeals should not be administered to persons who are not strong enough to undergo them. It is ordained, for instance, that eunuchs, invalids, blind persons, children, old people and women should only be tried by weighment, Neither water nor poison should be administered to women and either of these or fire to old people and invalids. Ordeal by rice should not be applied to persons suffering from diseases of the mouth, and lepers should not be tried by fire nor consumptives and asthmatic people by water. Similarly ordeal by poisons should not be resorted to in the case of persons suffering from bilious or phlegmatic humours. Ordeal by fire is unsuited to metalsmiths, ordeal by water to persons accustomed to move in water (such as fisher-men) and ordeal by poison to persons versed in spells (*mantrayōga*).¹² The reason for the restriction in the last three cases is obvious. By reason of their professions smiths are accustomed daily to handle fire and fisher-men to move about in water and they can, therefore, endure ordeal by those elements more than a normal person, and this vitiates the result of the ordeal. The prohibition of ordeal by poison in the case of persons versed in spells is evidently due to the belief that those persons can, by their spells, counteract the actions of the poison.

Ordeal according to caste. Harita says that a Brahmin should be tried by weighment, a Kshatriya by fire and a Vaisya by water, in preference to other ordeals, and that poison should not be administered to a Brahmin,¹³ but this injunction is not regarded as absolutely binding.

10. మాతాపితృన్విజ గురువృద్ధ స్త్రీబాల ఘాతినాం । మహాపాతకయుక్తానాం నాస్తికానాం విశేషతః॥ లింగినాం ప్రశతానాంతు మంత్రయోగ క్రియావిదాం । వర్ణసంకర జాతానాం పాపాభాస పృవర్తినాం॥ ఏతేషుచాభియేషు నిద్యేష్వేవతు యత్నతః । దివ్యం ప్రకల్పయేన్నైవరాజాధర్మపరాయణః॥

Katyayana.

11. ఏత్రైవేవని యుక్తానాం సాధూనాం దివ్యమర్హతి॥

Katyayana

12. నలుహాశిల్పినామగ్నిం సలిలం నాంబు సేవినాం । మంత్రయోగ విదాంచైవవిమం దద్యాచ్చుశక్యవిత్॥ తంశుతైర్మనీయుం జీతప్రజీఠం ముఖరోగిణం॥

Katyayana.

13. కుష్ఠినాం వర్జయేదగ్నిం సలిలం శాస్త్రసకాసి నాం॥ పితృశ్లేష్మవతాం నిత్యం విషింతుపరివర్జయేత్ । రాజశ్యేగ్ని ధటం విశేర్షే వైశ్యతోయం నియోజయేత్॥

(Pitamaha)

Brihaspati attaches a money value to each kind of ordeal. According to him, poison should be administered in cases in which the claim involved is worth a thousand (coins), fire in cases in which the claim is worth seven hundred and fifty coins and water in cases in which the claim is worth two thirds of a thousand (coins). *Dhata* should be applied in cases worth five hundred coins, dried black gram in cases worth four hundred coins, rice in cases worth three hundred coins, *kōś'a* in cases worth one hundred and fifty and ordeal by *dharma* should be applied in cases worth one hundred coins only.¹⁴ Vishnu's values are some what different from these.

The following rules regulating the seasons during which the several kinds of ordeals should be applied are, it will be seen, designed to prevent the result of the ordeal from being prejudiced one way or the other by abnormal atmospheric conditions. Appropriate seasons for the ordeals Weighment may be applied in all seasons, provided it is not exposed to winds. The months of *Chaitra* (April), *Vaiśākha* (May) and *Mārgaśīra* (December) are normal months for all ordeals. Ordeal by fire should be applied in *Hēmantha* and *Sis'ira r̥tus* (December to March) and also during the rainy season but never in the hot weather. Ordeal by water should be applied in the hot weather and also in the *Sarat r̥tu* (October and November) but never in the cold weather. Poison may be administered in *Hēmantha* and *Sis'ira r̥tus* but not in the rainy season.¹⁵

The appropriate time of the day for each ordeal is as follows. Ordeal by weighment, fire and *kōś'a* should be applied in the forenoon, ordeal by water at midday and ordeal by poison in the last watch (*yāma*) of the night.¹⁶

సర్వేషు సర్వవిషయై వావిషవర్జ్యై తే మే సవిష్టం బ్రాహ్మణే దద్యాన్విషం వర్జ్యై తే సర్వేష్టుతం॥

14. విషం సహస్రే వహ్యతే పాదో నేచ ముతాశశః । త్రిభాగో నేచ సలిల మర్దేదేయో ధటస్సదా॥ చతుశ్చతాభియోగేషు దాతవ్యస్సప్తమాషకః । త్రిశతేతండు లాదేయా శోశశ్చైవ తదర్థతే । శతేహ్యతే పహ్నుతే చదాతవ్యం ధర్మశోధనం॥

15. చైత్రోమాఝశ్చ రాశ్చైవ వైశాఖ శ్చ తదైవచ । ఏతే సాధారణా మాసాని వ్యానామ విరోధినీ॥ ధటస్సర్వర్థకః పోగ్తో వాతేవాతి విసర్జయేత్॥ అగ్నిశ్శిశిర హేమం తే వర్షాస్యపిచ దాపయేత్ । గ్రీష్మే సలిల మిత్తుక్తం హిమకాలేతువర్జయేత్ Pitamaha. అగ్నిశ్శిశిర హేమం తే వర్షాసుపరిక్షీర్తితః । శరద్గ్రీష్మేతు సలిల హేమం తే శిశిరేవిషం॥ సశీతేతోయ కుద్ధిస్సాన్విష్టకాలేగ్ని శోధనం । సహస్రవిషవిషం దద్యాత్ప్రవాతేన తులాంచుపః॥

Narada.

16. పూర్వాహ్నిపరీక్షా స్యాత్పూర్వార్హస్థే చ ధటోచచేత్ । మధ్యాహ్నేతుజలం దేయం ధర్మత త్పమభీషసా । దివసస్యతు పూర్వార్హస్థే శోశకుద్ధివిధీయతే । రాత్రాతుపశ్చ మేయామే విషందేయం సశీతలం॥ Pitamaha.

Ordeals may be held in court, in front of the king's palace, in a temple or in the public market¹⁷. Persons accused of heinous crimes (*mahāpātakas*) should undergo ordeal in a temple, those accused of treason, in front of the king's palace and persons born of parents of unequal castes, the mother's caste being higher than the father's (*prātilomyaprasūta*) should be tried in the public market. All the rest should be tried in court.¹⁸

The presiding Judge of the Court (*prādvivāka*) should conduct the ordeal first as the chief priest (*adhvarya*) conducts a sacrifice (*adhvara*). He should fast on the day previous to the ordeal. Ceremonial He should sit with folded hands facing the east and invoke the presence of justice (*dharma*) saying "O thou adored Dharma! Come and abide in this ordeal, accompanied by the guardians of the different points of the compass (*lōkapālas*) and by the Vasus, Ādityas and Maruths.¹⁹ He must also invoke the presence of all the important gods and goddesses and assign a definite place to each of them round the place of ordeal. He should then worship them in the approved manner and then get *kōma* performed by Brahmins versed in Vēdas. The person under trial should fast three days if he is able bodied or for one day if he is not, previous to the day of the ordeal. At the time of the ordeal, he should bathe and wear a wet loin cloth. The presiding officer should then place on his hand a leaf (*patra*) containing the mantra

అదిత్యచంద్రావనిలో నలశ్చ దౌర్భాసురాపోహృదయం యమశ్చ॥

అహశ్చ రాత్రిశ్చ ఉభేచ సంధ్యే ధర్మశ్చ జావాతి సరస్యవృత్తం॥ which means, "The Sun, the Moon, the air, the fire, the sky, the earth, the water, Yama, the day, the night, the two twilights, the mind and justice know the doings of man."

What has been said above is common more or less to all ordeals. We shall now see how each ordeal is to be conducted. The first is ordeal by balance.

17. సభారాజకులద్వార దేవాయతన చత్వరం॥

Narada.

18. ఇంద్రస్థానేభి శస్తానాం మహిపాతనీనాం నృణాం
నృపద్రోహి ప్రవృత్తానాం రాజద్వారే ప్రయోజయేత్ ।
త్రాతిలోమ్య ప్రసూతానాం దివ్యం దేయం వతష్పథే ।
అతోద్యేషు తుకార్యేషు సభామధ్యే విదుర్బదాః॥

Katyayana

19. ఏహ్యేహి భగవత్ ధర్మ అస్మిన్ దివ్య సమావిశ ।
సహితో లోక పాపై శ్చ వసాన్వి దిత్వ మరుద్గణైః

The weighing balance should be erected in a hall or room (*Sāla*) which should be spacious, high and clean. It should be provided with a door and key and guarded by peons, so that neither dogs nor crows nor *chandālas* may enter it. The beam of the balance should be square-sided and four cubits (*hasta*) long and should be mounted on two legs which should be of the same length above ground and one cubit or a cubit and half apart. Both these should be made of the heart wood of the *Khadira* tree (*Acasia Catechu*) free from knots. In the absence of *Khadira*, *Simsupa* (*Dalbergid Sisu Rob.*), *Sāla* (*Vatica Robusta*), *Arjuna* (*Terminalia Arjuna*), *Tilaka*, *Tiniśa* (*Dalbergia Oujeiven-sis*) *Asoka* (*Jouesid asoka Rob*) or Red Sandal (*Petro carpus santottinus*) wood may be used. The beam should be provided with three iron rings, one in the centre and two attached to iron legs one at each end; and it should be straight and strong. The legs or posts of the balance should be altogether six cubits long and should be planted two cubits deep in the ground. Two scales or pans (*sikya*) should be suspended one at each end of the beam. The accused must be placed in the northern scale and equal weight of stones or earth in the southern scale. Men accustomed to weighing such as tradesmen, goldsmiths or bell metal smiths should be appointed to judge the weighment. The judges must satisfy themselves that the scales (after loading) are evenly balanced and this may be done by pouring a small quantity of water in the centre of the top of the beam. If the water does not swerve to either side the balance is even.²⁰ Testing levels by water is the precursor of the modern method of testing by spirit. After balancing, the accused must be asked to get out of the scale and the balance must be worshipped in the prescribed manner. Thereafter the *prādvivāka* must address the balance thus: "O, Balance! Thou hast been created by Brahma to judge the wicked. Thou knowest what men do not know. This man stands accused and is to be weighed in thee. Thou must judge him by righteousness and free²¹ him from this suspicion. The accused should, in his turn, address the balance thus:

"O, Balance! Thou art the abode of truth, created by gods. Therefore, O blessed one, proclaim the truth and free me from this sus-

20. కార్యః పరీక్షకైర్నిత్య మవలంబసమేధటః।

ఉదకంచ ప్రదాతవ్యం ధటస్యోపరిపండితైః।

యస్మిన్నప్లవతేతోయం సవిజ్ఞేయస్సు మేధటః॥

21. త్వంధట బ్రహ్మచౌస్వప్తః పరీక్షార్థం దురాత్మనాం॥

త్వమేవధట జానీషే నవిదుర్యానిమానవాః।

వ్యవహారాభి శస్త్రాయం మానుషస్తోత్ర్యతే త్వయి।

తదేవం సంశయాత్తస్మాద్ధర్మ తస్మాదుమర్హసి॥

picion. If I am guilty, O mother pull me down, but if I am innocent pull me up" ²². After this, *prādvivāka* should swear the man who is to handle the balance (*tulā dhar*) by saying "May the fate of Brahminicides and false witnesses be also the fate of those who weigh falsely" ²³. The accused must then get back into the scale and the *prādvivāka* must repeat his address to the gods and the balance. The final weighment is thus made. The regulation period of this weighment is five *Vinadis* or the period occupied in pronouncing three hundred long syllables. A Brahmin versed in Astronomy should be appointed to observe time and other Brahmins who are wise, pure and non-avaricious should be appointed as witnesses ²⁴. If the pan in which the accused sits rises up, the accused is innocent. If it goes down or even with the other pan the accused is guilty ²⁵.

A row of eight circles should be formed on the ground with cow-dung. The circles should be sixteen inches in diameter and should be placed at intervals of sixteen inches from one another. A 9th circle which may be of any dimension should be formed in front of row. The eight circles are believed to be presided over by Agni, Varuna, Vāyu, Yama, Indra, Kubēra, Sōma and Savita in the order mentioned and the ninth circle by all gods. South of the first circle, fire should be kindled by making *hōma* in the prescribed manner and in that fire a ball of iron should be heated. The ball should be fifty *palams* in weight and it should be perfectly smooth and round. The heating should be done by a metal smith (*lōhakāra*) thrice. It should first be heated until it becomes red and then immersed in water. It should be heated a

22. త్వంతులే సత్యధామాసి పురాదేవైర్వి నిర్మితా।

తత్సత్యం వదకశ్యాణి సంశయాన్మాం విమోచయ।

యద్యస్మిపాపకృన్నాతః తతోమాంత్వి మధోనయ।

శుద్ధశ్చేద్యమయేదూర్ధ్వం మాంతులేత్విభి మంత్రయేత్॥

Yajnavalkya.

23. బ్రహ్మశ్శేషే యేకృతాలాకాః యేలోకాః కూటసాక్షిణః।

తులాధారస్యతే లోకాన్తులాంధార యతోమృషా॥

Vishnu.

24. జ్యోతిర్విద్రావమృణశ్రేష్ఠః కుర్యాత్కాల పరీక్షణం।

వినాద్యః పంచవిజ్ఞేయాః పరీక్షాకాలకోవిదైః।

సాక్షిణోబ్రాహ్మణశ్రేష్ఠాయధాద్యస్తావాదినః। జ్ఞానినశ్శుచయోలుభానియోక్తవ్యాన్యపేదతు॥

దశసుర్యక్షరః పాణిణః పట్టాణోస్యాద్వి నాడికే॥

25. తులితో యదివర్ధతే స శుద్ధస్యాన్న సంతయః।

సయోవాహీయ మానోవాన విశుద్ధోభవేన్నరః॥

అథోగతో నైశుకుర్వేచ్చుర్వే దూర్ధ్వగతిస్తథా।

నమోపిన విశుద్ధస్యాన్య దేహశుద్ధి రుదాహృతా॥

Narada.

Vyasa.

second time and immersed again in water. This should be done for the purpose of removing unevenness on the surface of the ball. After the immersion, the ball should be heated again until it becomes quite red when it becomes fit for use. While the ball is being heated, the hands of the accused should be carefully examined to see whether there are any boils, cuts or abrasions on them. The man should be made to crush and grind paddy seeds in his hands and this will reveal any abrasions which may not otherwise be apparent. If any such are detected, their position should be marked with a red dye (*alaktaka*) in the form of a swan's foot (*hamsapāda*). When this is done, the accused should be asked to put his hands together in the *anjali* posture and in the hands so held together seven green leaves of the peepul tree should be placed one above another and they should be fastened to the hands with white yarn passed round the hands seven times. On the top of these leaves must be placed seven blades of *darbha* grass, curds and rice (*akshatas*). After this is over the thrice-heated ball of iron should be placed in the hands of the accused while standing in the centre of the first circle and he must be asked to walk from circle to circle until he reaches the eighth circle and deposit the ball in the ninth. He must walk at an even pace. He should not cover more than one circle at one pace and he must not put his feet outside a circle. Having reached the eighth circle, he must deposit the ball in the ninth circle, which ends the ordeal. The man is innocent if, after the ordeal his hands escape being burnt or scalded, and he is guilty otherwise. To remove doubts on the point, he should be made to crush and rub paddy seven times in his hands. If the hands still show no signs of being scalded by sunset, he must be declared innocent.²⁶

Before placing the heated ball of iron in the hands of the accused, the *prādvivāka* should address the fire in the iron ball thus: O, Fire! thou art the four Vedas. Thou art invoked in the sacrifice. Thou art the mouth of the gods and of those who proclaim the *Brahmam* (*Brahma Vedis*). Thou abidest in the stomachs of all creatures and therefore knowest the good as well as the evil. Thou purgest peoples of sin (*pāpam*) and art, therefore, called *pāvaka*. Show thyself with flames to the sinful and become cool with innocent. O, thou fire!

26. జ్ఞానేన నవిభావ్యశ్చదగ్ధావిరికశాతదా।

ప్రీహీనతి ప్రయత్నేన పప్రవారాంస్తు మర్దయేత్॥

మర్దితో యదినోదగ్ధః సప్తైచ్చరేవవినిశ్చితః॥

నూచ్యశుద్ధస్తు సత్కృత్య దగ్ధోదంఢోయథాక్రమం॥

హృతేశమథయేత్పశ్చాద్ప్రీహీన్యా యదివాయవాన్॥

నిర్వికారే చినస్వాంతే శుద్ధంతమితి నిర్దిశేత్॥

Narada.

Pitamaha.

movest about as a witness inside all creatures and thou knowest what men do not know. This man is accused and wishes to be cleared and do thou by justice clear him from this suspicion."²⁷

The essence of this ordeal consists in immersing the accused person in water. The immersion must be in a tank, lake, channel river with a 'slow current' or the sea, provided the water is comparatively still and free from mud, moss, leeches and fish.²⁸ Rivers with a strong current and water stored in a tub are unsuited for ordeal. Near the place of immersion a festoon should be erected as high as the ears of the person under trial. Two fast runners should be selected out of a group of fifty runners and one of them should be stationed near the festoon and the other near the target at which arrows will have to be shot as per instructions which follow. A bow of the middling speed and some arrows should be placed near the festoon and worshipped. A bow one hundred and seven inches long is fast (*krūra*), a bow one hundred and six inches long is middling and a bow one hundred and five inches long is slow.²⁹ Either a *Kshatria* or a *Brahmin* accustomed to archery, who is of a kindly disposition and of balanced mind, should take up the bow and arrows and should discharge three arrows aiming at a place one hundred and fifty cubits distant.³⁰ Arrows

27. త్వమగ్నే వేదాశ్చత్వారస్త్యంచ యక్షేషు హూయసే।

త్వం ముఖం స్వదేవానాం త్వం ముఖం బ్రహ్మవాదినాం॥

జతరస్థోహి భూతానాం తతోవేత్సి శుభాశుభం।

పాపం పునాసి తై యస్మాత్తస్మాత్పాపక ఉచ్యతే॥

పాపేషు దర్శయాత్మాన మర్చిష్మాన్మవపాపక ।

అథవాశుద్ధ భావేషు తతోభవహుతాశిన్॥

త్వగ్నే స్వభూతానా మంతశ్చరసి సాక్షివత్।

త్వమగ్నే దేవ జానీషేన విదుర్వాని మానుషాః॥

వ్యవహారాభి శస్తాయం మానుషకృద్భి విచ్ఛతి।

తస్మా దేనం సంశయా దస్మాద్ధర్మతస్త్వాశుమర్హతి॥

Narada.

28. నదీషు తనువేగాను సాగరేషు వహేషు చ।

ప్రదేషు దేవభూతేషు తటాకేషు సరస్సుచ॥

Narada .

స్థిరేణో యేనిమజ్జేత సగ్రాహిణి నచాల్పతే।

త్పిణ్యైవాల రహితేజటా కామత్యవర్జితే॥

Pitamaha.

29. క్రూరం ధనుస్సప్తకతం మధ్యమం పట్నతంస్మృతం।

మందం పంచకతం క్షేయమేష క్షేయోధనుర్విధిః॥

Narada.

30. మధ్యమే సతునాపేన ప్రక్షిపేచ్ఛత్రయం।

హస్తానాంతు శలేసార్థలక్ష్యం కృత్వావిచక్షణః।

Narada

should not be discharged while there is high wind blowing nor should they be discharged so as to fall on uneven or rocky ground or ground covered with trees or thickets. The fast runner who has been already stationed at this place, should pick up the second of the three arrows shot and wait there. Meanwhile the person under trial should be led into waist deep water and made to stand there holding a staff. When these preliminaries are over, the presiding judge should clap his hands thrice and at the third clapping, the fast runner at the festoon should run fast towards the other fast runner. Simultaneously with this, the accused should be completely immersed in water and he should so remain immersed until the ordeal is over. As soon as the first fast runner reaches his destination, the other fast runner with the arrow in his hands, should run fast to the festoon and if, when he arrives at the festoon, finds the accused still immersed, so that no part of his body is seen above water, the accused is innocent. Otherwise, he is guilty. Appearance of the crown of the head only without either the nose or the ears appearing, does not matter.

This ordeal consists in the person under trial being made to swallow a small quantity of poison. The poison should be either of the *Visha* *Śringi* or the *Vatsanābha* plant growing on the Himalayas; *Vidhi.* Seven *yavas* weight of *Śringi* or six *yavas* weight of *Vatsanābha* is the proper dose.³¹ Poison which has lost its virtue by being kept long, artificial poison and the poison of plants growing on lowland, is unfit for ordeal purposes.³² Poison must be administered mixed with thirty times its weight of ghee, and at noon and in a cool place.³³ Before administering poison, the *prādvivāka* should address it thus: "O, Poison! thou hast been created by Brahma to judge the guilty. To the wicked, exhibit the proper qualities but to the virtuous, be as ambrosia"³⁴ The accused person should address it as follows: "O, poison! thou art the son of Brahma and thou abidest in truth. Be as ambrosia to me and defend me from this accusation".³⁵

31. యవాస్పష్ట ప్రదాతవ్యా అధవాపట్ట సంఖ్యయా।

శృంగిణో వత్సనాభస్య మ్రామజస్య విషస్యవా॥

Prajapati.

32. చరితానిచ జీర్ణానికృత్రి మాణితద్దైవచ।

భూమిజాతాని సర్వాణి విషాణి పరివర్జయేత్॥

Prajapati.

33. పూర్వాహ్నా శీతలేదేశే విషం దేయం తు దేహినాం।

ఘృతం తుయోజితం క్షత్త్యం విష త్రిశద్గుణాన్వితం॥

Katyayana.

34. త్వంవిషబ్రహ్మణా సృష్టం పరీక్షార్థం దురాత్మనాం।

పాపేషు ద్వి యాత్మానం శుద్ధానామ మృతంభవ॥

Pitamaha.

35. త్వం విషబ్రహ్మణః పుత్రసత్యధర్మైః శ్రేయశ్చిత్తః।

త్రాయస్యా స్మాదభీతా ఘాత్యత్యే నభవమేమృతం॥

Yajnavalkya.

If the accused survives the administration of the poison for the period required to clap hands five hundred times, without experiencing any of its deleterious effects, he is innocent³⁶. The deleterious effects of poison are of seven kinds. During the first stage, the hair of the accused stands on end; the second stage produces sweating of the body and dryness of the mouth; the third stage causes discoloration and the fourth shaking of the body. The 5th stage produces lassitude and hiccups and the 6th stage hard breathing and unconsciousness. The 7th stage is death.³⁷ As soon as the verdict is pronounced, the accused must be treated medically so as to free him from the after effects of the poisons. Before the ordeal begins, the body of the accused person should be searched to see that the accused does not carry about him any antidotes to poison such as drugs, minerals and spells.

This ordeal consists in the accused drinking water in which Gods and Goddesses of a fierce nature (*ugra*) are bathed. If the accused *Kos'a* has any favourite god, he must drink the water in which *Vidhi.* that particular god is bathed. If he has no such preference, he must drink the water in which the sun god is bathed. Thieves and accused soldiers should be made to drink the water in which the goddess Durga is bathed, and Brahmin should be given the water in which the Sun is bathed.³⁸ Bathing a god means bathing a symbol peculiar to that god. A trident should be bathed in the place of Durga and a disk in the place of the Sun. In the place of the other gods, their weapons should be bathed.³⁹

The quantity of water to be drunk is three handfuls (*pras'rutis*) and it should be drunk by the man standing within a circle formed with cowdung. The accused must bathe and wear a wet cloth before drinking the water. He must also have feasted on the previous day. The proper

36. పంచతాలశతం కాలం నిష్క్రికాగో యథాభవేత్।

తథాభవతి సంశుద్ధస్తతః కుర్యాచ్చిత్తితమ్॥

Narada.

37. వేగోగోమాంచ మాద్యోరచయతి విషజన్యే దవక్తోప శోషోతస్యోర్ధ్వ స్ఫుశ్వరాద్యౌవ

పుషిజన యగోవర్ణ భేదప్రవేపాయోవేగఃపంచమోసౌజనయతివిషతాంకంఠభంజంచ

హికాగ్ం షోష్టానిశ్వాసమోపశావిత రతిచమృతిం సప్తమో భోక్షకస్య॥ *Yajnavalkya.*

38. భక్తోయోయస్య దేవస్యపాయ యేత్తస్య తజ్జలం।

సమ భావేతుదేవా నామాదిత్య స్యశుపాయయేత్॥

దురాయాః పాయయే చోర్పరా యేచశస్త్రోప జీఃసః॥

భాస్కరస్య తుయత్తోయం బ్రాహ్మణం తత్తుపాయయేత్॥

Pitamaha.

39. దుర్గాయాః స్నాపయే మృతమూదిత్య స్యశుమండలం।

ఇతరేషాంతదేవానాం స్నాపయేదాయథానిచ॥

Pitamaha.

time for the ordeal is the forenoon. The accused should be adjudged innocent if, after drinking the *kōs'a*, he remains unaffected by any untoward consequences of a serious nature for a period which may extend to three, seven or fourteen days, according to the heinousness of the crime of which he is accused.⁴⁰ The untoward consequences may be those caused by an act of god or by an act of the king. The former include diseases of the body such as fever, diarrhoea and colic and also insanity. Serious loss of property and failure of business for which there is no apparent cause also comes under this head. The act of the king means punishment according to law.

The five ordeals described above are the major ordeals prescribed by all lawgivers. The next four ordeals are minor ones to be employed in comparatively small cases.

This should be applied only in theft cases. The *prādvivāka* should secure cleaned white rice of the *śāli* sort and soak it in water in which gods have been bathed, in an earthen pot, during the previous night. Early on the morning of the day of ordeal the rice should be given to the accused in three instalments, and Ordeal by he should be asked to chew it and then spit it on a rice. leaf of the peepul tree or a *bhūrjapatra*. If the spit rice is quite white, the accused is innocent. If it is red or if the jaws or the palate of the accused bleed or cracked or if his body shaken he is guilty.⁴¹

The *prādvivāka* should get a cup made of gold, silver, copper or iron or an earthen cup sixteen inches wide and four inches deep and fill it with twenty *palas* of ghee and oil mixed. In this mixture of ghee and oil must be dropped a lump of gold of the size and shape of a black gram seed. According to some law givers, the cup must be filled entirely with cow's ghee and a ring made of gold, silver, copper or iron dropped into it. The ghee or the ghee and oil should be boiled and when it is well boiled, the accused should be asked to take out the gold piece or the ring holding it between his thumb and forefinger only. If, after he has done so, there is no boil on either of those fingers, the man is innocent; otherwise he is guilty.⁴²

40. తిర్రాతాత్తప్ప రాత్రాద్వా ద్విసప్తాహః దధాపివా।
వైకృతం యస్యదృశ్యేత పాపకృత్తు మనవః॥

Pitamaha.

41. శుద్ధస్నాన్చుక్లనిష్ఠి వేవిపరీతేచ దోషభాత్, శోణితందృశ్యతే యస్యహిమస్తాలుచశీర్వతే।
గాత్రం చ కంపతే యస్య తస్యాశుద్ధిం వినిర్దిశేత్ ॥

Pitamaha.

42. పృథేశినంచ తస్యాథ పరీక్షేయః పరీక్షకాః।
యస్యవిస్ఫోటకానమ్యః శుద్ధోపావస్య భాశుచిః॥

Pitamaha.

A piece of iron, eight inches long and four inches wide and weighing twelve *palams*, is called *phūlam*. It should be heated till it becomes red and persons accused of theft should be asked to lick it once only. If the man remains unhurt by the licking, he is innocent.⁴³

Two figures should be made. One of justice (*dharma*) in silver and one of injustice (*adharma*) in iron or lead. In the alternative, these figures may be painted on two separate pieces of *bhūrjapatra*. *dharma* in white and *adharma* in black. The figures should be worshipped-*dharma* with white flowers and *adharma* with black flowers, and they should be inserted in two separate balls of mud or cowdung. The balls should be placed inside a sound earthen pot and the mouth of the pot should be shut and plastered with mud. The accused should then say "May *dharma* come to my hand, if I am free from sin", and so saying, he must put his hand into the pot and take out one of the balls without hesitating. If he picks up the *dharma* ball, he is innocent; otherwise, he is guilty.⁴⁴

43. ఆయసంద్వాదశపలం ఘటితం ఫాలముచ్చతే।
అప్టాంగులం భవేద్ధిర్ఘం చతురంగుల విస్తృతం॥
అగ్నవర్ణంతు తచ్ఛోణోజిహ్వయా వేహయేత్సకృత్।
పదగ్ధశ్చేచ్ఛుద్ధిమియా దస్యభాతు సహాయత॥

Brihaspati.

44. యదిపాప విముక్తోహం ధర్మస్త్యా యాశు మేకరే।
అభియుక్తస్తతశ్చేకం పృశ్నహితా విలంబితం॥
ధర్మే గృహితే శుద్ధస్నాన్విద ధర్మేతు సహాయతే॥

Pitamaha.

A SHORT BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM ARANG, (C. P.)

L. P. PANDEYA ŚARMA.

ĀRANG is a thriving town in the Raipur Tahsil situated in 20° 12' N. and 81° 59' E, in the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces. It is 22 miles from Raipur on the Raipur-Sambalpur road and 4 miles from the Mahānadi river. The famous old capital of the Mahākōśal country Śrīpūr (now a deserted village and in ruins) is about 20 miles from Ārang. Ārang is the find-place of a copper-plate inscription which is dated in the Gupta era 282 corresponding to 601 A. D. This inscription records the grant of a village *Baṭpallikā* to Brahmans by Maharāj Bhimsēna Varmā. Ārang contains very many fine old tanks with numerous remains of temples and sculptures both Jain and Brāhmamical. The only temple which is now standing is a Jain one popularly known as *Bhānd-dewal* from the fact that it contains 3 colossal naked figures of Jain gods. It is richly carved with a number of sculptured statues, many of them being highly indecent. One small temple is dedicated to the Mahāmāyā or "great mother". Here was found a stone slab containing 18 lines of writing, the characters of which are *kuṭil* or Nāgari of 7th or 8th century A. D. Inside the enclosure of this temple 3 naked Jain figures are kept. These figures contain the symbols of an elephant, a conch and a rhinoceros representing *Ajītnāth*, *Nemināth* and *Sreyāms*. On the banks of the *Narāyan Jāl* (tank) there are many life-size statues of Viṣṇu. About 1903, a Jain statue made of precious stone was found and was sold for Rs. 5000. All these finds and remains show the great antiquity importance of Ārang.

The Brahmi inscription which I am going to describe is carved on a stone found at Ārang while diggigng for earth. It is still there and to Mr. Umaryār Bēg, the Headmaster of the Vernacular School, I owe a good impression of this inscription, a transcript and translation of which has been made available to me by a famous epigraphist. As the Raipur District Gazetteer (1909) does not make any mention of this Brahmi inscription, it is clear, it was brought to light some time after 1909. Ārang was visited by General Cunningham in 1881 who found among the ruins two short inscriptions in old characters. He writes in his *Report* Vol. XVII as follows.—

"Among the rough flat stones collected near the police station there was found one fragment, apparently of a pavement slab, bearing

two short inscriptions in old characters, exactly the same as those of the *Amarāvati stūpa* which have been published by Mr. Fergusson. I read them as follows:—

- 1st. Suvārṇa māli, 1., Bhari Sanayas, 1.,
- 2nd. Ganpatiyo Gokarnako, 8 (?).....

The name of Ganpati shows that the slab belonged to a Brahminical temple. In fact I saw no Buddhist remains at Ārang, all the curly headed statues turning out on examination to be common Jain figures."

Our present inscription appears to be incomplete and as it now stands seems to read—

भृङ्गार पर्वतो बलियोग विधि तापको

Bhrṅgāra parvatō baliyōga vidhi tāpako.

It is written in the Brāhmi (southern) script of about the 5th century A. D., and seems to be connected with ascetic whose name is not preserved and who seems to have been a performer of certain *Yōga* rites possibly on the mountain which it calls *Bhrṅgāra*. The performer of the *Yōga* rites might have been a man like Magaradhwaja Yōgi, whose name occurs in a number of inscriptions in Chattisgarh and C. P."

This inscription though not historically interesting is another proof of the antiquity of Ārang. The name *Bhrṅgār* might have been the old name of Ārang itself.

In April 1929 I visited Śrīpūr, the ancient capital of Mahākōśala and on my way to the place I stopped for a day at Ārang. My short stay there resulted in the discovery of a set of three copper plates belonging to King *Mahā Sudēvarāja* whose capital was *Śarabhpur*—which place has not yet been properly identified. These plates are in the possession of one Bhāgirathi Sonkar, a cultivator of Ārang. He could give us no information as to the time and place of their first find. He says that the charter has been in his family for the last 50 years—from the time of his late father. The plates bear inscriptions in the box-head characters and the seal attached to them has the figure of a "Gaja-Lakshmi" like the one found on the seal of Khariyar plates of Mahāsudēva described in *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. IX page 170. The charter records the grant of a village 'Śivlingaka', situate in *Trisadda* division (Bhukti) to certain Brahmans in the 5th year of King *Mahā Sudēva's* reign. It was issued from *Śarabhpur*, apparently the capital of Mahā Sudēva. The engraver's name is given as Drōna Singh, who also engraved the Khariyar plates referred to above. Stone Inscriptions in the box-headed characters are very rare in India, not a single stone

inscription, in box-headed characters, has yet been found in C. P. Of the eight copper plate inscriptions in the box-headed characters, discovered in Chhattisgarh six were issued from Śarabhpur (two belong to King Mahājayarāja and four to King Mahā Sudēva) while the other two belonging to Mahāśwa Tivararāja—sovereign-lord of Mahākōsala were issued from Śrīpur the ancient capital Mahākōsala.

All these above mentioned copper-plate inscriptions do not give any date in any famous era. They, no doubt, contain dates in the regnal years of their kings. Hence we are not in a position to ascertain their age with any amount of certainty. According to G. Jouveau Dubreuil, author of "Ancient History of the Deccan", the age of the box headed characters falls between the 4th and 5th centuries A. D. But he speaks of the use and dis-use of this particular character in the Deccan. Will the same rule hold good for *Chhattisgarh Division* of C. P.? This is a point to be considered by scholars able to deal with the subject. I on my part, can only say that the new discovery of a set of copper plate characters in box-headed type, is another evidence of the antiquity of Ārang.

HIPPOKUORA AND SATAKARNI.

PROF. JEAN PRZYLUSKI.

(Translated from the French by L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar M.A., B.L.,)

When we try to analyse the names of Indian towns, enumerated in the Tables of Ptolemy, we note that several amongst them are formed with a Greek name and an Indian word signifying "town".¹ *Hippokoura* (Ptolemy, VII, 1,83) is a good example of this type of compounds. This name, constituted of Greek *hippos* ("horse") and of Indian *kura* ("town"), means "town of the horse". But with what horse are we concerned here? And why is it used to denote the town?

* * * * *

The Andhra kings often bear a name: *Satakani* in the Prākṛit of the coins, sanskritised into *Śātakarṇi*. The view that finds in this term, only the name of a single dynasty, is doubtful; for, we find *Śātakarṇis* through a period of five centuries, and it is hardly probable that the same family may have maintained itself in power during such a long and troubled period of Indian history.

In Sanskrit literature, *Śātakarṇi* alternates with *Śātavāhana* and *Śālivāhana*, and we find in the inscriptions: *Sātakani*, *Sadakani*, *Sāda*°, *Sati*°. No satisfactory etymology has been given for these forms and none of these forms will have to be neglected if the explanation is to be valid.

"One is tempted," says Mr. Barnett,² "to compare the Satakani with the Satiyaputas (*As'oka, Inscription II*), the *Setae* described by Pliny immediately after the Andhras, and with the tribe of the *S'ātakas* or *Śātaka*". This observation indicates the path which we are going to follow.

If we suppose that *Sātiyaputa* = *Sātakani*, there remains (after removing *Sata* and its derivative *Sātiya*), the equation *puta* = *kani*. We should therefore examine if *kani* may be an Andhra word having the same meaning as *puta* (son) of Middle Indian.

In Munda, we have *kon* ("son"), and this root is common to a number of Austric languages.³ The vowel *o* of *kon* is very open,

¹ Cf. B. S. L., XX, p. 218 et seq.

² Cambridge History of India, i, p. 599.

³ Les Langues du Monde, p. 296.

neighbouring *a*. *Kani* clearly appears to be the notation of an ancient Austric word reduced to *kon* in the majority of modern Austric dialects. A final *i* is found still in Juang where *koni* has the meaning of "son". Satakarni doubtless signifies "son of Sata," and Śātakarṇi is a Sanskritised form of this tribal name which may have been borne by several dynasties.

The Munda languages have, besides, *han* and *hapan* ("son").⁴ The former comes from *kan* through the fricatisation of the initial sound, and the latter is related to the former, with an infix *pa*, in addition. This infix *pa* is used in Munda for forming collective nouns, and Father Schmidt has shown that infixes are, sometimes, ancient prefixes introduced into the body of the word. It is therefore possible that *hapan* < **pahan*. If we suppose an Andhra word like **Satapahana*, we conceive easily that it may have been Sanskritised into Śātavāhana.

Finally the Munda form *han* "son" without the infix, might have given **Satahana*. A precisely analogous name is recorded by Hemachandras who cites the patronymic Śālāhana which goes back to Śātaḥana, as Śālivāhana does to Śātavāhana. The Munda equivalents of Sātiyaputa are therefore capable of explaining not only Sātakarni of the inscriptions, but also a series of forms more or less Sanskritised—Sātakarṇi, Śātavāhana, Śālāhana.

Since, in Śātakarṇi, Śātavāhana, etc., the second element goes back to a Munda original, it remains for us to examine if the first element may be explained in the same manner. We find, *Sāta*⁵ and *Sāda*⁶ in the inscriptions. The following are the forms for "the horse" in a certain number of Munda languages:

Santālī : *Sādām*
Mahle : *Sādām*
Mundari : *Sādām*
Birhor : *Sādām*
Dhangar : *Sādām*

Sātakarni = *Sādakarni*, could then signify "son of the horse". It becomes evident here that the results of our analyses receive reciprocal confirmation. Hippokoura, the name of the capital of the Andhras, signifies "town of the horse," and the patronymic of the Andhra kings may be interpreted as "the son of the horse." The same god, venerated under the form of the horse, should have given its name to the royal town and to the princes considered as his descendants. Other facts are available to support this interpretation.

⁴ Cf. "Un ancien peuple du Penjab, les Udumbara," J.A. 1926, i, p. 26.

⁵ Grundzüge einer Lautlehre der Khassi-sprache, p. 708.

⁶ Hemachandrā, Desināmamata, et Cf. Lacôte, Essai sur Gunadhya et la Brihatkatha, p. 26.

The recent researches of M. Dumont on the *as'vamēdha* have brought to light the procreative role of the horse in royal families. The Andhra kings, we know, celebrated horse-sacrifice. Now, the final rite of this ceremony consecrates a magic (and hence a fertile) union between the premier queen and the sacrificed horse. The princes born of this union could therefore be called "sons of the horse."

The doublet Sātiyaputa-Śālivāhana is capable of explaining two forms which appear to exclude each other in Pliny's texts. In the sixth book, §104, of the *Natural History*, the *lectio vulgata* is Cœlobothras. But some manuscripts, and amongst them the most ancient, have Celebethonas. Under this last-mentioned word, M. Sylvain Levi has proposed to restore a form Cālavādhana or Cālavahana. "A modification which is very easy and fully authorised by paleography, permits the substitution, for the group *th*, of the group *ch* with which it is often confused in the writing of the tenth century; we arrive thus directly from Celebechonas to Cālavāhana, *ch* being the most approximate transcription of Indian *h*."⁷ Celebechonas is in fact allied to Cālīvāhana but it does not follow at all that the reading Cœlobothras is to be rejected. "bothras" is evidently the transcription of the Sanskrit word *putra* which we have found in Sātiyaputa. It clearly appears that Pliny has recorded, in his work, two variants with the same meaning, between which the transcribers have thought it legitimate to choose.

* * * * *

A. Cunningham has described a series of Andhra coins, among which two bear the image of a horse. On several coins of this series we read, by the side of a royal name, a title ending in **kura*⁸ Mr. Rapson who has corrected Cunningham's transcriptions, reads the two titles thus: Viṣivāyakura and Sivalakura.⁹ M. Sylvain Levi whose attention was recently drawn to these enigmatic inscriptions, had to repeat, in his turn, what Mr. Rapson had already said in 1908: "No satisfactory explanation has yet been given of the forms Viṣivāyakura and Sivalakura".¹⁰

If *kura* is a non-Aryan word meaning "town", Viṣivāya and Sivala should designate the town where lived the kings who inscribed these names on their coins; in other words, these kings should have taken for their title the name of their capital. Such a usage is attested in ancient India. The king whom Greek historians call Taxilès, bore the name of his town Takṣasīla, and Strabon (XV, i, 36) tells us that

⁷ J. A., 1890, ii, p. 549, n. 4.

⁸ Coins of Ancient India, p. 108.

⁹ Catalogue of the coins of the Andhra dynasty, p. XXXVII.

¹⁰ J. A., 1925, p. 56.

the king of the Prasi "added to his family-name the surname of Palibothros, as was done for instance by Sandrokottos to whom Megasthenes was sent as an ambassador."

As Cunningham had already suggested, Sivalakura should be connected with Siva. Sivala appears clearly to be a Middle Indian derivative from Śiva. It seems that the Śaivite king Māḍhariputra gave to his capital and took for himself, the name of the god.

As for Viḷivāyakura, it bears remarkable resemblance to the royal title Beleokouros noted by Ptolemy. M. Sylvain Lévi who read Baleokouros¹¹ has already observed this resemblance. The reading Beleokouros adopted by M. Renou¹² exposes the parallelism of the forms still better.

In Ptolemy's Tables the capital of the king Beleokouros is called Hippokouros. It seems that

Hippokoura

* Beleokoura

Viḷivāyakoura

are three names of the same capital. This being granted, if we isolate the element *kura* ("town") common to these three names, there remains viḷivā(ya) = beleo = hippos = horse.

In Sanskrit we have *vaḍavā* ("mare") and *vaḍava* ("horse which resembles a mare"), to which corresponds Pali *vaḷavā* ("mare" or "horse"). It is possible that in Hippokoura *hippo* is the Greek translation of Indo-Aryan *vaḍavā*, *vaḷavā*. Let us examine this conjecture more closely.

Phonetically, the equation *baḍavā*°—*vaḷavā*° = *beleo*° involves, on the one hand, a contraction of *ā* to *o*, and on the other hand a change in the character of the two first *a*'s. The former phenomenon has nothing surprising in it; however, in the Greek transcriptions of Indian geographical names, *o* < *va* is generally noted as *ō*: *Peukalaōtis* = *Puskalāvati*, *Hydraōtes* = *Īrāvati*. The alteration in the character of the two first *a*'s of **vaḍavākura* | **vaḷavākura* under the influence of the *u* of *kura* should be a result of the law of vocalic harmony.¹³ This law is exactly applicable in the Muṇḍa languages, and I have shown elsewhere that the Indian word *kura* ("town") belongs to the ancient vocabulary of these languages. It is therefore probable that the name of a town like *vaḷavākura* may have been pronounced* *beleokoura* by the non-Aryan peoples of ancient India.

¹¹ J. A., 1925, p. 56.

¹² *La Géographie de Ptolémée, l'Inde*, VII, I, 83.

¹³ Greek transcriptions of Indian names which doubtless reproduce popular forms, are rich in facts of vocalic harmony: *Ambulima* *Emḡolima*, *Hiranyabāhu*, *Erannoḡos*, *Puskalāvati* *Peukelaotis*.

Beleo°, noted by Ptolemy, was doubtless a popular form used among the traders and the sailors, while *viḷivāya*°, engraved on the coins was probably borrowed from the language of the administration, i.e. from another linguistic *niveau*. *Viḷi* corresponds to *Fele*°; *vā* tends to restore the ancient Sanskrit form whose syllable *vā* has contracted to *o*; the termination—*ya* recalls *vaḷāhaya* of the Jaina Prakrit. It seems, on the whole, that *Viḷivāya* is a compromise between a popular form *Beleo*° transcribed by Ptolemy and a literary form in —*vāya*, more allied to Sanskrit *vaḍava* than Prakrit *vaḷāhaya*.

* * * * *

This discussion has been useful not only to establish the agreement of the Indian and Greek evidences. It also throws some light on the political and the religious history of the Andhras.¹⁴ The title *Viḷivāyakura*, compared with Ptolemy's text, shows that the capital of this people bore the name of the mythic horse. This means that in the religion of the Andhras, as well as in Vaishnavism, the horse was the incarnation of a great God. Under Māḍhariputra, the title of the king changes: himself and his capital borrowed their name from Śiva; this should have been the consequence of a religious reform. Under his successor Vāsistiputra, the ancient royal title and along with it as a consequence, the ancient cult also were restored. Let us also note that Māḍhariputra's coins are sometimes the old pieces of his predecessor, struck anew. The same thing recurs in the reign of Māḍhariputra's successor. This disrespectful practice indicates the negation of the authority of the preceeding king. The religious reform appears therefore to have been accompanied by a political revolution. Everything looks as if the Vaishnavite tradition had been suddenly broken by the usurpation of a Śaivite king, and then renovated by his successor.

Finally, the suggestions made above are capable of illuminating certain aspects of the literary history of India. We know that indigenous tradition associates the efflorescence of the Prakrit literature with the name of Hāla (who is a Sātakarni king), even as it connects the renaissance of Sanskrit literature¹⁵ with the memory of Vikramaditya. When we shall have to estimate the part played by the non-Aryan influences in the development of Prakrit literature, we shall have to remember that the oromastic of the Andhras contains an important Austric element.

¹⁴ We may also note here that a new vista is opened up for the linguisticians too. The use of Austric forms to denote names of towns and dynasties points to the influence of the Austric speeches in this part of India. How far Dravidian may have been affected by it, is a matter for Dravidologists to investigate. [Note by Translator].

¹⁵ Garrez, J. A., VI series, XX, p. 199 et seq.

DEVARAYAPURA PLATES OF PRAUDHADEVARAYA (DEVARAYA II.)*

C. NARAYANA RAO, M.A., L.T.

This is a set of three copper plates kindly brought for me by Mr. K. Venkata Subbayya, Telugu Pandit of the Municipal High School, Anantapur, from their owner, Mr. Korni Krishna Reddi of Kānāla, a village five miles from Nandyāl in the Kurnool District. They were found some twelve years ago by their present owner while digging the old fort wall in the village of Kānāla for laying the foundations of a house. They have ever since been in his possession.

The plates are in the manner of those of the Vijianagar kings, a rectangular portion surmounted by an arch. Each plate measures $7\frac{1}{2}$ " long in the rectangular portion and 9" with the arch, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ " broad. There is no writing on the outer faces of the first and third plates and their rims are raised towards the written faces. The rim of the second plate which contains writing on both sides is raised both ways. The rims of the first and second are about $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick, while that of the second which is thicker measures about $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The ring connecting the plates is missing with its seal. The first and third plates have gone under the hammer of the goldsmith, but the writing is left undamaged.

The writing is in the Nāgari characters of the time. The *visarga* is generally left unmarked in several places. 'j' is written in two ways, (Cf. I. l. 5. 'kumjara' and III. l. 9. 'jāyatē'). Similarly 'h' (Cf. I. l. 7 *Harī* and II. b. l. 11, 'malā=grāmam'.) The doubling of a letter is generally left unmarked. (Cf. I. 4. 'Ōdhata' for 'Ōddhata'; II a. 1., 'abhū-tasya'; for 'abhut tasya'; I. 23 'vinay-ōnata' for 'vinay-ōnnata', and so on.)

The donor is Praudhadēvarāya or Dēvarāya II who reigned from A.D. 1423—1440. The genealogy of the king as given in these plates accords with that of the other plates of the Samgama Dynasty of the Vijianagar kings. This dynasty is also called the 'Yadu' dynasty (I. l. 12) Samgama's son was Bukkarāya. Bukkarāya had a son Harihara by his wife Gaurāmbikā. Harihara's son was Pratāpadēvarāya. To him was born 'Vijayabhūpati, by Dēvāmbā. Vijayabhūpati's wife was Nārāyaṇāmbikā by whom he had Dēvarāya II, the donor of the present grant. He is here described as a valourous king, as having the enjoyments of Vikramāditya like a second Bhōja, like Rājārāja in charity, and served

* A Paper read before the First Quarterly Meeting of the Society held on 28—7—29.

by the kings of Vāṅga and Kālinga with their 'Chāmara' and other insignia of royalty held personally by themselves. He had the titles "Rājādhirāja Rājaparamēs'vara, Bhāshā=lamghita=bhūpala=bhujamga, Mūru=rāya-ra-gaṇḍa, Para=rāya=bhayamkara, and Hindū=rāya=suratrāṇa." (II(a) ll. 4—11.).

The donee is one Sahasrabhaṭṭa (II—b. l. 4) son of Gamgādhara. He belonged to the *Sāma Śākha* and *Drāhyāyana Śūtra*. His family name was Pamtamgi. Four families with his surname still exist in the village of Kānāla where these plates were found. Sahasrabhaṭṭa was a great scholar in *Tantra*, *Tarka* and the *Makābhūshya*. He was a *Śāstri* and not only was well-versed in *Śrauta* but was also a teacher of *Śrauta*. He had a swan's mind in the separation of the milk from the water of the mixed *Dharma* and *Adharma*.

The village granted was 'Dēvarāyapura'. It consisted of the two villages of *Pulambāka* and *Mālagārapaṭṭa*. It was also known as 'Gaurasamudram'. It was in Chāḍamaṇḍala, connected with Jayagaṇḍa Paḍaviḍu, Duttukātkōṭa, and Vailamkāṭūru. Its boundaries were *Madhuri* to the west, *Chittāloṭāko* to the north, *Vailamkāṭūru* to the east and *Samgamagrāma* to the south. Dēvarāyapura may be identified with the present village of that name in the Śīrvel Taluk of the Kurnool District. It now forms part of the present village of Chintagunṭa.

The Sabhāpati dictated this copper-plate grant by the order of the king Praudhadēvarāya. The engraver was Viraṇa, son of Śīmukhaṇa. The ordinary imprecatory verses close the grant.

The grant is dated in Śaka year 'Kara—Baṇa—Agni—Indu (1352), the cyclic year *Ānanda*, on the *Krishnāshṭami* day in the month of *Śravaṇa*, and given before the God *Virūṣāksha* on the banks of the *Tuṅgabhadra*. The year corresponds to 1430 A.D.

TEXT.

PLATE 1.

- 1 Śī Gaṇādhīpatayē namaḥ | namas=tuṅga=sīra-
- 2 ś-chumbi chandra=chāmara=chārave | trailōkya=nagarārambha=
- 3 mūlastambhāya Śambhavē | namas=tasmai Varāhasya¹ yāna nī-
- 4 t=2ōdhata mahī | anubhōga=vaśēn=aiva sasyō hala=vibhū-
- 5 shita³ | bhūya⁴ syai bhavatām bhūyād=āścharya=kunjara⁵ | āhur vi-
- 6 hāra=kām'āram=āgamāny=asy yaugina⁶ | kshmam va prachuri'
- 7 kuryāt kshōpim=abhyudvahan Hari⁷ | krōḍākṛitēr=abhū⁸ ta-
- 8 sya krīḍā=palvalam=ambudhi⁹ | asti Kshir=āṇav=ōdbhūtam=apā
- 9 pushpam=anuttamam | āmalānam yadu=nirmalyam=ādhattē śrī=
- 10 raśvīśvaraḥ¹⁰ | sadā=mōda=ninhē¹¹ tasya samtānē yadu=samjñi-
- 11 tē | abhūd=āścharya=mādhurya vasudhāyās=tapach=phalam | a-

1. Read Varāhāya, 2. Read ō-ddhata, 3. Read 'vibhushitah', 4. The letter here is indistinct, 5. " 'kumjarah' 6. " 'yōginah', 7. Read 'Harīh' 8. Read 'abhut', 9. " 'ambudhih', 10. The reading is doubtful 11. " 'nidhēs,

- 12 sya śrī Samgamō nāma bhūmi=patō guṇōttama¹² | yadu=
 13 vamsa kulāmbhōdhi parivardhana chamdrama¹³ | sarva ratnaniṣh-
 14 r=asya samrād=āsi¹⁴ tanūbhava¹⁵ | madhye Bukka=mahipālō ma
 15 ṇinām=iva Kaistubha¹⁶ | tasya Gaurambika=jānās=tanayō vi-
 16 nay=ōnnata¹⁷ | hāra=gaura=yaśah=pūra=hārī Hariharēśvara¹⁸
 17 ya¹⁹ shōḍaśa=mahādāna=yaśasā dig=vihārīṇa²⁰ | bhūyasā=
 18 py=agamam nūnam bhuvarāni chaturdaśa | Pratāpādēvara-
 19 yasya putra²¹ Sutrāma=vikrama²² | pramōda²³ yiva mūrtōyam pra
 20 jānām svagaṇēr=abhūt=pratyarthi=samidhau hutvā pratā-
 21 pāgni²⁴ ranāmkanē²⁵ | vihitā dhana vīraṇa²⁶ virāja=ya
 22 śrī=kara=graha²⁷ | tasya Dēmāmbi=jānās=tanayō vinayō²⁸.
 23 nata, vidyānidhir=viśeṣhajñō virō Vijayabhū-

I



12. 'gunōttamah' 13 Chamdramāh', 14. „'āsīt' 15. „'tanubhavah' 16. „'Kaustubh ah'
 17. „ 'ōnnatah', 18. „ 'Hariharēśvarah', 19. „ 'yah', 20. „ 'vihārīṇā',
 21. „ putrah 22. „ 'vikramah', 23. „ 'iva', 24. „ 'agnim',
 25. „ 'ranāmkanē 26. „ 'vīrēna', 2. 7., 'kara-graha', 28 „ 'ōnnatah'

Plate II., First side.

II (a)



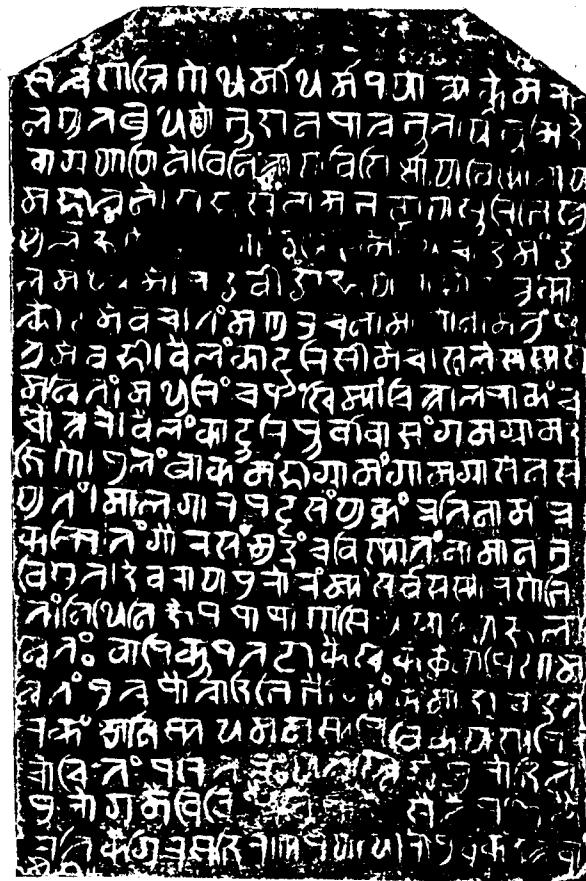
- 1 patī²⁹ dayā=nidhēr=abhū³⁰ tasya dēvi Nārāya-
 2 nāmbikā | Śaurer=iva Mahālakshmi³¹ Śamkarasy=aiva Pārva-
 3 tī | putra rūpam tayō³² ślāghām pūrva janma tapah phalam Dēva-
 4 rāya=mahipātō śatadikati³³ bhūtala³⁴ | vikramō Vikra-
 5 māḍitya=bhōgair=Bhōja³⁵ yiv=āparam | Rājarājam vitara-
 6 nē rājānō yam prachakshata | abhanga=Vamga=Kālinga=Vam-
 7 gās=tais=chāmarādibhi | rājānō yam nishēvamta rāja=chihna³⁶
 8 svayam=dhritai³⁷ | rajādhiraja=tejasvi yo rajaparame³⁸.
 9 śvara | bhāshā=lamghita=bhūpāla=bhujamgabirudānv tam=mū³⁹-
 10 ru=rāyara=gamḍamka⁴⁰ para=rāya=bhayamkara⁴¹ Hidu⁴²=rāya
 11 suratrāṇa⁴³ Vamga=vargēna varṇitum⁴⁴ | śrī=Tungabhadra=pari-
 12 ghē nagari Vijaya=āhvayē | puṇya=stōk=āgragany=ōsau Prau=

29. „ 'patih' 30. „ 'abhut', 31. „ 'lakshmi', 32. „ 'tayos'.
 33. „ 'samadisati', 34. „ 'bhutalam', 35. „ 'iv=', 36. „ 'chinois'
 37. „ 'dhritaih', 38. „ 'paramēśvarah', 39. „ '=ānvitah', 40. „ 'gamḍamkah'
 41. „ 'bhayamkarah', 42. „ 'Hindu-', 43. „ 'sura trānah', 44. „ 'varnitah',

- 13 dharāya=mahipati⁴⁵ | Śālivāhana=nite Śaka=varshā kra-
 14 m=agatā | kara=bān=āgnir=imlās=cha samyuktā ganitā kra-
 15 māt | Ānanda vatsarā Varshā Ś. ūvanā māsi samjñake |
 16 Krishna=astami=mahātithyām punya=kālā śubhā dinā | Tum-
 17 gabhadrā=ādī=tirā Virūpākshasya samnidhau | su-
 18 prasannō mahōdārāḥ Praudharāya=mahipati-
 19 h | Bharadvāja=ānvay=⁴⁶ ōbhūta sa=⁴⁷ Dīrghyāna=sūtri-
 20 nē | sa sudhih⁴⁸ Sāma ś=akhana⁴⁹ Pamtamgiḥ samara=
 21 vamsajah | Gamgādhārāya⁵⁰ put āya sūribhiḥ sugu
 22 n=ānvayah | tamtra=tarka=Mahābhāshya=pratibhā=prabha-
 23 vishnavē | adhīt=ādhyāpita=srauta⁵¹ dhṛita=chā-

Plate II., Second side.

II (b)



- 1 ritra=śastinē⁵² | dharmā=dharma=payōvyaktā marā-
 2 la=yuta=⁵³ budhaye | bhūdāna=pātra=bhūtāya bhūmidē-
 3 v=āgrayāyinē | vinitāya viśiṣṭāya vikhyātāya

45. ,, 'mahtpatih', 46. ,, 'odbha.t.-h' 47. ,, 'sad-', 48. ,, 'sudhih', 49. ,, '-śakhtyah',
 50. ,, 'Gamgādhārasya' 51. ,, 's'rautō' 52. 'śāstrinē' 53. 'buddhayē'

- 4 mahātmanā | Sahasra=nāma=bhāṭṭāya śāribhi⁵⁴ stā-
 5 ya=lakṣhaṇā | Jayagōṇḍākhya⁵⁵ sammamdhā Chāda=mamḍa-
 6 la=madhyamā | paḍavir=āhvayā rājñō Duttukā.
 7 tkōṭam=āva cha | Tammanūru cha nāmākho⁵⁶ nāma Tumpa-
 8 tum=eva hī | Vallamkāṭūri sīmā cha | sthala⁵⁷ sasya=sa-
 9 m=anvitam | Madhurim cha paśchimyām Chittalapākam cha-
 10 oh-ōttarā | Vallamkāṭūri=pūrvō vā Samgama-grāma=da-
 11 kshinā | Pulambāka=mahāgrāmam⁵⁹ grāma=grāsēna sam-
 12 yutam | Mālagārapaṭṭa=samyuktam pra-
 13 kalpitam | Gaurasammudram cha vikhyātam nāmānam bhu-
 14 vi śruta⁶⁰ | Devarāyapuram⁶¹ | ramyam sarva=sasy=ōpa=śōbhi-
 15 tam | nidhi=nikshēpa=pāshāna=⁶² sidha=sādhyā=jalā-
 16 nvitah⁶³ vāpi=kūpa=tatākais=cha kaṣṭhān-āpi sāmā-⁶⁴
 17 nvitam | putra=pautr=ādibhir bhōgyam kramād=āchamdra=tā-
 18 rakam | dānasya dhamanasy⁶⁵ pi vikrayasya⁶⁶ pi
 19 ch=ōchitam | parita⁶⁷ prah⁶⁸ yatasthige⁶⁹ (?) purōhita-
 20 purōgama⁷⁰ | vividhah vibhudalsai⁷¹ tai padhikai-
 21 ratikai⁷² gira⁷³ | sa=hiranya=payō=dhārā=pūrvakam dattavā⁷⁴
 22 mudā||

Plate III, First side.

III



54 'śuribhis' 55 'Jayagōṇḍākhya sambaadhā' 56 'nāmākhya' 57 'sthalam' 58 'grāma'
 59 's'rutam' 60 'Devarāyapuram' 61 'siddha' 62 'jalānvitam' 63 'vāpi' 64 'samā'
 65 'dhamanasy-āpi' 66 'vikrayasy-āpi' 67 'paritah' 68 'pra' 69 The reading is doubtful
 70 'purāgamaih' 71 'stais-taih' 72 rathikai' 73 The reading is doubtful, 74 'dattavān'

- 1 Prāudhadēva=mahārāya=sāsanēna sabhāpatih abhā-
- 2 ṇi mṛidu=samdarbham tad=idam tāmbara=sāsanam | tvastrī-śrīmu
- 3 khaṇ=āchārya⁷⁵ suta śāsa⁷⁶ lekhaṇ Vīrēṇa suguṇōddhā⁷⁷.
- 4 ma=likhitam tāmbara=sāsanam dāna=pālanayōr madhyē dā-
- 5 nāch=chr̥yōnupālanam dānāt svargam=avāpnāti⁷⁸ pālanā-
- 6 d=achyutam padam | sva=dattā⁷⁹ dviguṇam puṇyam paradatt=ānu-
- 7 pālanam para=datt=āpahārēna svadattam⁸⁰ nishphalam bha-
- 8 vet | sva=dattām para=dattām vā yō harēti⁸¹ vasumdhārām sha-
- 9 shṭir=vasha⁸² sahasrāṇi viśṭāya⁸³ jāyate krimiḥ⁸⁴ yē-
- 10 k=aiva bhagini⁸⁵ lōkē sarvēśhām=ēva bhūbhjām na bhō-
- 11 jyā na kara=grāhyā vipra=dattā vasumdhārā||

SRI VIRUPAKSHA.

75 'āchārya' 76 's'āsana' 77 'ōddāmā' 78 'avāpnōti' 79 'svadattād'
80 'svadattām' 81 'harēta' 82 'varshē' 83 'viśṭāyām' 84 'ēk-aiva' 85 'bhagini'.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN HON. THE EAST INDIAN COMPANY AND THE KANDREGULA FAMILY IN THE XVIII CENTURY.

(Continued from page 222 of Vol. III above.)

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.

In this article, five Letters (from Letter No. 5 to Letter No. 9, both inclusive) are published covering the period from 16th January 1762 to 23rd February 1785.

Briefly told, Letter No. 5 reveals the anxiety of the E. I. Co. to take possession of all the Forts in the Five Circars in order to maintain peace, so that their commercial prosperity might increase.

In Letter No. 6, the Company advise Jogi Pantulu to visit the Subah's Court, ostensibly for making certain presents to him but virtually to learn from the Divan and other Officials on what terms and for what period the 5 N. Circars will be given for rent to the company. The inclusion of Guntur Circar is specially insisted upon. The attempt to obtain certain lands on Jagir system by which the revenues accruing from them would be paid to the company for supplying a body. European and Indian Sepoys to the Amildar in charge of the Circars is noteworthy. The beginnings of the Subsidiary Alliance system are really found here. An attempt to obtain *Sanads* for the 5 Circars on condition of supplying a permanent European force to help the Subah in his wars is also made. A list of presents to the Subah, his Diwan and other officers of the Nizam's Court also appears in the letter.

A rent of 15 lacks of Rupees for the 5 Circars of Guntur, Ellore, Mustaphanagar, Rajahmundry and Chicacole or 12 lacks only for the 4 Circars excluding Guntur, to be paid in 3 separate payments of 4 lacs each, and a cowle for 7 years are the points pressed on Jogi Pantulu's attention to be carried through by the means suggested in the letter.

Letter No. 7 instructs Jogi Pantulu to represent to Ruckunal Dowlah that there would be no use of sending an army into Chicacole Sircar against Seetarama Razu (Raja of Vizianagaram) to recover rents due from him as he is poor and always engaged in quarrels with the local Zamindars.

62 CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN HON. THE EAST INDIA [J.A.H.R.S

Letter No. 8 informs Jogi Pantulu to persuade Ruckunal Dowlah not to send troops into Chicacole country but should he insist, then it must be given out that the Company's troops at Rajahmundry would also join in the march, provided suitable consideration is made by way of granting as Jagirs, districts already noted in letter No. 6.

Letter No. 9, while acknowledging some hope of being able to obtain the five Circars at rent, reminds Jogi Pantulu of the importance of obtaining the fort of Mustaphanagar, failing which the liberty of putting a garrison into it in the event of Maratha or other invasion should be allowed for the company. Also the importance of obtaining Guntur Circar for rent on account of its situation, by accommodating at the same time its holder Basalat Zang, brother of Nizam elsewhere, is emphasised. Reference is made with regard to collection of outstanding balances from the Zamindars of the 5 Circars and payment of Company's rent of five lacs for the five Circars in three instalments.

The Mission of Jogi Pantulu was crowned with success as the Company was able to rent the 5 Circars.

LETTER NO. 5.

FORT ST. GEORGE, 16th January, 1765.

TO JOGUE PUNTALOO

I have received your letters of the 10th and 22nd December and 4th and 6th instant which I have communicated to the Governor and Council, you are not by any means to exceed the terms you are authorized to offer, and they still hope you may be able to get the affair settled at a more reasonable rate, but if you find there is no likelihood of your succeeding, you are to take your leave, giving the Subah to understand that the Circars will be scarce so advantageous to him in the hands of any others, whatever promises they may make him, you may also intimate to him, that if the Company were left scrupulous, they could easily find means of getting possession of them at a much more moderate price but if the Subah should agree to the proposals you may make him, you must insist on the Company's having possession of all the Forts in the Circar of Mustaphanagar and being at liberty to take possession of such others as they may think proper in the other Circars, as they cannot otherwise preserve that good order and obedience in the

from the sum you was before authorized to offer for the five. Its produce has been generally estimated at eight lacks of rupees per annum, and would, I am informed, produce that at least, in a good year if the Country was well cultivated, although its value in the Government Books I understand, is not above half that sum, or about four lacks of rupees yearly which is a circumstance you must attend to should you enter upon a negotiation for the other four Circars, and find it impossible to get this included which is what you must endeavor at by every argument in your power, for it is not only a country very capable of improvement, and has many of its towns so intermixed with those of the Nizampatam Districts as to give frequent cause for disputes among the inhabitants but the business of the Company's merchants which is chiefly carried on there is liable to interruption and impositions, and the intercourse between this place and Madras subject to impediments of which we had a very particular instance a few days ago. The acquisition of it becomes therefore an object of very great importance, but if you should find that all your endeavors to obtain the whole of that Circar are ineffectual, you must insist on having the several villages belonging to it, as particularized in the list herewith delivered you and which border upon and are intermixed with those of the Nizampatam Circar, granted to the Company as a perpetual Jagueir, giving Ruckunal Dowlah to understand that unless this point is complied with, the Company will not rent the other four Circars and in order to carry this point you need not be sparing in the customary presents to Divan and other officers about Court.

I have wrote this far on a supposition that the Subah shews a disposition for letting the Circars to the Company at rent, and that a negotiation with him for that purpose should take place, but in case Hussain Ally or any other person belonging to the Court should have influence and interest enough to prevent it, you must endeavor to obtain for the Company certain Jaguier grants of lands, in consideration of the assistance to be afforded the Amuldar who may be appointed to the management of these countries. The following are the Districts which lie most contiguous to the Company's other possessions and are generally considered as the most advantageous, and which I would therefore recommend to you to obtain grants for in case the proposal for renting the Circars should not take the place.

Devra Cotah.
Four Pergganahs.
Oayoor,
Madoor,
Conja Caulawah.
Etacotah and Tautapacah,

Paroor.
Mandapettah.
Bandarlanka.
Ganjam and some adjacent countries.
Some villages about Visagapatam.

The Revenues of these countries may be estimated at about five lacks of rupees yearly for which the Company would engage to furnish a body of two hundred Europeans, a Battalion of Sepoys, and a train of artillery, consisting of six field pieces to be always ready to assist the Amuldar in the management of the Countries, but if any heavy cannon should be required for the reduction of Forts, or larger force wanted, the extraordinary charge must be defrayed by the Amuldar acting for the Circars. But you will observe that nothing of this kind must be mentioned by you unless you should find there is no longer any hopes of succeeding in obtaining the Circars at rent.

It is necessary here to remark to you that by the purport of one of the late letters received from camp, it seems as if the Subah would be glad of a body of Europeans to be constantly with him to assist him in his Military operations. You will therefore endeavor to find out what his sentiments are on this subject and whether, we might expect to obtain his *saneds* for Force. But you will be careful not to give the most distant hint that we have any such intentions, endeavoring only to sound the Subah's inclinations and communicate to me the best information you are able to obtain on the subject.

I now furnish you with presents for the Subha, his Divan and other officers of the Court as of the accompanying list and you will herewith receive twenty five Gold Mohurs to be disposed of as you may see proper, with three hundred Madras Pagodas for defraying your expences, on the road and during your stay at Camp. Should you have occasion for more, you may give bills on me payable to any of the soucars here.

I have already recommended to you to insist on an equitable deduction from the offers you was before authorised to make, for the rent of the Circar of Guntoor provided the Subah should not consent to let us have it with the other four, and this deduction must at least be three lacks of rupees, that is to say, instead of fifteen lacks of rupees, which you was before authorized to offer for the rent of the five Circars, you are on no account to exceed twelve lacks for the four of Ellour, Mustaphanagur, Rajamundri and Chicacole to be paid at three several payments, of four lacks each. The first payment to be made in one country and maintain peace and tranquility, which you may acquaint

him is the principal motive for their being desirous of obtaining them, the expense of reducing them, it is justly apprehended, will deprive the Company of any considerable advantage from the Circar.

I am,
Your friend,
(Signed) JOHN PYBUS.

LETTER NO. 6.

TO CONDRAIGULOO JOGUE PUNTALO,

The frequent letters I have received from the Vackeel employed, at Nizamally's camp and from Ruckunul Dowlah, Divan to the Subah with assurances of his Master's Friendship and good will towards the English nation and pressing your coming to camp, had at last determined me on sending you thither on a visit only and to give the Subah assurances of the friendship of the English but having received authority from the President and Council for entering upon a negociation with him for visiting these countries on account the company which from the several letters received from camp, I have reason to think he is desirous of doing; I now dispatch you with letters to him, his Divan, and other Principal officers of his court, to endeavor to discover what are his real intentions and if you find him disposed to enter into any engagements, that may tend to the Company's advantage, I hereby give you authority to treat with him, and now furnish you with such instructions as I think necessary for your guidance in this business.

As you have already been employed at the Subah's court on the same errand you are now going, and have with you the instructions then given you from the Governor of Fort St. George and myself in what manner you was to act, there will be the less occasion for being very particular now, as those directions are what you must principally attend to, in transacting the business you are sent on. But as circumstances are much changed since that time as well with respect to the Subah's situation, as the state of these countries, I shall here point out such general directions only as appear to me necessary for your guidance and whiche recommend to your attention and observance.

The footing on which you are now going to Court, and that you before went on, you will observe, are very essentially different.

Your last embassy was from the President and Council of Fort St. George to solicit the Subah to grant the five Northern Circars to the Company at a certain stipulated rent, and for a certain term of years, which he did not then think proper to consent to. At present, there is much reason to believe from the frequent importunities, and overtures which have come from the vakeel employed at his court, and even the Divan himself, that the Subah has changed his mind, and repents his having rejected our proposals. Your business must be therefore to pretend that you are now sent to Court for no other purpose but to pay the Subah a respectful visit and to carry him some presents on behalf of the Company before he leaves this Country, and that you are furnished with no power or instructions for entering upon any negotiation or business relative to the taking these Circars at rent on account the Company, pretending always that as the Subah had not accepted the proposals before made to him on this subject, and had appointed an Amuldar to the management of them, the Governor and Council of Fort St. George thought it needless to make any further offers. This you must give as your opinion and cautiously avoid letting any thing escape you that may give the least room to suspect that you are sent to Court on any other errand than a visit. If the Subah is really disposed to rent the Countries to the Company, which his present very distressed situation for money leaves me no room to doubt, you will endeavor to find out from his Divan, and other officers of his Court, for what term of years and on what conditions we may be able to obtain them, and your answer to any proposals which may be made to you on this account must be that you will acquaint me with them, and wait my directions. Hussainally is now on this way to Court, and will probably be there as soon as you, from whom you must conceal the business you are sent on, as it will not be for his interest that you should succeed although I am inclined to believe he will not have influence enough to prevent it, as the Subah is, I am of opinion, convinced by this time that he will never receive so much from the Countries under the management of him, or any other person, as we have offered for them. But since our first proposals were rejected, we must in our turn endeavor to take advantage of his necessities.

This Circar of Guntoor since you was last at Court has I am informed been settled in a very formal manner on the Subah's brother, Basalet Jung, which we may not therefore be able to obtain *saneds* for. It must then be your particular care when you enter upon any negotiation for renting the other four Circars, to deduct the full value of this month after the delivery of the *Saneds* and the other two payments at the distance of four months each payments in which manner the payments of the Rents are to be made for the term of years, we may engage

to take the Circars, which must be at least for seven years. The Chief difficulty, should the business you are going on succeed, will I am apprehensive, be to find responsible Soucars who will engage to make the stipulated payments to the Subah at Hyderabad, but this you will endeavor to manage if possible among the Soucars at Camp. If that cannot be done I will try to settle that business here. In your former instructions, you had authority to promise the Divan Ruckanul Dowlah. the annual sum of fifty thousand rupees had we obtained the five Circars at rent; this you may augment to seventy five thousand rupees yearly should you find it necessary, but on condition only of our having the five Circars for seven years. But if *Saneds* for four Circars only can be obtained, you must on no account exceed the sum of fifty thousand rupees, you was at first limited to, and to be paid as mentioned in your instructions. The presents necessary to be made to the Court officers and servants must be left to your discretion and management, in which I recommend to you all possible frugality. You are to remember that we are to be at liberty to take possession of all the Forts in the several Circars we may engage to rent should you see proper, and that no Jaguirs are to be allowed to any one. Should the Subah be desirous of settling any grants of that kind you may let him know that the amount shall be paid by us in money to such person or persons on whom he may chose to bestow those marks of his favor on conditions that the same be deducted from the annual stipulated rents.

As there are very considerable ballances due to the Circars for two or three years last past from the several Zemindars and for a much longer time from the Chacole Rajah, it is very probable some consideration will be demanded on that account. It is impossible for me to determine how much may be the amount of these outstanding amounts although I know it must be very large, but as there will be much trouble in settling them and much more in collecting the money, you must be very particular in your enquiries concerning the amount of the ballances that may be outstanding and if you find it impossible to avoid taking them upon the Company, it must be done on such moderate terms as to afford a certainty of their reaping considerable advantage by so doing and a period of two or three years allowed for making good the payments which are to be made on that account.

As you will be within a day's journey of me you will constantly advise me of your proceedings, and be careful to make no promises or engagements without first communicating the terms and conditions to me, and having my approbation, and as many circumstances will occur in the course of this negotiation which cannot be foreseen by me, much must be left to your prudence and discretion. I shall therefore only

further recommend to you to endeavor to obtain the most advantageous terms you can for the company in the business which is now entrusted to your management, wherein I wish you success and date this in Masulipatam this 17th day of June 1765.

(Signed) JOHN PYBUS.

LETTER NO. 7.

MASULIPATAM, 23rd June 1765.

JUGGOO.

I have received your letters of the 20th and 21st. You must endeavour by all means to prevent the Subah's sending an army into the Chicacole country, by representing to Ruckunal Dowla that it would only serve to ruin the country and be attended with no advantage as 'tis very well known that Sittaramrauze is very poor having spent the revenues of that Circar in Sibbendy Charges by the large army he always kept in pay, and being engaged continually in quarrels and disputes with all the Zemindars of the Chicacole Country, he can have no money, that he must not therefore pay any regard to what Hussain Ally has told him of procuring money by marching a body of troops that way which he has done in hopes of gaining the Subah's favour and being continued in the management of the Countries, but that he must not trust to his word or place any dependance on what he tells him.

In talking with Ruckunal Dowlah about renting these countries on account the Company, you may acquaint him that you will write to me on the subject, and that very probably the Governor and Council of Fort St. George being willing to have the Subah's friendship and favor may consent to take the countries if he desired it.

I am,
Your Friend,
(Signed) JOHN PYBUS.

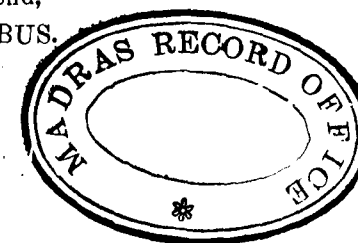
LETTER NO. 8.

MASULIPATAM, 24th June, 1765.

TO JOGUE PUNTALOO,

I received last night your letter of the 22nd and am in hopes. Mine of yesterday's date will reach you before Nizamally determines upon sending an army into the Chicacole country, and that you will be able to persuade Ruchunal Dowlah that no good consequence can possibly attend such a measure; but should you find that is not to be done and that Ruchunal Dowla is to be left with a body of troops to assist in settling the northern countries, you may give him to understand that you make no doubt the Governor and Council of Fort St. George will readily join him with the troops at Rajahmundry provided a suitable consideration is made to the Company and it must be your particular care and attention to endeavour to obtain from him Jaguier grants of those districts pointed out to you in my instructions, by giving him to understand that it is your opinion that the Company will on no other conditions interfere in the affairs of the Circar, having found that no dependance is to be placed on Hussain Ally's promise. Should Ruchunal Dowlah move towards Rajahmundry with Hussain Ally I will certainly visit him there, or on his march thither. You must not give any hopes that we can join the Subah with a body of troops to march with him up the Country till you shall hear further from me on that subject.

I am,
Your friend,
JOHN PYBUS.



LETTER NO. 9.

MASULIPATAM, 30th June, 1765.

TO JOGUE PUNTALOO,

Your letter of the 27th instant by some accident or other did not come to my hands till this morning. From the contents of this letter you give, I find some hope of being able to obtain the five Circars at rent

on account the Company, and apply to me for further directions on some particular points, which I shall here give you.

The possession of the fort of Mustaphanaigur is a very important point to be obtained by us as it commands the most principal pass into these countries and is therefore what you must endeavor all in your power to get granted by the most faithful assurances to the Subah of its being restored to his order when we give back the countries. But if you should find the full and entire possession of it and the villages belonging to it, a point that the Subah will not be prevailed upon to give up or consent to, you must by all means insist that we have liberty to put a garrison into the Fort, should there be any appearance of the approach of a body of Moratoss into these countries, or any other enemies by that pass with absolute and positive order to his Kiledar to admit our troops into the Fort and assist us with all his force in opposing their entrance; but if the Subah positively objects to this likewise, we must rather than lose the opportunity of getting possession of the Circars submit, and reserve to ourselves the liberty of taking such measures for securing the tranquillity of the countries on any appearance of trouble as to us shall seem proper.

As the President and Council of Fort St. George would not—I am well satisfied—choose to enter into any quarrel or dispute with Basalet Jang if it can be avoided, we must be satisfied without the Circar of Guntoor unless the Subah can be prevailed on to give up his Saned for it publicly and settle an equal Jaguir on his brother in some other part of his territories which you must be mindful to get done if possible, as the possession of the Circar of Guntoor is on many considerations a point of much importance to the Company on account of its situation. But if the whole Circar cannot be got on any other conditions than our entering into a quarrell with Basalet Jung for it, you must negotiate only for the four Circars of Ellour, Mustaphanaigur, Rajahmundry and Chicacole, taking care that a suitable deduction is made for the Circar of Guntoor. But the villages belonging to that Circar mentioned in your instruction must be procured for the Company at all events.

In answer to the objection made that the countries shall not be answerable for any outstanding ballances which may be due to the Company from the renters and zemindars at the expiration of the term of years, for which the Saneds are granted us, you may observe that we ought not for the same reason to be accountable to the Circar for the outstanding ballances due from the several Zemindars when we get the Saneds, but that the company should be at liberty to collect all they could on their own account and you must cautiously avoid making any

promises relating to the outstanding ballances but for such an amount as you are well assured the Company must be very considerable gainers by the argument and should you succeed in negotiating for the rent of the four Circars, you will be mindful that it be particularly expressed in the Saneds that we shall be permitted to keep possession of the Forts and Countries for three months after the expiration of our Cowles for collecting in the outstanding ballances due to the Company at which time the countries shall be delivered up to the Amuldar that may be appointed by the Subah to the management of them,

You must not on any account promise more than the payment of five lacks one month after we get the Saneds for the five Circars and four lacks only, if we get Saneds for no more than four Circars, and the rest to be paid within the year at three equal payments as it would be a great loss and inconvenience to the Company to make the payments monthly. If you should be able to settle for the outstanding ballances on reasonable terms, one or two lacks more ready money on that account may be promised, the rest to be made up in two or three years. I will talk with the principal soucars here and endeavour to get them to undertake this business for the Company, but I believe Lalldoss who is now with the Camp will be the most proper person. You may therefore try if he will undertake it, should you find your negotiation for the Circars is likely to succeed.

If there is an appearance of finishing your business with the Court, I would have you continue there till that is done. If not, you may take leave and come away as soon as you can.

I am,
Your friend,
JOHN PYBUS.

* THE PULIMBURU PLATES OF THE E. CHALUKYA KING JAYASIMHA I.

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.

A set of 4 impressions of the plates was placed in my hands by Mr. Pendyala Subhramanya Śāstri of Pittapur, while another set of 4 impressions of the same plates was handed over to me an year back by Mr. Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu, the President of the Society for editing the same in the Society's Journal. The original plates from which both the sets were prepared were kept in the office of the Andhra Sahitya Parishad, Cocanada till they were taken over by Mr. P. S. Sastry recently.

This grant and a grant of Mādhava Varma of Vishnukunḍin Dynasty were both published in Telugu under the heading of Puliburu Inscriptions, in the Telugu Magazine "Āndhra Sēva" by Mr. Sastry several years ago.

Both the plates describe the gift of Polamūru village in Ramachendrapur Taluk of E. Godavari Dt. to Vedic Scholars.

The present grant consists of 3 plates and on the first side of first plate and the second side of third plate, no matter is inscribed as those sides were intended to cover up the inner matter.

Each plate measures 6" × 2" nearly. Half an inch distant from the rim, there is a hole through which passes the ring containing a seal. But in the present case, neither ring nor seal is found. But since on the seals of the other grants of this king are found crescent, lotus and the legend 'Sree Sarva Siddhi', it is presumed that similar symbols should have been inscribed on the seal of this plate also. The alphabet employed is Telugu—Kannada *lipi*. The four sides contain 6 lines each so that the whole grant consists of 24 lines only. The language is Sanskrit prose excepting the usual Vyāsa Ślokas in the end.

The subject matter of the present plate is briefly this:—Mahārājah Jayasimha Vallabha, son of Vishṇuvardhana Mahārāja granted free of all taxes the village of Polamuru in Guddavāḍi Vishaya to the Vedic Scholar and native of Asanapura, by name Rudrasarma, son of

* A paper on this subject was read before the Quarterly Meeting of the Society held in July 1929.

Śivasarma, son of Dāmasarma. The donee is said to be well versed in two Vedas only and to belong to Gautama Gōtra. He is said to be the former owner of the same village of Polamuru which he probably lost after the last Vishnukunḍin reign but which he regained now at the hands of Jayasimha, the firm establisher of E. Chalukya dynasty on the east coast. From the plates of Mādhavavarma of Vishnukunḍin dynasty, also discovered in the same place, we learn that he gave the same village as gift to Sivasarma, the father of Rudrasarma, the donee of the present grant. Either Sivasarma or his son Rudrasarma should have lost the village during the troublesome period which existed after the fall of the last Vishnukunḍin and the rise of the first Chalukyan king in 615 A.D. Between the first gift and the second gift of the same village, a period of 40 years might have elapsed and since Jayasimha ruled from 633 to 663 and his father Kubja Vishnuvardhana from 615 to 633, it may be considered reasonable that the last Vishnukunḍin king closed his reign in the beginning of the 7th century. It is known that Pulikesin the elder brother of Kubja Vishnuvardhana invaded Vengi and Kalinga countries in the year 609—610 and probably he ended the Vishnukundin rule.

Śivasarma, who received Polamuru by the grant of Mādhava Varma is said to be a native of Kunduka, a village in Kamma Rashtra, while his son Rudrasarma who regained the same village is said to be a native of Asanapura, a village in Guddavadi Vishaya. This Vishaya or District is said to correspond to the modern E. Godavari District and the village of Asanpur is still found a few miles off Drākshārāma in E. Godavari District. The village granted, viz, Pulimburu is the modern Polamuru, near Anaparti Railway Station in E. Godavari District.

The other grants of this king published so far are:—

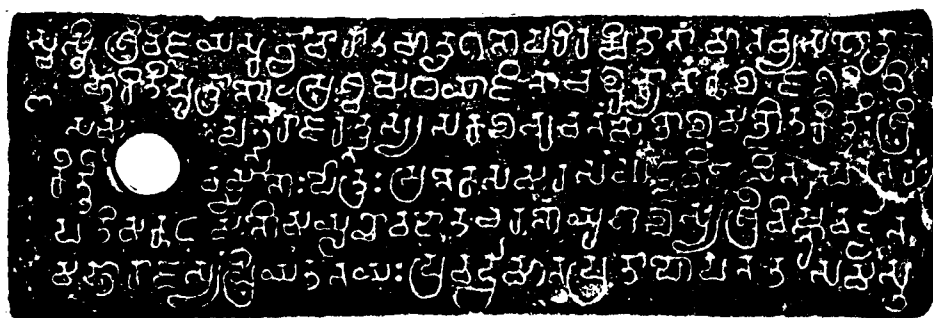
- (1) His Nidamarru plates published in Telugu Bhārati of May 1925.
- (2) His Pedda-Maddali grant published in Indian Antiquary Vol. 13.
- (3) His Niduparru grant noticed as C.P. No. 7, in Annual Report for the year 1916—1917.
- (4) His Kombarru plates noticed as C. P. No. 11, in Ep. Report for the year 1917—1918.
- (5) His Mrōparru grant noticed as C.P. No. 9 in Annual Report for the year 1919—1920.

From the half a dozen plates of this king published or noticed so far, we get the following history:—

The rule of this second king of the E. Chalukya line extended from Guntur Dt. in the South-West to Vizag Dt. in the North-East. Telugu *Lipi* and Sanskrit language employed attest to the Andhra revival and Aryan influence. All the grants were made to Brahmins for their Vedic learning. The kings were called Parama-Brahmanyas as they encouraged Brahminical faith, ritual, sacrifices etc. The donees who were all well versed in Vedic and Puranic lore were expected to teach the same to young and ardent pupils in their own residences called Ghaṭikas (Residential Colleges). They were also expected to help the king in performing sacrifices of various kinds. The Chinese pilgrim, Yuan chwang who visited Vengi during his rule attests to the rising power of Brahmanical faith and the decline of Buddhism.

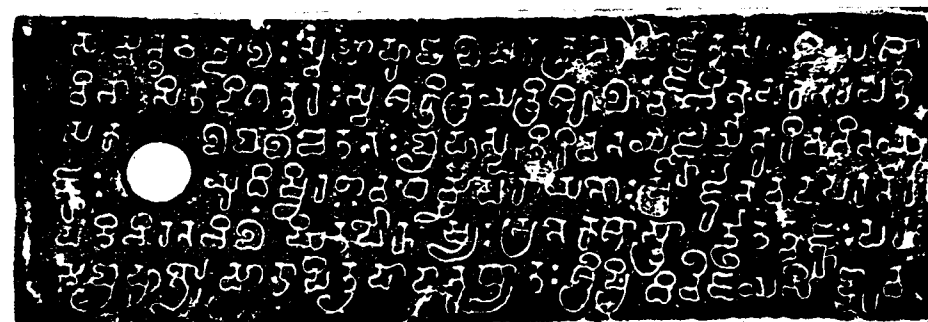
TEXT.

First Plate, Second side.



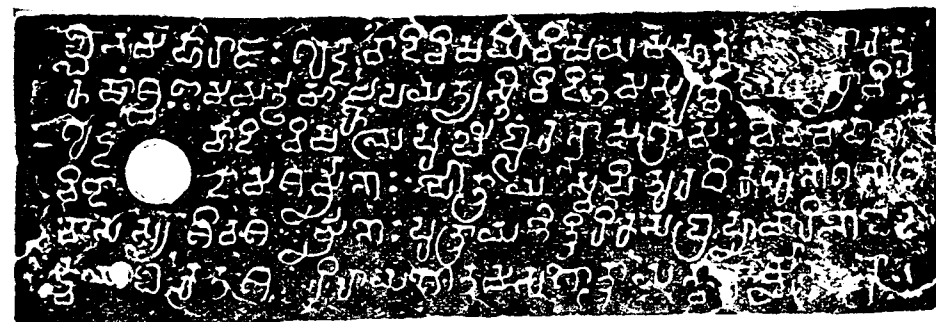
1. Svasti Śrī Vijaya skandhāvārāt Mātṛgaṇa parirakshi tām
Mānavyasa Gotrānām |
2. Haritiputrānām aśvamēdha yājīnām Chalukyānām kulajala-
nidhi.
3. Samutpanna rājaratnasya sakala bhuvana maṇḍala maṇḍita
kirtih Sri.
4. Kittivarmmaṇah pautrah arēka samara samghaṭṭa vijayi-
nah paranara.
5. patimakuta maṇimayūkhāvadāta charaṇa yugalasya Sri
Vishṇu vardhana.
6. Mahārājasya priyatanayah pravarddhamāna pratāpōpanata
samasta.

Second Plate, First side.



7. Sāmanta maṇḍalah svabāhubala parākramōpārjjita sakala-
yaśō.
8. Vibhāsita digantarāh Svasāktitraya trisū lāvabhinna
paranarapati.
9. Sakalabalacētanah Bṛhaspatiriva nayajñah Manu riva
vinaya.
10. Jñah Yudhishtira iva Dharmmaparāyaṇah Arjunavadapara-
nara.
11. Patibhiranabhilamghita pāurushyah anēka sāstrārdha-
tatva Jñah para-
12. Mabrahmanyō mātāpitṛ pādānudhyātah Sri Prithivī Jaya
Singha Va-

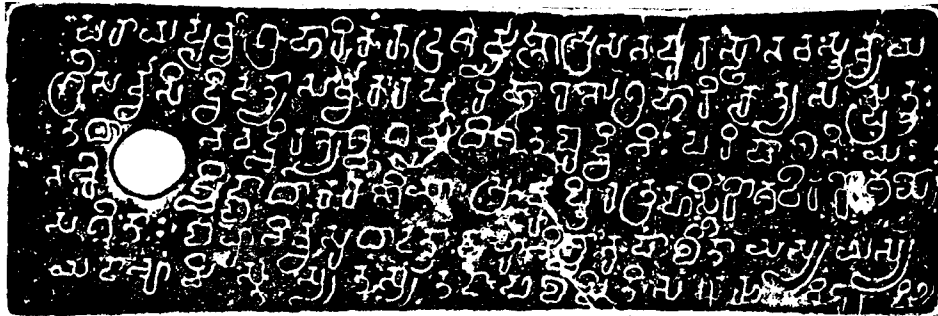
Second Plate, Second side.



13. Ilabha Mahārājah Guḍḍavāḍi vishayē vishaya mahattarānadi-
kāra pu
14. rushamācha imamatthamājña pa yatyasti viditamastu vō
yushmābbih
15. Guḍḍavāḍi vishayē Pulibūmrānāmagrāmah Vēda Vedamga
16. vidō Dhāmasarmmaṇah pautrāya svapituradhikaguṇa gaṇādhī

- 17 vāsasya Śivaśarmmanah putrāya Taittirika sabrahma chārīṇā
Vēda
18 dvayālamkṛta śārīṇāya Gautamasa Gōtrāya svakarmā nush-
thāṇa

Third Plate., First side.



19. Parāya pūrvāgrahārika Rudraśarmmanē Asanapurasthana
vastavyāya.
20. Sri Sarvasiddhi dattiyā sarvakara parihārāṇā grahārikṛtya
samprattah.
21. tadhā bhavadhbiranyaścha dharmmadhisāta buddhibhih
paripālaniyah.
22. nakaiśchidbādha Karaṇiyā Ajñaptiratrahastikōśa Virakōśa yō
23. sagīta Bahubhir vasudhā dattā bahubischānupālītā yasya
yasya.
24. yadhābhūmi stasya tasya tadāphalamiti sam 4.

Brief abstract of contents.

From his victorious Camp—the grandson of Kīrti Varma and the beloved son of Sri Vishnu Vardhana Maharaja, Prithvi Jayasimhavallabha, who possessed several virtues and who was learned orders the people of Guddavadi vishaya thus:—

Be it known to you that we gave the village of Pullimburu as an Agrahara and free of all taxes, to Rudrasarma who was the previous owner of the village and who was resident of Asanapura and who belonged to Taittiriya School and Gautama gōtra and who was well versed in two Vedas and performance of his own duties and who is the son of Sivasarma and grandson of Damasarma.

Protect this gift. The executors of the grant were Hastikosa and virakosa. The usual Vyasa slokas follow.

THE ORIGIN OF THE RIGHT AND LEFT HAND CASTES DIVISIONS.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M. A.

The Hindu population of Madras had been for many centuries divided into two main factions, the Right and Left Hand castes, "the members of which were as ready to fall out with one another on the smallest provocation as Orangemen and Ribbonmen were in Ireland, or the Montagus and Capulets in Verona". The Madras Consultations, October 30th for 1707, have an entry regarding a paper in the *Gentue* (Telugu) language signed by President Baker, Agent Greenhill and Mr. Gurney, dated in the year 1652, i.e., only twelve years after the foundation of the settlement, for composing differences among the Right and Left Hand castes, which Governor Pitt had from the latter. A translation of this paper is appended to the Consultation and its substance was that there were several disputes and differences between the castes about their respective streets. The Right Hand castes were to reside in the particular streets appointed for them, where were to live or come none of the Left Hand castes. Similarly the Left Hand castes were to confine themselves to their streets; and whoever should trespass into the other side's streets with their wedding and funeral processions was to forfeit a thousand dollars.* The factions thus appear to have been co-eval with the foundation of the settlement. The distinction between the two Hands is very old, but it seems to have been unknown in the North, and to have been confined only to a part of South India. The distinction was prevalent in all the Tamil and Canarese Districts, and some of the Telugu castes observed it also, but it was absent in Malabar. The Abbe Dubois tells us of the prevalence of the distinctions in Mysore about 1800 and wonders at the excesses and violence to which some quarrels might lead these. Usually the *Vclangai* or Right Hand faction comprised almost all the more respectable castes together with the *Ādi Drāvidas* (Pariah caste) who are called *Valangai-mattar* or friends. The *Idangai* or Left Hand faction comprised the Panchāla or five sorts of smiths, the Chakkilians or leather-workers, the Pallans and certain others of the lowest castes. The Brahmins, the Vallajars, and a few other respectable castes are neutral.

* Fort St. George Records, *Diary and Consultation Book for 1707*, (1929) pp 75—76, and also Wheeler's *Madras in the Olden Time* (1882) pp 263—264.

Mr. Nelson, the observant author of *The Madura Manual*, thinks that religious differences had nothing to do with the distinction which was "attributable to jealousy regarding local rank and to nothing else." Buchanan notes the prominence of the distinction in the Mysore Country in his *Travels*; he says that the Right Hand side numbered eighteen castes, and included Vokkaligars, Komatis who are Vaisyas, Jains, Kurubars, potters, washermen, palankin-bearers, barbers, painters of cloth, shepherds, and Holeyas. The elements of the Left Hand faction were the Panchālas or five kinds of smiths, black-smiths, carpenters, copper-smiths, gold and silver smiths and masons, Beri-Chettis, Dēvāngas, Beydurs, and Mādigas (tanners and shoe-makers); and the last formed the most active combatants in all disputes. The different castes of each division were not united by any common tie of religion, occupation or kindred, but seemed to be merely fighting for certain honorary distinctions. The Right Hand side claimed the exclusive privilege of using 12 pillars in their marriage pandals (pavilions) and that their adversaries had no right to ride on horseback, nor carry a flag painted with the figure of Hanumanta. The Left Hand side pretended that these were conferred on them by a grant of Kali. The division into two factions is attributed by tradition to a grant of Goddess Kali at Kanchipura (*A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, Vol. I., pp 77-80).

Dr. Maclean, author of the *The Madras Manual of Administration*, (Vol. III., Glossary pp. 1036-37) says that the movement was always confined to South India, its centre being at Conjeevaram "where there are to this day special halls for both parties" In various localities the same castes embraced occasionally different sides, yet on the whole the principal parties or both sides were the same. The Vellalas and the Pariahs were right-hand men; so also were the Vaḍuga-Vallalar with the swan flag, Reddis with plough flag, Kammavar with bull flag, the Nattamar with ally flag, Coontalavargal with *chakor* flag, Malayaman with the talipot flag, Komatis with the cotton flag, shepherds with wheels, Telugu shepherds with conch, Kannaḍiyar (Canarese) shepherds with tents and five coloured flag, Padma Sāleys (weavers) with tiger flag, Paṭṭusaley with the two-headed bird flag, Vaḍuga Sheniyar with the jasmine flag, Jendravar (Telugu weavers) with the crocodile flag, Kannaḍiya Sheniar with the eagle flag, Paṭṇoolkarar with silk flag. Shedar (weavers) with the tortoise flag, Shekku Vaniar (oil-pressers) with the *garula* flag, Wonteddu Vaniar (one bullock oil-pressers) with the parrot-flag, Shanappar (hemp-dressers) with *makaram* flag, Kanchiyar (braziers) with peepul flag, basket-makers with sword flag, fox-beggars with the dog flag, Tamil Kusavar

(potters), Telugu and Canarese potters, *fluters*, *nattuvars* (dancing masters), dancing girls with *Manmatan* flag, Shanai Koravar, Lambāds (salt-sellers), Hunters, Patnavar, Karaiyar, Oddar, Obravar (tank-diggers), Bajis, washermen, barbers, Dombars, Mariamman Poojaris, Poojaris, Irular (wild foresters), Kudukudupakar (sooth-sayers) Yenadis, ex-communicated black-smiths and ex-communicated carpenters, ship-carpenters, and Telugu sailors (Kappal Vadugar.)

On the Left Hand side were Beri Chettis-(from Beramu = trade) who claimed to be the only representative of a true Vaisya stock belonging to the Left Hand castes and were distinct from the Komatis, - with kite flags, Nagara Vaniyar (two oil mongers) Kaikōlar (weavers) Kammālar (artisans) viz., goldsmiths, braziers, masons, carpenters, and blacksmiths and Pallis with big axe, and crane-feather, *Vengai* and red-lotus garlands and flags of cock, vulture, fox, etc.; Paḷlars and Chakkiliar (leather-workers), Male Paḷlis and female leather-workers were of the Right Hand. The women of these two castes took different sides from their husbands in disputes. Certain castes took no part in these quarrels; these were Brahmans, Shepherds, and Sātānis. While the Left Hand everywhere comprises the Panchālar or five guilds of smiths together with the leather workers and a few other insignificant castes, the Right Hand comprised all the principal castes of the country. In short it was a dispute between the principal artificers and the agricultural, mercantile and other classes. The Panchālar affected to wear the sacred thread. On the West Coast the League consisted of four classes only, viz., the carpenters (Āchāries), brass-founders, smiths and silver-smiths, the masons being excluded. The circumstance that when the artisan caste tribes were excluded, a group of five castes belonging to the Right Hand, (called in Canarese *Pancham Bena-jiga*) was opposed to a group of five castes belonging to the Left Hand (Panchāla) might possibly have given rise to the name of hands". (Maclean, Vol. I., pp 69-70.)

In the Mysore and Canarese regions the principal castes of the Right Hand side were the Pancham Banijagaru who were traders and wear the Linga, and the Teliga Banijagaru who worshiped Vishnu. The Pancham Banijagaru were the leaders of this division.

A mythical account of the origin of the *Idangai* Left Hand classes is given in Inscription No. 439 of 1912, (*South Indian Epigraphy*) which is noticed on page 109 of the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1913. According to Crole's *Chengleput District Manual*,

Karikāla Chōla divided the people into these two parties, assigning 98 tribes to each and appropriating to their use distinctive flags and musical instruments for their use at festivals and funerals. "This distinction established at first for political reasons, or to prevent disturbances, has for the last several centuries been the constant source of contention and has ever given rise to serious tumults."

The antiquity of these divisions is proved beyond doubt by literature and inscriptions. The earliest inscriptional reference to it is a record of Rājendra Chōla Dēva I. (No. 341 of 1907), where the *Valangai* class is mentioned. In the *Tondaimandala Śatakam* we have got a reference to the unfriendly feelings between the Kammāḷars and the Vellāḷas. The agriculturists must evidently have asserted that the artisans were their servants as the latter had to supply to them the "necessary tools of husbandry". "That the Kammāḷas were at some social disadvantage may be inferred from Inscriptions, Nos. 509 of 1893, 151 of 1905, and the Pāsupatīśvara Inscription published on pages 46 and 47 of the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. From these records it is ascertained that the Kammāḷa enjoyed certain privileges such as wearing shoes, sounding drums and conches, building tiled-houses and houses with two entrances etc., only with the special sanction of the ruling king. It may be noted also that the *Valangai* (Right Hand) classes were admitted to high positions in the military service during the time, of Rāja Rāja I." There were a large number of *Valangai* regiments in the Chola service, as mentioned by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya in his "Introduction to Vol. II of *South Indian Inscriptions*". "Thus the *Valangai* and *Idangai* differences seem broadly to have been those between the Kammāḷas and the Vellāḷas. Generally it is said that the terms *Valangai* and *Idangai* came to be applied to these two parties when they laid their differences before the king who decided the case with the one party on his right and the other on his left. There are reasons to infer that this event happened at Kanchi, though we do not know exactly the name of the king to whom the two parties appealed. In this city (Conjeevaram) the differences between the two classes are more marked than in any other place as evidenced by the existence of *Valangai* and *Idangai* temples, *Valangai* and *Idangai* mantapas, and *Valangai* and *Idangai* dancing-girls." "In inscriptions we have references only to these classes, but no mention is generally made of the sub-sects that belong to them. Each of these seems to have included 98 sects (No. 59 of 1914). The 98 sub-sects of the *Idangai* class, to strengthen their bond of unity

entered into a compact in the 49th year of Kulōttunga Chōla III., tracing their lost origin. (*Annual Report for Epigraphy for 1913*; p. 109). That the Depressed Classes were also included in the divisions is proved by inscription from Marungūr in the Travancore State where the degraded *Valangai* and *Idangai* classes were prohibited from making gifts to a temple. The ruling chiefs seem to have taken no cognizance of the differences between these two classes. In Ins. No. 564 of 1902. King Vijaya Bhupatiraya Udaiyar, son of Dēvarāya I, ordered that both the *Valangai* and *Idangai* classes of Tiruvan-nāmalai should enjoy the same privileges." (*Annual Report for South Indian Epigraphy for 1920-21*; pp. 103-104)

According to Mr. V. Venkayya quoted above, 13. of the regiments of Rāja Rāja Chōla the Great, mentioned in the Tanjore Inscriptions belonged to the *Valangai-Velaikkāra-padaigal*, the *Velaikkāra* troops of Right Hand. The *Velaikkāra* Troops were possibly volunteers who were enlisted when the occasion for their services arose, though it is also conjectured that they might have been mercenary troops. "It is difficult to determine if this designation (*Valangai*) is based on the distinction between the Right and Left Hand castes of South India. No mention of any Left Hand troops of this class is made in the Tanjore Inscriptions, though their existence may *prima facie* be assumed" (*South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II., Introduction, p. 10).

An inscription on the north wall of the Pasupatiśvara Shrine at Karuvur (No. 25 edited and translated in *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, pp 46-57) contains the order of the King Tribhuvana Chakravartin Kōnerinmaikondan, granting certain privileges to the artisans of the district of Vengala Nāḍu, like the blowing of double conches, the beating of drums on the occasion of marriages and funerals, the wearing of *sandals* by the castes and the covering of their houses with plaster. There is an almost identical inscription of the grant by a king of the same name of similar privilege to the Kammāḷars of the South Kongu country.

Thus we have abundant epigraphic testimony regarding the existence of these factions from the eleventh century onwards. A stone inscription of Vijayanagar days (No. 92 of 1916) dated *Saka* 1351, seems to record a compact agreed upon by the *Valangai* and *Idangai* castes of Vriddhāchalam (South Arcot District), that they would inflict corporal punishment on those who helped the tax-collectors of the King and the Brahman land-holders in the collection of taxes by coercive measures and who consented to write the accounts.

Another Vijayanagara inscription of Saka 1454 (No. 103 of Stone Inscription of 1906) refers to the 98 castes included in the *Idangai* and *Valangai*. Yet another (No. 253 of Stone Inscriptions of 1926 of the Trichinopoly District, of the Vijayanagara period registers an agreement relating to social conduct among the *Valangai* and *Idangai* sects. The violence that marked the quarrels between the two factions is attested by a stone record, which mentions life on both sides. (No. 185 of 1921). Another record of the Mayavaram Taluk (Tanjore District) of the time of the Devārāya I of Vijayanagar refers to a settlement between the *Valangai* 98 and *Idangai* 98 castes regarding the heavy and illegal rates of taxes payable by them. These taxes known as *Inavari* and *Idangaivari* were frequently oppressive and the people had to enter emphatic protests against them; (Inscription No. 476 of 1926 dated Saka 1363, *Akshaya*). According to the evidence of Inscription No. 216 of 1910, also of the Vijayanagara period, the Pallis and the Vanniyars are mentioned as paying the *Idangaivari*.

Mr. M. Srinivasa Iyengar in his *Tamil Studies*, (First Series 1914,) has given the following table of the castes of the two factions with an indication of their occupations.

Occupation.	Right-Hand.	Left-Hand.
Traders.	Baliya Banajiga Komati Vellan Chetty	Beri Chetty Vaniyans, (Who yoke two bulls to their oil mills.)
Weavers.	Jāndra Sāliyan Seniyan	Dēvānga & Kaikolan
Artisans.	Nil	Kammalan Kamsāli Panchalas.
Leather workers.	Mādiga or Chakkaliyan (women)	Mādiga (men)
Field labourers and others.	Malaiman Nattaman Palli (women) Vēdan or Vēttuvan Paraiyan Mala, and Hōleya	Bēdar Palli (men) Pallan.

Some later immigrant castes have been included with Right Hand castes like Gujaratis and Patnulkaras. The Pancham Banajigas of the Canarese country, the Paraiyars of the Tamil Districts and the Mālas of the Andhra country are the most sturdy champions of the Right Hand. They are supplemented by the Hōleyas in Mysore and Canara and the weavers. The Left Hand is led everywhere by the Kammālas, Kamsāls or Panchālas with the strong support of the Mādigas and Chakkiliyans. In Malabar these disputes are confined only to the weavers and the Canarese immigrants. Gradually the higher classes seem to have lost zest in these quarrels; and "the dispute is now practically confined to the lowest classes occasionally encouraged by the Kammālas." Different views of the origin of the system have been put forth. We have been told that the division arose from a dispute between the principal artificers and the agricultural, mercantile, and other classes; and that "the distinction arises principally from the land owners and their serfs being the heads of one class, and the Brahmans, the artificers, and other interlopers from the other." In Mysore the factions are given the names of *dēsa* (foreign) and *nāḍu* (native), and colour is thus lent to the supposition that the division is due to the professional jealousy between the indigenous mercantile community and the larger and more powerful immigrant traders.

"To call into existence such a powerful and widespread social division, a single cause of small magnitude would never suffice.", Mr. M. Srinivasa Iyengar would say that the distinction originated in the Chola country in the 11th century, when the great Rāja Rāja Chōla marshalled his extensive armies into two grand divisions, the first consisting of those men who had won for him victories in all his foreign campaigns and the second composed of new soldiers from the Pandya, Telugu, and Canarese countries who had formerly fought against him. The first class recruited chiefly from the Vēdan, Nattamān, Malayaman, and Paraiya castes, he called the Right Hand army (*Valangai velaikkarar*), while the latter was made up of Pallans, Pallis, Madigas, and Bēdars and was called the Left Hand army. The Pallans, correctly Mallar, formed the Pandiyan army, the Pallis constituted the Pallava army, while the troops of other countries were recruited chiefly from the Bēdars and Madigas or Chakkiliyans". The male members of these military classes were put into the left hand, but their women who could not have naturally taken up arms against Rāja Rāja were

treated as belonging to the Right Hand faction. The inscriptions of Rājendra Chōla prove that this distinction was observed by his army though not so strictly as in his father's time. And by the time of Ādirājendra Chōla (A. D. 1065) a poll tax was levied on all the male members of both factions who were in a position to use the implements of war. All these clearly prove that the origin of the division was purely of a military or political nature."

Again low castes striving for a higher social position incurred the wrath of the rulers and of the higher castes and were consequently classed with other hostile tribes in the Left Hand division. Such must have been the origin of the classification of the Kammālas whose services for temple building etc., made them permanently connected with temples and other religious institutions and consequently clamorous for a higher social status and even aiming at an equal rank with Brahmans. The other prominent castes striving for a higher social status were the Kaikōlas and Dēvāngas and others who were encouraged by the anti-Brahmanical doctrines of Basava, particularly in the Canarese country and adopted uncouth nomenclature from Sanskrit and Canares vocabularies. According to Dr. G. Oppert, there was a third source for the intensification of these divisions. "The influence of the Jains was perhaps the strongest in the towns where the artisan classes form an important portion of the population, while the Brahmans appealed to the land owning and agricultural classes". But the Brahmans have always remained neutral in these divisions; and had the struggle between Brahmanism and Jainism been the essential cause of this division most of the artisans would have adopted the Jaina faith; moreover we do not hear of these divisions prior to the 10th century by which time Brahmanism had consolidated its position. But it is likely that "Jainism an anti-Brahminical religion professed by the enemies of the Chōla kings (like Bitti Deva Hoysala) might have acted as a third cause for the division into the Right and Left Hand factions."

If the Jains had been instrumental in fomenting this division they would have been classed as Left Hand. But they belong in the Mysore country to the Right Hand. The reason for this is explained by a Mysore inscription of A. D. 1368 Brahmans and Jains were fighting for the use of the five big drums and the Kalāśa, a privilege usually exercised by the Right Hand castes; and in that year King Vira Bukka Raya effected a compromise between them and ever since that time the Jains have been admitted as belonging to the Right Hand party.

Colonel Colin Mackenzie had in his *Mss. Collections* (*Translations* Vol. XLVI, Nos. 29 and 31) traditional accounts as preserved about 1800 A.D., about the origin of the two factions which is as follows. The Nagarattar caste who followed merchandise in the country and Balijawar caste who imported and exported commodities had a dispute as to precedence, which grew more and more intense as time went on, and gathered other castes into the current of the quarrel; the Balijas dragged in the Komatis, Valluvar, Shanar, Pariar, etc. (89 in number) and Nagarattar came to include Chettis, Pallis, Chucklers, Kaikolars etc., (11 in all). The Panchālas or smiths who work upon iron, wood, stone, brass, gold and silver took up the side of the Nagarattar and desisted from carrying on their trade. Then Chola Raja unable to decide the dispute declared that both were on an equal footing. Thereon the Balijavar ceased from importing the necessary things into the country. The Raja then took a *muchilika* from both, which bound them to adhere to his decision, which was made in the temple of Kāmākshi Amman in Conjeevaram. The two divisions stood on the Right and Left side of the Goddess and received the deity's offerings, the one from the right hand of the priest and the other from his left. The Raja gave betel and *areca* nut with his right hand to the one and with his left hand to the other. Each faction was expressly ordered not to enter, with their marriage, funeral, or festival processions, the streets allotted to the other. The castes that were neutral were called *Madyastam* and included Brahmans Patnoolkārars, Kanakkar, Vellālas, Reddis, Tōtier, Marathas, Telugus, Mussalmans, Lubbais, Rajaputs, Pandaram etc. (69 in all). Most of the immigrant communities are regarded as neutral.

A Madras Council Consultation of 6th June 1706 ennumerates the following castes as having been assessed towards the payment for the building of the Black Town Wall and works. Portuguese, Armenians, Chettis, (Beri Chettis) Moor-men, Komatis, Vellomwar, Balijawar, oil-men, Gellamaniwar, Agamudaiyar, Kamsalawar, Gujaratis, Kaikolas, Kernam, or Kanakkuppillais, Pallis, Saliyas, Chuliars, Washermen, Gollawar, Fishermen, Baboo Coolies, Barbers, Tonnepas caste, Jāndras (Dēvāngas) Wodders, Andi Chettis, Potters, Mukkuvas, Brahmans, and Catamaran-men. (Page 55. Fort St. George *Diary and Consultation Book* of 1706.)

The faction fights between the two classes were frequent in Madras till the close of the eighteenth century and seem to have diminished in violence by the beginning of the next century and practically disappeared in its early decades.

**A NEWLY DISCOVERED MS OF BALA-GOPALA-STUTHI
BY BILVA MANGALA SVAMI.**

O. C. GANGOLY, EDITOR: "RUPAM"

When in August last, I read the excellent and illuminating note on Bilvamangala Svāmī and his works by Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi in the pages of this *Journal* (Literary Gleanings No. 9: Vol. III, part I July 1928, p. 66—71), little did I imagine that I would come across within a couple of weeks, an *édition de luxe* of the *Bāla Gopāla stutih* by the poet-saint, in the form of an old, illustrated manuscript profusely illuminated by miniatures. Yet this was exactly my good fortune, and I hasten to bring this to the notice of scholars and readers of this Quarterly and particularly of Mr. Kavi, to whom all lovers of Sanskrit literature are heavily indebted for the valuable information, that he is publishing, gleaned from unpublished sources, on various obscure nooks and corners of Sanskrit literature.

The Ms in question is written on paper of the size of $9\frac{1}{2}" \times 4\frac{1}{8}"$ and bears on each page, generally on the left side, the text of the hymn in seven or eight lines, with a miniature illustration of one or other episodes from *Krishna-līlā*. On the back of each page is also written a portion of the text which appears to be continued from page to page. The Ms contains about 30 folios each bearing a miniature illustration of the size of $5\frac{3}{4}" \times 4\frac{1}{8}"$. Illustrated Indian Mss, particularly in Sanskrit are so rare, that this discovery must be hailed as a very unique example in which the calligrapher and the artist, (it is difficult to say if they are the same person here) have collaborated to produce what must be regarded as a valuable jewel of Vaishnava culture. I had not the opportunity to examine the text minutely, the point of view of my study being æsthetic, rather than literary, or linguistic. But I received a thrill of delight when I read the colophon, on the last page, which I reproduce here, and on the plate opposite. It runs thus:—

इति श्री परमहंसप्रजाक श्रीपाद बिल्वमंगल विरचित श्री बालगोपाल स्तुतिः।
इति माध(व) पुराणे भगवत् वाक्यम्॥

There is a curious information in the colophon that this hymn forms part of what is called *Mādhava-purāṇa*. I am not aware of any *purāṇa* of this name and it certainly does not find place in the list of



A Page from a Manuscript of
BALA-GOPALA-STUTHI,
with colophon, dated circa 1425 A. D.

eighteen *purāṇas* known to history. For all that we know, *Mudhava purāṇa* may have been an anthology collection, or encyclopædia of Vaishṇava hymns, in which the Bāla-Gopāla stutih found an honourable place, for the hymn is glorified as the Word or Message of the Lord himself (*Bhāgavat Vākyaṃ*).

Unfortunately the Ms is not dated and we are left to speculate on its date on the basis of its stylistic data, literary as well as palæographical. The style of the illustration at once relates it to a unique, dated Ms written in Ahmedabad in Guzerat in *Vikram Samvat* 1508 (1431 A.D.) known as *Vasanta Vilāsa*, which deserves to be better known both as a unique document of the history of Indian Painting and as a literary curiosity of the highest interest, not only as an anthology of love-poems of current popularity in the 15th century, but as offering valuable linguistic data in its commentaries on the sanskrit text in archaic Guzarāṭi. The Ms of the *Vasanta Vilāsa* has been described by me in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* (N. F. 2, 1925) and by its happy discoverer Mr. Mehta in *Rūpam* (No. 22—23, 1925). A comparison with the Ms of *Vasanta Vilāsa* of our Ms here leaves no doubt that the two are very closely related in time and must be taken to come from the same area. The style of the pictorial illustration is what is loosely described as "Jaina style", principally illustrated in numerous illuminated Mss dealing with Jaina canonical literature e.g. *Kalpasūtra*, *Kālakāchārya kathā* &c. The evidence of the Ms of *Vasanta Vilāsa* and the Ms discovered by me tends to indicate that the style cannot be taken to be exclusively "Jaina". It would be more appropriate to designate the style as "Guzarāṭi" or "Southern Rājasthānī, which was the current pictorial language employed to illustrate both Jaina and Vaishṇava subjects, and religious as well as secular themes. It is difficult to say if the Ms of *Bāla-Gopāla stutih* is earlier or later than the *Vasanta Vilāsa*. I have studied the plastic and æsthetic qualities of the pictorial style on a comparative basis in an article which is being published elsewhere, and I have come to the conclusion that our Ms is earlier than the *Vasanta Vilāsa*. A comparison of the scripts of the two Mss will probably lead to the same result, but I am not competent to evaluate the comparative palæographic data. The Ms must undoubtedly be taken to date not later than the middle of the fifteenth century; and as a valuable document of Indian Painting it is of equal importance as the *Vasanta Vilāsa*. But it is scarcely of less interest from the view point of history of literature and of religious faith. It vindicates, and very happily corroborates Mr. Kavi's suggestion as to the place of Saint Bilva Mangala Svāmī (we call him Bilva Mangala Thākur. in Bengal) in the development of devotional Vaishṇavism. One should like to designate him as the "Jayadeva of the South",

But he really belongs to the whole of India, and it is well known that his *Kṛishṇa Karmāmṛita* hymns are sung all over India. This Ms of *Bāla Gōpāla stuthi*, hailing as it does from some parts of Southern Rajputana or Guzarat, one of the important strongholds of Vaishṇava culture, attests the popularity of the great poet-Saint of the South and his hymns, in a distant corner of India. In the development of Vaishṇava culture the part of Southern saints and hagiologists is very important, and many of them must have attained an all-India status. As Mr. Kavi has proved and our Ms here, happily corroborates, *Lilāsuka* was undoubtedly one of the saints who reigned over the hearts of faithful Vaishṇavas all over India. In Bengal his popularity is attested by a popular drama, repeatedly staged in Calcutta, a decade ago, with unqualified success.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE BRAHMINICAL HIERARCHY IN ANCIENT INDIA:

S. BIMASANKARA RAO, B.A.

Continued from page 110 of Vol. III.

FALL OF THE BRAHMIN HIERARCHY AND GROWTH OF BUDDHISM.

XX

In our last lecture we have traced the origin of the Brahminical hierarchy and sketched its growth and development up to the end of what is known in Ancient India as the period *Sūtra literature*. We have seen how the Brahmin Rshis of old have consolidated their power and influence and how they had built up the great Aryan-Socio-religious fabric which still endures to this day though not in its pristine glory and vigour. Let us follow the fortunes of this Brahmin priest-hood in the subsequent ages, and how they fared in the estimation of the people. Before proceeding further, it is necessary to take a preliminary survey of the state of society and conditions prevailing about the time of the birth of the Buddha (circa) 563 B.C. It is essential for proper appreciation of the historical sequence of events that we should be acquainted with social and religious ideals which permeated the Aryan Hindu Society at that time, or in other words, what were the conditions prevailing just before the dawn of Buddhism, about the 7th or 6th century B. C.

During the Epic times the Brahmin priesthood was still inferior in status and social position to the Aryan Kshatriya nobility but gradually it acquired an influence as the real power behind the throne and the Brahmins counsel and advice was regarded with undoubted respect and veneration, to be followed implicitly. It has already been stated that the Brahmin had become an indispensable factor in all the ordinary events of life and his support and assistance was sought after by all classes of people. The Brahmin rshis of old were not only the Spiritual preceptors of the Royalty, but also the secular teachers of the people. By this intellectual superiority, by his severe self discipline, by the high principle of his moral and ethical standard of life, by his disinterested labours for the uplift of the mankind, the Brahmin rose to a position of supremacy and eminence, and commanded the respect and adoration of both the prince and peasant alike. It is these Brahmin rshis of old that devised

the whole political social and religious fabric of the Indo-Aryan community and built up the edifice of Hindu civilization and culture upon immutable standards and ideals of life which still dominate at the present day. The great *Sūtra* literature of the period attests to this fact. Though it may appear to be a little bit of a digression yet it seems appropriate here to refer to the two divergent schools of religious thought which dominated the ancient Aryan society and which still prevails at the present day.

The two great divergent schools of religious thought namely, Vaishnavism and Saivism, gradually came to prominence and developed their theories in course of time, as ages advanced. At what period of ancient history, these two opposing schools of religious thought had their starting point and took concrete shape, is a matter well worth historical investigation. The Vedic Gods who figure prominently in the Vedas, to whom prayers were offered and in whose honour sacrifices were performed, whose assistance was sought in suppressing the Non-Aryan Dasyus and whose blessings were constantly invoked for abundant rain and growth of their crops,—Indra, Varuṇa, Agni, Mitra and a host of others have gradually fallen into disuse and in their place Brahma, Viṣṇu, Śiva, the famous Hindu Trinity of Gods came into prominence. The religious idea and conception of this triple unity of God-head can be essentially traced to the Aryan Brahmin *rshis*, though the Viṣṇu form of cult had always been favoured by the Aryan-Kshatriya nobility and the Kshatriya king had always been identified as the vice-gerent of Viṣṇu on earth.

Both Śiva and Viṣṇu were originally conceived as mountain deities about the time of the philosophical concepts formulated by the Upanishads and they were introduced into Indo-Aryan cosmogony when the phenomena of the tropical regions had begun to shape their ideas. Viṣṇu the great mountain upon which the Aryan tribesmen would often build their chieftain's fort was always identified with the interests of the Kshatriya nobility and was regarded as their patron deity. Even now all Kshatriyas are *Viṣṇu bhaktas* and they wear Viṣṇu symbols—though Śaivite Brahmins officiate at their household ceremonies. Gradually this materialistic conception of the great mountain has developed the idea of an all pervading spirit of life and it was considered as the pivot or the axis of all cosmic forces and thus Nārāyaṇa came to represent all those powers of nature consequent on the development of ideas of Vedic deities. Śiva also was regarded as the great mountain God residing on the top of Himalayas with his consort, Umā-Pārvati and he was both a creator and destroyer. The religious and spiritual ideas

associated with the names of Viṣṇu and Śiva have gradually developed by the Aryan Brahmins and Kshatriyas and they were all embodied in their daily life. The construction of the Indo Aryan village and its temple clearly illustrate and symbolise the wheel of life according to these conceptions and the *Śilpasastras* lay down all the injunctions to be observed in the construction of the temples and villages of the Indo-Aryan communities. The development of ideas naturally brings on a change in the nomenclature of the deities which are the objects of worship. The primitive Aryan Nature worship of Elements gradually gave place to abstract ideas of eternality and life, birth and death, leading to the concepts of Brahma as Creator of life, Viṣṇu as the preserver of life and Śiva as destroyer of life and theologically these opposites, life and death, creation and destruction were linked together and were centred in Nārāyaṇa who represents the eternity of life. A further expansion of these concepts is to be found in the Trinity of Spirit *Sat-Chit-Ananda* and in the trinity of matter, *Satva-Rajas-Tama*, upon which the whole of Hindu philosophical and theological systems have been devised. The symbolism of the ancient Aryan religious thought upon which all Indian philosophical concepts are based reveals clearly Śaiva and Vaishṇava distinctions from the very beginning and to the philosopher, Viṣṇu and Śiva are two concepts representing two different logical processes, the Inductive and Deductive, belonging to two different schools of Indian Thought. The Śaiva school of Thought depends on *Śruti* or divine realisation or in other words upon intuition and inspiration while the Vaishṇava school of Thought stands on *Smṛti* reasoned knowledge and the law of Cause and Effect based upon the facts of human experience. The Kshatriya thinkers being essentially men of action generally adhered to the Vaishṇava school of thought while the Brahmin philosophers mostly belonged to the Śaiva school. The earliest monuments of Indo Aryan architecture clearly disclose the lines of cleavage which separate these two great sectarian groups representing Śiva and Viṣṇu cults, as their respective temples with *Stūpas* and *Śikharas* indicate. The *Stūpa* is a reliquary or a funereal monument and represents a symbol of Death while the *Śikhara* shrine represents a symbol of Life. In fact *Stūpa* is a Śaiva Symbol while *Śikhara* is Vaishṇavaite one. If we can trace back the origin of this symbolic temple architecture we find that the Vaishṇava cult was undoubtedly of Kshatriya origin closely connected with the primitive hero-worship and loyalty to the tribal chieftain. The Śaivas are the intellectuals, heirs of the Brahman philosophy based upon *Jñāna-mārga*, the path of knowledge while the Kshatriyas who were men of action adhered to the Vaishṇava school of thought based on *Bhakti mārga*. Reference may also be made to another historical view of Saivism.

The original population of Ancient India before the Aryan colonisation were Dravidians and they were Saivites. Especially in the South, Saivism was prominent. Ravana, the king of Lanka was a Saivite and all the *Rākshasas* are Saivites. They indulged in various forms of demonolatory, in the worship of Evil Spirits by means of body sacrifices and frantic dances such as the worship of Natarāja. The aryanisation gradually reached upon the original religious system of the Aryans. The different form of this demon worship shaped, moulded and refined by Aryan thought gave rise to Saivism. There can be no doubt that the Phallic emblem, which was an object of veneration among the Dravidians and the aborigines of ancient India was subsequently adopted by the Brahmins and associated it with the worship of Rudra, who was the storm god of *Rig Veda*. In the *Yajur Veda* he receives the appellations of *Īśna*, *Īśvara*, and *Mahādeva*, by which he is still popularly known. He is also represented in the *Yajur Veda* as the patron deity of all Industrial workers such as, Carpenters, Blacksmiths, who are still Savites. During the times of the *Atharvāna Veda* the the God Rudra gained in importance in popular worship, more as a terrible than as a beneficent God and his being coupled with God Agni as the author of destruction is more frequent. It is not possible to trace historically by what exact steps, the Vedic Rudra has been transferred into *Mahādeva*. The fusion of Aryan and non Aryan conceptions of this divinity perhaps led to his representation in a twofold character--the terror-inspiring as well as the auspicious and beneficent. His wife appears also in a similar double character *Uma* the graceful is also *Kālī* the horrible. The Genesis of Vishnu is also obscure as that of *Śiva*. Vishnu is the name of Sun-god in *Rig Veda* and is of Sovereign rank in common with other deities. But he gradually became the chief in the later Vedic literature. Vedic literature knows no *avatars* of Vishnu and we find a reference to Krishna, the son of *Dēvaki*, in an ancient Upanishad, not as an *avatar* of Vishnu but only as the disciple of a sage. The popularisation of Vedic Vishnu and Vedic Rudra must be a century or two before the Christian era as the earliest authentic references to Saivism and Vaishnavism do not carry us beyond that period. It would be no doubt highly interesting to pursue this historical enquiry into the origin, growth and development of these two divergent schools of religious thought, but it is enough for our purpose to notice the distinction and the lines of cleavage which are apparent and visible from the beginning in the development of these two cults. To resume our theme: we have seen how the Brahmin priesthood acquired great power and influence by dint of intellectual ability, honesty of purpose and high integrity of character. The *Sūtra* literature clearly discloses an earnest attempt on their part to build up a sound stable system of religious,

social and political institutions to endure for ever. There can be no question and no two opinions are possible on the matter that the entire social, religious and political fabric of the Aryan community was built-up by the far seeing indefatigable and disinterested labours of the Brahmin Rshis of old. But any system devised by the wit of man, however perfect it may be cannot be infallible and must in course of time show signs of decay and disintegration. It cannot be expected that the descendants of the great Aryan Brahmin Rshis of old, *Vasishṭa*, *Viśvāmitra*, *Bhāradvāja*, *Atri*, and others would maintain the same standard of high integrity of character and intellectual eminence, necessary to command the respect of every one and all. In course of time the Theocracy founded by the Brahmin hierarchy of priesthood developed a conservation of a highly despotic and oppressive form, claiming itself to be under divine sanction, and the Brahmin heirarchy became the obstinate conservators of traditional laws, customs and institutions, and developed large vested interests both in church and state, as if it had been handed down to them from their ancestors as sacred heirlooms and to which they would cling tenaciously for all times to come defying all opposition, always endeavouring to agument and enlarge their vested interests and emoluments. All conservatism must necessarily lead to stagnation and is an obstacle for all progress. When organised group of men develop vested interests, they will be guarded then, from all encroachment by others and preserved so that the same might be handed down to their heirs and descendants, and it is no wonder but is only common human experience that the Brahmin priesthood who acquired power and influence by reason of their higher intellectual ability and energy should make it a close preserve for themselves keeping it safe from all outside attack. When the Brahmin priesthood became an organised intellectual force, it easily acquired a leading position in political affairs hitherto held by Kshatriyas and in ministering to the religious needs of the Aryan community they established for themselves a monopoly of all knowledge which lent itself to unscrupulous exaction and to the encouragement of grossest superstitions. One of the most potent influences by which they exploited the credulity of the masses is the power of sacred *mantram* and the belief in the divine power of sacrifice, the efficacy of which depended largely upon the *Dakshina* paid to the officiating priests. The ancient Vedic idea of the divine power of speech which made *Sarasvati*, the Goddess of learning a *Śakti* or an active force had developed into the philosophical concept of *mantran* as the human expression of the Etheric vibrations which permeate space and was the first knowable cause of the creation itself. A *mantram* is a Sanskrit formulæ composed of a certain sequence of sounds and rythm which is

said to control the Etheric vibrations and produce effects beneficial or reverse to the persons or objects concerned. It was the prevailing belief that this *mantram* embodied in itself, the dynamic principle of the universe and its aid was frequently invoked in all the daily concerns of life for weal or woe, and no person was more competent to utilize this *mantram* than the Brahmin priesthood which led to many superstitions. From the earliest Vedic times people believed in the efficacy of the power of sacrifice, which led to the performance of sacrificial rites, which the Brahmin expert priesthood were not slow to take advantage of. The extension of the Vedic sacrificial ritual to every concern of public and private life has enlarged the field for the operation of the Brahmin priesthood. Every Aryan householder had to fulfil certain domestic sacrificial rites at the time of birth, death and marriage, besides on many other sundry occasions such as *Chavulam* and *Upanayanam*. Public sacrifices such as *yajña*, *ahvara*, *chayana*, *poundarika*, and *rāja-sūya* and *āsvamēdha* sacrifices gave ample field for the requisition of the services of the Brahminical priesthood.

The endless sacrificial ceremonies requiring the attendance of and ministration by the Brahmin priesthood on almost all occasions, both private and public, domestic and social, has invested them with a halo of religious sanctity and people looked upon them with great reverence and awe. Add to this there is the indiscriminate slaughter of animals and the drinking of the intoxicating juice of the *Sōma* plant. The political conditions of the times also do not show that there was a great central paramount power to which other states and principalities owned allegiance. There were all Tribes and Chieftains owning sway over particular pieces of the country and there were 16 such small states as described in the *Purāṇas* and Buddhist literature. Nor do we find any *Chakravarti* or *Sāmrāt* wielding supreme sovereign authority over the country during the 6th and 7th centuries B.C. prior to the advent of the Buddha. There can be no doubt that the Brahmin dominated the society to a very large extent. These Brahmins were very clever people and when once they saw their position slippery and their ground loosing they adjusted themselves to the situation. We find them in order to overcome all Kshatriya opposition adopting Vishnu, the patron deity of the Kshatriya clans, as their own God and beginning to worship him, for they declared the celebrated dictum *Nā Vishnu prithivī patih*. They soon raised the Kshatriya tribal heroes Rāma and Krishṇa to the rank of demi-Gods and admitted them to the Hindu pantheon and began to worship them as *avatars* of Vishnu. We can thus very easily see the predominant influence and position which the Brahmin has acquired in society. If this Brahmin had made a proper use of his position and influence as representing the cream of the Aryan intellectual society

and if he had lived up to the high standard set up by himself and his forefathers, certainly there would have been no difficulty.

If the high ideals of purity and altruism ordained by the laws of Manu have been implicitly obeyed as the guiding principle of Brahminhood there would have been no cause of complaint against him. If it had been possible to restrict the privileges of the Brahmin priesthood to those only who are fully qualified to exercise them but not to others though born in Brahminical circles, society would have tolerated the Brahmin to any extent. The accident of birth in Brahmin family made him supreme without the necessary qualification. Gradually the Brahmin began to deteriorate and degeneration crept in. The Brahmin began to abuse his position and to exploit the masses for his own self-aggrandisement. The slaughter of animals during the various sacrifices coupled with the exaction of *Dakshina*, the tyranny and oppression practised by the Brahminical priesthood in the exploitation of the masses and in increasing their superstitions and credulity naturally produced a reaction in the public mind and a repugnance of his acts which involved the shedding of the blood of innocent animals.

Under these conditions of society any new doctrine which appeals to the deep religious instinct of the people which removed the terror of the *mantram* and the heavy burden of the sacrificial ritual imposed by the Brahminical priesthood was welcomed by the people. No one was better qualified and equipped to preach this new doctrine and make this appeal to the people than that of a young Kshatriya prince Siddhārtha, Goutama, a scion of the Sākya clan who renounced all dearest family ties and abandoned wealth and a kingdom, to discover a better rule of life for the people of Āryāvarta than that propounded by the Brahmin priesthood. The young Kshatriya prince learnt all the Brahminical lore, sitting at the feet of the Brahmin sages, studied all the Brahminical philosophy, and further in order to acquire a deep insight into the mysteries of the universe, learnt and practised the ritual of Yōga and performed the severest penance with the object of seeking divine knowledge through mortification of the body. After undergoing though all the privations of religious study and meditation, he started to preach the doctrine of the Aryan eight fold path of right living, thinking and acting. Goutama Buddha was able to defeat the Brahmin logician and philosopher in the public debating halls of Āryāvarta with his own weapons. He disputed the Vedic theory of ritual and sacrifice and exposed the pretensions of the Brahminical priesthood while unpholding Aryan traditions and institutions. The exclusive Brahmin cult hedged round with the closest restrictions, to prevent the intrusion of

the vulgar multitude has been broken up and he opened the doors of Aryan religion to satisfy the spiritual desires of the masses by offering them a religious law easy to understand free from elaborate and costly ceremonial, thus raising the social status of the lower orders. He started a vigorous crusade against the sacrificial cult and asserted that it was not the sacrifice of animals but the suppression of all evil desires that would lead to *Nirvāṇa*. The magnetic personality of Goutama Buddha, coupled with the deep human feeling which his teaching had inspired captivated the people's minds and he organised the famous Buddhistic *sangha*; a secular Aryan brotherhood into which all classes were welcomed.

Buddha's mission and propaganda had vigorously attacked the vested interests of the Brahminical priesthood which aroused their bitter hostility and it was a re-organization of the Aryan society on a wider basis and a re-adaptation of the religious thought to the spiritual needs of the time. The *Dharma* of Vedic ritual and *mantram* and sacrifice was replaced by the *Dharma* of right living and right thinking and by clearing the spiritual atmosphere of superstition and priestly obscurantism, it paved the way and laid the foundations of the great Mauryan Empire.

It is not our purpose to discuss the tenets and Philosophy of the great Buddhistic religion but our purpose is to ascertain how far it was able to supplant the Brahminical hierarchy and its priesthood and how it caught on the minds of the people and became a wide spread religion. The main cause for its general prevalence and adoption is to be found in the social and religious tyranny exercised by the Brahminical priesthood and the deep revulsion caused by their animal sacrifices in the public mind and the moral and ethical principles of the Buddha's teaching found wider acceptance among the generality of the public. The first onslaught against the Brahminical hierarchy was started by Mahāvīra Vardhamāna the founder of the Jain sect who first repudiated the theory of *Vedas*, denounced the cruelty of animal sacrifices and proclaimed a religion of universal love and brotherhood. Though it was not able to supplant Buddhism, yet it was able to secure the support of many Brahmins and Kshatriyas.

(To be continued.)

HISTORY OF RAJAHMUNDY.

BHAVARAJ V. KRISHNARAO, B.A., B.L.

(Continued from p. 170 of Vol. 8.)

Of Badapara's reign we have very few events to narrate. He was doubtless on the throne for a period of twenty seven years which is usually regarded as the *interregnum*, the period without a king, in their history, by the later Eastern Chalukyas. He was indeed a powerful king and a wise statesman, able enough to remain secure on the throne for such a long and uninterrupted period. Though we have no materials to state, yet his reign must have been a prosperous one, if not a peaceful one. In spite of the fact that he divided his kingdom between himself and his brother and placed him as his viceroy over the southern dominions¹³⁰ and thus averted the possible treachery at home, there were still some dissident elements who longed for the restoration of the senior branch of the royal family on the throne. Dānārṇava's children, Śaktivarman and Vimalāditya were still alive, though wandering from one court to another as helpless exiles seeking assistance to regain their lost throne. There were still in the country powerful and loyal supporters of Dānārṇava's children who eagerly longed for an opportunity to rise in revolt and drive out Bādapa and his followers. The country was in a state of perpetual readiness for a revolt, and a suppressed revolutionary element prevailed as in the previous reigns; and on this occasion too, the king sat on the throne under a constant threat of invasion from abroad by his rival claimants and a revolt of their confederates at home. Bādaparāja was quite alert and alive to the dangers at home and abroad and his great statesmanship lay in the fact that he kept strict surveillance over the treacherous enemies of his cause. By liberal grants of fiefs to his trustworthy and loyal commanders, Bādapa could enjoy complete peace and co-operation at home, and it was not till the last days of Bādapa that any attempt to rise in revolt was made by his opponents.

Prince Dānārṇava, as we have seen already, had still left two sons, Śaktivarman and Vimalāditya, born of Āryamahādevī.¹³¹ These

130. Sripāṇḍi plates of Tālarāja (II): See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIX. p. 147 ff.

131. *A. R.* for *Ep.* 1918, p. 132: *C. P. grant* No. 15 of 1917-1918.

princes were long exiles from their native country, waiting for a favourable opportunity to regain their lost kingdom. They had now secured the support of Tailapadēva, the Western Chālukya king of Kalyān, who had lately retrieved the fortunes of his house and destroyed the last vestiges of the declining power of the Rāshtrakūṭas. It was in the wars of Tailapadēva against the Chōlas of the South and the Rāshtrakūṭas of the Dekhan, that Śaktivarman and his brother proved themselves to be his useful allies. Śaktivarman, appears to have invaded his native country during the latter part of Bādapa's reign, about 998 A. D., if not earlier still, and carried on a protracted war, in which he finally overthrew and killed Bādapa, and made himself master of the country.¹³² Unfortunately we do not know of any events that took place in the last years of Bādapa's reign. The death of Bādapa about the year A. D. 999, easily paved the way for the restoration of the senior line of the royal house, to the throne. Śaktivarman crowned himself king sometime in 999 A. D.¹³³ and is the first of that name in the Eastern Chālukya dynasty. In this attempt he seems to have been greatly assisted by the Western Chālukya king Satyāśraya, son and successor of Tailapadēva, the founder of the Western Chālukya kingdom of Kalyān.¹³⁴ Curiously enough some scholars are of opinion that Śaktivarman I. was greatly assisted by the great Chōla monarch, Rājārāja I. Their conclusion is based on the solitary fact, viz., the synchronising of the so-called Chōla invasion of Vēṅgīdēśa in the *fourteenth* year of Rājārāja Chōla, with the accession of Prince Śaktivarman I. to the throne of Rājamahēndravaram in A. D. 999, the death of Bādaparāja and the close of the 'interregnum'. This assumption is based upon the statements in the Chōla grants of the time and also upon a solitary Victory Pillar inscription found on the summit of the Mahēndragiri, which was set up by Rājendra Chōla, alias Gangaikondan, son of Rājārāja the Great.¹³⁵ There is absolutely no doubt that the statements in the Chōla grants are false pretensions. They are utterly uncorroborated by other events of the times. On the contrary it is interesting to note that the contemporary events go to establish beyond doubt that the Chōla invasion by Rājārāja, if it was really an invasion, was only a feeble and utterly unsuccessful attempt on the part of the rising Southern Power to occupy Vēṅgi. It might be also a small expedition sent to the north in order to

132. Pabhubarru Grant of grant of Śaktivarman I. See *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. II, p. 399 ff.

133. Ibid.

134. Vide the remarks of late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIX, p. 147 ff.

135. *Ep. Nos.* 396 & 397 of 1896. See also para 18, page 7 of *A. Rep. for Ep.* 1896.

assist Bādaparāja, who was then reduced to desperate straits on account of Śaktivarman's invasion from the west. The Victory-Pillar inscription on the Mahēndragiri hill has been misread and then made use of to support the theory of the Chōla invasion and intervention at the time of Śaktivarman's accession to the throne. In that inscription, Rājendra Chōla alias Gangaikondan claims to have defeated one Vimalāditya, who has been wrongly assumed to be the selfsame Eastern Chālukya prince of that name, the younger brother of Śaktivarman I.¹³⁶ Scholars have stretched their imagination a little further, and assumed that Vimalāditya was taken captive in war at that time, carried to the Chōla capital and there after sometime married to Kundavāmba daughter of Rājārāja I.¹³⁷ This taking of Vimalāditya as captive of war is certainly gratuitous and has no foundation in history. A careful examination of the Mahēndragiri pillar inscription clearly reveals that Vimalāditya mentioned in it was an obscure prince of the *Kulūṭa* country of the North, and not certainly the Eastern Chālukya prince, and that he was not taken captive in war or carried to Tanjāvūr. At any rate it is indeed amusing to see that Southern historians have made their proud Chōla monarch, the great Rājārāja, give his daughter in marriage to the humbled and prisoner Vimalāditya of Eastern Chālukya dynasty, because it suited them to claim a Chōla conquest of Vēṅgi.

It has been suggested further, without any authority whatsoever, that there was revolution and disorder consequently in Vēṅgi country, about the closing years of Bādapa's reign, i.e., about 998–999 A. D., and that at that time Rājārāja I. sent his son Gangaikondan or his grand-son Jaṭāchōḍa on an expedition to the north with instructions to reduce and annex Vēṅgi to the Chōla dominions and also to put down the rival claimants in the country to the throne.¹³⁸ This Chōla invasion of Vēṅgi, in A. D. 999 is the first event in the history of the relations of the Chōlas of the South and the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgi; and if really there was any revolution and disorder in the capital Rājamahēndrapura, or in the country, as has been suggested, one is at a loss to understand how and why the great Chōla monarch waited till the fourteenth year of his reign, quietly biding all the time and foolishly ignoring the period of the so called *interregnum*, only to invade Vēṅgīdēśa about the far end of Bādapa's reign. The synchronising of Śaktivarman's accession to the

136. Ibid.

137. Dr. S. K. Aiyengar in *Ancient India*, p.p. 45, 104 & 115. See also Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya's remarks in his note on the Ranastipāndi grant of Vimalāditya: *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI p. 348 ff. See also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX p. 272 ff.

138. Ibid.

throne in A.D. 999, with the so called 'invasion' of the Chōla king in that year has been the basis for our imaginative historians to weave out a story and suggest that after all Śaktivarma I. had obtained the throne through the help of the Chōlas, and that the captive prince Vimalāditya was carried away and wedded to Kundava ! But the truth seems to be the other way. We have seen from a statement in Bādapa's own grant ¹³⁹ that he obtained the kingdom through the help of the Rāshtrakūṭas, and maintained himself on the throne with the assistance of some of the treacherous relations of Ammarāja II. It seems that about the close of his reign, Śaktivarma who was biding for a favourable opportunity invaded and occupied a portion of the country with the help of his Western Chālukyan ally Satyaśraya and Bādapa who had lost his allies on the west owing to the extinction of the Rāshtrakūṭa power, turned to the South to the rising Chōlas for his assistance in that hour of invasion. The Chōlas, too, who were bitter enemies of the Western Chālukyas, saw an opportunity to defeat their enemy's plans and crush them in this war on the north. Accordingly an expeditionary force was sent under Jaṭa Chōḍa, a son of Gangaikonda in all probability with instructions to make the best use of the opportunity. The records of Śaktivarma, clearly show that the Chōlas were defeated severely and beaten back about the year 999 A. D. ¹⁴⁰. Once Śaktivarma I. made himself secure on the throne, the Chōlas gave up their hostile attitude towards him and with a clear vision of the future, entered into an alliance with the Eastern Chālukyas by giving their daughter Kundava in marriage to the Yuvarāja Vimalādityā. This alliance by marriage, soon became strong and lasting, for the Eastern Chālukyas of Rājamahēndravaram, stood steadily and loyally by the side of the Chōlas in their wars with the Western Chālukyas of Kalyan in the next century, and then finally merged themselves in the Chōlas losing their individuality in the Andhra Country, within three generations from Śaktivarma I. The Eastern Chālukyas ceased to rule in Rājamahēndravaram as such and became the Chālukya-Chōlas of the South.

139. Vide *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIX. p. 137 ff. L. 17 of the Arumbāka Grant,

आश्रित्य कर्णराजाख्यवल्लभं बादपाधिपः विनिर्गमय्य तन्देशादम्भराजाख्यमुज्जितं

140. C. P. Grant No, 15 of 1917—18.

बाल्ये कीर्तिकलाभि चौलिकरणे येन व्रणोद्भासिना ।

प्रेमात्युद्धत बदेमाधिप्रमहाराजया विद्रताः

रावणप्रतिनाधिः चालुक्यनारायणे नापादिषतापियेननिधनं श्रीचोडभीमाधिपः ॥

See also lines 39 to 42 in the Pabhu barru grant of the king and Note 132 above.

To resume the story of Śaktivarma I. : The king's records tell us that he ' rose to fame even in his youth by his victory in a battle with the Chōlas, when he killed many of the enemy's elephants single handed with his sword ".¹⁴¹ He also claims to have defeated and killed one Chōḍa Bhīma and a great warrior sent by him, ¹⁴² and to have defeated Jaṭachōḍa and destroyed his armies.¹⁴³ Śaktivarman I. it is said, assumed the title of *Chālukya Nārāyana*, after slaying Chōḍa Bhīma in a battle, who died like Rāvaṇa.¹⁴⁴ Chōḍa Bhīma, has not been identified, but it is possible to assume that he belonged to the family of the Telugu Chōḍas who were lords of the *Kolanu vishaya* or the 'Lake District,' i.e. the country lying in the vicinity of Kollēru to the east of Vēngīpura and Rendulūru Vishāya. Jaṭa Chōḍa is no other than Jaṭa varma Chōḍa, a younger son of Rājendra Chōḍa, who was afterwards appointed to the viceroyalty of the Pāndya country ¹⁴⁵ after Rājendra Chōḍa had conquered it. This prince is also known as Sundara Pāndya Jaṭavarman in history to denote that he was the ruler of the Pāndya country. Though it is not known with any certainty when Śaktivarma I. had slain Bhīma Chōḍa and repulsed Jaṭa Chōḍa, it is probable that these events took place at sometime before the accession of Śaktivarma to the throne. Bhīma Chōḍa might be a vassal and commander of Bādapa's armies and Jaṭa Chōḍa, the Chōḍa prince who was sent by his grandfather to assist Bādapa in his wars with Śaktivarma. The death of Bhīma Chōḍa and the repulsion or destruction of the Chōḍa armies, were really great and important events in the career of Śaktivarma, for soon after this, he crowned himself king, in A. D. 999.

It seems therefore clear from the foregoing, that Śaktivarma I, who had, since the beginning of his career, been an inveterate enemy of the Chōlas, could not have sought their assistance in his fight for the throne. Again if Bādapa was an ally of the Rāshtrakūṭas, through whose help he could become king of Vēngīmaṇḍala and remain on the throne for over quarter of a century, Śaktivarma could not have befriended himself with them, the enemies of his house. Nor could he have asked the Chōlas to come to his aid when he was fighting them ever since his youth, according to his own statements, in all probability as an ally of the Western Chālukya king Tailapadēva. The only power, therefore, that could have assisted him at that time, was that of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyān, who had just overthrown the last of the Rāshtrakūṭas and begun to bid for power in the Dekhan and the South. The powerful ally with whose assistance Śaktivarma defeated

141. Ibid.

142. Ibid.

143. Ibid.

144. Ibid.

145. Thie Jaṭavarman Sundara Chōḍa Pāndya was Viceroy of Pāndya and Kerala countries from 1021—1044 A. D.



that Rājendra Chōla's invasion of Kalinga might be due to the troubles that arose in the Kalinga capital after the death of Guṇḍama II, an uncle of his brother-in-law, Vajrahastha III. During the four years of Vimalāditya's absence at Rājamahēndravaram the kingdom seems to have passed into a state of disorder and anarchy as the king's Rānastipūṇḍi grant shows. The disastrous effects that always followed on the death of the king in Vēngī country must have also happened on this occasion; and it is recorded that during the period of rebellion and civil war during the first eight years of his reign, Vimalāditya was greatly assisted by his excellent minister Vajra Preḡgaḍa of the Kauḍīnya gōtra, a native of Kāramchēḍu who spared no pains for his master. The king at the time of making the grant of the village of Rānastipūṇḍi to his worthy minister addresses him in most glorious and respectful terms such as 'Amātyasikhāmaṇi', 'Budhavajra prākāra' and 'Saujanya ratnākara', and makes a special investiture of royalty by giving him 'Śri-dvāra', Peacock's tail, a water pot, and parasol. Vajrapreḡgaḍa appears to have been a friend and minister of the king that took great pains in the service (*kr̥ta kl̥śa*) of the king as his commander and devoted to him all through his life.

Vimalāditya was a saivite in his youth which was due probably to the influence of the Chōla court, and we find him making several gifts to several saivite shrines in the earlier part of his reign. One of his titles 'Mummadi Bhima' is also indicative of this fact. But in his later years he became a convert to Jainism and freely invited jaina saints from the Kannaḍa country to settle down in the Andhradēśa and preach the faith. He is not the first prince of his house to be follower of Jinadēva: his ancestors till the days of Chālukya Bhima I. were mostly Jains and largely endowed Jaina temples (*Bastis*) with munificent gifts. Ammarāja II. though a follower of the Saiva faith greatly patronised Jaina religion as his Kaluchumbaggu and Mahyampūṇḍi grants would show. His favourite mistress Chāmekāmba was a lay disciple of Arhanandin of the Vaḷahari gaṇa of the Addakāli gachcha at Attili. Several *Satralayas* called after his own surname 'Saravalo-kasraya Jina bhavana' and Jaina temples notably at Bezvada (Vijaya-vāḍa) and Attili and probably in the capital are ample proof of his tolerance if not of actual patronage. Vimalāditya adopted the Jaina faith and called a certain Trailōkya yōgi Siddhāntadēva, a teacher of *Dēśigaṇa* school of Jainism as his *guru*.¹⁵⁴ This jaina saint was a Kanarese by birth who came to the Telugu country and exercised such great influence

upon the king that he (the king) soon became a convert to his teachings. This jaina saint resided at Rāmatīrtham in the Vizagapatam district, which was a great centre of Jaina culture and a place of religious resort whither the king had made a pilgrimage towards the end of his reign and endowed the institution liberally.¹⁵⁵

Apart from the religious significance, this Rāmatīrtham inscription of Vimalāditya throws also a flood of light upon the political condition of the Kalinga country which must have come under the influence and control of the Eastern Chālukyas, and it is possible to assume that Vimalāditya conquered it during the latter part of his reign.¹⁵⁶ As later records would point out the Eastern Ganga king Rājarāja like the Eastern Chālukya prince of that name married a Chōla princess, Rājasundari, daughter of Rājendra Chōla.

The death of Vimalāditya probably in the middle of A. D. 1022 and king Rājarāja Narēndra, the noblest and the most illustrious of Eastern Chālukya dynasty ascended the throne immediately. His coronation took place on Thursday, 16th August A. D. 1022.¹⁵⁷ With the accession of Vimalāditya, the troubles of Eastern Chālukya dynasty of Rājamahēndravaram seem to have come an end, and the elder branch of the family was firmly established on the throne. Henceforward there was neither treachery nor revolt at home and the country enjoyed greater peace and prosperity. And the scene of struggle for supremacy and the establishment of an empire in the Deccan and the South had become shifted from the Vāṅgīdēśa and Mānyakhēta to Kalyāṇa and Gaṅga, Koṇḍachōlapuram and Kānchipuram. It had become a fight between the rising power of the Chōlas of the south and the new kingdom of Western Chālukyas of the Deccan. The Chōla sovereigns, as the first act of their aggressive foreign policy entered into matrimonial alliance with the Eastern Chālukyas of Andhra and the Eastern Gāṅgas of Kalinga and thus secured the allegiance of two mighty powers on the north-eastern frontier, in their wars with the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇ. The reign of Vimalāditya marks the commencement of the Chōla influence at the Andhra capital Rājamahēndravaram, gradually preponderated over that of the ruling house in the next two reigns and the dynasty of the Eastern Chālukyas of Rājamahēndravaram as such came to an end. In short within the next one hundred years the Eastern Chālukyas had lost altogether their individuality as Andhras and Eastern Chālukyas and became a new dynasty with their capital at Kānchipuram and later still, at Gaṅgaikōṇḍachōlapuram. This new

155. *A. R. Ep.* for 1918 page 133 para 6.

156. *Ibid.*

157. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV p. 56. See also the *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV pp 300—9.

154. *A. R. Ep.* for 1913 page 133 para 6 and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX p. 271 ff.

dynasty came to be called as the Chālukya-Chōlas or the later Chōlas, who by the time of the death of Vikrama Chola in A. D. 1135, had ceased to think of Vāngī country as their birth place.¹⁵⁸ The Eastern Chālukya power, too, had reached its zenith in the next two reigns of the son and grandson of Vimalāditya and declined shortly afterwards. The existence of a powerful kingdom like that of the Chōlas in the south, and their alliance with the Eastern Chālukyas of Rājamahēndravaram, no doubt, rendered the latter a great help in keeping peace and order in the country. But as has been already remarked, the scene of struggle for supremacy in the Deccan and the south, had become shifted from Vāngī. And this fact coupled with the rise of the Chōlas eventually led to the decline of the power and the prestige of the Eastern Chālukyas in the next half a century. But it is nevertheless wrong to assume that the Eastern Chālukyas had from this period sunk into a subordinate position and acknowledged the supremacy of the Chōlas. What had actually happened was that after the death of Rājarāja Narēndra, his son Kulōttunga Chōladēva and his successors ceased to rule in Andhradēśa from Rājamahēndravaram, themselves, but through viceroys appointed from time to time, and themselves, establishing a dynasty on the Chōla throne of Kāncīpuram, known to history as the Chālukya-Chōlas.

From the days of Vimalāditya or more properly his son Rājarāja Narēndra the country had enjoyed comparatively greater peace than before, and there had come about also a religious awakening in the country, for those were the days of Brahminical revival and the disappearance of the Bauddha and Jaina faiths. As a result of these events, king Rājarāja Narēndra who was a great patron of letters like his illustrious grand-fathers, Dārnava and Rājamahēndra Vijayāditya Ammarāja II., who styled themselves as *Vidyā-kalāpa-chaturah* and *Kavi-gāyaka-kalpataru*, could patronise one of the greatest of our Telugu poets and encourage him to compose the *Āndhra Mahābhārata* the story of the Bharata race. In the Court of Rājarāja Narēndra there flourished a distinguished assemblage of poets, mathematicians, scholars and pandits in the company of whom the king took great delight. There were amongst them the celebrated Nanniya Bhaṭṭa, the composer of the *Mahābhārata*, his co-student and friend Nāṭyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, called the *Kavirājaśekhara*, who rendered great assistance to Nanniya Bhaṭṭa in composing the *Mahābhārata*, Pāvuluri Mallatārya, the compiler of a work on Mathematics in Telugu on the lines of the Sanskrit work of

158. The successors of Vikrama Chōladēva never came to Vāngī; they ruled over the Andhra country as supreme overlords as will be shown later, through their viceroys, Velanānti Gonkarāja II. and his son Velanānti Kulottunga Rājendra Chōdaya II, 1106—1157 and 1157—1182. A. D. respectively.

the Jaina teacher,¹⁵⁹ Mahāvīrāchārya, Chīdamārya, the donee of the Kōrumilli *agraharam* and lastly Chittāna Bhaṭṭa, the composer of the Rājarāja Narēndra's *prastāva* in the Kōrumilli grant, and many more poets and scholars whose glory and greatness is now unfortunately forgotten. Rājarāja is rightly called the 'Indra of the assembly of poets of Rājamahēndravaram'. The fame and celebrity of Rājarāja Narēndra rests mainly on his magnificence of his court and the patronage of the poets that flocked to it and the great immortal *kāvya*, the *Āndhra Mahābhārata*, the first extant literary work in the Telugu language, written during his lifetime. The *Āndhra Mahābhārata* of Nanniya Bhaṭṭa, dedicated to Rājarāja Narēndra, is not a true translation of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*, but an independent *kāvya* by itself and is incomplete. He could compose only the first three *parvas*, the *Ādi*, *Āraṇya* and *Sabhā-parvas*, and the work was continued by Tikkana Sōmayāji of the court of Maṇma Siddhi of Vikrama-simhapura (modern Nellore) who completed the remaining fifteen *parvas*. The last days of Rājarāja appear to have been gloomy and filled with turbulence and revolt in the northern country and that might be the reason for the incomplete work of Nanniya Bhaṭṭa. Whatever might be the causes for the incompleteness of the work, it seems certain that the poet and the patron died almost contemporaneously, and it was left to the genius and indefatigable energy of Tikkana Sōmayāji to complete the glorious task, so nobly undertaken nearly a century ago. We find that a century later, that a portion of the *Sabhā-parva* and the *Āraṇya parva* of Nanniya Bhaṭṭa was destroyed or moth eaten and it was under the patronage of the Reddī king, Ana-Vema of Kōṇḍaviḍu that Yerrapragḍa alias Śambhudāsa filled in the gaps of the great work and restored the *Āndhra Mahābhārata* to the Telugu people. The *Āndhra Mahābhārata* is the gift of the noble prince, Rājarāja Narēndra, his poet-laureate Nanniya Bhaṭṭa and of the celebrated city of Rājamahēndravaram to the people of Andhradesa; the Andhras must feel infinitely grateful to the king, his poet and the city that still survives, for all time to come for that imperishable and inestimable gift. The greatness of the gift is all the more enhanced by the fact that the *Āndhra Mahābhārata* is the first in all the vernaculars of India. Its importance also lies in the fact that it gave a new impetus to the religious awakening in the country and tended to establish vedic brahmanism with all the elaborate rituals of the *Pūrvamīmāṃsa* school, in the country and destroyed all traces of the Buddhism and Jainism. The *Mahābhārata* has been a national asset and there is no other literary work in the *Āndhra Language* which

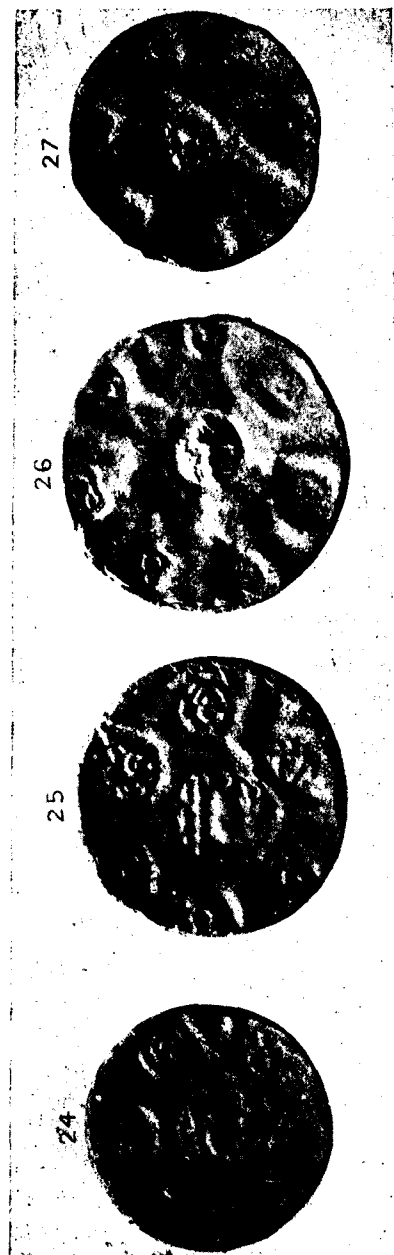
159. Pāvuluri Mallana, was the donee of the *agrahara* of the village of Nava-khaṇḍavāḍa, near Pithapuram, according to statement in his work *Pāvuluri Ganitamu*.

commands so much veneration and popularity as this *kāvya*. It was therefore left to the genius and fore-sight of that illustrious Eastern Chālukya prince, Rājarāja Narēndra to get the *Mahābhārata* composed in his own language for the benefit of his people which in later years influenced the religious, political and literary history of the land. Rājamahēndravaram soon became a centre of learning and culture and of brahminical revival and expansion. The greatness and celebrity of Rājamahēndravaram as the seat of learning and culture, the centre of religious and political activity, the meeting place of scholars, poets, learned-men, dancers and musicians, that commenced in the days of Rājamahēndra Vijayālitya Ammarāja II. and his half-brother, prince Dānārava, reached its zenith in the reign of Rājarāja Narēndra and continued till the days of the Reddi dynasty in the middle of the fifteenth century, survives to this day though in a lesser degree. Rājamahēndravaram has through all these ten long centuries maintained its high reputation and glory as the seat of Andhra learning and culture.

The pure fame of Rājarāja Narēndra has been tarnished by a tradition wherein it is said that he conducted himself in an ignominious and disgraceful manner and ended his life in unpopularity and misery. The story is as follows: Rājarāja Narēndra of Rājamahēndravaram,—but some say of Malwa —, had two queens, Ratnāngī and Chitrāngī. Some say that Ratnāngī alone was the married wife and Chitrāngī was only favourite courtesan, but that is not probable even according to the traditional account. Ratnāngī was the *agramahishi* or the chief queen. King Rājarāja had no children for a very long time, which became a source of grave anxiety to him. At last through great penance and worship he could please Śiva through whose favour he obtained a son whom he called Sārangadhara, after his god. Sārangadhara was a handsome prince, full of learning, great culture and noble qualities. His excellent virtues and beautiful appearance endeared him to the hearts of his people who adored him. Soon he was anointed as the *yuvarāja* or the crown prince, and the king his father began to look for a suitable princess to be the wife of his only son. He sent accordingly brahmins far and wide to select a princess for Sārangadhara. In a short time the brahmins returned with the selected bride for the prince. The bride-elect was so lovely and charming that the king, old though he was, foolishly fell in love with the youthful princess and wished to marry her himself. The courtiers and the ministers of his court tried to dissuade the king from taking the princess to himself as his queen, but in vain. The king married Chitrāngī soon after. The new queen was young, lovely and gay. She felt a unabating love for prince Sārangadhara but her desires were cruelly nipped in the bud, by the relentless



Stone figure of Sārangadhara, on the Mound near Rajahmundry.



Gold Coins (Māda) of Rājārāja (Nos. 24 & 25) and his Son Kulōthunga Chōla Déva I (Nos. 26 & 27).

fate. She therefore began to pine away for her lover secretly and waited for an opportunity to meet the prince and tell him of her love.

Days went by. At last the long sought opportunity came. The old king went out for hunt and did not return to the city for a number of days. Meanwhile, one day the prince went out into the city, with his companions to enjoy his favourite pastime, the pigeon flying. Sārangadhara had two pigeons, one male and another female which were very beautiful. First the male pigeon was released and it flew into the air; in a short time it perched on a rail in the palace of Chitrāngi. The maids of the queen noticed it and reported the matter to their mistress who at once ordered it to be seized. The fugitive pigeon was immediately taken inside and secreted, in order that its presence in Chitrāngi's palace might induce prince Sārangadhara to visit his step mother, to take it away. Chitrāngi's clever ruse was entirely successful for when Sārangadhara saw his favourite pigeon entering his step-mother's palace he wanted to go there and take it back. But his friends and companions dissuaded him from such an attempt though they did not assign any reason for that. The wise counsel of his friends was not heeded; Sārangadhara was determined to go as he foresaw nothing untoward in his own step-mother's palace. But at this moment, Subuddhi, the minister's son broke out and warned him of unseen danger to him and said that Chitrāngi was young and lovely and that the king, his father was absent. At this Sārangadhara was offended, for he said he loved and worshipped Chitrāngi as his queen-mother herself and would not tolerate even the faintest suggestion of his step-mother's unchastity. The offended prince heeded not the warning and ran in the direction of the palace.

In the palace of queen Chitrāngi every arrangement was made to receive the prince in a proper fashion. Innocent Sārangadhara entered the queen-mother's chambers, and after usual salutations and greetings befitting the queen and the royal son, requested his step-mother to release and return his fugitive pigeon which had mischevously flew into her palace. But the wily and love-stricken youthful queen would not. She led him into all sorts of conversation and finally revealed her desire to him. This was indeed too much for the unwitting Sārangadhara who looked upon Chitrāngi as his mother. He begged her not to pursue that sinful course of conduct and tried to turn her mind away from her purpose, but it was all in vain. Chitrāngi was infatuated with passion for Sārangadhara and would not heed the good advice from her son. She was determined to have her own way even if the prince had expressed his abhorrence. She threatened to report to his father of his misdeeds falsely, if he did not please her then, and then begged him to embrace her. All the threats and wailings of the love-stricken princess were in vain;

Sārangadhara fell upon his knees and begged her to let him go even without the pigeon. Feeling that all her charms and beauty had failed to attract the prince to her, Chitrāngi in a desperate passion flung herself upon him, but Sārangadhara who was startled and dismayed flew away from her clutches and left the palace quickly. In that hurry he left behind his upper cloth and his other apparel of which he stripped himself when he was received by the queen and partook of her hospitality, quite unwittingly.

The disappointed young queen felt insulted and flew in to a rage which shook her frail frame like a storm. She swore eternal vengeance against the prince who after knowing her heart had fled from her palace carrying away her secret with him. She was besides herself in sorrow and humiliation when she thought of the consequences if the prince reported to the king his father of her misdeeds. She made up her mind in a desperate moment to bring the man who after knowing her mind, had deceived her, to humiliation and punishment. In the meantime the frightened prince ran to his palace shut himself up in his apartments. He did not know what to do. He was burning with shame and dared not open his lips to any living being, lest he might bring dishonour to the fair name of his step-mother, the queen. In the palace of Chitrāngi preparations were made to tell the king, on his return from the hunt of the prince's outrage on the young queen.

In the meanwhile the old king returned from the hunt. Fearing that Sārangadhara would inform his father of her misdeeds Chitrāngi planned to report to the king first herself against the prince. She pretended illness and proclaimed to the king and every one concerned how she had been molested and disgraced by the voluptuous prince Sārangadhara who entered her chamber secretly during the king's absence. The credulous king believed her story implicitly, for his love for the young queen was so great that he easily fell into her snares. Chitrāngi showed her lord proofs of injuries on her person, though self-inflicted they were, which she lied, were caused by the furious and infatuated prince while she struggled to extricate herself from his hold. The wily queen corroborated her story by more strong proofs; she produced before the king the prince's personal apparel and other ornaments, and above all the male pigeon that had mischievously and unwittingly flew into her palace. All these were sufficient to induce the king to believe his son to be the real offender, and so he resolved to punish him in a proper manner. He at once ran to his court and assembled his ministers of state; after consultation with them, and an enquiry, he condemned his own son. The innocent prince was too noble and sensitive to the honour of his queen-mother that he did not open

his lips before the king's judicial tribunal or his intimate friends. The prince's silence was indeed a great surprise to many who knew him from his infancy but he remained determined to be silent. He appeared prepared to sacrifice himself, his honour and everything to save and protect the fair name of a queen. Though the king condemned him, there were many in the city and the court who did not believe the story of the queen Chitrāngi, but they were left helpless when the prince himself resignedly kept silence and refused to plead his innocence. The king turned a deaf ear to the wailings of his queen Ratrāngi, mother of the unfortunate prince, and all the filial love that was nourished in his bosom from the infancy faded away like mist before the fury of his passion for his youthful queen Chitrāngi. Every remonstrance was in vain and the king would not even tolerate the idea of the banishment of the prince from his kingdom. And the prince was ordered to be tortured to death by mutilation of the hands and the legs.

The orders of the king were scrupulously carried out for such was the vengeance which Chitrāngi swore, when her passionate love felt insulted and recoiled in shame. The prince perished in the early hours of the morning, unable to bear the terrible pain. Shortly after this the king left the hall of justice, he became uneasy and felt the agony of an unconscious wrong doer. He then began to make inquiries once more about his son's conduct, and received unquestionable proofs of his innocence. He at once repented and quickly attempted to undo what he had done. He immediately despatched messengers to proceed as swiftly as they could and convey his orders that the prince had been pardoned. But alas! it was too late. Soon the news of the death of the prince was brought to the king who became overwhelmed with grief and filled with important rage. He became cruel and inflicted a more severe and heart-rending punishment on and mad conduct of the king, rebelled against him, and finally slew or drove him out of the country. The prince however, the traditions says was brought back to life though the miraculous cure by a saint, and lived for a long time after.

To this day, a mound to the north of the city, called the Mound of Sārangadhara is shown, where the prince is said to have suffered mutilation and death, and nearby an old dilapidated pit is also to be shown as the ghastly well into which the young queen Chitrāngi was flung to die of starvation and terrible pain. Every year at the time of the Pongal, in the month of Pausha after *Makara Sankranti*, a great festival is celebrated by the country folk and the populace of the city in honour of the departed prince.

Whatever might have been the truth or otherwise of the facts narrated in the above tradition there is absolutely no historical foundation for it. The yearly festival at the time of *Makara Sankranti* i. e. on the third day after the *Pongal*, the mound, the persistent tradition may be strong proofs of its historicity, but it is hard to accept it as true, in the absence of any epigraphical or other reliable contemporary literary evidence. King Rājārāja had no queens, as far the epigraphical evidence shows, with queer names like Ratnāngi and Chitrāngi, and no son of the name of Sārangadhara. We know the Eastern Chalukya king Rājārāja married Ammanga dēvi, daughter of Rājendra Chōla I alias Gangaikondan and had by her daughter a Kundaya and a son Rājendra Chōḍa, who afterwards became famous in history as Kulottunga Chōla Dēva I, the founder of Chālukya-Chōla dynasty of the South. Neither Nanniya nor any contemporaneous poet or any one that came immediately after him mention this story. For the first time this tradition was recorded by the great Rhetorician and Critic, Kākunūri Appakavi who lived about the middle of the 17th century A. D. And even his story is so full of improbabilities and inaccuracies that it is hardly difficult to detect that is false. Appakavi can be said to have invented the story for purposes best known to himself. But it cannot be said, at the same time that there was no such tradition before him, as we have pointed out elsewhere, the story might have had its historical foundation in the life of Rājamahēndra Vijayāditya Ammaraja II, and Appakavi, noticing the similarity of titles, ignorantly connected the ignominy to the famous Rājārāja and thus gave a touch of sanctity and truthfulness to the *Andhra Śabda Chintāmani* which is a work on Rhetoric and Telugu Grammar attributed to the celebrated poet Nanniya. There can be no greater literary forgery than this *Andhra Śabda Chintāmani* of Nanniya. And whatever the orthodox school of Telugu Pandits might say, there is abundant internal evidence to convince any body that the so called work of Nanniya was Appakavi's own invention, quietly fathered on the Poet-laureate of Rājārāja. This is not the occasion however, to go into with the vexed question of the authorship of the *Andhra Śabda Chintāmani*, but it seems quite certain that there is no literary evidence of the story of Sārangadhara prior to the 17th century A. D. Thus, in the absence of any epigraphical or trustworthy literary evidence, contemporaneous with Rājārāja or his time, it is impossible to accept the tradition as true and attribute the calumny to one of the greatest and most illustrious kings of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty.

(To be continued.)

KADAMBAS OF KALINGA.

M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA.

1

During the reigns of the Gānga kings of Kalinga, we hear of a line of subordinate chiefs belonging to the Kadamba family governing a small territory under them. As far as I am aware there are only three Eastern Gānga inscriptions which mention the Kadambas as donors and they are (1) Parlakimidi Plates of Vajrahasta, published in the *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. III p. 220 (2) Mandasa Plates of Vajrahasta III, referred to as C. P. No. 12 of 1917-18 in the Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy, 1918, and (3) Kambakāya Grant of Dēvendra-varama, published in the *Bharati* (Telugu), Vol. IV Part 11.

Of these, the date of the first grant is not known; it does not mention any regnal or Śaka year with details to calculate the date. It only mentions that Kalinga was at that time ruled by a king named Vajrahasta who belonged to the Ganga kula. The grant does not even give the name of the donor's father. It is not, therefore, possible to know who this Vajrahasta was and at what time he reigned in Kalinga. Palaeographically, however, this grant may be assigned to the eleventh century of the Christian era. This inscription records the grant of the village, Hossandi¹ to one Rajaputra Śri Kāmadi, son of Eṇayama rāja of the Naggari Saluki-kula, on the occasion of *kanyā-dāna* (Marriage: Lit. Gift of a girl) to him, by Dāraparāja, dear son of Chōla Kāmadirāja, of the spotless family of Ganga-kula and lord of the Pancha vishayas, when Vajrahasta was reigning in Kalinga. It further states that the governor of the village now granted was one Ugrakhēdi who is said to be the ornament of the spotless Kadamba race and born in the family of *Nidusanti*. This name *Nidusanti* might be the name of a family or community in the Kadamba race. Ugrakhēdi has for his title Rānaka which may be taken to correspond to *Mandalēsvara*. The second inscription is that of Vajrahasta III. In this also

¹ The name of the village occurs in more than one place in the inscription. Except in one place where the middle letter looks *ssa*, in other places the name reads as 'Hommandi'. The engraver has carelessly written *sa* as *ma* in several places.

the Kadambas are mentioned. This record is dated in S.S. 976 corresponding to A. D. 1054, and registers the gift of a village Madhipattharakhanda in the Mahendra-Bhōga to a certain Ujanaka, by Rānaka Śrī Dharma Khēdi, son of *Mahāmandalēśvara* Rānaka Śrī Bhāma khēdi of the Kadamba family, the lord of the Panchavishayas (*Pañchavishayādhipati*); and the order of the gift is addressed to the officials and people of the Pañchapātra-vishaya. Mr. G. Ramadas Pantulu² thinks that the modern villages of Madhia and Patdhira-khanda seem to correspond to the village Madhipatdhara of the grant and therefore these two villages may be identified as the villages granted in the inscription; and that since these two villages are in the Mandasā *Zamīnlāri*, the Panchavishaya or the Pañcha-pātra vishaya might refer to the Mandasā *Zamindari* itself, and the Mahendra bhōga might be the territory lying in the vicinity of the famous hill Mahendragiri. It is noteworthy that the seal of the grant does not contain the usual (*Nandi*) bull of the Gānga dynasty but a fish (*Matsya*) emblem. The third inscription which mentions the Kadambas is the Kambakāya Grant of Dēvēdravarman, of Śaka year 1103. It registers the gift of the village Reveneji by dividing it into two portions, giving one to Nārāyaṇa nāyaka and the other to Ijanaka³, by Rānaka Śrī Udayāltiyadēva, son *Mahāmandalēśvara* Rānaka Śrī Dharma Khēdi of the Kadamba family and lord of the Panchavishaya.

From a study of these three inscriptions we learn that (a) during the time of the Ganga dynasty of Kalinga there was in Kalinga a feudatory family of Kadambas governing a small territory; (b) these Kadambas rose to prominence and fame by being hereditary rulers of villages, vishyas, and being *Manḍalēśvaras* and *Mahāmandalēśvaras*; (c) the territory governed by the Kadambas was the Pañchavishya or Pañchapatravishya which according to Mr. Ramadas Pantulu might refer to the Mandasā *Zamindari* in the Ganjam district; (d) the appellation *Khēdi* might be an exclusive name-ending for the members the Kadamba family, (e) the emblem of the Kadambas was *Matsya* or fish; and that since the fish emblem or the *matsya lanchhana* is to be seen on the seals of inscriptions Nos. 2 & 3 above referred to, the grants may be taken have been made by the Kadamba Chiefs during the reigns of their sovereigns the Ganga kings, whoever they might be.

² Q. J. Myth Soc. Vol. XIV, p. 269.

³ The name 'Dharma Khēdi' appears both in the Mandasā and Kambakāya Plates. Not only that, the names of the donees also, in both the records are somewhat similar. In one grant the donee is 'Ujanaka' and in the other is 'Ijanaka'. The existence of the name Dharmakhēdi in both the grants and the close similarity between the names of the two donees, tempt one to identify them as one of them and regard king Dēvēdravarman of the Kambakāya plates as the son or successor of Vajrahasta of the Mandasā grant. But there seems to be some difficulty in reconciling their times.

2

Yet there are two more inscriptions of the Gānga kings, which mention names ending with the appellation *Khēdi*. They are: (1) Vishmagiri Grant of *Mahārāja* Sri Indravarmadēveva⁴. This grant registers the gift of some land in the village of Amēsinga of the Jalamvōra-vishya by the king to Svām.sarma, son of Bhaṭṭaputra of the Vajasana (*Vajasānēya*) *charana*, Kanma (*Kanva*) *sākha* and Jāukarna *gōtra*. The king is said to be the lord of Kalinga, and *Mahāsāmanta* Nāgakhēdi is mentioned as the *Dūlaka*. The inscription is not dated; the seal contains the emblem of the bull. And Nāga khēdi is not mentioned as a Kadamba. (2) Vizagapatam Plates of Dēvēndravarma⁵. The king who is said to be the lord of Kalinga, made the grant, at the instance of Dharma Khēdi, (*mātula*) his maternal uncle, and is dated in the 254th year of the Gānga era. Since it has not been definitely fixed as to when the *Ganga era* had commenced, it is not possible to calculate the date of this grant. The seal on this record also contains the *nandi* emblem and not the fish crest. Dharma Khēdi, is not also mentioned here as a Kadamba.

Though both these persons with the appellation *khēdi* in the above two grants are not mentioned as Kadambas, I think they belong to the Kadamba family, in as much they have the title *khēdi* at the end of their names. So far as I am aware there is no king the name, ending with *Khēdi* in the Ganga dynasty of Kalinga, and it is therefore possible to assume that name-ending *Khēdi* was exclusive to the Kadambas. But the question arises, why is it then in these two inscriptions the *nandi* or the bull crest is seen instead of the Kadamba *matsya* (fish)? The answer is simple. These two grants, unlike the other two records were made by the Ganga kings and incidentally the names the Kadamba chieftains also are mentioned. Besides, these tend to establish a sort of relationship also between the Kadamba feudatories and the Ganga kings.

3

The next question which arises is, wherefrom the these Kadambas came and settled down here? Here again, I think the appellation *Khēdi* seems to guide us and give the clue to our investigation. We have known of two families of feudatory nobles, who with a slight difference of spelling, were called Kādambas, of Hāngal and Goa. The Kādambas of Hāngal—the ancient Pānumgal and Hānumgal,—which is the chief town of the Hāngal taluka in the Dhārwar district, Bombay

⁴ C. P. No. 9 of 1917—18. A. R. for Ep. 1918.

⁵ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, p. 145 ff.

Presidency⁶. These nobles had the hereditary right to rule the Pānumgal or Hanumgal district, which consisted of five hundred villages. And their capital was Hāngal itself. Their family-god was Jayanti-Madhukēśvara or Vishnu under the name of Madhukēśvara of Jayantipura or Banawāsi. The other family of the Kadambas, had for their capital Goa, the present Portuguese capital. Their original territory was a province called Palāsige or Halāsige twelve-thousand, which took its appellation from one of the ancient forms of the name of the modern Hāsi in the Khānāpur taluka, Belgaum district⁷. In the latter half of the eleventh century, however, they acquired by wresting, from the Śailāhāras, a division of the Konkan, which was evidently the territory in the vicinity of Goa. There can be little doubt that the Kadambas of Goa were of the same original stock with the Kadambas of Hāngal though no indication has yet been obtained as to the point at which the two geneologies may be joined⁸. Whatever that might be, these two families seem to have enjoyed the governorship of the territories lying in the Dhārwar and Belgaum Districts. During the days of their expansion, the modern principality of Kolhapur State and its neighbouring district Ratnagiri, might have come under the control of in the Kādambas of Hāngal and Goa, as some of their inscriptions scattered in those parts would attest.⁹ The Khēḍ tāluka of the Ratnagiri District is supposed to represent the Khēḍahāra *desa*, mentioned in the Goa Grant of Pulikesin II. Śaka-Samvat 532¹⁰. It might be that the original Kadambas might have migrated from this Khēḍahāra district as their name *khēḍi* would seem to suggest. Though it is not possible to assert with any amount of certainty that the original home of the Kadambas of Kalinga was this Khēḍahāra district, it can nevertheless be safely assumed that they migrated into Kalinga from the west or south-west.

Another interesting fact is, that the family-god of the Kadambas of Vijayanti, Palāsige and Hāngal is said to be *Madhukēśvara*, mentioned in their inscriptions as *Jayanti Madhukēśvara*.¹¹ From the Ganga inscriptions in Kalinga we know that there was *Madhukēśvara* in Nagara. In the Kornī¹² and the Vizagpatam plates¹³ plates of Anantavarma *alias* Chōḍaganga, it is stated that Kāmārnavā II, son of Dānārnavā of the Gāṅga family, built a temple for *Madhukēśvara* in Nagara. But the tradition recorded here is, that the god had manifested himself from a Madhūka tree, and is therefore known as *Madhukēśvara*, but this tradition seems to me untenable. It appears

6 *Bom. Gaz.* Vol. II. Part 2 p. 558 & 566 (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Dists.*)

7 *e.g. Ibid.* 8 *e.g. Ibid.* 9 *e.g. Ibid.* 10 *e.g. Ibid.*

11 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 252, text lines 24 & 25.

12 *This Journal* above, Vol. I p. 122 ff.

13 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII p. 145.

to me that the Kadambas, wherever they came from, were responsible for bringing *Madhukēśvara* into Kalinga; for when they migrated into Kalinga they must have brought with them their family-god *Madhukēśvara* into their new home. One more interesting thing is that the family-god of the Gangas was not *Madhukēśvara* but *Gōkarnēśvara*, established on the celebrated hill Mahendragiri. If the Ganga king Kāmārnavā II, had built a lofty temple for the god *Madhukēśvara* in the Nagara it might be at the instance of his nobles of the new Kadamba feudatory families who migrated and settled down in his territory and assisted him in carrying on the administration of his government, as well as for his own merit. This temple of *Madhukēśvara*, further strongly indicates the great influence which the Kadambas of Kalinga wielded under the Ganga sovereignty. The existence of the god *Madhukēśvara* in Kalinga, thus proves beyond doubt that the Kadambas of Kalinga were originally immigrants from the south-west.

Further, Mālkhēḍ, (Mānyakhēṭa), Khēṭaka, Khēṭahāra or Khēḍ and all those places with name-endings *Khēṭ* or *Khēḍ* are to be seen only in the west, in the southern part of the Bombay Presidency. The Kadambas of Kalinga who had the name ending *Khēḍi* might, in all probability, have been the immigrants from the west, the districts of Dhārwar, Belgaum and Ratnagiri. This view is also amply borne out by the existence of a village of the name Palāsa (Palāsika), a Railway Station of importance on the B. N. Ry in the Ganjam district not far from the Mandas a *Zamindari*. This name Palāsa is a crude distortion of the Kanarese Palāsige of the Belgaum district.

There appears still another reason which is compelling me to hold that the Kadambas of Kalinga came from Hāngal and Palāsige in the Dhārwar and Belgaum districts. We know from the records of the Kadambas of Hāngal, that their capital was mentioned as Vairāṭapura. Virāṭana-kōṭe, and Virāṭanagara.¹⁴ And we know Virāṭanagara was the capital of the Matsya country mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. This might be the reason for the Kadambas of Kalinga to have the emblem of *Matsya* on their royal banner and seal instead of the *Simha lāṅchhana* or lion crest and *Śākhācharēndra-dhvaja* or banner of Hanuman.¹⁵ This is no doubt inexplicable; but their migration from the *Matsya* country which was another name for the Hāngal province might be the cause for their adopting the *Matsya lāṅchhana* or the fish crest. Thus the name ending *khēḍi* and their fish crest seem to

14 *Bom. Gaz.* Vol. II. Part 1 p. 553.

15 *e.g. Ibid.* p. 566

suggest the original home from which these Kadambas migrated. After all these are surmises, which will have to be carefully examined, in the light of future researches.

4

Local history tells us that in the Southern Kalinga, i.e., the modern Vizagapatam District, a family of feudatory nobles ruled the country round the modern Madgole, with their capital at Oddādi,¹⁶ and this family is known as the *Matsya vams'a*. They had the fish crest for their emblem and their was called *Matsya dēśa*. Inscriptions discovered till now in Province that part of the country do not throw any light on the question whether there was any connection between the *Matsya* kings of Oddadi and the Kadambas of Kalinga, though both had the *Matsya lāanchhana*;¹⁷ It might be that when several families of Kadambas migrated from the *Matsyadēśa* in the Dharwar district, into Kalinga, one had called their little territory *Matsya dēs'a* and ruled there during the thirteenth century of the Christian era while the other adopted fish crest (*Matsya lāanchana*), for the love of their original home. These facts are indeed interesting, but require greater scrutiny and investigation.¹⁸

¹⁶ Drākshārāma Ins. No. 1043; *S. I. I.* Vol. IV.

¹⁷ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V r. 107 ff.

¹⁸ Besides this, another *Matsya* family is mentioned in line 19 of the Chitpuralli Plates of the Eastern Chālukya King Vishnuvardhana I. of A. D. 632 A. D. The geneology found in the Dibbiḍa Plates of Arjuna dēva of the *Matsya* family of Voddavādi does not indicate the existence of any connection between the Kadambas of the Kalinga who had also *matsyalanchhana*, and the *Matsya* kings of Voddavādi, in spite of their fish emblem. According to Mr. Sewell's *List of Antiquities* Vol. 1 p. 15, Sir Walter Elliot's collection contains some inscriptions of a Mahāmandalēśvara Mānkāditya Mahārāja of the *Matsya* family from Muddurru in the Viravilli Taluka, Vizagapatam District.

REVIEWS.

Kampili and Vijayanagara. DR. N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, M.A., Ph.D.

Madras Christian College. Published by the Author.

This little *fascicle* on the Origin of the Empire of Vijayanagar, is a valuable contribution to the study of the History of the great mediaeval empire of the south. The first topic, the kingdom of Kampili, is based on a study of the Telugu and Kanarese manuscripts found in the Oriental Manuscripts Library, and the second is the result of investigation into the sources of the Vijayanagara history from a purely unbiased point of view. Dr. Venkataramanayya has in these two interesting essays clearly shown how Kampili first, and Vijayanagar sometime later, were the great attempts of the people of the Dekhan and South India, to stem the tide of Muhammadan advance, which was trying to extirpate the Hindu civilization and the culture. The doctor points out how meagre are the accounts of the Muhammadan Chroniclers like Ibn Batuta, Zian-ud-din Barni and Ferista and Portuguese travellers like Nuniz and then proceeds to discuss the Hindu sources in detail so as to construct a true history out of the mass of legendary and mythical material contained therein; and though he does not discuss the dates of these documents there is nothing in the writings themselves to doubt their historical value.

After the fall of Dēvagiri at the hands of Malik Kafur, and the death of Śankaradēva, the country drifted into a disorderly state. Mummaḍi Singa, a feudatory chief of Malenādu the Devagiri dominions repaired to the south and founded the kingdom of Kampili with his capital at Kummata, (*Crynmata* of the Portuguese Chronicles) and declared independence. After a brief and peaceful reign of a few years Mummaḍi Singa died and was succeeded by his son Kampili Rāya. Kampili Rāya and his more illustrious son Kumāra Rāma conquered and subdued the neighbouring country and extended the borders of their kingdom. At one time Kampila and Kumara Rama invaded the territories of the Hoyasalas and Kākatiyas successfully. The doctor has shown unmistakeable epigraphical and literary evidence to prove the historicity of Mummaḍi Singa the founder, his son Kampili Rāya and the grand son Kumāra Rāma, of the kingdom of Kampili, which flourished as an independent kingdom for a period of fifteen years commencing from A. D. 1327, under the two reigns, of Mummaḍi Singa

gross misconceptions of some of our South Indian Scholars, regarding the historicity of Trilochana Pallava who is also known as Mukkanṭi Kāḍuvetti. Trilochana Pallava is regarded by them as a mythical figure that stalks like a stumbling block in the early history of South India: for the acceptance of the historicity of Trilochana would lead to the fixing of the age of Karikāla; and once the date is fixed with an amount of certainty the great antiquity of Karikāla and the Tamil Sangam age is at once destroyed. South Indian Scholars are therefore not inclined to accept Trilochana Pallava as a historical figure even though he is said to be a contemporary of the great Karikāla Chōla who is believed to have reigned at the beginning of the Christian Era. The historical tradition embodied in the inscriptions of the Telugu Chōḍas and other feudatory noble families of the Andhra country of the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries and the literature of the Telugus and the Tamils has been quietly rejected as a purely mythical account of Trilochana and Karikāla. For the same purpose the Telugu Chōḍas are said to have had no connection with the Chōla dynasty founded by Vijayālaya, the ancestor of Karikāla Chōla and that the geneology recorded in the inscriptions of the Telugu Chōḍas is broken here and there and therefore, untrustworthy. But the present writer proves by a careful reasoning that the pedigree of the Telugu Chōḍas to be perfectly genuine and historical. In this attempt he has reconstructed the Chōla geneology by an examination of the inscriptions of the Telugu Chōḍas and the Tamil Chōlas, and by identifying Jaṭa Chōḍa of the Telugu records with Chet-Chenni of the Tamil inscriptions and literature and Mahimāna Chōḍa with Mavill or Mavan Killi; and shown that his conclusions have the unanimous support of the historical tradition of the Telugus and the Tamils as well. Dr. Venkataramanayya has shown beyond doubt that not only Trilochana Pallava was a historical personage but that he was a contemporary of Karikāla Chōla. Trilochana Pallava now appears to have been originally a king of Kānchi who flourished about the end of the 5th century A. D. and who after meeting with a severe reverse in the encounter with Karikāla Chōla left Kānchi and proceeded northwards and settled down in the Andhra country with his capital at Dharanikōṭa on the Krishna river. Another interesting fact which enables the present writer to fix the date of Trilochana Pallava and Karikāla Chōla, is his mention in the records of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty which state that Vijayāditya father of Vishnuvardhana-Jayasimha, the founder of Chālukya kingdom of Bādāmi was killed in a fierce battle by Trilochana or Trinayana Pallava. These important events though shrouded in tradition are very important and they help the historian to fix the age and date of the kings that were connected with them. The Doctor has examined all the facts in great detail and shown how the encounter between

Trilochana Pallava and Vijayāditya, could have taken place in the last quarter of the 5th century, sometime before Karikāla Chōla had driven Mukkanṭi Kāḍuvetti, out of Kānchi and occupied his territory. Thus three great kings, Karikāla Chōla, Trilochana Pallava or Mukkanṭi Kāḍuvetti and Vijayāditya, who have been till now regarded as mythical kings have been proved to be really genuine and historical personages who flourished about the last quarter of the 5th century A.D. sometime after the great confusion that prevailed in the Deccan and the Pallava Kingdom, consequent on the invasion of Samudragupta and the death of Yuvarāja Vishnugopa. The book is the result of a careful research and is certainly interesting

B. V. K.

LIST OF OUR EXCHANGES.

- 1 The Educational Review, Madras.
- 2 The Vedic Magazine, Gurukula, Kangri
- 3 The Yoga Mimamsa, Lonavla.
- 4 The Jaina Gazette, Madras.
- 5 Visva Bhārati Quarterly, Calcutta.
- 6 Andhra Sahitya Parishat-Patrika, Cocanada.
- 7 Maharaja's College Magazine, Vizianagaram.
- 8 The Philosophical Quarterly, Amalner, East Khandesh.
- 9 Journal of Indian History, Madras.
- 10 The Mysore Economic Journal, Bangalore.
- 11 Bharati, Madras.
- 12 Nagari Prachini Patrika, Benares.
- 13 The Maha-Bōdhi, Calcutta.
- 14 Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.
- 15 Journal of the K. R. Kama Institute, Bombay.
- 16 Journal of the B. B. of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.
- 17 Indian Antiquary.
- 18 Asia Major, Leipzig.
- 19 Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
- 20 Indian Journal of Economics, Allahabad.
- 21 Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, Kern Institute [Leiden.
- 22 Epigraphia Indica.
- 23 Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica.
- 24 Sujāta, Hyderabad.
- 25 The Shrine of Wisdom, London.
- 26 Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.
- 27 Telugu Samachar, Bombay.
- 28 Modern Review, Calcutta.
- 29 Bangiya Sahitya Patrika, Calcutta.

- 30 Karnāṭaka Parishat Patrika, Bangalore.
- 31 Journal of the Anthropological Society, Bombay.
- 32 Man in India, Ranchi.
- 33 Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- 34 Annual Report of the Smithsonian Society, Washington.
- 35 Bulletin of The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- 36 The Vaitarini, Cuttack
- 37 Triveni, Madras.
- 38 Oriental Magazine, New York.
- 39 British Buddhist, London.
- 40 Prabuddha Bhārata, Almora, Himalayas.
- 41 Journal of the Historical Society, Bombay.
- 42 The Harmonist, Calcutta.
- 43 The Young Men of India, Calcutta.
- 44 The Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.
- 45 The Christian College Magazine, Madras.
- 46 The Manōrama, Allahabad.
- 47 Rural India, Madras.
- 48 The Muslim Review, Calcutta.
- 49 Papers of the Kerala Society, Trivandrum.
- 50 Jaya Karnāṭaka, Dharwar.
- 51 Eastern Buddhist.
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- 53 Journal of the Czechoslovakia Oriental Institute, Prague.
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- 58 The Academie des Beaux-Arts, Institute De France, Paris.
- 59 The Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona.
- 60 The Superintendent. Government Museum, Madras.
- 61 Department of Archæology, H.E.H. The Nizam's Govt. Hyderabad.
- 62 Asst. Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.
- 63 Gesellschaft Der Wissenschaften Zu Gottingen Germany.
- 64 Superintendent, Musie Guimet, Paris.
- 65 The Gækwad Oriental Institute, Baroda.
- 66 Deutsche Morganlandische Gessellschaft, Halle (Saale) Germany.
- 67 The Greater India Society, Calcutta.
- 68 The Superintendent of Archæology, Gwalior.
- 69 The Calcutta University, Calcutta.
- 70 The Archæological Department, Djawa (Java)
- 71 The Bhārata Itihāsa Samsōdhaka Mandali, Poona,

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Parts 3 & 4.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE HON. EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THE KANDREGULA FAMILY IN THE XVIII CENTURY.

(Continued from page 71 above)

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.,

In the last article, we studied how several efforts were made by the Company to rent the *five* circars and how the mission of Jogi Pantulu was finally crowned with success.

In this article, fifteen Letters (from Letter No. 10 to Letter No. 24, both inclusive) are published covering the period from 1767 to 1785.

Jogi Pantulu, by virtue of his faithful services was rewarded by Nizam with the titles of Rajah and Bahadur and with the offices of Sur Sheristadar and Muzumdar in the circar of Rajahmundry and further authorised to receive the fees belonging to the said employments from the several Zamindars of the District.

The family history gives the following account:—

“At that time, on Jogee Pantulu's laying before the Nizam his claims to succeed to the offices of Majumdar and Sur Sheristadar of Rajahmundry Circar, formerly enjoyed by his maternal grandfathers, the Nizam was pleased to restore him, as well as his 2 brothers to the said offices by means of a fresh Sanud, and conferred on Jogee Pantulu the titles of “*Rajah* and *Bahadur*.”¹

¹ Vide Sanud dated 20 of the great Shaban 1172 Hejery.

The above grant was confirmed by the Honorable Company by means of a Sunnud² of the President and Council of Fort Saint George.

By virtue of the Sunnad of the Nizam, and the orders of the Government of Fort Saint George, the several zamindars in the Northern Circars restored to Jogee Puntulu all the Roosooms, Savarans, Rents, Villages, Cocoonut and Beetlenut gardens, Inams &c. appertaining to the above offices in their respective Estates; and yielding an annual income of about 30,000 Pagodas. In addition to the above, Jogee Puntulu used to rent some villages, and also in some years the Divi Purganah, from the Government, who reposed in him especial trust and confidence in consideration of the allegiance and steady attachment, which he manifested to the Honorable East India Company.³

About the year 1772, Jogee Puntulu died. His younger brother Venkatrayulu succeeded him in the office of Majumdar and Sur Sheristadar in the year 1773, and continued in it till 1778,⁴ when the offices in question were abolished⁵ as useless to Government, and the lands and fees, villages &c. pertaining thereto were returned to the respective zamindars. In compensation for the loss thereby sustained, an allowance of 10,000 Pagodas a year was ordered to be paid to Venkatrayulu from the Company's treasury.

Venkatrayulu subsequently brought to the notice of the Madras Government the injustice done to him in abolishing the offices of Majoomdar and Sur Sheristadar. The Government taking into consideration the long and faithful services of his family to the Company re-instated him in his former stations of Sur Sheristadar and Majumdar, and granted him the necessary Sannud and Cowle in the year 1781.⁶

The Chief and Council at Masulipatam, in obedience to the orders contained in para 2 of the order of Government, tried their best to induce the zamindars to restore to Venkatrayulu the several imoluments of his but this does not appear to have been effected, owing to the refusal of some of them. Hence Venkatrayulu received 10,000 Pagodas per annum till he died.

² Dated 5 May 1767. Vide Circular to Zamindars 25th September 1769.

³ Vide Cowle granted by Government to Jogee Puntulu 20 February 1707.

⁴ Letter from the Government of Madras to the Chief and Council in Masulipatam dated 23 June 1773.

⁵ Letter from Govt. to Chief and Council. dated 11 December 1778.

⁶ Letter from the Government of Madras to the Chief and Council at Masulipatam 19 February 1781.

After the death of Venkatrayulu the above allowance of 10,000 Pagodas a year was paid for several years to his nephew Juggappa Puntulu, who taking advantage of the minority of his uncle's (Venkatrayulu's) sons, Gopalarao &c., appropriated the allowance to himself, usurped the rights, and dissipated the large property of the family, and by his extravagance and misconduct fell into deep arrears of rent of the Divi Purgannah to the Company, who were consequently induced to stop the Pension.

A brief account of the letters printed below is given hereunder.

No. 10 dated 20th of the great Shaban 1178 of the Hejira is a translation of a *Sanad* under the seal and signature of Nabob Asuf Khan Nizam ul Mulk. It is addressed to the several Naihs, Desamukhs Zamindars etc. of the Rajahmundry Circar. It gives the geneology of Kandregula and Jillella families and orders the several officials of the Circar to put them in possession of the account of the *zamabandi* and the revenue of the said Circar.

No. 11 dated 1180 Hejira, is a translation of Cowle granted under the seal and signature of the Nabob Kutbuddin Hussain Ali Khan to Jogi Jagannadham, Muzumdar and Sar Sharistadar of the Circar of Rajahmundry. It gives certain Paraganas to be enjoyed by the family as *mirasi* lands and also *Rusums* or fees at 1% on the *zamabandi*.

Letter No. 12 dated 5-5-1767, informs how the titles and offices granted by Asuf Jah Nizam ul Mulk to Rajah Strinivasa Jogi Pandit Bahadur came to be confirmed by the Governor and Council of Fort St. George subject to Jogi Pantulu's paying due obedience to the Company's Authority.

Letter No. 13 dated 7-8-1767, from the Chief of Masulipatam, informs how Jogi Pantulu was sent to Chicacole to procure from Seetarama Raju and Raghu Raju the rents due from them, and to let out the Chicacole Circar including Vizianagaram Zamindary for 10 lacs or at least 9 lacs to Raghuraju or some other person.

Letter No. 14 dated 25-9-1769, is addressed to the Zamindars in the Circar of Rajamundry who granted already some villages in their own jurisdictions for small rents to Jogi Pantulu.

Letter No. 15 dated 1-12-1769, is also addressed to the Zamindars who should respect Jogi Pantulu's offices and give him necessary help in his employment.

Letter No. 16 dated 20-2-1770, is a Cowle granted by the Hon'ble Josias Du Pre' Esq., Governor, to Jogi Pantulu, Mazumdar of

Rajamundry Circar regarding the villages of Casenacurru etc. for an annual rent of 5,180 Madras Pagodas.

No. 17 dated 12-4-1771, is also a Cowle granted by the Hon'ble Josias Du Pre' Esq., to Rajah C. S. Jagannadha Bahadur. The villages of Casenacurru etc. were given on cowle for 3 years from 1770-1773 to Jogi Pantulu in consideration of the allegiance and steady attachment which he manifested to the Hon'ble E. I. Co.

No. 18 dated 13-7-1773 is a letter to Venkatrao, brother of Jogi Jagannadha Rao Bahadur who died in 1772, conferring on him the offices of Muzumdar and Sur Saristhadar, and permitting him to receive all the fees and advantages belonging thereto.

No. 19 dated 3-5-1774, is again a Cowle granted by Alexander Wynch, Governor of Fort St. George to Rajah Venkatarow Bahadur, Muzundar and Sur Saristhadar of Rajahmundry Circar for the villages of Casenacurru etc. extending its lease for 3 years, i.e., till 1776.

No. 20 dated 24-10-1774, is a circular Letter addressed to the Zamindars in the Rajamundry Circar stating the facts contained in No. 18 and requiring them to respect his offices as before and give him necessary help in his employments.

No. 21 dated 17-11-1780, is a Cowle granted by the Chief and Council of Masulipatam and its dependencies to Venkatrayulu regarding Antarvedi for 10 years, i.e., from 1780 to 1790 at an annual rent of 910 Pagodas. This letter mentions three important rights viz., (1) to collect all revenues arising from the district according to custom "protecting the inhabitants in their rights and allowing unto everyone in like manner as has been before allowed" (2) to obtain equitable allowance for all losses due to Mahrattas and other enemies (3) to keep proper Sibbandy to keep peace and order and prevent the depredations of Polygars.

No. 22 belongs to 1781 and it is addressed to Rajah Venkatrao. It states that the President and Council of Fort St. George were pleased to abolish the offices of Muzumdar and Sar Saristadar on 20-11-1778 but owing to the hardships caused by the step, the Governor and Council again reinstated Venkatrayulu in the said offices in 1781 and empowered him to collect all fees and advantages belonging thereto.

No. 23 dated 14-2-1781 is addressed to the Zamindars and Mirasidars in the Circar of Rajamundry asking them to show the necessary respect and give necessary help to Raja Venkatrao who was reinstated in the offices of Sar Sheristadar and Muzumdar of the Rajahmundry Circar

with all the villages, inams and fees formerly granted to him in consideration of his long and faithful services.

No. 24 dated 23-2-1785 is a Sanad granted by the Rt. Hon'ble George Lord Macartney, President and Governor of Fort St. George, to Raja Kandregula Jagannadharao Ramarsu Bahadur confirming him in the succession to his late uncles' powers and offices, titles and distinctions.

LETTER NO. 10.

Translation of a *Sunnat* under the Seal and Signature of the Nabob Ausuf Qaun Nizam ul Mulk Nizam ud Dowlah Meer Nizam Ali Khan Bahadar Phitee Jung Sepah Salahar Eyaur Vauphaudor.

To the Naibs present and future, the *Dasamokus*, *Dasapaundies*, *Muzumdars*, *Zamindars*, *Chodhars*, *Ryots*, and *Coolkurnees* of the *Rajahmundry Circar*, depending on the *Soubah of Hyderabad*: it is written at this time *Kandrigula Ramajee*, *Jogee Pundat*, and *Venkata Row*, Grand Children of the younger *Jillilah Jogee Pundat* have represented that the inheritance of the *Muzumdarship* of the said *Cirkar* belonged by the female line to *Jillallah Jogee Pundut* the elder, who was the grandson of *Chookragoyal Venkatadry* who had no male issue, and was continued to *Jogee Pundut* the younger until his death, when *Jillallah Bhanappah* under the plea of *Aumannutdary* (being entrusted with the management) had got possession of the said inheritance. Wherefore in consideration of this right the said office of inheritance is now granted and appointed according to the former custom to *Candraigull Ramjee* and *Jogee Pundut* and *Venkata Row* aforesaid. It is required that you put them in possession of the accounts of the *Jammabundy* and Revenue of the said *Cirkar*, and consider the books of collections, &c., papers under their signatures to be authentic, and continue to them the fees, customs and the villages of inheritance.

Consider yourselves positively ordered on the subject and act accordingly.

Written, the 24th of the great Shaban 1178 of the Hejery.

LETTER NO. 11.

Translation of *Cowle-namah* under the Seal and Signature of the Nabob Cootabeedowlah Hussain Ali Khan Bahadar Juty Jam Jung,

130 CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE HON. EAST INDIA [J.A.H.R.S.]

in favour of *Cundraigulla Jogee Jagunnadh*, the *Muzumdar* and *Sar Sheristadar* of the *Cirkar* of *Rajahmundry*, dated the 1st *Rubbelausauny*, 1180 *Hejery*.

Whereas the *Purganahs* of *Pairoor* and *Tatipaukah* in the above said *Cirkar* being granted to me by the *Honorable the English Company* as a *Jaghire* and exclusive of your being formerly in possession of the *Office* of *Muzumdar* of the said *Cirkar*, His Highness the *Nabob Nizam ud Dowlah* having since appointed you to the *Office* of *Sar Sheristadar* according to the *Sannad*, I have yielded the enjoyment of the *Merassy* to you as per particulars, and it shall be continued to you and your heirs, for ever as a *Jaghire*.

In the Purganah of Pairoor,

Roosooms or Fees at 1 Per cent on the next *Jammabundy*. *Inams* at $1\frac{1}{4}$ Candy of ground in each village, rent villages of *Totramoody*, including the tanks, wells, and gardens at 25 *Pagodas* per annum. Gardens in *Fairoor* viz :

One containing cocoanut trees	...	200
One do beetlenut do	...	150
		350

Your *Gnomastah* is to remain in the above said *Purganah* and to keep and register the *Sherista* accounts.

Savarams in the Village of *Duvagooptum* of 10 *Candies* of Ground,

Farms in the Village of *Nullamullah* at 40 *Pagodas* per annum.

In the Purganah (of) Totepauka, *Roosooms* or Fees at one *Pagoda* per cent. on the next *Jamabundy*; *Inams* at $1\frac{1}{4}$ candy of ground in each village, rent village; of *Lootcoor* at 15 *Pagodas* per annum; *Savarams* of 10 *candies* of ground.

Your *Goomastah* is to remain in the above *Purganah* and too keep the *Sherista* accounts.

LETTER NO. 12.

Whereas His Excellency the *NABOB*, High instation, famous as the *Sun*, *NABOB AUSUPH JAU NIZAM UL MULK*, *NIZAM UD DOWLAH MEER NIZAM ALI CAWN BAHADAR PHUTEH JUNG SEPOY SARDAR*, was graciously

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pleased to grant unto *RAJAH STRINIVASA JOGEE PUNDAT BAHADAR* the employments of *Sar-Saristadary* and *Muzumdary* of the *CIRCAR* of *RAJAHMUNDRI* and to authorize him to receive the fees belonging to the said employers, agreeable to the terms of the *cowle* granted by the said *NABOB*, an attested copy of which is hereunto annexed; and whereas the said *CIRCAR* hath by grants from the *MOGUL* and the said *NABOB* been delivered over to the *UNITED ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY*: Now be it known that we *CHALESS BOURCHIER*, *ESQ.*, Governor of *FORT SAINT GEORGE* and of all the *Forts*, *Factories* and *Places* subordinate thereto, President of the *COUNCIL* of *FORT SAINT GEORGE* and the rest of the *COUNCIL* thereof in consideration of the great deference and respect we pay to the appointments of the said *NABOB* and the good and faithful behaviour of the said *RAJAH STRINIVASA JOGEE PUNDAT BAHADAR*, do by these presents confirm and establish the said grant of *Sar-Saristadary* and *Muzumdary* of the *CIRCAR* of *RAJAHMUNDRI* to the said *RAJAH STRINIVASA JOGEE PUNDAT BAHADAR*, agreeable to the terms of the said grant and do hereby authorize him to act in those employs, so long as he shall continue to pay due obedience to the Company's Authority & Government. In WITNESS whereof we have hereunto set our hands and caused the seal of the said Company to be affixed in *FORT SAINT GEORGE*, this 5th day of May in the year of our Lord, 1767.

(Signed) *CHARLES BOURCHIER*,
 „ *JOHN PYBUS*,
 „ *SAMUEL ARDLEY*,
 „ *GEORGE STRATTON*,
 „ *GEORGE DAWSON*,
 „ *HENRY BROOK*,
 „ *GEORGE MACKAY*.

LETTER NO. 13.

TO
CONDRAIGULLA JOGUE PUNTALOO.

The President and Council having thought it necessary that some person should be dispatched to *Chicacole* in order to negotiate for the renting out of that *Cirkar* for next year, you must therefore with the utmost expedition proceed thither, and on your arrival use your best endeavours to procure as soon as possible from *Sittaramrauze* the account of his second Kist, being *Rupees 91,353—1—4* and from *Ragorauze* payment of *66,667 Rupees*, for which he became security on account of *Sittaramrauze*, together

with his own second Kist of rupees 1,75,313—9—4 and 20,000 rupees for the expences of Captain Madge's detachment, all of which sums were due, and should have been discharged the 30th June last.

It being now the proper season for letting out the Circar, so soon as the above business is finished you must lose no time, but immediately begin to treat with Sittaramrauze for the rent which he is to pay to the Company for his zemindary of Vizianagaram and for next year, and I expect and hope that you will at least make him agree to give the amount of what was stipulated for last year. As I understand from his vakeels, that he intends sending a person to Madras in order to request some favours from the President and Council, you must acquaint him as I have already done his vakeels that it would be extremely improper for him to do so, until he has discharged his debt due to the Company and settled with them for what he is to pay for the ensuing year; that this once done he may be assured that all his reasonable and just demands will meet with due attention, but until he has shown himself deserving of favours, how can he hope to receive them?

You must also find out whether Ragorauze is desirous of continuing in the management of the country which was let to him last year, and if you find him so inclined, you must leave no means untried to obtain from him such a sum, as with the money which Sittaramrauze may agree to give for his zamindary of Vizianagaram &c. will make ten lacks of Rupees clear for the whole circar, which I flatter myself it will be in your power to prevail on him to do, because he has not now the arguments in his favour which he had when it was let to him before, namely the famine which prevailed over all the Circar, and the great devastation occasioned by the small-pox; besides he will enter immediately on the management of the Company, while the grain is yet standing and none of the revenues collected from the zamindars.

If after using every argument and trying every method you can think of, you find it impossible to bring him to the terms above-mentioned, you in that case have permission to settle with him in such a manner as will make only nine Laack, but as this is the lowest sum which will be accepted of should you be able to find out any other proper person who will give more, you must receive his proposals and transmit them immediately to the Chief and Council here, acquainting them at the same time with what you may be able to learn of the character of the person who makes the proposals, of his wealth and family and any other circumstances which you may think necessary for their information.

Should Ragorauze however agree to the terms first mention'd, or should no other person do so, and he consent to make up nine

Laack, you must endeavour to get security for at least part of his third Kist, which will be due the 30th September, and neither his, nor any other person's proposals, for renting the Circar, for next year, will be listened to, unless they will agree to give Soucars' security for at least third part of the rent, for if they are not capable, or willing to do so, they are not proper for such an undertaking.

Unless Ragorauze absolutely refuses to undertake the renting of the Circar without Ichapour he has the whole under his direction. I think it would be much more for the interest of the Company if Ichapour including Khimmedy, Jelmore and Ichaley was let out separately to some other responsible person, because it will prevent disputes with Narraindeo, and thereby the means of preserving the Circar in peace and tranquility; besides the Chicacole district, is as much as he can manage by himself and it is by no means proper that Sittaramrauze should have any further concern with the zemindars if it can possibly be avoided.

As the Governor and Council are determined, not on any account to accept of less than the sum of nine Lack for the whole Circar, should you therefore find that it will be impossible to get it, you must lose no time in giving me the most early intelligence, in order that they may adopt whatever other measures they may judge proper for managing the Country.

You must constantly advise me of all your proceedings, and as mis-carriage of your letters may be attended with bad consequences, I would recommend your always sending duplicates by different tappalls, that is, by dispatching the original and duplicate, with the intermission of one day.

Should there be any thing which requires the Chief and Council to be immediately acquainted with, you may send such letters as contain those advices, both by the tappalls, and *hercarahs* at the same time.

As I have fully explained to you in conversation the force and meaning of the fore-going instructions, I make no doubt that you will pay the most exact attention to them, and execute the trust reposed in you to the best of your power, as you acquitted yourself at Sattaveram much to the satisfaction of Mr. Crawford and myself, and thereby acquired the name of a good and faithful servant to the Company; continue to make yourself worthy of such an appellation; I heartily wish you success and date this in *Masulipatam*, the 7th day of August 1767.

(Signed) L. SMITH,

FROM

TO

L. SMITH

JOGUE PUNTOOLOO,

LETTER NO. 14.

TO

THE ZAMINDARS IN THE CIRCAR OF RAJAMUNDRUM.

His Highness NIZAMUD DOWLAH BAHADAR, out of his great favor having granted to RAJAH STRINIVASA ROW, a *Sannad* appointing him *Sar-Sheristadar* and *Muzumdar* of the RAJAMUNDRI CIRCAR, and the said RAJAH STRINIVASA ROW, having been confirmed by a *Sannad* from the President and Council of this place under their hands and the Honorable Company's Seal to act in the said employs of *Sar-Sheristadar* and *Muzumdar* of the RAJAMUNDRUM CIRCAR, in consideration of his long and faithful services: As you have accordingly granted him some villages in your respective Districts at certain rents, which said rent he will be accountable for and pay to the Company as it has always been customary for other *Mirasidars* to do in former times to the Government, I have no objection thereto. RAJA STRINIVASA ROW, having thus obtained the Honorable Company's favor by his long faithful services, I doubt not you will therefore fully and punctually conform to your engagements agreeable to the *Sannad* as you have granted to him under your respective seals and in conjunction with him exert yourselves to promote the Company's interest and prosperity and in all things conform yourselves to their pleasure, which will be the surest means of obtaining their friendship and favor and give me satisfaction.

FORT SAINT GEORGE,
25th September 1769,

(Signed) CHARLES BOURCHIER.

LETTER NO. 15.

TO

THE ZAMINDARS &c.

BELONGING TO THE RAJAMUNDRI CIRCAR.

Whereas, the *Soubah* of the Deckan, NABOB AUSUPH JAH NIZAM UL MULK NIZAMUD DOWLAH MEER NIZAM ALI CAWN BAHADAR FUTTA JUNG SEPOY SURDAR, has granted unto CONDRAGULA JOGEE PUNTOOLOO the title of RAJAH STRINIVASA ROW JOGEE JAGGUNEAD BAHADAR with office of *Sur-Sheristadary* and *Muzumdary* in the RAJAHMUNDRI CIRCAR, and within certain villages *Inams* and *Fees* which have been confirmed by the *Sannad* of the PRESIDENT and COUNCIL of FORT ST. GEORGE, this is therefore to request you to regard him as such and to give him the necessary assistance in his said employ,

I have ordered my seal to be affixed to this and have hereunto set my hand in *Masulipatam*, this 1st day of December 1769.

(Signed) ALEXANDER WYNCH.

No. 16

A COWLE granted by the Hon'ble JOSIAS DU PRE', Esqr. President & Governor, Council of Fort St. George and its dependencies, To the MAZUMDAR of the RAJAHMUNDRI CIRCAR.

In consideration of the allegiance & steady attachment which, you have manifested to the Hon'ble East India Company and reposing especial trust & confidence in you, We do agree to accept of the sum you have offered to pay to us for & on behalf of the said Company for the villages of Casenacorroo etc., for one year, that is, say from the twenty fifth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty nine until the twenty fifth day of September, one thousand seven hundred & seventy, being five thousand four hundred and eighty (5480) Madras Pagodas, but out of the said sum, we do consent to deduct the sum of three hundred (300) Madras Pagodas as an equivalent and in lieu of the customary present from the Circar to you so that the sum to be actually received from you on account of the said Countries is five thousand one hundred & eighty (5180) Madras Pagodas, and the said sum is to be paid in manner & form following, that is to say:

On the 1st December 1769	...	575
1st January 1770	...	575
1st February	...	575
1st March	...	575
1st April	...	575
1st May	...	575
1st June	...	575
1st July	...	575
1st August	...	580
Madras Pagodas	...	5,180

The punctual payment of the said sum at the times above-mentioned will merit our favor & firm support:— In WITNESS whereof WE the said PRESIDENT & COUNCIL of FORT ST. GEORGE have hereunto set our hands and caused the Seal of the said Company to be affixed in Fort St. George, this twentieth day of February, one thousand seven hundred & seventy.

20—2—1770

Entered in the Secretary's Office
BY ORDER OF THE PRESIDENT & COUNCIL.

V. M. GOODLAY.
Secretary.

JOSIAS DU PRE'
WARREN HASTINGS
SAML. GOODLEY
GEO. STRATTON.
RICHD. BRICKENDEN.
GEO. MACKAY.

No. 17.

A COWLE granted by the Hon'ble JOSIAS DU PRE' Esqr., President & Governor etc, Council of FORT ST. GEORGE & its Dependencies to RAJA CONDRAGULA STRENI VASSAROW JUGGERNAUT Bahaudur *Mazumdar* and *Sur-Sheristadar* of the *Rajahmundry Sircar*.

In consideration of the allegiance & steady attachment, which you have manifested to the *Hon'ble East India Company* and reposing especial trust & confidence in you, We do agree to accept of the sums you have offered to pay to us, for & on behalf of said company for the *Merassy of Casenacurroo* etc. villages now in your possession for three years, that is to say, from the twenty fifth day of September One thousand Seven hundred & Seventy to the twenty fifth day of September One thousand seven hundred and seventy three, answering to the years of Phazely 1180, 81 & 82 being for five thousand four hundred and eighty (5480) Madras Pagodas per annum, but out of the said sum We do consent to deduct the sum of three hundred (300) Madras Pagodas as an equivalent & in lieu of the customary presents from the circar to you so that the sum to be actually received from you is Five thousand One hundred & Eighty (5180) Madras Pagodas per annum, and the said sum is to be paid in manner and form following, that is to say:—

On the 1 December 1770, 71, 72	...	575	..	20
1 January 1771, 72, 73	...	575	...	20
1 February	...	575	...	20
1 March	...	575	...	20
1 April	...	575	...	20
1 May	...	575	...	20
1 June	...	575	...	20
1 July	...	575	...	20
1 August	...	575	...	20

Madras Pagodas ... 5,180

The punctual payment of said sums at the above-mentioned periods will merit our favor & firm support.

In WITNESS whereof We, the PRESIDENT & COUNCIL aforesaid have set our hands & caused the Seal of said company to be affixed

hereto, in FORT ST. GEORGE, this twelfth day of April One thousand seven hundred and seventy one.

JOSIAS DU PRE'
WARREN HASTINGS.
SAM. GOODLEY.
JOHN SMITH.
GEO. SMITH.
HENRY BROOKE.
RICHD. BRICKENDON.
JOHN WHITEHILL.
GEO. MACKAY.

12-4-1771

Entered in the Secretary's office,
BY ORDER OF THE PRESIDENT & COUNCIL.

V. M. GOODLAY,
Secretary.

No. 18.

TO

CONDRAIGULOO VENCATAROW JAGGERNAUT

Mazumdar and *Sar-saristadar* for the CIRCAR OF RAJAHMUNDRI.

Whereas His Excellency the NABOB AUSULPH JAU NIZAM UL MULCK NIZAM UD DOWLAH MEER NIZAM ALLI CAWN BEHAUDRE PHUTEH JUNG SEAPOY SARDAR was pleased to grant unto your late brother RAJAH STREENAWAUS JOGUE PUNDAT BAHAUDRE JELLALAH RAMAJEE BANOW and yourself the office of *Mazumdar* for the CIRCAR OF RAJAHMUNDRI and whereas by a *Saned* from the President & Council of FORT ST. GEORGE dated the 5th May 1767 to the said RAJAH STREENAWASS JOGUE PUNDAT BEHAUDRE the said grant was confirmed & established, now be it known that We, ALEXANDER WYNCH Esqr., President & Governor and the rest of the COUNCIL of FORT ST. GEORGE and its dependencies do in consequence of the before-mentioned grant and of your own faithful and good behavior hereby confirm you in the office of *Mazumdar* for the CIRCAR OF RAJAHMUNDRI and do authorize you to receive all the fees and advantages belonging thereto agreeable to the terms of the said Nabob's Grant; and we the said President and Council do further in consideration of the merit and services of your said brother RAJAH STREENAWAUS JOGUE PUNDAT BEHAUDRE and of your own good character and conduct hereby appoint you to the office of *Sar Saristadar* of the CIRCAR OF RAJAHMUNDRI vacant by your said brother's decease, and do authorise you to act in the said office and to receive all the fees and advantages belonging thereto in the same manner as your said brother was authorised to do by virtue of the grant given to him by the beforementioned Nabob and confirmed to him by the President & Council of FORT ST. GEORGE,

This *Saned* to continue in force so long as you shall remain faithful and in due obedience to the ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY'S authority & Government. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands & caused the Seal of the said Company to be affixed in FORT ST. GEORGE this 18th day of July in the year of our Lord, One thousand seven hundred & seventy three,

ENTERED IN THE SECRETARY'S OFFICE
By Order of the President & Council.

CHARLES OAKELEY.
Secretary.

ALEXANDER WYNCH.
JOHN SMITH.
JOHN WHITEHILL
CHARLES SMITH.
SAML. JOHNSON.

LETTER 19

A *Cowle* granted by the *Honorable Alexander Wynch Esq.*, President and Governor & Council of *Fort St. George* and its Dependencies to *Condraigulah Vencatrow Jaggernaut Mazumdar* and *Sursirastador of Rajahmundry Circar*.

In consideration of the allegiance and steady attachment which you have manifested to the Honourable East India Company and reposing special trust and confidence in you, We do agree to accept of the sums, you have offered to pay to us, for and on behalf of the said Company for the villages of Casenacurroo &c. now in your possession for Three Years, that is to say from the twenty fifth day of September, One Thousand seven hundred and seventy six, answering to the years of *Phazely* 1183, 1184 & 1185 being Five Thousand four hundred and eighty (5480) Madras Pagodas per annum. But out of the said sum, We do consent to deduct the sum of Three hundred (300) Madras Pagodas as an equivalent and in lieu of the customary presents from the Circar to you, so that the sum to be actually received from you is Five Thousand one hundred and eighty (5180) Madras Pagodas per annum and the said sum is to be paid in manner and form following. That is to say

On the 1st December 1773, 1774 & 1775	...	575	...	20
1st January 1774, 1775, & 1776	...	575	...	20
1st February	...	575	...	20
1st March	...	575	...	20
1st April	...	575	...	20
1st May	...	575	...	20
1st June	...	575	...	20

1st July	...	575	...	20
1st August	...	575	...	20
Madras Pagodas	...	5,180		

The punctual payment of the said sums, at the abovementioned periods, will merit our favor, and firm support. In witness whereof we the President and Council aforesaid have set our hands & caused the Seal of the said Company to be affixed hereto in Fort St. George this third day of May, One Thousand seven hundred and seventy four.

Entered in the Secretary's Office. ALEXANDER WYNCH.
BY ORDER OF THE PRESIDENT & COUNCIL. GEO. DAWSON,

CHAS. OAKELEY.
Secretary.

HENRY BROOKLE-JONE.
SAMUEL JOHNSON,

LETTER NO. 20.

TO

RAJAH CONDRAIGULLA VENCATAROW JAGGERNAUT BEHAUDER
Muzamdar and Sarsaristadar for the CIRCAR OF RAJAMUNDRI.

Whereas his Highness the NABOB AUSULF JAU NIZAM UL MULK NIZAM UD DOWLAH MEER NIZAM ALLY CAWN BEHAUDER PHUTEH JAUNG SEPOY SURDAR was pleased to grant unto your late brother RAJAH STREENEVAS JOGUE PUNDAT BEHAUDER, JELELLA RAMAJEE and YOURSELF the office of *Muzumdar* for the *Circar of Rajamundri*, and whereas by a *Saned* from the President and council of FORT ST. GEORGE dated 5th May 1767 to the said RAJAH STREENA-WAUS JOGUE PUNDAT BEHAUDER the said grant was confirmed and established and whereas by a *Saned* from the President and Council of FORT ST. GEORGE dated the 18th July 1773, the said grant was continued and further confirmed to you, and whereas the President and Council of FORT ST. GEORGE on the 20th November 1770 were pleased to abolish the offices of *Mazumdar* and *Sarsaristadar* for the CIRCAR of RAJAMUNDRI. Now be it Known that We, CHARLES SMITH Esq., President and Governor and the rest of the Council of FORT ST. GEORGE and the Dependancies thereof being duly sensible of the hardships under which you labored by the above-mentioned abolition of the said offices do hereby in full confidence of your faithful and good behaviour

and in virtue of the beforementioned Grant reinstate you in the fullest and most ample manner in the office of *Mazumadar* for the CIRCAR OF RAJAMUNDRI and do hereby authorize you, receive all and every the Fees and advantages formerly belonging thereto agreeably to the terms of the said Nabob's Grant and we the said *President* and *Council* do further in consideration of your past services and good conduct hereby reinstate you in the office of *Sarsaristadar* of the CIRCAR OF RAJAHMUNDRI to act in every respect as formerly in the said office and to receive all and every the fees and advantages belonging thereto in the same manner as you were formerly authorised to do in virtue of the grant given to your late brother RAJAH STREENEWAS JOGEE PUNDAT BEHAUDER, JELLALA RAMAGEE by the before-mentioned NABOB which said grant was confirmed to him and afterwards to yourself by the *President* and *Council* of FORT ST. GEORGE. This *Suned* to continue in full force so long as you shall remain faithful and in due obedience to the ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY'S authority and Government.

Entered in the Secretarie's Office.

BY ORDER OF THE PRESIDENT & COUNCIL. (Signed) CHARLES SMITH,
 (Signed) CHARLES FREEMAN. „ SAMUEL JOHNSON
 Secretary. „ ALXR. DAVIDSON.
 „ WILIAMS.

LETTER No. 21.

To the ZAMINDARS &c. belonging to the RAJAHMUNDRI CIRCAR.

Whereas the *Subah* of the Decan *Nabob* Ausif Jah Nizam Ali Mulk Nizam ud dowlah Meer Nizam Ally Cawn Behauder Fata Jung Sepa Surdar has granted unto Condraigulla Vencata Royloo Puntaloo the title of Rajah Vencatrow Jaggernaut Behaudar with the offices of *Sursirastadary* and *Mazumdari* in the *Rajahmundri Circar* & with it certain villages, *Inams* and Fees which have been confirmed by the *Saned* of the *President & Council* of *Fort St. George*, this is therefore to require you to regard him as such, and to give him the necessary assistance in his said employ, I have ordered my Seal to be affixed to this and have hereunto set my hand in MASULIPATAM this 24th day of October 1774.

JOHN WHITEHILL.

No. 22

A *Cowle* granted by *Edward Cotsford Esquire*, Chief & Council of Masulipatam and its Dependancies to *Condragoola Vencatrooyloo*.

We, reposing especial trust and confidence in your integrity and good management, do hereby appoint you to be renter of the farm of Antrayidee under Masulipatam for the term of ten years, that is to say, from the first day of June, One thousand seven hundred and eighty, until the thirty-first day of May, One thousand seven hundred and ninety, English style, You are therefore to take upon your-self the management thereof, and to collect all the revenues arising therefrom according to custom. protecting the inhabitants in their rights and allowing unto every one in like manner as has been heretofore allowed provided, nevertheless that the Hon'ble the President & Council of Fort St. George approve of and confirm you as renter of the same, and that you do punctually pay unto us for the use of the Hon'ble Company the sum of Nine hundred and Ten Pagodas per annum free from all charges & deductions as a rent for the same in manner following viz.,

On the 30th November	...	200
31st March	...	230
30th June	...	250
30th September	...	230
Pagodas	...	910

And in case you fail in any of the above payments by the space of Ten days, We will immediately take the beforementioned District from under your management, but if you do punctually observe the before mentioned conditions, you will merit our favor & protection, and We do promise to make you a reasonable and equitable allowance for all losses that you may sustain by means of the Marattas or other enemies but you are to keep at your own charge a proper Sibbundy to keep peace and good order and prevent the depradations of the Polygars. In witness whereof, We, the Chief & Council aforesaid, have set our hands and caused the seal of the said Company to be affixed hereunto in MASULIPATAM, this *Seventeenth November, One thousand seven hundred and eighty*.

EDWARD COTSFORD.
 JAMES HODGES.
 JOHN PETER BOILSAU.
 THOMAS BARNARD.
 ALEXR. WINGLE.

LETTER NO. 23.

TO

THE ZEMINDARS AND MIRASIDARS

IN THE CIRCAR OF RAJAHMUNDRI.

His Highness NIZAM UD DOWLAH BEHAUDER out of his great Favor having heretofore granted to Rajah Condraigulla Vencatarow Jaggernant Behauder a *Saned* appointing him *Sarsaristadar & Mazumdar* of the Rajahmundri Circar and the said Rajah Vencatarow having been confirmed by a *Saned* from the *President* and *Council* of this Place under their Hands and the Hon'ble Company's seal to act in the said Employs of Sarsaristadar and Mazumadar of the Rajahmundri Circar and the President and Council of Fort Saint George having been pleased on the 20th November 1778 to take from him the above mentioned Offices, I and the rest of the Council of Fort St. George being sensible of the hardship under which Rajah Vencatarow has labored by being divested of his Employs which were established by His Highness Nizam Ud Dowlah Behauder by *Saned* and confirmed by the President and Council of this place, have reinstated him in the offices of Sarsaristadar and Mazumadar of the Rajahmundri Circar with all the villages, *Inams* and fees formerly granted him in consideration of his long and faithful services. This is therefore strictly to enjoin you to consider him as such in every respect as heretofore and to give him the necessary assistance in his said employs and I doubt not you will in conjunction with him exert yourselves to promote the Company's Interest and Prosperity and in things conform yourselves to their pleasure which will be the surest means of obtaining their favor and give me satisfaction.

Fort St. George, 14th February 1701.

Entered in the Secretary's Office

By Order

(Signed) CHARLES FREEMAN,
Secretary.

(Signed) CHARLES SMITH,
Governor.

No. 24.

A *Sanud* granted by the Right Hon'ble George Lord Macartney, K.B.,
President and Governor &c., Council of Fort St. George :
To Rajah Congraigula Jaggernaut Row Ramursoo Bahadar.

Whereas, in consideration of the firm and steady attachment, of your family to the interests of the Hon'ble the United East India Company's Government, and the diligence and fidelity of your late uncles Joghey Puntaloo and Vencataroyaloo in the discharge of their duty as the Company's

Interpreters, We, the Right Hon'ble the President and Governor &c. Council of Fort St. George do hereby notify and confirm you in the succession to your late uncle, Vencataroyaloo deceased, in the said office, hereby obviating all and every claim that may be asserted by any person whosoever to the said office of the Hon'ble Company's Interpreter in the Northern Districts under Masulipatam, investing you at the same time with all the Rights and Privileges appertaining to the said office together with the titles and distinctions bestowed on your predecessors and now on yourself by the Soubah of the Deccan conformable to the usual customs and practices of the country. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hand and caused the Company's seal to be affixed at Fort St. George this Twenty-third day of February, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty Five.

Entered in the Secretary's Office,
By order of the President & Council
(Signed) CHARLES FREEMAN
Entered in the Secretary's Office
at Masulipatam.

(Signed) MACARTNEY,
RASLLINY,
DAVIDSON,
DANIEL.

BY ORDER OF THE CHIEF AND COUNCIL.
(Signed) COOK.

N.B. THE FAMILY HISTORY GIVES THE FOLLOWING FURTHER ACCOUNT OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE HON'BLE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THE KANDREGULA FAMILY IN THE 19TH CENTURY:—

"But thereafter in the course of few years Lord William Bentinck the then Governor of Madras considering that the emoluments which the Court of Directors had sanctioned is scarcely sufficient to maintain with due dignity the family of that far-famed Jogi Puntuloo, granted in 1806 to one Gopal Rao, the Deevy Purganah on Zamindari tenure, on the annual peishcush of Rupees 47, 887. † † † †
On his death, the Estate was enjoyed by his son and on his death by the deceased Zemindar's father. In 1836 this Gopal Rao the adoptive father of the deceased died. The deceased being then a minor of tender years, the estate was taken under the charge of the Court of Wards.

"While matters stood thus, the historically disastrous famine occurred in 1832-33 which precluded the possibility of making any collections and compelled the Zemindar to borrow, not only for his own maintenance but also to meet the Government demand, large sums of money to

repay which, the Government subsequently advanced during deceased's minority the sum of Rupees 100,851-4-2. On attaining majority in 1850 the deceased Zemindar presented petitions to the authorities, that he would pay the arrears, and, that the Estate might be continued to him, Messrs. Porter and Lushington respectively, recommended to the Commissioner of Northern Circars on 3rd November 1850 and 14th February and 16th September 1852 that the Estate should be continued to him; but that the Hon'ble Walter Elliot, Commissioner, without enquiring into the relative merits of the case, the respectability of the family, and the deceased Zamindar's ability or otherwise to manage well his Estate, reported to the Government of Madras, in June 1852, that the Estate must be sold, in one para of his report, and that it may be continued to the Zemindar in the other. This recommendation will appear on the very outset a vertically opposed one.

"On receipt of this report, the then Governor Sir Henry Pottinger on 19th July, passed a minute directing that the late Zemindar's competency and prudence which were impeached in the report under review may be enquired into, and tried. The Councillors not having acceded to the minute adverted to, the Estate was brought to hammer and sold to the detriment of the late Zemindar in Public auction, and taken by Government itself, for a small sum of rupees 25,000. On the death of his adoptive father and on the sale of the Zemindary, the Government of Madras recommended to the Government of India the grant of Pension of 300 Rupees per mensem with certain gardens on the condition that it is to be for life only. This the Government of India sanctioned as recommended. The Estate of Deevy bearing a permanent assessment of Rs. 47,887 was conferred on Zemindary tenure as mentioned in para *Supra* to Gopal Rao an ancestor of late Proprietor in the year 1805.

"This family was one of respectability and its members had held the post of native agents or dubashs to former Chiefs in Council at Masulipatam. In reward of their services they had attained lands & Offices in Rajamundri & Masulipatam Districts and a monthly pension of 150 pagodas had been conferred on Gopal Rao, the individual above named which in 1805 was merged in the grant of Deevy Zemindary. Gopal Rao the Istimrar Zemindar and his two brothers discharged their peishcush punctually for 22 years or until the death of the last of them in 1827-28. He was succeeded by his son Chinna Gopal Rao whose administration of the property was not equally fortunate and on whose death on the 16th May 1836, an arrear of Peishcush to the extent of 50,390. The estate which had for some time previously been under attachment for arrears was then taken under the charge of the Court of Wards on account of the minority of the now deceased Zemindar."

The estate remained under the Court's charge for the period of 14 years or till the expiration of the minority on the 9th August 1850, and an arrear of Rs. 46,485-15-10 accrued during that period in addition to that already noticed Rs 59,390 as having been incurred by the previous Proprietor (deceased's father). With a view to effect a composition with private creditors of the Estate the Government also advanced Rupees 100,851 with the sanction of Government of India. The Government thought that the amount advanced would be recovered from the profits of the estate, but they were sadly disappointed.

Having no other alternative the estate was sold for arrears of Revenue but however when selling the property by auction the Government intimated their intention of recommending to the Government of India that a liberal provision should be made for the Zamindar and requested the Commissioner to report the allowance to be assigned him whether in land or money.

Then Mr. Walter Elliot the Commissioner concurred with the Collector of the District in proposing the grant of Rs. 350 with three gardens which are family property. On receipt of this the Government of Madras recommended the grant of 300 Rupees and three gardens. So the matter was at rest for some time. Then in 1863 the late Ex-Proprietor presented a Petition to the Board of Revenue, requesting them to order the continuance of Estate to him. They referred this Petition to the Collector for Report. The then Collector Mr. Foord on 29th November 1863 reported to the Board, that, the Ex-Zemindar is able, competent to manage the estate and that it might safely be let to him. The Honourable Board approved of the Collector's recommendation and submitted it for the favourable consideration of Government. Whereupon the then Governor of Madras Sir William T. Denison and the Commander-in-chief were in favour of Board's recommendation but the other Councillors not having acceded to the above, no justice was done to the Petitioner, notwithstanding the opinions of three Collectors, Board of Revenue, two Governors, and a Commander-in-chief, in favour of the Petitioner.

Being dissatisfied with the Pension of 300 Rupees per mensem and having lost all hope of regaining his Estate the late Zemindar applied to the authorities for an increase stating that he had been harshly treated throughout. Thereupon the local Government recommended to the Secretary of State on the 18th May 1870 that the Estate which was originally granted to the late proprietor's father in consideration of the energetic and confidential service rendered by the original ancestor in securing the interests of British power was not discontinued or wrested by the late Zemindar's misbehaviour or imprudence, and that therefore a

ready money allowance of Rupees 525 per mensem which was the rate enjoyed by his uncle should be continued to him together with the Deevy estate but stated that his present allowance of Rupees 300 should be increased to Rupees 500 per mensem.

With reference to this recommendation the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India observed thus:—"The memorialist was treated with less liberality, than he ought to have been legally favoured in consideration of his case, that the estate was granted to the family for and on account of the confidential service by his ancestors, that the same estate was not wrested from memorialist's bad behavior or imprudence; that the Monthly allowance of Rs. 525 granted to his ancestors, and the estate was unjustly discontinued and that therefore the Madras Government recommended that the allowance of 300 Rupees which memorialist is now in the receipt should be increased to Rupees 500 which is a just liberality, consideration being given to the circumstance clearly reported by Madras Government, to the opinion or recommendation expressed or submitted by competent authorities (Collectors, Board of Revenue, late Governor Sir William Denison and Commander-in-chief, stating that the estate shall be continued to memorialist) sanctioned a monthly allowance of 500 Rs. in lieu of 300." This the late Zemindar continued to enjoy until his death which occurred on the 28th January 1878, executing a deed conveying authority to adopt a heir.

MALKAPURAM STONE-PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF RUDRADEVA (RUDRAMBA).*

Śaka Samvat 1183-

J. RAMAYYA PANTULU, B.A., B.L.,

This Inscription is engraved on the three sides of a huge stone pillar, 14' - 7" x 2' - 10" x 2' - 8", standing in front of the ruined temple of Viśvēśvara in the fields of Malkāpuram, Guntur Taluk of the Guntur District. The main inscription consists of one hundred and eighty two lines, and the letters are big, bold and clear. At the bottom of the first side, there are eighteen lines of Telugu prose giving the names of some of the donees referred to in the main inscription and the extent of the land given to each. These lines should, I think, be regarded as a sort of *Appendix* to the main inscription. Below the inscription on the third side, there are some later inscriptions relating to the same temple,

Except the portion containing the description of the boundaries, the rest of the inscription is in Sanskrit verse. The description of the boundaries is in Telugu prose interspersed with Sanskrit words. There are a few spelling mistakes here and there in the Sanskrit portion; but on the whole, it is remarkably correct. The Telugu portion is faulty in several places.

The main object of the inscription is to record that, in the Śaka year 1183, Kākatīya King Gaṇapati dēva gave away the village of Maṇḍaram, (now called Maṇḍaḍam), and his daughter Queen Rudrāmbā, the village of Velāṅga pūṇḍi (now called Velaga-pūṇḍi), to Gaṇapati's spiritual guru Viśvēśvara Śiva, and that the latter constituted the villages into an *agrahāra*, with the name of Viśvēśvara Gōlākī, and established in that village a *maṭham* (monastery), a *satrālaya* (choultry) and other charitable institutions. Incidentally it mentions a number of other charities, endowed by Viśvēśvara Śiva, in other villages also.

The year of the grant is expressed by the chronogram *lōhah kōyam*,—each syllable of which has a numerical value corresponding to the order in which the consonant occurs in the *varga* to which it belongs, the consonants *ya* to *ha*, being taken as one *varga*. Thus, *lō* = 3, *ha* = 8,

*A Paper read before the General Body Meeting of the Society,

$kā=1$ and $yam=1$. Reading these figures backwards (*ankānām vāmalō-gatih*), we get the year 1183 which corresponds to the cyclic year *Durmati*, and A.D. 1261. The inscription is interesting and important as throwing fresh light on, (1) some disputed points in the history of the Kākatiya dynasty, (2) the history of the Gōlaki Śaiva monastery and (3) the condition of the rural economy in the Andhra country in the thirteenth century of the Christian era.

One of the most important points in the Kākatiya history is whether the Kākatiyas are Kshatriyas or not? This point was discussed at length sometime ago, in the pages of the *Journal of the Telugu Academy* (Vols. II & X.), where I held that the Kākatiyas were not Kshatriyas, and Mr. V. Nīlādrirāju held the contrary view. The present inscription supports Mr. Nīlādrirāju's view by describing the Kākatiyas as Kshatriyas of the solar race. I am, nevertheless, of opinion that the Kākatiyas were not Kshatriyas and that they were very probably Śūdras. King Gaṇapati conquered the northern portion of the Chōḷa kingdom, i.e., the Telugu districts which originally belonged to the Chālukyan kingdom and became merged in the Chōḷa kingdom when Kulōttunga Chōḷa I. amalgamated the two kingdoms; and it was in some of the Kākatiya inscriptions which came into existence subsequent to this conquest that we first hear of the solar origin of this dynasty. The Chōḷas always claimed to be Kshatriyas of the solar race, and Gaṇapati seems to have thought that the conqueror of the Chōḷas should be no less. We meet with this claim to Kshatriya-ship neither in the earlier inscriptions of Gaṇapati-deva nor in those of his predecessors. There is a very elaborate Sanskrit inscription of Rudra I., engraved on a stone-pillar planted near the Thousand Pillared Maṇḍapa in Anumakoṇḍa near Warangal (Ōrugallu). In this inscription the geneology of their family begins with Tribhuvana Malla¹ of the "*Kākatiya vamśa*". If Rudra I. had any claim to be regarded as a *kshatriya*, one would expect such a claim to be mentioned in this inscription. The Kalavachēṅṅu Grant of Anitalli published by me in the *Journal of the Telugu Academy* (Vol. II.), says that by the grace of the supreme *S'akti* Kākati, a certain *pumpkin* creeper bore a son, and hence the great family became the Kākatiya family!² This reminds one of the mythological origin of the Pudukotah Tonḍaimān family given in certain books: viz., once upon a time Indra the king of the gods, came

1 श्रीमत्रिभुवनमल्लोराजा काकत्यवंशसंभूतः ।

2 काकत्याः पराशक्तेः कृपया कृष्माण्डवल्लिका काचित् ॥

पुत्रमसूत तदेतत् कुलमनधकाकतिरयं सौहमभूत् ॥ 25-26

on earth and had sexual intercourse with a woman and thereby begot a son, who became the progenitor of the Tonḍaimān family. We know that the Tonḍaimāns are Kallars by caste; and if we substitute a Sētupati Rāja and a Kallar woman for Indra and his temporary consort, we might get nearer the true origin of the family. I understand that the Pumpkin tradition is believed in the Mandapāṭi family of kshatriyas, who claim descent from the Kākatiyas and to whom, on account of this tradition, pumpkin as an article of food is anathema. Pumpkin, however, is not a kshatriya of the solar or any other race!

We shall see what the *Pratāparudriyam* a Sanskrit work on Rhetoric, dedicated to Pratāparudra, says on the subject. In one place, we are told that god Viṣṇu created the Kākatiya family to excel the solar and the lunar families of the Kshatriyas, in fame.³ In another place, the Kākatiya family is said to have won a victory over the solar and the lunar races.⁴ In a third place it is said that while the Kākatiya family was in the ascendant, the solar and lunar families sunk into insignificance.⁵ It is clear from these extracts from the *Pratāparudriyam* that the Kākatiya family belongs neither to the solar nor lunar race of kshatriyas. From all the authorities quoted above, it seems to me that the solar origin of this family was, for the first time, invented after Gaṇapati's conquest of the Telugu portion of the Chōḷa kingdom and that the true tradition of the family does not support their pretension, and that pretension itself did not persist. If then, the Kākatiya family is neither a solar nor a lunar family, is it a kshatriya family at all? I think not. Both in Literature and Epigraphy, all families claiming to be kshatriyas trace their descent either from the Sun or the Moon. It is suggested by Mr. Nīlādrirāju that the *Purāṇas* make mention of several kshatriya families, other than the solar and the lunar families and the Kākatiya family might be one of them. But we have no means of connecting this family with any of those Purāṇic families. It is significant also that nearly all the seventy seven generals and ministers of the Kākatiyas were *S'udras*, *Kammas*, *Reddis* and *Velamas* etc. It is true that the *Pratāparudriyam* calls the Kākatiyas Kshatriyas, but this is by way of a compliment to the poet's patron.

3 अत्यर्केन्दुकुलप्रशस्ति म सृजाद्वयम् काकतीयान्वयम् ।

Nayakaprakaranam.

4 सोमार्काभिजनं त मद्य जयति श्रीकाकतीयान्वयः ।

Natakaprakaranam.

5 साहस्रांशव मैन्दवं च महती ये द्वेकुले निर्मिते
ते जाते लघुनी गुणैर्विजयति श्रीकाकतीयान्वये ।

Natakaprakaranam.

Another disputed point in the history of the family is whether Rudrama, was the *daughter* or *widow*, of Gaṇapati. The present inscription calls her, Gaṇapati's *daughter* and this is confirmed by several other inscriptions and also by *Pratāparudriyam*. The erroneous theory that Rudrama was the widow of Gaṇapati was started by Marco Polo who visited South India (Andhra dēśa) during the reign of Rudrama. Rudrama was a widow at this time, and she was Gaṇapati's successor. Putting these two facts together, Marco Polo seems to have jumped to the conclusion that Rudrama was Gaṇapati's widow.⁶ This theory must now be held to have been thoroughly demolished,

In this inscription, *Pratāparudra* is incidentally referred to as Rudrama's son. (ll. 52—53) And this had led some to think that he was her son, *not* grandson. This view is clearly incorrect. The *Pratāparudriyam* expressly tells us that Pratāparudra was Rudrama's *daughter's son*, and that she adopted him as a son.⁷ The term '*putra*' is wide enough to include an adopted son and it is evidently used in this sense in this inscription.

From other inscriptions we find that king Gaṇapati ruled for sixty years from Ś. Ś. 1122 to 1182, and that Rudrama ascended the throne in the latter year. The present inscription tells us that Rudrama was actually ruling at the time of the grant. (*Sāstyēsha chaturāmburāśirāsinām S'rī Rudradēvi bhuvam*". (ll. 42—43.)) And yet it is stated that Gaṇapati and Rudrama made grants of a village each, at one and the same time in S. S. 1183; and that Rudrama made the grant with the permission of her father, (*tadujñayā*). To explain this apparent inconsistency we have, it seems to me, to assume that Gaṇapati abdicated the throne in favour of his daughter in Ś. Ś. 1182, but that he continued to administer the state for sometime longer, though in the name of Rudrama. The object of Gaṇapati in abdicating seems to have been, to have the satisfaction of Rudrama firmly established on the throne. There is reason to suppose that Gaṇapati feared that all might not go well with his daughter after he passed away. We have the authority of the *Pratāparudriyam* for the statement that on the birth of Rudrama, Gaṇapati gave out that he got a son and called the baby Rudradēva. Consistently with this, the sovereign is called *Rudradēva*, not *Rudradēvi*,

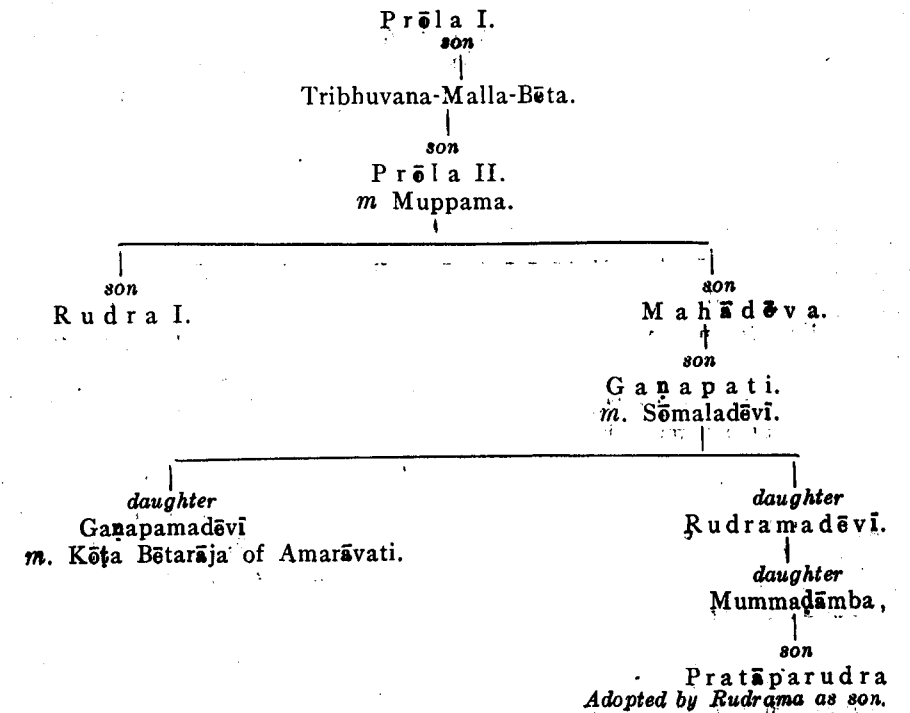
⁶ Marco Polo landed at Motupalli which was in the kingdom of the Kōṭa Bētarāja which was at that time ruled by his widow, Ganapambā. Ganapambā was the younger sister of Rudrama. It might be that Marco Polo referred to Ganapambā who was a widow and ruling over her husband's kingdom, and modern scholars have erred in thinking that Marco referred to Rudramadēvi—Ed.

⁷ स्वीकृते पुत्रभावेन दौहित्रे प्राप्ताया ।

अस्मिन्निधौ धीरेये गुर्वोर्बोधुरामिति ॥

in the inscriptions issued during the first few years of Rudrama's reign. In a Manuscript entitled '*Velugōṭivāri vamsāvali*' (Geneology of the Velugōṭi Family), which can be seen in the Library of the *Telugu Academy*, we are told that a certain Prasādāditya of that family helped Rudrama to keep the kingdom as against her enemies, and thereby earned the title of *Kākatirāja sthāpanāchārya*. (Establisher of the Kākatīya kingdom).⁸ It is true that this account says that Prasādāditya placed Rudrama on the throne on the death of Gaṇapati, but we should not, I think, interpret this literally. The statements in the present inscription that Gaṇapati and Rudrama made simultaneous grants and that Rudrama made her grant with the permission of Gaṇapati cannot, in my opinion, be satisfactorily explained except on the supposition that Gaṇapati abdicated in S. S. 1182. I am aware of no other piece of evidence to support this theory of abdication; at the same time there is nothing I am aware of which militates against that theory. It is to be hoped that future investigations will throw fresh light on this point.

The following geneology of the Kakatiya family is based on all the materials available up to date:—



8. ఆపరసాద దివ్యుండు కాకతిజాతిదేవరాజులు చనిన అతని కొడుకై వద్యుడు దేవి పట్టుముగట్టి కాకితరాజ్య స్థాపనాచార్య బిరుదున్న రాయవీతామహాంక బిరుదున్న దద్ది యెద్దున నాయుండుగా నొనరించి ధైరవ వరప్రసాద లభించుగు పచ్చధరించి నెగదెనుపిని.

Pratāparudra was practically the last of the race. After him, the kingdom became dismembered. The central portion was occupied by Mahomedans, while the outlying provinces were seized by the local chiefs such as the Redḍis of Kondaḍiḍu and Velamas of Rācchakonda, who set up small independent principalities of their own.

The inscription gives an interesting account of the Saiva institution called the *Gōlāki maṭha* in the Dāhala country, lying between the Ganges and the Narmadā. The founder of this monastery was one Sādhāva Śāmbhu who obtained a gift of three lacks of villages (or was it a villages fetching an income of *Nishkas* (coins)?) from the Kalachuri king Yuvarājadeva and gave away those villages to the *Maṭha* as an endowment. In the line of the Kalachuri kings there were two Yuvarājadevas, viz., Kēyūravarsha-Yuvarājadeva I. and his grandson Yuvarājadeva II. The former seems to have ruled at about A. D. 930 and the latter till about A. D. 1000. We do not know at present which was of these was the donor of the three lacks of villages to the *Gōlāki maṭha*. In either case we may hold that the monastery was founded the middle or the close of the 10th century A. D. The successor of Sādhāva Śāmbhu was Sōma Śāmbhu, the author of the *Sōmaśāmbhu-paddhati*, a work on *Saivāgama*. Sōma Śāmbhu was succeeded by Vāma Śāmbhu, "whose feet were embellished by the row of the crowns of kings, and are now even meditated upon by the Kalachuri kings". (Il 66—67) In the Benares Copper-Plate Inscription of Kalachuri king Karṇadeva (about 1042 A. D.) the king is described as "meditating on the feet of *Parama bhāṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Śrī Vāmadēva*".⁹ Professor Kielhorn who edited that inscription says that this description is applied to no less than five kings of the Kalachuri family in different inscriptions and that he is unable to explain its significance. From the kingly titles applied to Vāmadēva, Professor Kielhorn thinks that he must have been one of the early kings of the family, but could not trace that name in any published list. From the description of Vāmaśāmbhu given in the present inscription, it seems to me that Vāmadēva was identical with Vāmaśāmbhu.

At the end of some interval, after Vāma Śāmbhu came Kīrti Śāmbhu, who was succeeded by Vimāla Śāmbhu of the Kēraḷa country. Vimāla Śāmbhu was succeeded by Dharmā Śiva, and he was followed by Viśvēśvara Śiva, who came from the village Pūrvagrāma in the Gauda-Rāḍhā country. Viśvēśvara Śiva was the spiritual *guru* of Gaṇapatidēva and seems to have wielded considerable influence over him. The Telugu poem *Sōmadēvarājīyam* and the

⁹ *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II. p. 297 ff.

Chronicle *Pratāpacharitam* published in the *Journal of the Telugu Academy* (vol. IX.) mention a certain Śivadēvayya as the chief adviser of Gaṇapatidēva. I have no doubt that this Śivadēvayya was the same as Viśvēśvara Śiva.

Dāhala or Dāhala was another name for the Chēḍi country of which the capital was Tripurī (modern Tivur, not far from Jubbalpore), and it is said that in this city there used to be a *maṭha* called the *Gōlāki maṭha*, from the name on which it was situated.

Finally the inscription affords an insight into the rural economy of the Andhra country in the 13th century A. D. We are told that Viśvēśvara Śiva amalgamated the two villages granted to him and established an *agrahāra* called Viśvēśvara Gōlāki, in which he founded a temple to god Viśvēśvara, a *Saiva-maṭha*, a choultry for feeding all classes of persons, from the *brāhman* down to the *chāṇḍāla*, (*ārābhya viprānūvivāritānām chāṇḍāla paryantam-upāgatānām*), a General Hospital (*Ārōgya-sālā*) a maternity home (*Prasūti sālā*) and a College for the teaching of the several branches of Sanskrit learning. The village was peopled by sixty brahmin families imported from Tamil (Drāviḍa) country. It is to be presumed, perhaps, that these families followed the *Kālānana* (*Kālāmukha*) form of Saivism which was represented by Viśvēśvara Śiva, and they had to be brought down from the Tamil country as brahmins of this sect were not then available in the Telugu country. In addition to these there were brahmins well versed in the three *Vēdas*, in grammar, in logic, and in general literature and five others skilled in philosophy. Evidently these constituted the professorial staff of the College. The village had also a physician and an accountant (*kāyastha*), six brahmin servants were provided for the choultry and the *maṭha*, two for cooking and four performing other miscellaneous duties. Ten persons bearing the appellation *Virabhadras* were appointed as guardians of the village (*grāmasya rakshakāh*), and they were to perform certain duties such as cutting of testicles, heads and stomachs (*bijachchēda S'irachchēda kukshi chchēdi karmabhih*). I imagine that these were punishments prescribed by law in those days for certain heinous offences and that a particular class of persons were appointed to carry out those punishments. In addition to the *Virabhadras* there was a staff twenty *Viramushṭis* as peons *bhātāh*. The village was also provided with a set of ten artisans, consisting of a goldsmith, a copper-smith, a blacksmith, a carpenter *karu* a stone-mason, a maker of stone images *s'ilpi*, a basket-maker *vams'akā-rakāh*, a potter and a barber headed by a master artisan *sthapati*.

The temple establishment consisted of ten dancing-girls, eight persons to play on musical instruments of various sorts, fourteen singers *gayinyuh*, six persons for beating drums etc., and a kashmirian whose duties are not stated.¹⁰ A number (not specified) of brahmins from *Viśvāvara Śiva's* native village, were employed to keep accounts of the income and expenditure of the village and the temple.

All the above-named persons were assigned lands for their emoluments and they were allowed to enjoy those lands from generation to generation with all rights of ownership. Women could inherit the land and get their duties performed by deputies. To supervise the administration of the Charity a superintendent *āchārya* was appointed with an allowance *āchārya bhōgam* of one hundred *nishkas* (a year presumably). *Viśvāvara Śiva* retained for himself the power of supreme control over the whole of this establishment and over the temple and the village generally,

Those that performed their respective duties honestly were to enjoy the fruit of bathing in all the sacred waters, of performing *japa* and *tapas* of various kinds and of worshipping all the gods. Those who on the contrary neglected their duties and otherwise obstructed the proper administration of this Charity were to become foodless during the rest of their lives, and be consigned to the eighteen kinds of Hell after death. So declared *Viśvāvara Śiva* after bathing in the river *Kṛishṇa* on the occasion of a solar eclipse.

The concluding portion of the inscription gives a long list of charities established by *Viśvāvara Śiva* in other parts of the Telugu country.

The land given to the donees is expressed in terms of a *putti* or *puttika* as measured by the standard measuring rod of *Penumbāka* (*Penumbaka prasiddhēna manadandēna sommitam*). In its primary sense *putti* means a specific quantity of grain which varies from district to district. A *putti* of land is the extent required for showing a *putti* of seed. The word is not now used in the Guntur district in this sense. It is used in the *Gōdāvari* district as equivalent to eight acres.

¹⁰ Probably he was the instructor in instrumental music.—Ed

TEXT.

First Side.

- 1 (ओं ।*) स्वास्ति श्रीः ।(*) वितरतु भगवानसौ श्रियं वः करि ५
- 2 दनो हरि नलिभासि यस्य । द्युतिवर सरसि स्फुरत्
- 3 रंग श्रियमधिकामालि पक्तयो वहन्ति ॥ जय
- 4 तीन्दोः कलाखेलतु गंगाम्भः कणदन्तुरैः । करैः करोति या श
- 5 म्भोम्भूर्भिमुक्तावालि श्रियं ॥ हरिरवतु किरि तनुव्वो
- 6 (भु)वमुद्रोदुंग तस्य वरुणपुरि । यस्याखिल जलधि ज
- 7 लं पाद्याभूदनगर्वाय ॥ जयति भगवानुस्वय
- 8 म्भू मणपतिनृपते हृदिस्थित स्सततं । यत्कारुण्य कटा-
- 9 क्षैर्वृद्धिं प्राप्तान्भ्रदेशश्रीः ॥ अस्ति स्वस्तिमती तनुर्भगवतो
- 10 देवस्य तस्या स्फुरन्नाभि पङ्कज संभवस्य भुजतो भूवल्लभा ज-
- 11 झिरे । तेषांतिग्म मरीचि सन्तति भुवो येदुर्जयाः क्षत्रियास्तेषा
- 12 मस्तिकुलं कलङ्करहितं श्रीकाकती भूभुजां ॥ वीर स्तस्मा द-
- 13 जनि रजानेनाथवद्गुणसिन्धोः कीर्त्तिर्ज्योत्स्ना भरितभुवनः प्रोल भूपाल
- 14 नामा । राजन्यस्मिन्कमपि नृपतिं राजशब्दाभिधेयन्नैवास्मौ
- 15 ष्म विजगतिविना यामिनीकामिनीशं । कीर्त्तिं व्यस्य हिमेन्दुकुन्द विश
- 16 दामूर्त्तिं ज्ञानानन्दिनी दानं विश्वजनार्त्ति हारिचरितं गंगापयः
- 17 पावनं । चित्तं शम्भु पदारविन्दयुगलध्यानामृत क्षालितं शौ
- 18 र्यं विष्वगरातिदुर्मदहरं धामापि धामश्रियः ॥ रुद्र
- 19 देवस्ततो जातो यत्कीर्त्या भूरलंकृता । प्रतिपक्षमहीपा
- 20 ल यशोनिर्माल्य मुञ्जति ॥ राजानः कतिवानसन्ति सुभटास्सं-
- 21 क्रान्त विक्रान्तयस्ते तिष्ठन्तु तमेकमेव शृणुमश्शरेषु रुद्र-
- 22 म् नृपं । यस्यासीदसिदारितारि नृपति श्रेणीशिरः कन्दुक क्रीडांजलि
- 23 त विक्रमायुधि जयश्रीः प्रेयसी स्थेयसी ॥ एक एव धनुर्वीरो रुद्रदेवो म-
- 24 हीभुजां । सुरेश्वराणां सर्वेषां पिनाकेव धनुष्मतां ॥ अथानुज-
- 25 स्तस्य महीं शशास धरो महादेवनृपो महौजाः । प्रताप दीपाः
- 26 प्रतिपक्षभाजां शाम्यन्ति यत्तौर्ष्य कथानिलेन ॥ कुन्देन्दु चन्दन
- 27 सखः कुमुदस्य मितं स्वस्तिन्धु सिन्धुर तुरंग रुचा सनाभिः ।

२८ कर्पूरहारहरहासपयः पयोधि बन्धुर्विभाति यदुदार-
 २९ यशोविलासः ॥ तस्यायं तनयस्त्रयीमयतोर्द्ध्वाद्भवानीपतेर्ल-
 ३० (ब्धः) क्ष्मां समपालयतु गणपतिः क्ष्मापाल चूडामणिः । यस्मि-
 ३१ न्विस्मयकारि विक्रमकथाधारामुचिश्चीघने पृथ्वीदुष्टदुरी-
 ३२ न प्राप्तां रुजं मुञ्चति ॥ दर्पोधन्वनिभत्सरो रणजये धार्ष्ट्यं द्विपारो-
 ३३ हणे । क्रौर्ण्यं शौर्यविधौ तुरंगदमने चापल्यमाशायुधि । क्रोधोदुष्ट
 ३४ जनेभयं द्विजधना लोभश्च धर्म्माज्जने पूजाकर्मणि शांकरे गणपतिक्षोणी
 ३५ पतेरामहः ॥ कोदण्डोच्चण्डवेगव्यथित करिहयव्रातपृथ्वीशसैन्यं किं ब्रूम
 ३६ श्रृण्विमानं गणपति नृपतेर्बाहुदण्डद्वयस्य । अद्याप्युद्दामदर्पां दुपर
 ३७ त पृतनाकोटि कंकूलकूटप्रक्रीडतु भेत यूथव्यतिकरविषमभू
 ३८ मयोभीषयन्ते ॥ कतिकतिनसन्ति भूपाः कतिकतिगुणगणा भ-
 ३९ रणाः । गणपतिनृपति स्वेको नरपतिशतपोषकः क्षोण्यां ॥ निस्साणरव
 ४० सन्वस्ताः क्षणाद्रणपते नृपाः । अपित्यजन्तिदुर्गाणि नदारातेव केव
 ४१ लं ॥ रुद्रदेवि समुद भूचरण्या त्सर्वभूभृतां । गंभीरान्महत
 ४२ तस्माल्लक्ष्मी रत्नाकरादिव ॥ सर्वोर्वीश किरीटकुट्टिमतटीविन्यस्त पादाम्बुजा सा
 ४३ स्थेषा चतुरम्बुरारिरशनां श्रीरुद्रदेवी भुवं । यस्या जन्ममहोत्सवो
 ४४ गणपतेः क्ष्मापाल चूडामणे विष्णुपूर्जत्कलिकाल कल्मष कथाध्वान्तौघ
 ४५ तेजोनिधेः ॥ साम्बाज्येखलवर्जितं विरचिते श्रीरुद्रदेव्या स्वयं चातुर्व
 ४६ र्ण्यं निजस्थितिर्विजयते विद्रातिकालःकलिः । (*) धर्म्मासौ भगवान्विभातिदुरितं
 ४७ दूरोद्विजानां द्विषस्तन्नामग्रह भीषिता निजपुराभिर्यन्ति पर्याकु
 ४८ लाः ॥ आक्रामन्तितरत्तरंगविगल हुग्धाब्धि केनावली राचामन्ति शरत्ल
 ४९ शाङ्क विसरदज्योत्स्ना प्रवाहामृतं । आकर्षन्ति सुरेन्द्र दन्तिदशन
 ५० प्राग्भार लग्नां श्रियमुक्ताहार लतायिताः प्रतिदिशं रुद्राम्बिका
 ५१ कीर्त्तयः ॥ श्रीविश्वेश्वरदेशिकेन्द्र शिवहस्तोसि दोर्विक्रमस्त्रिक्षोणीश
 ५२ जगद्गलः प्रतिबल प्रध्वंसि जन्मोत्सवः । यस्याः काकति वंशमौक्तिक
 ५३ मणे श्रीरुद्रदेव स्तुत तस्याः किंकथयाम वैभव मत श्रीरुद्रदेव्या
 ५४ : परं ॥ अस्ति विश्वम्भरासारः कमलाकुलमन्दिहं । भागीरथी नर्मद
 ५५ योर्मध्यं डहलमण्डलं ॥ उग्रं तत्र तपश्चरन्नियम य-
 ५६ न्बाहोन्द्रिय क्रीडनं सान्द्रानन्दमये समाधिसमये
 ५७ चित्तेन लीनदिशवे । नीत्वा कालमनन्तमन्तकजयी सद्भावशंभु

५४ मृगद्वयोऽसौ नव्य संभवस्तु चरितः प्राबुद्धपुण्येन पाणां ॥ शैवाना
 ५५ म् प्रथमाय शंकरपदध्यानामृताम्भोनिधि क्रीडाम्नेडन कर्म निर्म्म
 ५६ ल तरस्वान्ताय शान्तात्मने । तस्मै निस्पृह चेतसे गलचुरिक्षमापालचू
 ५७ डामणिर्ग्रामाणां युवराजदेव नृपतिर्भिक्ष्वान्त्रि लक्ष्मीददौ ॥ कृत्वा
 ५८ स शैवमुनिरङ्गु तशीलमूर्ति श्रीगोलकीमठ मुदारमुदात्ताचितः ।
 ५९ (त*) स्याकरस्य नृपदेशिकमौक्तिकानां वृत्ति चकार सकलामपि तां त्रिलक्ष्मीं
 ६० ॥ प्राचीन पुण्य परिष्कवशात्प्रजानामोविर्बभूव भगवानिह सो-
 ६१ मशंभुः । नाम्नानिजेन सकलागमसिन्धुसेतुं यः पद्धतिकरुण
 ६२ या प्रतिमां बबन्ध ॥ अथ नृपशेखर मालालालित पादोत्र वामशं
 ६३ मुरभूत् । अद्यापि कलचुरीशा यच्चरणाराधकाः प्रशस्यन्ते ॥ लब्ध-
 ६४ देशिक पदा मनोहरा भूरिदान परितोषितार्थिनः । यत्र मत्तकरि
 ६५ णोपि कृन्वते पाशभेद भिहभद्र जातयः ॥ तस्मिन्मठे तस्य गुरो बभूवु
 ६६ दिश्याः प्रशिष्याश्च परसहस्राः विनिग्रहीतुं समनुग्रहीतुं क्षोणी
 ६७ श्वरान्दक्ष कटाक्षक्षपातैः ॥ इत्थं कालेयाति सत्संप्रदाये सन्तानेस्मिन्न
 ६८ र्थिसन्तानकल्प शैवान्भोधे दशक्ति शंभोरुदाराच्छिष्य श्रीमान्कीर्त्तिशंभुर्बभूव ॥
 ६९ चिल्पि आचार्युलु शांतोजुकोडुकु गुड्डोजुनकु ख २ । अक्षसाल बैद्य
 ७० पोजुकोडुकु प्रोलोजुनकु ख १ । श्रीमतु राचगुरुदेवर आनतिक्रममुन श्रीम
 ७१ तु काशीश्वरशिवा अय्यंगरु सानिब्रित्तुलु पेद्दिन वैयिनमु ॥ प्रोलांडिशेट्टिकुंतु
 ७२ काम्मलअक्क
 ७३ सानिकि ख १ तु १० । नल्लदेविशेट्टिकुंतु नल्लमरसानिकि ख १ तु १० । समयमंत्रिकुंतु
 ७४ विश्वेश्वरमाणिक्यनकु ख १ तु १० । आंडरिकुंतु गोळगिरिमाणिक्यनकु ख १ तु १०
 ७५ वीरभद्र वैथिरगि आंडरिकि ख १ तु १० । संकु (वे) न्नजीयकु मलेकु तु ११ । वेमन
 ७६ जियीन कुंतु कोमसानिकि ख (१*) तु १० । प्रोलेबोय कुंतु कोमसानिकि
 ७७ ख १ तु १० नुट्ट
 ७८ (पा*) मुकोमसानिकि ख १ तु १० । नुट्टपासु गुड्डसानिकि ख १ तु १० । वेन्नसानिकुंतु
 ७९ तल्लसानिकि ब्रित्ति ख १ न १० । नडपल्लेमल (न) मनुमल्ल पात्रटसानि
 ८० कि ख १ न १० । सूर्यदेवानि कुंतु तिरुमुत्तसाकिनि ख १ न १० । वेलंकहंडि
 ८१ श्री सोमनाथदेवरकु ख २ । अस्तनपचित्रिपुर चियापिल्ल प्रदिंडि चिन गणेश्वरानिकि न ३
 ८२ श्री विश्वनाथदेवर गुडि पनिचेसि का (न)
 ८३ से (आ) सोजुनकु ख १ नन्नपोजु

- 86 नकु ख १ (I) पोन्नोजुनकु ख १ (I*)
 87 णिड कुंनुलु मोदलमकु गो कन नों.
 88 कन न १० (I*) श्रीविश्वनाथ देवर
 89 मांडिकि केसरि ख १ (I*) विरिगा
 90 निकि केसरि ख १ (I*) लोको... .. (II*)

Second Side.

- 1 प्रणाम व्यालोल त्कलचुरिमहीपालपरिषत्किरीट प्रक्रीडत्किरण कलिकाला-
 2 लित पदाः । यशः पूरस्वेर स्तवकितदिशः केरलभवास्तटः पद्मावासा विम-
 3 ल शिवपादा स्समभवन् ॥ निर्वैरमुन्यां कलिकालमध्येस्थातुं पदाभ्याम् (I*)
 4 कुतुकीव धर्मः । शिष्यः कृपा कन्दलितान्तरात्मा तेषामभूद्र्मशिवोमुनी
 5 न्द्रः ॥ यं कृपानिधेमुदारवैभवं धर्मशम्भुमखिलार्ति भञ्जनं । एक व
 6 क्रकमलं सदाशिवं संकथा सुकृतिनः प्रचक्षते ॥ अध्येता निगम्यस्य धर्मतन
 7 यश्श्रीगौडराडोलसत्पूर्वग्रामशिखामाणि गर्णपतिक्षमापाल दीक्षागुरुः (I*)
 8 क्षीराब्धेरिवचन्द्रमाः दशशिकलामौलेर्यथा षण्मुखः श्रीविश्वेश्वरशम्भु रु
 9 प्रतपस श्रीधर्मशम्भोरभूत् ॥ चिरं पृथ्वी पालावली मकुट घृष्टांघ्रि कमलद्वयो
 10 विद्यावल्ली वलय कलना कल्पकतरुः । सदादान्तस्वान्त स्थिरतरोलसद्भूर्जजटा
 11 महामहाशान्तः कान्तो जयति भुवि विश्वेश्वरशिवः ॥ श्रीचोलेश्वर मालव
 12 क्षितिपती राजन्यचूडामणी यत्त्रिष्यौ किमतः परं गणपतिक्षोणीपति र्य-
 13 त्सुतः । नस्यात्कस्यमुदेसदेशिक वरदशैवागमाम्भोनिधिः श्रीविश्वेश्वरदेशिकः कल
 14 चुरिक्षमापाल दीक्षागुरुः ॥ गौडाः पूर्ण मनोरुथाः कति कति प्राप्त श्रिय
 15 स्तापसा स्सन्तुष्टाः कविपुङ्गवाः कति कति प्रध्वस्तपाशानृपाः । येतस्मिन्
 16 गणपत्यधीश गुरुता सिंहासनाध्यासीनि श्रीविश्वेश्वरदेशिके शिवपुरी विश्रा
 17 णनश्लाघिनि ॥ त्वंगर्तिग जटा किरीटमुदय स्मेरारविन्दाननं मुक्ताकुण्डल
 18 ताडितांस शिखरं हरैर्मनोहारिणां । विद्यामण्डपवर्तिनं गणप
 19 तिक्षमापाल दीक्षागुरुं श्रीविश्वेश्वरशम्भु मीक्षितवतां ते चक्षुषी चक्षुषी
 20 ॥ लोहः कोयं शकस्याब्दे दुर्मन्तौवत्सरेशुभे । चैत्रेसितेतराष्ट्रम्यां वा-
 21 रे शुक्राभिधानके । विषये वेलिनाडाख्ये कण्डूवाट्यां विशेषतः । यदुत्त
 22 रेण वहति कृष्णवेणी महानदी ॥ श्रीविश्वेश्वर शम्भवे गणपतिक्षोणीश्वरेणा

- 23 दराद्रामं मन्दर नामधेय मखिले र्वार्गदत्त मायैस्समं । तत्पु
 24 श्री तदनुज्ञया पशुपतेः शरिरुद्वेबीपुरः प्रादाद्राम वेलंगपूण्डि स
 25 हितं सीमाष्टकेनावृतं ॥ अष्टस्वाम्येन सहितं धारापूर्वं सकर्षकं । कृ-
 26 णवेणी नदीमध्य गतया लङ्कयासह ॥ तस्यग्रामस्य सीमानः कथ्यन्
 27 ते । पूर्वतः क्रानात् । परिज्ञनाय सर्वेषां भाषायान्ध्या स्फुटार्थ
 28 या । पूर्वस्यां पेनुंवाक दिक्कु मेडलि एणुंगाल्व पोलमेर । आ
 29 भ्रेण्यां । ताण्डिनुण्डि वञ्चिन मदिमडु काल्व पोलमेर । दक्षिण स्या
 30 म् । कट्टुंगोम्मु काल्व पोलमेर । नैरुत्यां । उप्पलपाटि चेणुवु पडुम
 31 टि कोम्पुराविपूण्डि वेलंगपूण्डि पोलमुसन्दु पोलमेर । पश्चि-
 32 मायां । मन्दरानकूनु वेलंगपूण्डिकिनि पडुमटि रावि
 33 पूण्डि पोलमुलोनि नल्लंदुम्म (I*) उत्तरमु पेनुंवाडिय पोलमु
 34 सन्दु पोलमेर । वायव्यां । पेरकम्मनुण्डि वेडिलन इन्मुंगालिकाल्व
 35 तल पोलमेर । अदिमोदलु ईशानपर्यंतमु कृष्णवेणिये पोलमेर ।
 36 अयिशान्यां । कृष्णवेणिनुंदि पेनुंवाक राडि त्रिविंचिन काल्व तल पोलमेर ।
 37 राविपूण्डिकि ऐशान्यमु । मन्दरानकूनु वेलंग (I*) पूण्डिकिनि वायव्य-
 38 मु पेरकम्मनुंदि वञ्चिन पायेदितल पडुमाटिसमिगानु मंदर
 39 पु लंक ॥ श्रीविश्वेश्वरदेव मिंदुकलिकाचूडं मठं शाश्वतं सत्रं वि
 40 श्वजनाग्रहार सहितं सुस्थाप्य नित्योर्जितं । श्रीविश्वेश्वर गोलकी त्यभिध-
 41 यातं ग्राम मत्यादरात् श्रीविश्वेश्वर स्समयुज त्त्री गाड चू
 42 डामणिः ॥ नानागोत्र समुद्भूता द्राविडा येद्विजोत्तमाः । परस्प
 43 रं प्रकृर्वणाः क्रय विक्रय मादिकं ॥ षष्टि संख्या विशिष्टेभ्यः प्रत्येकं
 44 पुट्टिकाद्वयम् । पेनुम्बाक प्रसिद्धेन मानदण्डेन सम्मितं स्थित्युपाधि म
 45 दात्तेभ्य श्रीविश्वेश्वरदेशिकः ॥ एतत् क्षेत्रं तु पुट्टिनां विंशत्या भ्यधिकं श
 46 तं । वेलंगपूण्डिसहितं दत्तं मन्दरनामानि ॥ त्रिधा विभज्य तत्सि
 47 ष्टमेकं भागं पिनाकिने । विद्यार्थिभ्यो परं भागं शुद्ध शैवमठाय
 48 च ॥ प्रसूत्यारोग्यशालाभ्यां विप्रसन्नाय चैतरं । प्रादाद्विश्वेश्वरशि

49 व इशैव सिद्धान्त पारगः । ऋग्यजुस्साम वेदानां सम्यगध्यापकास्त्र
50 यः । पदवाक्यप्रमाणानां साहित्यस्यागमस्य च ॥ पंचन्याख्या कृ
51 तो वैद्य कायस्थौ द्वौ विचक्षणौ । दशानानामपि चैतेषां प्रत्येकं पुट्टिका
52 द्वयं ॥ श्रीविश्वेश्वरदेवस्य नर्तक्योदशसंख्यया । मुखरीद्वय संयुक्ता
53 अष्टमहलवादकाः ॥ अष्टादशना मेतेषां प्रत्येकं सार्धपुट्टिका । ए
54 कः काश्मीरदेशीयो गायन्यश्चतुर्दश ॥ करडा वादनाद्येषु कृत्येषु रस
55 संख्यया । पाचकौ द्वौ द्विजन्नानौ चत्वारः परिचारकाः ॥ तथैव षट्समा
56 ख्याता ब्रह्मणामठसत्रयोः । चातुर्वर्ण्य समुद्भूता जटिला श्रोत्र दे-
57 शजाः । बीजच्छेद शिरच्छेद कुक्षिच्छेदादि कर्माभिः । वीरभद्रसमाख्याता दशमा
58 मस्यरक्षकाः ॥ भटा स्युरपरे भक्ता विंशति वर्ारमुष्ट्रयः । सुवर्ण तात्र
59 पाषाण वंशाय स्कुम्भकारकाः ॥ एते स्थपति संयुक्ता कारुणापित
60 शिल्पिनः । दशस्वकृत्यं कृर्वणौ भटास्यु वर्ारमुष्ट्रिभिः ॥ त्रिसप्ततिर्भानुग्या
61 णां कल्पितात्वेक पुट्टिका । प्रत्येकं पूर्वं मुक्तानामारामार्थं च सर्व
62 तः ॥ प्रादात् षोडशकं भागान्नवर्त्तन मितक्षितेः । गौडदक्षिण राढीय पू
63 र्वग्राम समुद्भवाः ॥ श्रीवत्सगोत्रिणोये सुब्राह्मणा स्सामवेदिनः
64 एतेभ्य विंशतं पुट्टिरदा द्राजगुरुस्तथा ॥ एता एते प्रभुं जाना
65 ग्रामस्यायव्यादिकं । अनुसंद धतां सर्वं सम्यगलेखन पू
66 र्वकं ॥ इत्याहयशतं सार्थं पुट्टिकानां प्रकल्पितं । तिष्ठतामेव स
67 र्वेषां स्वे स्वे कर्माणि वृत्तयः ॥ भवस्याचन्द्र तारार्क मन्यथा न भवन्ति वा
68 पुत्राभावे स्त्रियोप्येषां कुलाचार समन्विताः । कारयन्त्य स्वकर्माणि क्षे
69 त्रारामादि भुञ्जतां ॥ क्षेत्राणि शिष्टान्यखिलानि देवदेवांग भोगालय
70 मुख्यकृत्ये ॥ उपेयुषां शैवतपोधनानां कालाननानां शिवशासनाना
71 म् ॥ विद्यार्थिनां पाशुपतव्रताना मध्यन्नवस्त्रादि समर्पणाय । आ
72 रभ्य विप्रा ननिवारितानां चण्डालपर्यंत मुपागतानां ॥ अन्न
73 प्रदानाय च सर्वकालमकल्पय द्राज गुरुर्महात्मा । देवस्य सत्त
74 स्य मठस्य तस्यग्रामस्य सर्वस्य च सोधिकारी ॥ यो गोलकी वंश्य कृताभिषे-

75 क इशान्त इशुचि इशौव रहस्यवेदी । शैवागमनामपि पारगामी सन्तान
76 पाल स्समलोष्टदेमा ॥ सर्वाणि भूतान्यनुकंयमान स्समस्त विद्या
77 सुकृतावगाहः । महीसुर इशीलवतां पुरोगो भवत्तरां नैष्टिक देशि
78 केन्द्रः । विश्वेश्वर शिवाचार्यो धीमा ब्राजगुरु स्वयं । एव माज्ञाप
79 य द्वीर शैवाचार्य शतैर्वृतः ॥ आन्त्रेषु स्थानपतयः षट्कर्म्मण स्तपोधनाः ॥*

Third Side.

1 सांतानिकाश्च सर्वेव साक्षिभूता भवन्तु ते ॥ श्रीविश्वेश्वरगोळक्या-
2 माचार्यत्वे प्रतिष्ठितः । एतत्सर्वं सदाचारः परिपाल्योर्जितं
3 सदा ॥ निष्काणां शतमाचार्य भोगं भुञ्जीत देशिकः । उपे
4 क्षके स्मिन् दुर्वचै प्रज्ञा * * भक्त * क्तु * * स्तं परित्यज्य सा
5 न्तानिक मथापरं । द * * * त * * ता * * हा या रक्षका-
6 स्तथा ॥ सर्वतीर्थ फलं सर्वजपहोमफलं तथा । सर्वदेवार्च
7 नफठं प्राप्नुवन्त्वत्र मानवाः ॥ विरुद्राविघ्नकर्त्तारः क्षेत्रद्र
8 व्यापहारिणः । त्रिसप्तकुलजै स्सार्धं मन्न पानाद्यभावतः ॥ दूरि
9 द्राः प्रेत्य रौद्रीश्च प्राप्यष्टादश दुर्गतीः । दुःखान्यनुभविष्यन्ति
10 महान्तीति महातपाः ॥ विश्वेश्वर शिवाचार्य स्सदाचारै स्तपोध-
11 नैः । ब्राह्मणैरप्य संख्येयैस्ते स्वर्भानुना रवौ । कृष्णवेण्यां म
12 हानथां स्नात्वाऽचम्य विधानतः । एवं पापकृतां शापं प्रादात्पुण्य कृता
13 म् वरं ॥ कृत्वा काळीश्वराख्येपुरे उपलमठं पोन्नग्रामाग्रहारं कृत्वा
14 विश्वेश्वरशिव उरुधीर्दत्तवान् सर्वसाक्षि । निर्माय स्वाख्य लिङ्गम्मठ मपि
15 नगरेमन्द्रकूटाभिधाने मानेपल्यूट्टपील द्वयमद दत्त सदेव स-
16 त्र द्वयाय ॥ नाम्नात्वेन स चन्द्रवल्लि नगरेलिङ्गं प्रतिष्ठाप्य सन् कञ्चं
17 पल्लि तटाकसेतु मधिकं कृत्वाऽर्द्ध मस्मा अदात् । कृतवानन्दपदे स्वनाम नग-
18 रं प्रतिष्ठाप्य चाध्यानन्दं मुनिकूटमध्यथ पुरं देवस्य भुक्त्या-
19 अदात् । कोम्भूग्रामे स्वाख्यलिङ्गं प्रतिष्ठां कृत्वा त्रिंशत्वारि मासां म

- 20 हीं सः । निम्नक्षेत्रं पंचखारीमितं च प्रादाद्देवा यो गरंगोप भु
 21 क्त्यै ॥ श्रीशैलेशान्ये ईश्वरपुरि समठं च षोडशा वरकं अकरोत्तच्छिष्योदाद्रा-
 22 मं गणपतिरवारि सत्राय ॥ विषये पल्लिनाडाख्ये कण्डूकोटाभिधान
 23 कं । आचार्य्य दक्षिणारूपं तस्मै व भक्त्या समर्पयत् ॥ लिङ्गनिवृत्तौ नि
 24 र्माय तद्वेलांतरं स्थलि । दुद्यालग्रामवन्त्यांशं पूनूरुग्राम
 25 मप्यदात् ॥ उत्तरसोमशिलायां लिङ्गं वैश्वेश्वरं प्रतिष्ठाप्य । ऐतप्रोल्ना-
 26 मानं ग्रामं प्रादात्स देशिकश्रेष्ठः । सामान्योयं धर्मसेतु नृपाणा
 27 म् काले काले पालनी यो भवार्द्धिः । सर्वा नेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रा न्भू-
 28 यो भूयोयाचते रामचन्द्रः ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो ह
 29 रेत वसुन्धरं । षष्टि वरुष सहस्राणि विष्टा जायते क्रिमि-
 30 : ॥ अस्य सर्वस्य धर्मस्य पालकस्य पदद्वयं । विश्वेश्वर शिवाचार्य्यो वहत्सन्यां
 31 सहत्यलं ॥ *

मंगळं महा श्री श्री *

A STONE INSCRIPTION IN THE CHAMPAKESVARA TEMPLE AT DIMILADA.

SRI SRI SRI LAKSHMINARAYAN HARICHANDAN
JAGADEB RAJAH BAHADUR.

There is a Śiva temple in dilapidated condition of common height in the village of Dimilāda, four miles to the east of Tekkali in the Ganjam district. At the entrance of the temple stands a stone with an inscription dated in S.S. 1063, corresponding to A.D. 1141. It records that *Mahārāja* Anantavarma, king of Kalinga granted perpetual lamps to the god. This denotes that the temple was in existence long before the grant of Anantavarma was made.

The village Dimilāda might have been called 'Dimilegoḍo' at the time of Anantavarma's grant. The meaning of the word 'goḍo' in Utkal language is 'fort.' The name of the village which adjoins Dimilāda is 'Divulopgoḍo'. The meaning of the word 'goḍo' in Utkal language is 'dry land', i.e. land not useful for growing the paddy crop. This village might have been called by the name 'Divulopgoḍo' because the whole village was dry land and a temple was situated near the village. The village Dimilāda might have been called 'Divuloggoḍo' by the time the temple was erected. The meaning of 'Divuloggoḍo' in Oriya is 'fort' in which a temple exists. At this place one can see the ruins of an old fort even today. During the time of Anantavarma when this inscription was engraved, the village might have been called by the name of 'Dimiliggoḍo'; and the following changes might have occurred; thus *le* became *la*, *go* was omitted, and *do* became *da*, and thus the whole name became transformed into 'Dimilāda'.

Contrary to the usual style, of placing a *trīśūla* or a trident on the summit of Śiva temple, we find here placed a *linga* or a phallic symbol. There is a stone inscription in fourteen lines on the southern wall of the temple. The characters belong to the southern type of alphabets, of the time of Anantavarma. The *S'ivalinga* which is here '*Sarpayajñasūtradhāra*, i.e. wearing a snake as a *yajñōpavita* or sacred thread is broken in several places. The idol of *Durga* here, which usually finds a place in the Śiva temples, is also damaged to some extent,

The inscription on the stone reads as follows:—

- 1 Svasti! Śrī Dimile * * * Champakē
- 2 śvarakṛipāya¹ putra phalā—
- 3 ptārtham² * * * Krutisavalākhyā
- 4 patnī sahita punyārjana
- 5 akhaṇḍārti dīpau pañcha pra
- 6 jvalad- Anantavarma||
- 7 Svasti Śrī Śakavara Samvat
- 8 1063 Kanyāmāsa dvādasī||
- 9 * * * * *
- 10 * ma sarpaya(jña sū)trah
- 11 Durgāksha patnī sahita
- 12 Champakēśva³* raha (angā)
- 13 rchana (lōbham) kṛitvā Kalinga (ūga)
- 14 Rāya * * *

TRANSLATION.

"Anantavarma granted five lamps in perpetuity to god Śiva, called Champakēśvara in Dimilgḍo village, after worshipping the deity, along with his wife Krutisavalā, with the desire to be blessed with a son, in S. S. 1063 which corresponds to 1141 A.D., on the 12th day of the solar month *Kanya*, i.e. the 12th day of Kārttika in the bright fortnight,—Siva adorned with *Sarpayajñasūtra* (a snake as sacred thread) was enshrined with his consort Durga in Kalinga *rājya*, so that *āryas* (civilized people) may have an opportunity to worship them".

In oldendays there was a fort and a town on this plot of land which was thickly populated. The deity Śiva was held probably in high esteem by the inhabitants of this place. It is therefore, that Anantavarma king of Kalinga, came hither accompanied by his royal consort Kritisavalā, being desirous of being blessed with a son, and worshipped Śiva who was called *Champakēśvara*. There is a village called *Dipavali*, adjoining Dimilgḍo or Dimilāḍa, which might have acquired its name on account of its having been granted for the purpose of maintaining the above-mentioned five perpetual lamps granted by Anantavarma to god Champakēśvara. It is indeed interesting to note that at this time i.e. S. S. 1063, (A. D. 1141) Queen Kritisavalā brought forth a son 'Ananga Bhimadeb, who ascended the throne of Orissa in A.D. 1223 and reigned till 1239 A.D.

Read 1 *kṛupayā*, 2 *ptārtham*, 3 *Ś'iva*.

STUDIES IN VIJAYANAGAR POLITY, (1336—1542 A.D.)

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I THE EMPIRE.

Up to the end of the 13th century A.D., the History of Southern India was the history of petty hindu kingdoms which were waging constant wars with each other, to establish the supremacy of the one over the other. But the attempt was a dismal failure for sometime. The successive invasions into the south by the Muhammadans who were allured by the fabulous wealth of the South Indian Kingdoms and who wanted to subjugate the same and make them the part of their extensive empire from the Āryāvarta downwards, made the South Indian Chieftains to girdle their loins and stand against the formidable foe from the North. The times needed heroes and they were found in the illustrious brothers, Harihara and Bukka, who founded on the southern banks of the river Tungabhadra, a city called Vijayanagar, *the city of Victory*, which later on grew into a magnificent capital both in the magnitude of its size and marvellous prosperity, and excelled the European as well as any Indian capitals of the day. It formed the nucleus of the famous Vijayanagar Empire which flourished between the 14th and the 16th centuries. Bounded on the north by the river Krishnavēṇī, the south by the Cape Comorin, the east by the Bay of Bengal, and the west by the Arabian Sea, it formed a bulwark against the Muhammadans from the north for three centuries.

The condition of the Southern India had undergone a marvellous change from the day the Empire was firmly built, and peace and prosperity reigned. It was an irony of fate that the Empire which was found to withstand the Muhammadan advance from the north, subsequently succumbed to the followers of the Crescent in the middle of the 16th century.

In the following pages, an attempt is made to present to the student of the South Indian History, an account of the polity that existed in the famous Empire, with a comparative account of the present day administration.

The monarchs of the Empire were the lords of the whole territory that stretched between the river Krishnavēni on the north, Ceylon on the south, the Bay of Bengal on the east and the Arabian Sea on the west. In one or two inscriptions of the Vijayanagar Emperors, there was indication that the island of Ceylon was also brought under their sway.¹ Thus we find that the Empire comprised the whole of the present Madras Presidency and the Native States of Mysore, Travancore and Cochin. The Capital of this vast territory lay in one of its northernmost corners.

The divisions of the Empire and the appointment of the Viceroys over the Provinces.

Certainly it was a very heavy task for a single ruler to govern these vast territories. In the interests of their power and the administration of the kingdom the emperors divided the extensive domains into several minor divisions called '*rājyamulu*' and appointed viceroys or *mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras* as rulers of the same. Thus during the time of Harihararāya I. we find that the Kingdom was divided into small domains like Udayagiri *rājyam*, Arahmalai *rājyam*, Mulavāyi *rājyam*, Hoysala *rājyam*, Tulu *rājyam* and the Mangalūru *rājyam*. Kampa was ruling the Udayagiri *rājyam* with its capital at Udayagiri², Marappa was ruling Arahmalai *rājyam* with its capital at Chandragutti³, Muddappa was ruling the Mulavāi *rājyam* with its capital at Mulavāi⁴ Bukkarāya was ruling Hoyalsala *Rājyam* with its capital at Dorasamudra⁵. The Tulu *rājyam* was ruled by one of Harihara's subordinates⁶ and the Mangaluru *rājyam* by one of his ministers.⁷ Generally the brothers of the emperors and the crown-princes were appointed as the viceroys, and the viceroyalty by the nearest kith and kin certainly was a strength to the emperor and formed a strong training ground for the successor to the throne. Thus we find that Bukka I. was the viceroy of the Hoyasala *rājyam* before he became the emperor. Dēvarāya I. was ruling the Udayagiri *rājyam* before he ascended the throne.⁸ Vijaya Bukkarāya was one of the viceroys who became king.⁹ Kumāra Kampa was the viceroy of Rājahgambhira *rājyam*, when that was conquered by him during his victorious

1 *Forgotton Empire*, p. 302. See also *Annual Report on Epigraphy 1903 Ep.* No. 141. No. 145 of 1906 claims the conquest of Ceylon by Krishnadēvarāya

2 *Ep. Ind.* vol. 111 p. 114.

3 *Nellore Ins.* p. 789, No. 28

4 *Ep. Carn.* Col. VIII Sh. 375

5 *Ep. Col.* No. 522 of 1906

6 *South Canara Manual* vol. II, p. 264

7 *Ep. Col.* No. 57 of 1901

8 *Nellore Inscriptions K.G.* 23.

9 *Ep. Carn.* vol. X, Introduction p. 35

campaign to the south.¹⁰ One of the sons of Harihara II. viz. Virupana conquered during his father's time, Chōla, Tondīra, and Pāṇḍya kingdoms and added the same to the Empire, and afterwards became the viceroy of the same.¹¹ Thus we find that the important posts under the Empire were held by the members of the royal family. But there was an exception too. When capable and trustworthy persons were found, they were also selected for the responsible post of the viceroyalty and we find that amongst those, that were selected were some noted Brahmins of the day. Mādhava Mantri, one of the great Brahmin ministers and generals of the day, was entrusted with the viceroyalty of Vanavāsi and the West Coast under Bukka I and Harihara II.¹² Another great general and minister who was not connected with the royal family was Lakshmaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka who was the viceroy of the Rājagambhīra *rājyam* under Dēvarāya II.¹³ Apart from the names of the Viceroyalties that were mentioned above, we find the names of Aragaḍa *rājyam* and Barakūr *rājyam* during the time of the Vijayanagara Emperors. During the time of Krishnarāya, when the king of Kalinga was defeated, the Konḍaviḍu *rājyam* with its capital, Konḍaviḍu, formed one of the seats of the Vijayanagar viceroyalties and was placed under his famous Prime Minister Sālva Timma and afterwards under the two illustrious nephews,¹⁴ of the latter.

Viceroys, their Powers and Responsibilities.

The provincial governors or viceroys were supreme lords in their own territories. The principalities were a sort of '*imperier in imperium*'. They were responsible for the maintenance of the law and order, peace and prosperity of the people. They were in their turn assisted by the ministers appointed by themselves. We come across illustrious ministers whom the viceroys were exceptionally fortunate in taking their counsel. Gōpana Mantri was the minister and general of Kumārakamparāya,¹⁵ Mādhava Mantri was the minister of Mārappa.¹⁶ The collection of revenue was entrusted to them and they had to pay to the Imperial Exchequer a certain percentage of the collections. There was no limit to the percentage so fixed, and Nuniz gives us a list of such contributions by the provincial governors during the time of Krishnarāya. The provincial governors had to maintain a certain number of infantry, cavalry and a number of elephants in order to assist the emperor during the time of war and

10 *Ep. Carn.* vol. X. Intro. p. 79

11 *Ep. Ind.* vol. III p. 224-230

12 *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV p. 206; *Ep. Carn.* vol. VIII, I. R. 46

13 *Ep. Con.* No. 128 of 1901

14 *Ep. Ind.* vol. VI p. 6. Almost the same political divisions existed under the later emperors. See *Archaeological Survey of India* 1908-09.

15 *A.S.R.* 1907-07 p. 240

16 *Nellore Inscr.* No. 28 p. 789

to protect the empire from the external aggression.¹⁷ Those who did not maintain the necessary forces had to pay heavy contributions to the state.¹⁸

Name of the Governor or Minister.	Income	Army to be maintained	Contributions.
Sālva Timma (Prime Minister)	1,000,100 Pardos of Gold.	30,000 Foot 3,000 Horse 30 Elephants	1/3
Timmappa, (Lord of Udayagiri and Kondavīdu)	800,000	25,000 Foot 1,500 Horse 40 Elephants	3/8
Kappa Naik	600,000	20,000 Foot 2,500 Horse 28 Elephants	1/4
Lāpa Naik	300,000	20,000 Foot 1,200 Horse 28 Elephants	3/8
Chinnappa Naik	300,000	10,000 Foot 800 Horse	1/3
Krishnappa Naik	20,000	700 Foot 560 Horse	7/20
Mallappa Naik	13,000	6,000 Foot 400 Horse	1/3
Adippa Naik	300,000	8,000 Foot 800 Horse 30 Elephants	2/15

Thus when the collection of revenue and the administration of the provinces was entrusted to the provincial satraps, corruption and coercion followed in its train. Evidences were there that these provincial satraps were cruel in their exactions and tormented the poor people, and in some cases even levied in excess over the legal dues.¹⁹ The interference of the emperor was necessary to curb the evil system. Another interesting fact that was brought to light by one of the epigraphs is, that a system of taking presents was prevalent at the commencement of each reign from the poor ryots, and that the latter were harrassed by the ministers and that hence, the ryots had to emigrate to foreign lands.

¹⁷ *A Forgotten Empire*, p 386—390

¹⁸ *Sources of Vijayanagar History*; and page 190

¹⁹ *Ep. Col.* No. 92 of 1913; *Ep. Col.* No. 96 of 1918

This system was brought to the notice of the king Bukka II. who immediately put an end to this kind of extortion.²⁰

(a) Right of Independent Coinage.

The provincial governors enjoyed the right of issuing their own coins. The Mangalure and Barakūru viceroys were allowed to issue their own coins and thus the Mangalure and Barakūrū *gadyānas* came into existence.²¹ Lakkana Dannaik who was one of viceroys under Dōvarāya II. issued a copper coin which had an elephant on the reverse and a letter 'L' above it, and the obverse bore the legend 'mana' 'danaya' 'kam', reading evidently the name of Lakshmana Danaik²². But this system of independent coinage appears to have ceased under the later Vijayanagar Emperors.

(b) Powers of Grant and Remission.

These viceroys or provincial governors had the power of granting villages to temples and brahmins free of all taxes, sometimes with the consent of the King and some times on their own accord.²³ Fresh taxation was also levied by them. In a record dated Śaka 1283 it was stated that two ministers of Kampana Oḍeyar ordered the levy of certain duties in kind on some articles that passed through a district.²⁴

(c) Collection and Payment of Revenue.

The extent of the territory to be ruled, the number of forces to be maintained, and the amount of revenue to be paid, all these were fixed by the King as shown by the list given above. The payment of revenue into the Imperial Exchequer was monthly. The settlement of the revenue etc. was always done during the month of September (Āsvīyuja) i.e. during the Dasara celebrations. If the amount due was not paid as settled, the governors were punished and their property confiscated.²⁵ Certainly the viceroy could not collect the revenues in his domains himself in person, and so he naturally appointed subordinates or husbandmen to collect the same. The revenue collected by the husbandmen and other subordinates, who were so appointed for its collection, was paid to the viceroy and it formed 9/10 out of the general collections.²⁶

(d) Other Responsibilities.

The viceroys were entrusted with the safety of the person and

²⁰ *Ann. Rep. South Ind. Ep.* for 1905 p. 30

²¹ *Ep. Ind.* vol VIII p 130 Foot note 1

²² *Ann. Rep. South Ind. Ep.* for 1905, para 31

²³ *Ibid* for 1912 para 49

²⁴ *Ibid* for 1913 para 117 and 1916 para 66

²⁵ *Forgotten Empire* p 389

²⁶ *Forgotten Empire* p 379

property of the subjects under his suzerainty and they were made to make good the loss that were sustained on account of robbery.²⁷

Viceroy as rivals and usurpers of the Imperial Throne.

The viceroys, though they were the kith and kin of the royal family, on account of their shrewd statesmanship, superior strength and indomitable valour became the rivals of the emperors and usurped the thrones of their lords. This was mainly due to their semi-independent state under the monarchs. If the monarch of the day was weak and imbecile like Mallikārjuna, the most powerful of the viceroys of the period usurped the throne. The usurpation by Sāluva Narasāyaka in A.D. 1485 is a case for illustration. He attained such eminence that the Kingdom of Vijayanagara was called by the foreigners the Kingdom of Narasinga. But the successors of Narasinga became weak and in their turn, were themselves superseded by one of their own subordinates, a Chief of the Tuluva family. It was Narasa Nāyaka, who usurped the throne in or about 1501 A.D. and this is another case that illustrates the point. Again under the later Tuluva Emperors, the royal family of Āravīḍu became the *de-facto* rulers of the Empire and afterwards were makers of its destinies.

These viceroys had not their glorious days under Krishṇarāya and Achyutarāya who both held them under strict control and faithful allegiance. And this was mainly due perhaps to the strong central government, the reins of which were held primarily in the hands of the great statesman and Brahmin Prime Minister of the 16th century, Sāluva Timma. We shall have occasion later to discuss the Brahmin supremacy in the court of the Vijayanagar Emperors and relate how the Brahmins of the day held an enviable position in the Vijayanagar polity.

II

LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION.

The land revenue, as in ancient India, formed the bulk of the public finance of the day and was the main source of income to the state. Every inch of land over which the banner of the king flew belonged to the king, and as Nuniz says 'All the land belonged to the king and from his hands Captains hold it.'¹ Hence all the land in the Empire was either under the control of the monarch or his viceroy to whom he entrusted the administration of the province. The people however had to pay either to the king or the viceroy the fixed proportion of rent ordained to be paid.

²⁷ *Forgotten Empire* p 330

¹ *Forgotten Empire* p 379

Perhaps the traditional system of payment of $\frac{1}{6}$ of the crop to the king continued to even under the Vijayanagar Emperors. The *Parāśara-Madhaviyam*, a copious commentary on the text of *Parāśara* by the sage Vidyāranya, the political adviser and the spiritual *guru*, of the founders of the Vijayanagar Empire, "assigns as usual to the king $\frac{1}{6}$ as the royal share of the crop"² This traditional assignment should have continued under the administration of the Vijayanagar Emperors. In the words of Wilks, "This share he was desirous of converting into from grain to money payment and established fixed rules for the conversion founded on the quantity of land, the requisite seed, the average income and the value of the grain. The result literally conforms to the law of the Digest viz. $\frac{1}{6}$ to the king, $\frac{1}{30}$ to the Brahmin, $\frac{1}{20}$ to the Gods and the rest to the proprietor. It is unnecessary to enter into detail, than to state that thirty is the whole number on which they distribution is made, of which it is calculated that 15 or $\frac{1}{2}$ is consumed for the expenses of agriculture and the maintenance of the farmer's family. The distribution of the remaining 15 stands

Sovereign	5	i.e.	$\frac{1}{6}$
Brahmin	$1\frac{1}{2}$	"	$\frac{1}{30}$
God	1	"	$\frac{1}{20}$
	$7\frac{1}{2}$		
Remaining	$7\frac{1}{2}$		

The share payable to the Brahmins and Gods was received by the Sovereign and by him distributed so that the sums actually received by the sovereign and by the proprietor are equal."³

Such was the system in vogue at the beginning of the foundation of the Empire but the Empire developed rapidly and the maintenance of the same, forced the emperors to seek fresh taxation. The demand on the public exchequer from various sources, daily increased. The result was that fresh items of taxation were introduced and land tax was enhanced by 20%.⁴

Payment in Kind and Coin.

The payment was originally in kind and the public granaries were filled with the quantity of grain paid to the state towards its share,⁵ but the system was found after sometime to be cumbersome and the people were asked to pay in coin instead of in kind. But we think that both the systems existed side by side for sometime. According to an epigraph,

² See Wilks *History of Mysore* p 94—96

³ Wilks *History of Mysore* p 94 to 96

⁴ Ibid p 94 to 96

⁵ *Ep Col*, No 96 of 1918

"the fee for the protection of the country" was to be raised only in kind and not in money, and that it was decided to dispense with the money payment and to detain only payment in kind so that the practice might be in conformity with the ancient regulations.⁶ This inscription certainly informs that at a certain stage the collection of revenue in kind was abandoned for good and in its place, the system of payment in coin was instituted to facilitate collection. However, we find that, the system of revenue under the first two dynasties at least, was very confusing and unregulated. The land revenue system for the first time, under the Vijayanagar emperors, Krishnarāya and Achyutarāya only was shaped to a regular form, checked by a series of ordinances called *Rāyarēkhas* and a perfect system of accountancy and management was introduced.⁷ The *Rāyarēkhas* or the ordinances issued from time to time by the emperor were intended for the guidance of the village officers in the settlement of revenue, mode of collection and remittance.

Revenue Settlement

During the time of Krishnarāya the boundaries of each *Halli* (Telugu: *Palli*) or petty village were fixed, land marks and stones inscribed with writing or with symbols, were erected on such boundaries. The payment of the revenue was settled and the *Rāyarēkhas* which were the records of such revenue settlement were transmitted to the headman of towns and *nāḍus* for preservation as records of such settlement.⁸ It is interesting to note that during the time of the first dynasty of Vijayanagar the figure of Vāmana was engraved on the demarcation stones. The famous Ummatūr chief Chikkarāya, in granting an *agrahāra*, marked the boundaries with stones engraved with the sign of 'dwarf' or Vāmana.⁹

Measurement of Land.

The unit of length for measuring lands was a rod of 18 lengths or 'mettus' of a man's foot measured, so as to take in also half the right foot at the end. The name of the rod was '*Mānadaṇḍa*'¹⁰ In one of the inscriptions of Devaraya II. we came across another nomenclature for the same. In that epigraph it is stated that the lands were measured by the rod '*Raja-vibhaṭan-kāl*'.¹¹ Yet in another inscription of the 15th century, it was recorded that the lands in the Magadai Maṇḍala were measured by a rod of 18 feet in length and assessment was made accordingly on that area. This procedure affected the income of the *Rājagaram* or

⁶ Ep. Col. No. 259 of 1917

⁷ Rice; Mysore Gazetteer vol. I p. 578

⁸ Rice Mysore Gazetteer p. 578

⁹ Ep. Carn. vol. III, ML 95

¹⁰ Rice Mysore Gazetteer vol I p. 577

¹¹ Ep. Col. No. 193 of 1915

the public exchequer and it was thought desirable to increase the length of the rod by two feet in order that the tax might be easy for payment and that the cultivators might be benefitted thereby. Accordingly the length of the measuring rod or *mānadaṇḍa* was fixed at 20 feet and both the wet and dry lands were again measured; and the changes entailed were noted in the field books maintained.¹²

The different kinds of Taxation.

With the rapid expansion of the empire and the consequent burden of maintenance of the same, forced the monarch of the day to devise ways and means of increasing the revenue. The upkeep of a strong army, the cost of defensive and aggressive wars waged against the rebellious chiefs and the foreign foes like the Muhammadans and the Gajapati, the increase of expenditure in the maintenance of the Imperial Court at Vijayanagar on account of the splendour and pomp that was engendered by the New Imperialism, had, each of its own, a call on the resources of the empire. The public exchequer had thus to be replenished at every time. Naturally, therefore, the emperors had to levy fresh taxes on the people who had to bear the burden, which became, heavier day by day.

The new taxes were vexatious as they were varied and also as they were almost non-agricultural. These non-agricultural taxes can be roughly estimated to be about fifty and they embrace under them every caste, community, art and craft. In short the list is baffling and bewildering. The non-agricultural taxes may roughly be divided into (1) *Property taxes* (2) *Profession taxes* (3) *Customs and Tolls* (4) *Animal and vehicle taxes* and (5) *Ceremonial* and other taxes.

Agricultural Taxes.

Before proceeding to describe the non-agricultural taxes, it may be briefly stated here the nature of agricultural taxes levied. The agricultural taxes levied comprised taxes on the wet and dry lands.¹³ The wet lands could be divided into the followings 12 kinds, and the taxes levied on them were both in kind and coin.

WET LANDS.

Description of land.	Kind.	Coin.
1 Paddy fields (perhaps irrigated by State Irrigation System prevalent.)	About 50 <i>Kalams</i> (paddy)	20 <i>Panams</i> .
2 Waste land brought under cultivation.	40 do.	18 "
3 Forest land, reclaimed.	20 do.	2 "

¹² No 97 of 1917

¹³ Ep. Col. No. 216 of 1917 and 59 of 1914.

4	Lands irrigated by boiling water.	20	do.	10	..
5	Plantain and Sugar-cane Garden.	...	...	60	..
6	Other kinds same as above.	...	...	50	..
7	Marshes on which red lotuses are grown.	...	...	40	..
8	Lands producing ginger, turmeric, onions, garlic &c.	...	...	25	..
9	Lands producing brinjals and pumpkins	...	...	30	..
10	Do Bengal Gram, Wheat, Mustard, Castor seeds.	...	...	20	..
11	Do Gram and Green pulses	...	...	1	..
12	Do Sesamum	...	...	3/4	..

DRY LANDS.

The taxes on the various kinds of dry lands are enumerated below.

- 1 Areca grove yielding about 1,500 nuts per tree
For each tree @ 1 panam
- 2 Coconut garden for each palm yielding
not less than 40 fruits 1/2 panam

It is interesting to note that tender trees and barren trees in the backyards of houses whether yielding or not were exempted from taxation. Jack garden yielding not less than 20 fruits per tree. ...

Non-agricultural Taxes

1 Property Tax.

Property tax was levied on houses and vacant sites.¹⁴ The tax on houses varied from 1 1/2 to 3 panams and the tax was levied only on each house as a piece of property by itself unlike as in our times, either on the annual income on the lands and buildings based on gross annual rent on them, or on estimated present cost of the building together with the estimated value of the land valued with the buildings as part of the same premises. The rates were once for all fixed and the principle of proportionate or progressive taxation was probably not taken into consideration in the levy of the Property Tax as it is being done now.

According to the epigraph quoted already we find the following rates levied on the different kinds of houses.

- 1 Each house of a villager. 3 panams.
- 2 Each house of the follower of a 'tantra'. 1 1/2 ..
- 3 Other houses of ordinary people. 1 1/2 ..

¹⁴ *Ann. Rep. on South Ind. (Ep. 1915) p. 107*

In this connection it may be noted that unoccupied houses were exempted from taxation as at the present day. Also the verandahs or slopes of houses or sheds were taxed 1 1/2 panams. In one of the inscriptions of Devaraya I., it was ordered by the king that one Tikayya at Tirupati should, out of the money levied from each "Jaina House" throughout the kingdom, appoint 20 servants to protect the God at Belgola.¹⁵

2 Profession Taxes.

The profession tax levied in those days was too comprehensive and drew within its fold every kind of profession or 'vritti' followed by several classes of the population. The tax levied did not depend on the income derived thereby, but for being born to pursue a particular craft or 'vritti', to eke out one's livelihood, whether one derives its income thereby or not. The tax is levied for exercising a profession, art, trade or calling, and for holding an appointment public or private and is proportionate to the income derived thereby. The following class of persons were liable to profession tax and the tax levied is given below according to an epigraph.

	Panams.
1. Blacksmith	5
2. Gold & Silversmith	5
3. Potter	5
4. Barber	4
5. Washerman	4
6. Brazier	6
7. Oilmonger	20
8. Pariah	1/2

In some other cases, persons of some status and position in the village were levied the tax.

	Panams
1. Judge	5
2. Member of the village-council	1/2
3. Setti Proprietor	3
4. Collector of tolls	4

In certain other cases, the tax was levied, perhaps with a view, to assess according to the income that might be derived.¹⁶

1. Weaver with one working loom. 4
2. Weaver with loom that does not work. 2
3. Weaver for each loom (?) 9

¹⁵ *Ep. Carn. vol. II No. 344 Plate LXXIV*

¹⁶ *Ann. Rep. South Ind. Ep. 1915 p. 107; Ibid 1911 p. 88*

Ep. Col. No. 216 of 1917 & Ann. Rep. on South Ind. Ep. 1913 p. 120.

4. Weaver with lace loom in working order. 3
 5. Weaver with each lace loom not in working order. 1½

People who belong to particular castes were levied profession tax. The *Idangai* and the *Valangai varis* were paid by the *Idangai* and *Valangai* sects¹⁷. Yet another epigraph throws light how this tax was too heavy to be born by these unfortunate castemen. An inscription belonging to the reign of Pēvarāya II.¹⁸, records "that there was oppression on the part of the officers levying and realising tax and that the two sects of *Valangai* and *Idangai*, on whom it weighed heavily, formed themselves into a constitutional body to resist the exactions, vowing even to the extent of putting to death those who became renegades. Certainly this is a case of *satyāgraha* of the 14th century !

"It is also learnt that every labourer was bound to serve the king freely for a period of one year. That the king attached a good deal of importance to free service or *vetti-rāri*, is clear from an inscription of the 15th century at Tirukkattuhalli which says that the king gave away to the temple of that place about 40 to 45 different taxes which appear to have been generally collected by the place at that period except *vettivāri*¹⁹"

3 Customs and Tolls.

Under Vijayanagar administration, land customs were levied on various items of articles, under different forms and the right of collecting them was leased out. Naturally when the collection of customs was leased out, the renters levied different rates at different places on various goods and trades, and made large profits out of the same, after paying the rent due to the Government.²⁰ According to an inscription²¹ of Śaka 1365, we understand that the following which were brought for sale to Tirupati on the high road to Tirupati had to pay *Sunkapūtalan*, *Dēvalam-tīruva* and *Nagari-kaṭṇam*. The list includes carts, female slaves, houses oxen, buffaloes, every kind of grain, every kind of cloths etc. Yet another inscription from Belur enumerates such customs as on "Drugs, piece-goods, grains, animals, and female slaves."²² This is a very important inscription which gives out a long list of items on which the custom duties were levied during that time in about 26 towns existing then. There was also duty on large basket of eggs²³. This system of

17 Ibid 1913 page 130

18 Ibid, 1915 page 164—165 See *Ep Col*, No. 92 of 1918

19 *Ind Ant* vol. ILV p. 89

20 Rice *Mysore Gazetteer* p. 583

21 *Nellere Ins.* Ongole No. 132

22 *Ep Carn* vol V part I Bh. 75

23 *Ep Carn* vol III ML 95

collection of land customs was prevalent till the commencement of the 19th century on the Bellary District, when the same was abolished by Act VI of 1844.²⁴

4 Tolls.

In an inscription at Śrīśailam, during the time of Krishnaraya, it was stated that the emperor remitted tolls on 'Kāvaḍis', *Packponies*, *Packbullocks* and *donkeys*. The tolls were probably oppressing to the pilgrims that resorted to the temple year after year.²⁵

Lewis Rice, speaking of these customs prevalent during those days, writes in his *Mysore Gazetteer* as follows²⁶ "In the *Sunkam*, or customs there were three different heads. Customs on goods imported to be sold at one place were called *Sthaladayam*; customs taken from goods in transit through a district were called *Mārgādāyam*; customs taken from goods exported to foreign countries were called *Marulādāyam*."

According to the Madras Local Boards Act of 1920, tolls were lived on vehicles, carts, horses, mules, asses, buffaloes, bulls or bullocks, elephants and camels. The similarity between the levy in the medieval period and modern times may be examined by the reader.

5 Animal and Vehicle Taxes.

There was a goat tax, and there was a tax on cow, buffalo, and bull.²⁷ According to the Local Boards Act. of Madras 1920, animals and vehicles, four-wheeled motor vehicle, four-wheeled vehicle drawn by animals, two wheeled vehicles drawn by animals, motor cars, motor bicycle, tricycle, other carriages, elephant, camel, house, bullock, male-buffalo, ass, dog, pig, and goat, are taxed.

6 Marriage Tax.

A marriage tax was levied by the king, throughout the empire irrespective of the community²⁸. But this grotesque piece of tax, was abolished during the time of Krishnadēvarāya. A Sanskrit and Telugu Inscription at Ramēśvaram in the Cuddappah District records that Krishnadēvarāya remitted the tax payable on the occasion of marriage both by brides and bride-grooms of all castes. The remission should have extended to the whole of the Empire.²⁹

24 *Bellary District Gazetteer*, p 181

25 *Ep Col* No. 18 of 1914

26 *Mysore Gazetteer* vol I p 583

27 *Ep Carn* vol III ML 95 1506 A D *Ant Rept South Ind Ep* 1912 p 49

28 *Ep Carn* vol III ML 95

Ep Carn, vol. IV KP 21 and 22 & *Ep Carn*, vol III NJ 118

29 *Ann. Rep. South Ind. Ep.* for 1905, para 33

7 Salt Tax.

A duty on the manufactured salt was levied, as evidenced by certain epigraphs of the day. The people who prepared salt from the lands belonging to the State, had to pay revenue in proportion to the produce.³⁰

8 Other important taxes.

There was a tax on oil-mill, sugar-cane mill, each plough of the cultivator as demonstrated by some of the inscriptions of the period. There was also a duty laid on a basket of eggs; another was duty on gold.³¹ Other interesting taxes were the baking tax, cooking tax noticed in the inscriptions quoted.

9 Fisheries and Markets.

According to an inscription of 1374 A.D., taxes levied for catching fish in the tanks, and for holding markets.³² Even now a license fee is levied on every person who intends to open a new private market or to continue to use a private market. Receipts from fisheries, is one of the sources of income to the Union and Taluk funds according to the Madras Local Boards Act, 1920.

10 Ferries.

A duty was also levied on the ferries at the crossing of rivers.³³ Receipts from ferries, form even now a source of income to the Local Bodies in the Madras Presidency.

11 Police Duties.

A duty was levied on every persons for guarding their persons and properties. This duty was called *Nadutulavarikkai*³⁴ and we shall have occasion to deal with it when we speak of the administration criminal under the Empire.

12 Tax on Barbers.

We already noticed that the tax on marriages was abolished by Krishnadēvarāya. The tax on the barber was abolished throughout the Empire during the reign of Sadāśivarāya under the orders of Aliya Rāmarāya.³⁵ Certainly the measures adopted by these two emperors were extremely benevolent and these two taxes were really a stigma to the statute book of the Vijayanagar Emperors.

30 Rice Mysore Gazetteer vol. I p. 585

31 Ep. Carn. vol IV, part II Ch 64; Ibid vol III. ML 95;

Ibid vol III. NJ 118; Ibid vol IV, KP 21 and 22.

32 Annl. Rep South Ind. Ep. 1912 para 49

33 Ind Ant. vol. XLV p. 69;

34 Annl Rep South Ind. Ep for 1912 para 49

35 Arch. Surv. of Ind. 1908-69 page 198-99

Reductions and Remissions of Taxes and Tolls.

A narrative of the system of taxation, will not be complete, unless the subject of reduction and remission of taxes also is dealt with. We already noticed two cases of abolition of taxes in the case of marriages and barbers. Whenever the tax was oppressive and too heavy to be shouldered by the people, either the emperors or the viceroys promptly interfered and either remitted or reduced the same. Instances of this fact are not wanting. An inscription of A. D. 1443, states that the King remitted land customs levied on the high road to Tirupati.³⁶ Another of A. D. 1402-3 of the time of Bukkana Odēyar, states that the tenants were granted certain favourable conditions for payment of dues on the wet and dry lands.³⁷ When the agriculturists of a particular district migrated to distant lands on account of heavy taxation, taxes on wet and dry lands were reduced to induce them to come back and settle.³⁸ Krishnarāya abolished tolls that were lived on the gateway to Śrīśailam³⁹ as per another epigraph of 1515 A. D; yet another inscription at Sedamangalam in South Arcot district informs us that in 1517 A. D. Krishnarāya remitted a revenue of 10,000 gold pieces in favour of certain Śiva and Viṣṇu temples. The same statement is confirmed by another two inscriptions in the Trichinopoly and South Arcot districts.⁴⁰ There was also remission of tax on sugarcane in Melaya Bennūr as there was a danger of the inability of the people to pay these taxes.⁴¹

Additional taxes levied for festivals.

Whenever funds were required for any festivity or celebration, some dues were collected from the villagers, perhaps on the common consent of them all. When a provision of dancing girls had to be made for god Rāmānātha 30 *gadyams* had to be raised for the purpose. The Brahmins who were, all in all, under the Vijaynagar polity, came forward and levied at the rate of one panam per plough on the ryots and one panam on the family of labourers for hire and undertook to pay the amount in three instalments.⁴² In a certain village, Terakanambi, the car festival of god Alwar had to be celebrated and a tax of 2 hana for each village and hamlet was levied for the celebration.⁴³

36 Nellore Ins. Ongole 132

37 Anl. Rep. South Ind Ep 1913 p 118

38 Ibid 1916 p 143

39 Ep. Col. No 18 of 1914

40 Ep Col. Nos. 288 of 1903 and 125 of 1904

41 Ep. Carn. vol. XI Dg. 106

42 Ep Carn. vol IV para II GM 32 and 34

43 Ep Carn vol IV GM 8

III

COINAGE.

The imperial Mint.

Abdul Razaack¹ who stayed in the city of Vijayanagar from April to December of 1443 A.D., during the reign of Devaraya II. describes in his interesting narrative, the mint and the coins issued during the time. "On the left side of the palace there is the Mint, where they stamp three kinds of Gold coins mixed with alloy, one is *varāha* and weighs about one *miskal*, equal to two Kapaki *dinars*, the second kind is *Pratab* and is equal to half of the first, the third is called *Fanam* and is equal to 1/10 of the *Pratab*. The last is the most current. Of pure silver they make a coin equal to a sixth of a *fanam*, which they call *Tar* which is also in great use. The third of the *Tar* is a copper coin called '*Jital*'. The usage of the country is that at a stated period every one throughout the empire carries to the mint the revenue which is due from him and whoever has money due to him from the exchequer receives an order on the mint."

Thus, thanks to the foreign traveller, we are given a clear account of the coinage of the period. Gold and copper coins only seem to be more in circulation than the silver coins. The silver coin did not come into popular use till the advent of the Muhammadan rule, and as Rice says, "According to Ferista, there was no silver coinage in the Carnatic countries at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and even three centuries later we find only gold and copper coins in existence. In fact it was not till the Muhammadans permanently established their sway in the South that their preference for the rupee led to the introduction of silver currency displacing the gold previously in circulation."²

During the Vijayanagar empire gold and copper were the only important metals in which the coins were issued. The reason was not far to seek. The area comprised by the empire was abundant in gold and copper mines, but the silver was not available at all and had to be purchased for the issue of coin.

The different kinds of coins issued with the description of the same during the time of the Vijayanagar emperors is given in the following table.

Copper	3 <i>jitals</i>	make one	<i>Tar</i>
Silver	6 <i>Tars</i>	"	One <i>Fanam</i>
Gold	10 <i>Fanams</i>	"	One <i>Pratāb</i>
	2 <i>Pratabs</i>	"	One <i>Varāha</i>
	3 <i>Varāhas</i>	"	Double <i>Varāha</i> .

¹ Elliot's *Hist of Ind* vol IV pp. 105 to 125

² Rice *Mysore Gazetteer* vol I p. 800

DESCRIPTION OF THE COINS.³

Coin.	Name of the King.	Obverse.	Reverse.	Remarks.
1 <i>Varāha</i>	Bukkarāya.	A rude kneeling figure of <i>Garuda</i> facing the right.	Śrī Vira Bukkarāya.	
2 <i>Pratāb</i>	Hariharaīāya.	God and Godess seated.	Śrī Vira Pratāpa Harihara.	
3 Copper coin.	Hariharaīāya.	Bull facing the right.	Pratāpa Harihara.	There is a ring in the centre between the lines of the legend.
4 <i>Varāha</i>	Dēvarāya.	God and Godess seated.	Śrīvirapratāpa Dēvarāya.	
5 <i>Pratāb</i>	Dēvarāya.	God & Goddess seated.	Śrīvira pratāpa Dēvarāya.	
6 <i>Varāha</i> ¼	Dēvarāya.	Elephant facing to the left and above it Sun & Moon.	Śrī Dēvarāya.	
7 Copper	Dēvarāya.	Elephant facing the right with a letter above it.	Pratāpa Dēvarāya.	
8 Copper	Dēvarāya.	Elephant facing right with a letter above it.	Pratāpa Dēvarāya.	Addition of a conch to the left and of a discus to the right of letter.
9 Copper	Dēvarāya.	Elephant facing the right with a letter above it.	Rāja-gāja ganda-bhērunda	There is Sun and Moon and the Kanarese syllable 'Dē' (probably abbreviation of Dēvarāya)

³ *Ind Ant* vol XX p 301 (Coins of Vijayanagar Kings)

10 Copper	Dēvarāya.	Bull facing the right with the moon above & the conch in front.	Pratāpa Dēvarāya.
11 Varāha (double)	Krishṇa rāya.	Vishṇu standing under an arch	Śrī Krishṇa rāya.
12 Varāha	Krishṇa rāya.	Śiva and Pārvati seated.	Śrīvīra pratāpa Krishṇarāya.
13 Varha	Krishnarāya.	Vishṇu seated with the discus and conch.	Śrīvīrapratāpa Krishṇarāya.
14 Pratab	Krishnarāya.	Vishṇu seated with the discus and conch	Śrīvīra pratāpa Krishṇa rāya
			In some cases sitting figure looks like a female and might be intended for Lakshmi (see para below)
15 Copper coin	Krishnarāya.	Kneeling figure of Garuda which faces the left.	Śrīvīra pratāpa Krishṇa rāya.
16 Varāha	Achyutarāya.	A double headed eagle holding elephants in its beaks and claws.	Śrī Vīra pratāpa Achyutarāya.
17 Pratab	Achyutarāya.	A gaṇḍa-bhērūṇḍa which is walking to the left.	Śrī Vīra paratāpa Achyutarāya
18 Varāha	Sadā Śivarāya.	Vishnu & Lakshmi seated.	Sri Pratāpa Sad Śivarāya
19 Varāha	Tirumalarāya.	Rāma & Sita seated & Lakshmana standing.	Śrī Tirumalarāya.
20 Pratab	Tirumalarāya.	Rāma and Sita seated and Lakshmana standing.	Śrī Tirumalarāya.

It has been found out later that the female figure sitting on the obverse of the *Varāhas* and *Pratābs* of Śrī Krishna Dēvarāya, is the figure of a *Durga* and not *Lakshmi*

The coins issued were flat and round but not well shaped probably on account of bad minting. The gold coin *Varāha* is also called '*Gadyānam*'. The coin is named so perhaps it is one of the incarnations of god Vishṇu and forms the crest of the Vijayanagar Emperors. Their banner possesses the *Varāhalāṅchhanam*, like that of the Chālukyas. This *Varāha* or Pagoda is described by Paes in his Chronicle thus.⁵ "and if any one does not know what a 'purdao' is, let him know that it is a round gold coin, which coin is not struck any where in India except in this Kingdom; it bears impressed on it on one side two images and on the other the name of the king who commanded it to be struck; those which this king ordered to be struck have only one image. This coin in current all over India"

We also find that during the time of Krishṇarāya and onwards, double *Varāhas* were issued along with the single and half-*Varāhas*. This, perhaps, was done to suit the needs of the times as the Empire reached its zenith during his reign.

IV

IRRIGATION.

The reader may be surprised to hear that the system of Irrigation under the Vijayanagar emperors was well organised and productive. Anicuts were built on the Tungabhadra, the Kāvērī and other rivers, tanks constructed, and channels dug across the country to irrigate the lands. There were about 10 to 12 anicuts built on the Tungabhadra itself and a report goes to say "that positions for the anicuts have been chosen with great judgement and the channels have been formed with consummate skill" Interesting epigraphs are forthcoming to give us a vivid picture of the system of irrigation and assessment of lands thereunder.¹

At one time, during the reign of Bukkana Oḍeyar II., according to an epigraph, it was stated that on account of heavy floods in the river Kāvērī the water overflow its banks, and consequently the demarcation moulds between the fields were washed away, the irrigation channels had silted up, with the result, that the lands of the village Valuvur

4 *Varaha* of Sri Krishnarāya of Vijayanagar. (*Journal of Indian History* vol. VIII part III Dec. 1929)

5 *Forgotten Empire* pp 282-83

1 *Bellary District Gazetteer* p. 90

lay fallow. The ryots had left the fields for a considerable time. Then the fields were reclaimed, the boundary banks repaired, the irrigation channels restored, and tenants reinhabited on certain favourable conditions. Thus during the first year of holding, half of the usual dues only were collected on the lands cultivated, and then $\frac{3}{4}$ of the usual dues for the following year, the money collections *Kudimai* and *Kannikkai* were not collected and *palavai* and *puduvai* alone were levied. The same conditions were extended to the lands belonging to temples and Brahmins.²

A great granddaughter of Harihara II, by name Jomma Devi, had a channel dug to the Tirumani Tank, in the Penugonda kingdom, of which undertaking, the following interesting facts were given. It was agreed to pay 130 *gadyanams* to dig the channel and also give as a present, after the completion of the same, a portion of land at the sluice, a house and bracelets, on the condition, that these should be returned if the water did not flow in the channel. The channel was dug and the water flew regularly in the same. The amount stipulated was paid, together with the presents promised and a '*dasabandha*' free of all imposts was granted to them, under the Tirumani tank, into the bargain.³

An inscription dated 1416 A. D. gives us another information. The temple-priest of a certain goddess entered into an agreement with certain Brahmins for the restoration of the Ārali Dam on the Pālār river, which had been breached long ago and ruined down to the ground level. The Brahmins agreed to restore the dam and the reservoir behind it at their own expense, and build their *agrahara* after the name of the goddess. In return for the restoration of the dam and the reservoir, they were to receive rent free $\frac{3}{4}$ of the rice lands under it, $\frac{1}{4}$ being reserved for the goddess. Further, they were to receive rent free, land on which they would cut down the forest and form into fields. If the tank should get damaged, at any subsequent period, the Brahmins only should pay for its repairs.⁴

Another inscription dated 1410 A. D., relates an interesting story of a dam on the river Hanidra. It records an agreement arrived at in 1410 A. D. on behalf of the god Harihara and the Brahmins residing in the village *Harihara Kshētra*. The Brahmins should build the dam at their own expense within the boundary of the god's land and dig a channel through the God's land. The lands irrigated by the said channel should be divided between the god, and the Brahmins in the ratio 2:1 ($\frac{2}{3}$ to the God, and $\frac{1}{3}$ to the Brahmins). It is also interesting to note

² *Ann. Rep. South Ind. Ep* for 1913 p. 118

³ *Ep. Carn.* vol X BG 70

⁴ *Ibid* vol X. MB, 7

that all the expenses for repairs on wells or tanks made under the channel should be borne in the proportion laid down already. In the same way distribution of water should be regulated,

Unfortunately, perhaps on account of bad workmanship, the dam was breached and the poor Brahmins, were at a loss to find out the means of reconstructing the same. They had to seek for a benefactor who would provide them with the necessary funds for the restoration. Accordingly they approached Chāmanripāla, the commander of the King's forces. To him, it was explained, the calamitous result that followed in the wake of the breach, how the livelihood of the poor Brahmins was at a stake and how the worship of the God had consequently become interrupted. The generous general of the army, then paid the amount required for the restoration of the dam, and the blessings of the Brahmins and the God showered upon him.⁵

Yet another inscription dated 1468 A. D., narrates another story of a new dam across the Kāvērī. Devarāja, son of Singanna Oddeyar of Nāgamangala made a grant for the benefit of his mother, of a village to god Rāmachandra and 76 Brahmins, on the occasion of the construction of a new dam in the Kāvērī and a channel to the village of Harahu.⁶

Emperor Krishnādēvarāya constructed in 1521 A. D., the great dam and channel at Korragul and the Basavanna channel, both of which are still in use and of great value to the country.⁷ PAES describes the construction of tank for the purpose of water supply, during the time of Krishnārāya, thus. "Besides this, the King made a tank there, which as it seems to me, has the with of a falcon-shot and it is at the mouth of two hills so that all the water either side or the other on this collects there; and besides this, water comes to it from more than three leagues by pipes which run along the lower parts of the range outside. This water is brought from a lake which itself overflows into a little river. The tank has three large pillars handsomely carved with figures; these connect the above with certain pipes by which they get water when they have to irrigate their gardens and rice fields. In order to make this tank the said King broke down a hill which enclosed the ground and occupied by the said tank. In the tank, I saw so many people at work that they must have been fifteen or twenty thousand men looking like ants, so that you could not see the ground on which they walked, so many there were; this tank the king portioned out amongst his

⁵ *Ibid* vol IX. DG, 23 and 24

⁶ *Ibid* vol III. SR, 139

⁷ *Forgotten Empire*, 162

captains, each of whom had the duty of seeing that the people placed under him did their work, and that the tank was finished and brought to completion.

"The tank burst two or three times, and the King asked his Brahmins to consult their idols as to the reason why it burst so often, and the Brahmins said that the idol was displeased and desired that they should make a sacrifice, and should give the blood of men and horses and buffaloes; and as soon as the King heard this, he forthwith commanded that at the gate of the pagoda, the heads of sixty men should be cut off, and of certain horses and buffaloes, which was at once done".⁸

Instances, how the previous emperors, viceroys and ministers constructed tanks, etc. for purposes of irrigation or well being of people, are many. A tank was dug after the name of Anantasar a minister of Bukkarāya in 1370 A.D.⁹ Another minister of Bukkarāya constructed in 1364 A.D. an embankment across the river Pandu which rises in the Kambugirisvāmi Hills and formed a big tank, filled in with its waters, constructed another dam across the river Chitravātū rising in the hill sacred to God Vāṅkaṭṭēvara, sixteen miles south of Bukkarāya Samudram and constructed a big tank.¹⁰

The Emperor-poet Krishnadēvarāya, in his monumental work *Amuktamālaya* in Telugu, says "the increase of income to the state depends upon the extent of the territory. Even though the territory is not extensive, the king should construct tanks, channels, and help the poor-yots by granting some concession of taxes both in kind and coin. Thereby both the *Artha* (money) and *Dharma* will be increased."¹¹ The king showed the same both by precept and practice and was quite true to the very letter of his maxim.

V.

COMMERCE.

The foreign traveller who visited the city and sojourned through the Empire, the inscriptions of and contemporary literature the period, present us the picture of the inland and sea borne trade of the Hindu Empire.

⁸ *Ibid* pp. 244—45

⁹ *Ep. Carn.* vol XII. PG. 92

¹⁰ *Sources of Vijayanagar History* p. 45

¹¹ *Amuktamālaya*, Canto Verse 236

Inland Trade.

BELUR AND KONDAVIDU INSCRIPTIONS.

We have already noticed that land customs were levied on various kinds of articles in which the merchants pursued their trade. One of the inscriptions of Muddappa the famous *Daṇḍanāyaka* of Bukka I, contains on account of how the *Salu-mule Benaja* merchants with various sects dependent on them, and all the Holiyas of Vijayanagar and 26 other towns where fairs were established, resolved to pay him certain dues in return for the protection afforded. Duties on buffaloes, horses, camels, pigs, bullocks, elephants, female servants, each person of a retinue, dancing girls, grain, diamonds, sandalwood, camphor, crystal, cardamoms, chillies, pepper, rose-water, musk, saffron, *sādu*, *javādi*, *punugu*, yarns, piece-goods, onions, turmeric, spices, jaggery, sugar, arecanuts, *kambali*, *ratna kambali*, *zamukhana* sack, were mentioned. The towns mentioned in the Vijayanagar empire, were enumerated below: "Hastināvati, Vijayanagari, Dērasamudra Penukonḍa, Ādavani, Udayagiri, Chandragiri, Malavayi, Kānchi, Paḍaviḍu Chaturangapatnam, Mangalore, Barakuru, Honnavara, Chandavam, Araga, Chandragutti, Annigeri, Nidugallu, Chinnatanakallu, Taraikallu, Anaviddu Sanikalliah, Telakalamb, and Singapatnam." The merchants assembled conferred upon the famous General the title of Mayoralty "*prthvi-Setṭi-tana*" in return for the protection afforded to the commerce throughout the Empire.¹ The towns noted above as our readers may understand, are scattered throughout the Empire. The Konḍaviḍu Inscription of Nādiṇḍla Gōpamantri, is an unique record, in that, it throws considerable light on the fiscal system prevailing in the 15th and 16th centuries. The duties levied on the various kinds of merchandise are enumerated therein, and we give below a detailed account of the same. Gopamantri, the Viceroy of Konḍaviḍu assigned the tolls levied on the following articles of trade to the god Raghunāyakasvāmi at Konḍaviḍu.

"Assigned '*Mūlavisas*' in the town of Konḍaviḍu at water-sheds, at salt-beds, and market towns and at roads frequented by people, such as those to Tirumala Hills, at the rate of half a *paikamu* on every bag of the following articles:—Great millet, millet, salt, mangoes, myrobolam, fruits, brinjals, clearing nuts, and mavena (a fragrant root); — at one *paikamu*, on every bag of green-gram, black-gram, bengal-gram, horse-gram, red-gram, wheat, seasmum-seeds, oilseeds, blackpulse, cotton, tamarind, gall-nuts, myrobolam seeds, yarn, *chāma*, *Chirugudam* (roots); — at one *damma* on every bag of the following:—Onions, turmeric, dammer, cumin, fenugreek, mustard, *salagas* of new gunny bags, green

¹ *Ep. Carn.* vol V Part I B.L. 75

ginger, lime fruits, and cocoanuts; and at two *dammās* on every bag of the following:—jaggery, cleaned cotton, ghee, castor oil, sangadi flowers (*Bassia-Latifolia*), dry ginger, iron, steel chisels; — at three *dammās* on every bag of the following:—sugar, arecanuts, Cotton-thread, betel-leaves; — at six *dammās* on every bag of long pepper, pepper, sandal, cloves, nutmeg, mace, lead, tin, copper, and at *chavelā* (one eighth of a *pāḍoda*) on a double bullock load of women's garments."

This inscription is almost identical with that of the Belur inscription quoted from the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, in narrating the items of merchandise on which tolls are levied at that time. Both these two important records are of a great importance in picturing commercial conditions of the empire.

A picture of the trade, in the Vijayanagar city itself, as drawn by the foreign visitors is still preserved to us in the records left by them. Abdur Razack says, "Each class of men belonging to each profession has shops contiguous to each other; the jewellers sell publicly in bazaar, pearls, rubies emeralds, and diamonds."² Paes writes, "In this street live many merchants and will find all sorts of rubies, and diamonds, and emeralds, and pearls, and seed pearls and cloths and every other sort of thing there is on earth and that you may wish to buy. Then you have there every evening a fair where they sell many common horses and nags and also many citrons and limes and oranges and grapes and every other kind of garden stuff and wood"³ Paes describes how pork, mutton, vegetables, butter, oil and milk, were available in plenty during that time.⁴ Nuniz states, "The markets are always overflowing with abundance of fruits, grapes, oranges, limes pomegranates, jack-fruits, and mangoes and all very cheap."⁵

Foreign Trade.

Abdur Razack who visited the city during the time of Devarā II. says that "this latter prince has in his dominions three hundred ports, each of which is equal to Calicut."⁶ Barbosa gives an account of the foreign trade of country as follows:—"In this city there are many jewels which are brought from Pegu and Celani (Ceylon) and in the country itself many diamonds are found, because there is a mine of them in the Kingdom of Narasinga and another in the Kingdom of Deccan.

² *History of India* Elliot and Dawson pages 165—125

³ *Forgotten Empire* p. 255

⁴ *Ibid* p. 259

⁵ *Ibid* p. 375

⁶ Elliot's *History of India*, vol. IV pp. 106—125

DHARAKOTA COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE KARA KING SUBHAKARA DEVA OF ORISSA.

SATYANARAYANA RAJAGURU MAHASAYO.

Last year in April my friend Pandit Ananta Tripāṭhi, *Sāhitya-sirōmani*, Professor, Rajah's Sanskrit College, Parlakimedi, brought to me a large copper-plate inscription which he said was found in the village Balichchai (lit. *Sandy shade*), situated at a distance of two miles from the Dhārākōṭa—*gaḍa*, Ganjam district. I was informed that the plate was discovered between two big stones on a boggy land which was being utilised as a common cattle-grazing ground of the village. As the plate was thrown on open ground for an unknown length of period, it became so badly rusted that the villagers thought it to be a old and spoiled earth digging instrument (like a shovel) locally called '*koḍḍi*'. However, when the rust was washed out to a certain extent the villagers were astonished to find strange letters inscribed on it. And when my friend Mr. Tripāṭhi went to that village, they eagerly requested him to read that charter. But their request could not then be immediately fulfilled, as my friend was not acquainted with the ancient scripts of Kalinga; and the plate was then brought to me by my friend. As the writing was in a very bad condition I took full two months to read it completely.

The plate measures 14' × 12½' and is ¼' thick; it weighs with its seal 50 palas. The size of the characters is about three tenths of an inch. On the left side of the plate there is a circular seal on which the legend containing the donor's name as '*S'ri Subhākara Dēvasya*' is clearly inscribed. The diameter of the seal is 3 inches. Along the inner edge of the seal are found engraved full-grown lotus buds. In the centre of the seal a couchant bull with its legs, hump, tail and a bell (with a rope) tied to its neck are distinctly found, in relief. Above the bull are a conch to the proper right and a *Chandra bindu* (Half-moon with a star-like dot) to the left; and on either side of the bull are found two floral designs beautifully engraved.

The language employed in the grant is pure Sanskrit, which is partly in verse and partly in prose. The script is *Brāhmī* (?) of the *Uttara S'aīli* (Northern Style). Palæographically the script used in this charter can be assigned to the sixth or seventh century A. D., as there is

a close resemblance between the writing of this charter and that of the Manuvarma of the Eighth century, inscribed on a bronze statue. We may also notice here that the writing on the statue of Manuvarma was slightly developed from the script of the present grant in so far as we do not see two wing like strokes on the head of each letter found on the letters of the Bronze statue inscription of Manuvarma. Moreover, we find a slight difference between the scripts of Śubhākaradēva and Manuvarma in the following letters : *ka, cha, ja, na, ta tha, na. pha, bha, ra vvi, śa* and *sa* etc. I therefore take that Śubhākaradēva must be at least a hundred years prior to Manuvarma and therefore assign him to the sixth or seventh century A. D. There are only six *slokas* in this charter, excluding those quoted at the end from the *Mānava Dharma S'āstra*, while the rest of the grant is all in prose. There are altogether thirty lines on the first side of the plate and four lines on the second side. Of them I could read only the first side, while the lines the other side could not yet be read.

The inscription relates to a grant made by Śubhākaradēva who belongs to the famous KARA or the BHAUMA (the planet, Mangala) dynasty of Orissa. The genealogy of this family according to our present grant is as follows :—

Laksmīnkara.
|
S'ubhākara I.
m. Satyabhāma.
|
S'āntikara.
m. Tribhuvana Mahādēvi
(of the Nāgōdbhava or the S'ailōdbhava family of Orissa.)
|
Śrī Śubhākara Dēva II. (Donor)

Several other inscriptions of this dynasty have been discovered till now in some parts of Orissa and the Ganjam district. The most important of them are the following (1) Ganjam Plates of Daṇḍimahādēvi, (*Ep. Ind.* vol. VI. 133—140 and 140—142) (2) Chaurasi (Puri District) Grant of Śivankara, (3) Dhenkanala inscription of Tribhuvanamahādēva, and lastly (4) another grant of Śubhākara (II.) discovered in Neulapur Cuttack district. The genealogies given in these plates are as follows :—

(1) Chaurasi Copper-Plate grant of S'ivakaradēva

Śrikara.
m. Jayabali of the Kubēra dynasty.
|
Śrī Śubhākara.
m. Mādhavadēvi.
|
Śrī Sivakāra Dēva.

(2) Ganjam Plates of Daṇḍimahādēvi.

Unamatta Simha.
|
Indukara.
|
Gōpāda or Gayada.
|
Śrī Lōkabhara.
|
Kusumabhara. Lalita Bhara.
|
Śāntikara.
m. Tribhuvanamahādēvi.
|
Śubhākara.
m. Gaurī.
|
Daṇḍimahādēvi.

3. Dhenkanala Copper Plate Inscription of Tribhuvanamahādēvi.

Unamatta Kāsari.
|
Gayada.
|
Lalita Bhara.
|
Tribhuvana Mahādēvi.

(4) The Neulapur Plates of S'ubhakaradēva.

Khemankara.
|
Śivakara Dēva.
|
Śubhākara Dēva.

From the above inscriptions we gather that the 'Kara' kings were ruling over Orissa from about the Fourth Century A. D. in a country known as Tōshala or Tosali, which extended from the Mahānāgiri on the south to the Mahānadi on the north, which was divided into parts called Uttara Tōshala and Dakshina Tōshala respectively. Some scholars of Orissa and Bengal locate the royal residence of Tōshala near Bhuvanēśvar and some in the vicinity of the river Prācī in the Puri district. I believe the headquarters of Tōshala is called 'Guhāśvara' or 'Guhadēvapāṭaka' mentioned in all the inscriptions of the Kara kings discovered up to date; and that it must be located near Bhuvanēśvar. Two years ago when I was studying the stone inscriptions of the famous Khandagiri (Hill) of Bhuvanēśvar, I caught sight of an inscription which was inscribed in old characters. I read it as follows:

श्री शान्तिकर शौराज्यादाचन्द्रार्क गृहेगृहे गजस्याधोरणा दिव ।

ईज्या गर्भसमुद्भूतो नन्नटस्यसुतो भिषक् भीमतो यावतो राजन् ... वंशराथुवः ।

From the above it is clear that Śāntikara Deva the king of that peaceful country, in the house of the cave 'grihe guhē' गृहे गृहे appointed a doctor, who was the son of Nannaṭa the offspring of the Earth, ईज्यागर्भसमुद्भूतः or भौमः. I think the mystery of the word 'guha deva' गृहदेव or guhṛṣvara pātaka गृहेश्वरपाटक can be cleared with the help of the cave inscription. *Guha* means cave, and *Īśvara* means God. In the Neo-Buddhist period of India, the caves of Khandagiri were reputed for their ecclesiastical importance. Most probably the tutelary god of the royal house or the country of Tōshala, the 'Iṣṭa dēvata' was installed in one of the caves of Khandagiri, and consequently the town near the hill was called Gu h ṛ ṣ v a r a - p ā ṭ a k a, and was the metropolis of the Tōshala county as well as the residence or the *rājadhāni* of the kings of the Kara dynasty. The present charter was issued from the same city Gu h ṛ ṣ v a r a p ā ṭ a k a.

The village Gujjāṭa of Jayakaṭaka Taluk, in the Kongōḍa district of *Dakṣiṇa* Tōshala was granted to three Brahmanas, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyana, Kuntā Bhaṭṭa, and Bhaṭṭa Lumbadōva Mitra. Of these, the first two belong Māngalya and Kauśika *gōtras*, Angīras and Viśvāmitra *pravaras*, Dattātrēya and Dēvahōtra *anupravaras* and *Vājasanēya Charaṇas*, respectively. The village granted in this inscription cannot be identified. But the place Jayakaṭaka may be located near Jayagaḍa which is now called Jaugaḍa and situated near Berhampore (Ganjam). This Jaugaḍa is an important place in as much as a rock edict of Aśoka and the ruins of an old fort are found there. The present grant is further important as it throws considerable light upon the religion of the Kara kings. According to the following verse we learn that Śubhākara Dēva of the Kara dynasty was a *Bauddha*:—

स्तदन्वये जिताराति राजा परम सौगतः ।

हेलानिर्व्विल सत्कीर्ति नृपति श्री शुभाकरः ॥

But Śubhākara Dēva calls himself '*Paramabhaddāraka*' and '*Paramāśvara*', which titles convey only the idea that he was a paramount sovereign. Thus it appears that some kings of this dynasty were converted from Buddhism to the later day Brahmanism. From this grant we also learn that inter-marriages existed between the Kara kings of Tōshala and the Śailōdbhava kings of Orissa.

तस्यतनय स्त त्पादानुध्यात श्रीमन्नागोद्भव कुल ललाम ।

भूताया महादेव्या श्री तृमुवन महादेव्या * * * ॥



The word 'Nāgōdbhava' apparently refers to the Śailōdbhava dynasty, and it can be said from this fact that inter-marriages between the two royal houses existed and that the Śailōdbhava princes were contemporaries and vassals of the Kara kings of Tōshala.

TEXT.

First Side.

- 1 ॐ । स्वस्ति । स्रवन्मदजल द्विरदेन्द्र वृन्द रङ्गतुरङ्गम महोर्मिहता वकाशात् (1*)
धर्मान्वितोपि विजिता-
- 2 खिल राजलोक शुभ्रातपत्र पृथुफेन वितान दम्भात (11*) गुहदेवपाटकावासित
जयस्कन्धावारात् (11*) भौ
- 3 मान्ववाय कमलाकर भास्करेषु लक्ष्मीङ्गरादिषु नृपेषु दिवङ्गतेषु (आतिष्ठिपत्कृति
शश) म्भव देवराज आ.
- 4 सम्रिजासन निवेशन लोकवेषा (11*) स्तदन्वये जिताराति राजापरम सौगतः (1*)
हेला निर्विलसत् कीर्ति नृपति श्री
- 5 शुभाकरः (11*) प्रजापतिः सन्नपि सत्यभामा समन्वितोयं परमेश्वरोपि श्वेताभिषा
दानकरः त्रिदेवः भूत्वा-
- 6 उमाप्तिः पुरुषोत्तमो (पि*) ॥ तस्यात्मज स्त्रिदिवराज इव प्रसूते । दुर्वार वैरि बल
नेर्हलनैक वीरः (1*) सर्व्वातिशायि विष-
- 7 ये प्रतिलालित श्री ख्यातो भृशं जगति शान्तिकरः क्षितीशः (11*) त्यागेषु यस्य
नृपते रतुलोद्भवस्य सत्की-
- 8 त्तन त्रिभुवनेन्द्र विभवापि यस्य निःश्वास वदन्तप इत्यभिधान मेतदद्यापि दूरमुप-
सर्जन ता-
- 9 बलोभात् (11*) तस्य तनय स्त त्यादानुध्यात श्रीमन्नागोद्भवकुल ललाम भूताया मह
देव्या श्री (त्रिभुवन) महादे-
- 10 व्या परात्पजन्मात्सज्जन सरोज विकास बीजानसुपति सत्यवती निखिला शङ्खानसार
शङ्खै व प्रजाशंभी
- 11 म प्रखर भुजबल भयानक यमसिबलाय प्रतिलालित धराय कमल सकल कालात्पस्तु
- 12 शङ्ख (.....) जानित निखिल जन प्रमोद रूपसित कमलोद्गीतवकरः करद करद-
- 13 न्मद महीपालो प्यनीत बलि विलास धल्पसङ्कल्प पादपद्म कलिकालाय मृत्कीर्ति
- 14 षयी दुग्धोद विरुपा भीमकुरि गुहसुताय परमभट्टारको महाराजाधिराज परमेश्व-
- 15 र श्री शुभाकर देवः कुशली ॥ दक्षिण तोषल्या कोङ्कद मण्डल वर्तमाने भविष्यन्म
हासामन्त राजरा-

- 16 ज पुत्रान्तरङ्ग कुमारामात्य.....विषयपति तदानियुक्तक दण्डपाशिक स्थानान्तरित-
 17 विराज प्रसादित श्वाट्ट भट्ट वल्लभ जातीयां जयकटक विषये महामहत्तर बृहद्भोगीम
 18 स्त पाल कंटकोल साध्याधिकरणं यथाहं मानयति वेधयति समाज्ञापयति च विदित
 19 मस्तु भवतां । एतद्विषय सम्बन्ध गुजाट ग्रामोयं स्तो परिकर स्तोदिशस्सतन्त्रवायगोकुल
 20 शौण्डिकादि प्रकृतिक सखे राघवेन्द्र मुते स्वस्थनादि गुल्म सर्व्वपीडा वर्जितः
 आलेखनी प्रवेश-
 21 तः या भूमिच्छिद्र संविधान न्यापि आचन्द्रार्क क्षिति समकालं मातापित्रो रात्मना श्र
 ...पुण्याय वृद्ध
 22 ये माङ्गल्य गोत्र अङ्गिरस प्रवर दत्तात्रेय सानु प्रवर कौशिक गोत्र विश्वामित्र प्रवर
 देवहोत्र-
 23 अनुप्रवर वाजसनेय चरण भटनारायणदेव कुण्डाभट्ट भट्टलुम्बदेव मित्राय कृषकण्ठनि
 24 त ... करत्वेन प्रतिपादित स्तदेषां विभर्त्तिम्बित्वा गौरवात् भव-
 25 ङ्ग परिपाल नीयात् सम्वत् ३ चैत्र सुदि —॥ उक्तञ्च धर्मशास्त्रे बहुभि र्वसुधा
 दत्ता रानभिः स-
 26 गरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि स्तस्य स्तस्य तदाफलम् । मांभूय फल शङ्कवट
 परदत्तेति वा
 27 र्थिवः स्वदानात् फल मानर्त्य परादाभानुपालने स्वदत्ताम्पर दत्ताम्बा यो हरेति
 वसुन्धरां स विष्ठायां कु-
 28 मि भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥ (भुक्तन् संक्षेदि भवन्त्यत्ता) स्वल्पमायु
वर्म्मा
 29इति कमल दलाम्बु बिन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च सकलमिद-
 30 मुददृत्तं हि बुद्ध्वा नहि परुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः । यावत् चन्द्रार्कज्योतिः शिरसि
 शशिकला ।—

Second Side.

- 31
 32
 33
 34

A SILVER COIN OF KING PRASANNA MATRA.
 (With a Legend in Box-headed Characters.)

LOCHAN PRASAD PANDEYA SARMA.

The coin was found at Sālhpālī, a little village on the bank of the Māndha ^{मान्ध} river, a tributary of the Mahānadi, while washing sand and earth for gold-dust. by an old woman belonging the caste of gold-dust washers known as Sonjharās or jharās. Sālhpālī,—the find-spot of this coin—is about 10 miles (N. W.) from Bālpur, my birth place, where numerous copper, silver and gold coins were found, many of which belonging to the Buddhist period. It is about 12 miles to the east from the village of Kirārī, where a wooden pillar with inscriptions on it in Brahmi characters was unearthed in 1921. Sālhpālī is within the jurisdiction of the Raigarh Feudatory State, (Chhattisgarh C. P.) and it lies within 24 miles to S. E. from the famous Singhanpūr Cave, containing the pre-historic rock-paintings. Opposite to it stands on the left bank of the Māndha river, the important village of Tārāpūr where punch-marked coins of silver are found by the gold-washers, in a pool called the *Masīna kund* (a pool of water close to the burning ground). Rectangular copper coins of the type of Eran coins with figures of elephants and Swastika on them are sometimes found in the beds of the Māndha and the Mahanadi rivers near about Sālhpālī. The Mahākōsala Historical Society of Bilāspur C. P., possesses a number of specimens of such coins.

Sālhpālī is about 20 miles to the N. E., from Sarangarh where a set of two copper plates of Sudēvarāja was discovered about 50 years ago. These plates are still in the possession of the present Ruling Chief of Sarangarh Feudatory state, Chhattisgarh C. P., and bear inscriptions in the box-headed characters. The coin which I am going to describe is perfectly round and bears inscription and carvings on one side only. The other side is blank. The characters are box-headed, and the legend reads

Sri Prasanna Mātra.

श्री प्रसन्नमात्र

Its weight is $1\frac{1}{2}$ māśā. In size it is a little bigger than our present day round two anna piece and a little smaller than our four annas silver bit. As I had had occasions to make a study of the copper plates of Sarabhpur Kings, it struck me at once on examining the coin that it must belong to a king of Sarabhpur.

The coin is of silver but there is a faint polish of gold all over, and consequently it has a bit of yellowish colour. The entire coin can be divided into three parts. The upper part has three figures—on one side is a figure of a disc or wheel, on the other is the figure of a *conch*, while in the middle is the representation of what may be the bust of a *Garuda* or of the king or of a goddess—Lakshmī or Gajalakshmī but (there if an absence of) the figures of elephant or of lotus-flowers which are usually found on the seals of Śarabhpur kings, Mahāsudēvarāja¹ and Mahājayarāja-dēva (Khariyār and Ārang plates) are absent here.

The 2nd or the middle part contains the legend *Srī Prasanna mātra*, in one line just above the legend in a boldly drawn straight line. The third part contains the *top* of a mace at the bottom in the middle straight below the figure of a supposed *Garuda* as will be seen in the photograph of the coin.²

I have not yet come across any antiquated coin with figures of a disc and a conch on it. No doubt the seals of Tivradēva—the supreme lord of Kōsala are decorated with these figures. To quote Dr. Hultsch, “the seal of the Balōdā, (in Phuljhar Zamindari, formerly in the Sambalapur District and now in the Raipur Dist. C. P.) parts of Tivradēva, bears in relief on a countersunk surface across the centre a legend in two lines, at the bottom a floral device and at the top a figure of *Garuda* facing the front, with a *chakra* on his proper right and a *Śankha* on his proper left. (*Ep. Ind.* vol. VII. No. 13) The alphabet of the legend is of the same box-headed type as in the legend of our present coin.

The Śarabhpur kings call themselves ‘*Parama Bhāgavata*’ परम भागवत and were apparently worshippers of God *Vishnu*. So was the supreme Lord of Kosala, Mahā Śiva Tivarrāja whose charters describe him as ‘*Parama Vaishṇava*’ परम वैष्णव. The adoption of the emblems is, therefore, quite in consonance with the faith they professed. As neither the texts of the copper plates nor the legends on the seals belonging to Śarabhpur kings throw any light on the point of introducing their donor as lord or supreme lord of the Kōsala country, and as the characters of these records are of the same *box-headed type* as of these of Tivradēva, I am led to believe that these two dynasties of kings were ruling simultaneously during the period when the box-headed characters were in use in

1 In April 1929 during my visit to the famous Sirpur capital of Mahākōsal, I was able to discover a *Seal* with three plates in box-headed characters. From the legend on this seal, I find that Mahājayarāja was the son of Prasannamātra. On the authority of this seal he must be accepted as the uncle of Sudēvarāja.

2 No photograph has been supplied to accompany this article.—Ed.

the Kōsala (apparently *Mahā* or Southern Kōsala) country. It is also quite probable that the Śarabhpur kings might have been vassals of Tivarrāja whose sons and grandsons were Harsh Gupta, Bhava Gupta and Śiva Gupta. No coins of any kind belonging to Tivradēva or his descendants have yet come to light and hence we are not in a position to say with any amount of certainty that the present coin was in imitation of Tivradēva's coins. If the coins of Tivradēva contained the figures of a disc, a *garuda* and a conch in the manner as these appear on his seals, it is quite probable that the Śarabhpur kings would have adopted these emblems of their sovereign lord and used them on their own coins.

The seal of the Khariyar plats of king Sudēvarāja is thus described. “Its upper part shows a representation of a standing Lakshmī facing full front, on each side of her an elephant is standing on a water-lily with its trunk raised above her head. In the proper right corner there is an expanded water-lily, in the proper left corner a *Śankha*,

Below is given the legend in two lines in the box-headed character. The legend reads:

प्रसन्नार्णव सम्भूत मानमात्रेन्दु जन्मनः ।
श्रीमत्सुदेव राजस्य स्थिरं जगतिशासनम् ॥

“May this charter of Śrī Sudēvarāja born of the moon—Mānamātra, who took his birth from the ocean of Prasanna, endure in this world.” It is on the strength and authority of this legend that the following genealogy is constructed.

Prasanna³
|
Mānamātra
|
Mahā Sudēvarāja

The discovery of our present coin confirms the statement of the seal and proves it with authenticity that the full name of the grandfather of Mahā Sudēvarāja was Prasanna mātra.

In the absence of any specimen of a coin bearing an inscription in the box-headed characters either in the British Museum, London or in the different museums in India (Indian Museum, Calcutta; Central Museum, Nagpur C. P., Provincial Museum, Lucknow U. P.; State Museum, Gwalior

3 As stated elsewhere Prasanna Mātra had a second son named Mahājayarāja of whom two copper plate charters have been discovered. One set is in the Nagpur Museum, the other set is with the Taluqdar of Sirpur, C. P.

State C. I., Patna museum, Patna, Bihar & Orissa, and H. E. H. Nizam's Museum, Hyderabad (Deccan),—as I gather from enquires made from authorities of those institutions, this find has an importance of its own as representing a unique coin hitherto unknown to scholars.

Śarabhpur was the capital of Mahā Sudēvaraja and Mahājayaraja dēva. The charter of these two kings (who were nephew and uncle) were issued from this town, which still lies unidentified. Three documents, the Khariyar (*Ep. Ind.* vol IX p 170) 'Raipur' (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 196) and Sarangarh (*Ep. Ind.* vol. IX p 281) copper plates speak of king Mahā Sudēvarāja, while the fourth the Ārang Copper plates (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p 191) speak of king Mahā Jayarāja. All these four charters are dated in the regnal years of the donors. The find-spots of these documents, Khariyar, (Dist. Raipur C. P.) Raipur, C. P., Sarangarh C. P. and Ārang (Dist. Raipur C. P.) all lie in the Chhattisgarh Division the old Mahā-Kōsala country. Adjoining the Raigarh State in which the village of Sālhēpali is situate lies the Gangpur Feudatory State where there is a big Zamindari by the name of Śarabgarh, with its chief-town or headquarters of the same name. Can this tract of Śarabgarh claim to be the present representative of the old kingdom of Śarabhpur of historical fame?

Dr. G. Jouveau-Dubreil's researches and investigations reveal the fact that the age of the box-headed 'alphabet falls between IV and V centuries A.D. The box-headed alphabet has been attributed to the 8th century A. D. by several scholars, but this is open to criticism. The Sirpur (Dist. Raipur C.P.) 'Lakshman Temple' stone inscription of Mahāśiva Gupta Bālārjuna, the grand-nephew of Mahāśiva Tīvaracēva, are not in the box-headed characters. It is in the Nāgarī⁵ alphabet of *kuṭil* type attributable to the 8th century A.D. The inscription is not dated and its age cannot be properly ascertained. The only inscriptional reference with regard to Śarabhpur kings is met with in the Eran (District Sagar C.P.) Posthumous stone pillar inscription of Gōparāja which is dated in the Gupta year 191 (A.D. 510—511) Gōparāja is stated in the inscriptions as the daughter's son of the Śarabha king, but the name of the Śarabha king is not given.

I leave the fixing of the age of the box-headed characters in use in the Mahā Kōsala country to competent scholars.

4 In the seal of the Raipur plates there is an absence of the figure of 's'ankha' or conch which finds a place in the Khariyar Seal.

5 The characters of the Lakshman temple stone inscription of Bālārjuna Mahā Śiva Gupta closely resemble those of Madhuban plates of Harsha now in the Lucknow Museum dated in the 25th year of his reign, (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. VII, p. 155).

A FRAGMENT OF A COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF SRIRANGARAYA OF PENUGONDA.

Dr. C. NARAYANA RAO, M.A., L.T., PH.D.

The following is a single copper-plate recovered out of a set which must have recorded the grant of a village to a certain person. This forms the last plate of the set which must originally have consisted of more than two plates. The rest of the plates are now lost, but the present one was recovered from the Nāyani family of Pātapālyam, otherwise known as Gummanāyanipālyam in the Pāgepalli Talākā of the Hindupur division by M. R. Ry. Vārtakavi Rāmachandra Rao Garu, B.A. B.L., and kindly sent to me by M. R. Ry. Rālapalli Gāpālakrishna Śarma Garu.

The plate is in the manner of the ordinary Vijayanagara grants, a rectangular portion surmounted by an arch. The length of the plate in the centre is 10" and the length of the rectangular portion is 7-7/10". The breadth is 7-4/5". The Vijayanagara seal is connected with the plate by means of a ring. The seal is 6" round and is 6" in circumference. It bears in relief the figure of the boar to the proper left and the sword to the proper right, supported on a pedestal standing on a pillar. On either side of the pillar there is a floral design, and in the upper portion of the seal, there are the emblems of the sun and the moon.

The plate is the last one in the set. The rest of the plates are lost. The rim of this plate is raised inside and protects the writing on the inner face. The writing on this face is in Devanāgarī characters of the usual Vijayanagara style and the following information alone can be gleaned from it.

"By the order of Śrīrangarāya, who was possessed of statecraft, and famous, and whose charity was like that of the branches of the mighty suppressor of Bala (Indra), the son of the *Sabhāpati*, who was a *Brahma*, issuing orders to the poets, dictated the verses of the copper plate grant in a sweet manner. By the order of Śrīrangarāya, the auspicious Gaṇapayāchārya, the son of Viraṇa, inscribed this copper-plate grant." Then follow the usual imprecatory verses, after which the ordinary "Śrī Virūpāksha" finishes the grant.

The outer face of this plate was originally blank and was utilized by a later person who came into possession of it to get another inscrip-

tion written on it. Perhaps, this person also came across this plate alone. The inscription on this side also is incomplete. It is in Telugu characters. I give here a translation of this portion.

"You should know the settlement of 12 garces (of paddy) by this Vālmiki Pedda Bādayya.

May it be auspicious! The detailed statement got written by Dāvappa Amṭana Pantula varu, that it may be known to the members of our family. In the *Śālivāhana Śaka* year one thousand four hundred and fifty, the year *Sarvadhāri*, *Kārtika*, dark fortnight, the twelfth *tithi*, the *Sārvabhauma* king Krishṇarāya gave again. In the year *Sarvadhāri*, *Kārtika*, dark fortnight, the twelfth day, when Krishṇarāya-*ayyavāru* with the titles '*ā (sic.) rurāyaragaṇḍa*' and '*Śrīman-mahāmaṇḍalēivara*' flung his sword in (the fort of) Kalyāṇa-Kalubarigi, Chinnamanāyadu, the son of Gummināyana Lakshmi-nāyadu, along with Peda Bōdeyya, son of Peda Vīra Chinnayya of Vālmiki Nāgasamudramu, entered the fort-gates and established themselves there; so, *Rāyal-ayyavāru* (i. e., Krishṇadēvarāya) asked them what reward they wanted; and they represented that they might be given (the village of) Guyyalūru as well as Bāgāpalli in the Ghanagiri (i. e., Penugonda division.); and the king accordingly granted them (their request). He also gave this Peda-Bōdeyya the headship of the caste, the authority to determine injustice and justice, and exemption of taxes over (the village of) Nāgasamudram. When Maṅgi nāyadu brought an action that that the authority over Guyyalūru belonged to him, he (the king) determined that they should share it half and half. Chārcharāyanipalle is our '*agrahāru*'; he (Manginayādu) was deprived of anything to do with it. Amuḍuguru is in the Tummalamala district; therefore it was determined that he should have nothing to do with it. Nayanivāru to give us an yearly living wage of 12 garces (of paddy)....."

The rest is incomplete. This Telugu portion seems to be a later forgery by the descendants of one Peda Bōdeyya who must have come into possession of Nāgasamudram long after the time of Śrīrangarāya. This Śrīranga, I think, is Śrīranga I, the successor of Tirumaladēvarāya. The complete set of plates must have been in the possession of the donees for at least more than one generation when they were either lost, excepting the present one, or the rest might have been intentionally suppressed. The hero who entered the fort and brought back the sword flung into it by Krishṇadēvarāya is said to be one Sadāśiva nāyaka. The *Śivatattva-ratnākara* by Kēlādirāya gives the story of the seizure of Kalyāṇa-Kalubarige wherein the flinging of the sword called "*Yamadam-shṭrika*" into the fort is mentioned. My friend Mr. Viśvanātha Satyanā. rayana, M.A. of Masulipatam has beautifully rendered this incident into

Telugu verse in his little collection of poems "*Āndhra-prasasti*", but he mentions in it that it was Rāmarāya that flung the sword into the fort. We have perhaps to surmise that the flinging of a sword into the fort by the commander who was besieging it was an ordinary device to infuse enthusiasm and bravery into the hearts of the more dashing spirits in his camp.

It is doubtful if we have to identify Sadāśivanāyaka with the Chinnamanāyadu of the present inscription. The descendants of this Chinnamanāyadu are still living in Pātapālyam, also known as Gummanāyanipālayam and the present plate has been obtained from the house of one of them. To this house of Chinnamanāyadu perhaps belonged Kadiripatināyaka, the author of the Telugu poetical work "*Śukasaptati*" who describes himself therein as "*Khadirā-dhara-maṇḍal-ādhyakṣah.*"

INNER FACE.

- 1 tad-idam | naya-dhuryasya prathita-Śrīraṅgarāya-varyasya | śāsanam-
ativala-śā-
- 2 sana-taru-kara-dānasya guṇa-nidānasya | Śrīraṅgarāya-nṛpatēś-śāsanata
- 3 stāmra-śāsana-ślōkān | kavi-śāsana-svayambhūs-sarasam-abhāṇis-sabhā-
patē-
- 4 ssūnuḥ | Śrīraṅgarāya-bhūpāla-śāsanād-Vīraṇātmajaḥ | Śrīmad-Gaṇa-
paya
- 5 -chāryyō vy-alikhēt tāmra-śāsanaṁ||dāna-pālanayōr-madhyē dānācchrē-
yōnu-pā-
- 6 lanam | dānāt-svargam-avāpnōti pālanād-achyutam padam||Sva-dattā-
dviguṇam pu-
- 7 nyam para-dattānupālanam | para-datt-āpahārēṇa sva-dattam nishphalam
bhavēt | sva-dattam vāsō harēta vasumdharam | shasṭirvarsha-sahas-
raṇi viṣṭāyam.
- 9 jāyatē krimiḥ | yēk-aiva bhaginī lōkē sarvēśhām-ēva bhubhujam na
bhōjyā na
- 10 kara-grāhyā vipra-dattā vasumdhara||sāmāny-ōyam dharma-sēturnṛpānam
kālē kā
- 11 -lē pālanīyō bhavadbiḥs-sarvān-ētā bhāvinah pāthiv-ēndrān bhūyō
bhūyō yā-
- 12 chatē Rāmachamdraḥ||Śrī||=||

Śrī Virūpākṣa.

OUTER FACE.

- 1 Ī Vālmīka Peda bōḍayya
- 2 12 *ga nirṇayaṁ chēsinadi teli-
- 3 sēdi | śrīr-astu
- 4 śubham-astu | Dēvappa Aṁtapa Pantulavāru ma-
- 5 na vaṁśasthulaku teliyavalen-ani vrāyīmchina vivaramu.
- 6 Śak-ābdē Śālivāhasya sahasrē tu chatuś-śatam pañch-
- 7 dvatsara-yutē Sarvadhārīni vatsarē | Kārtikyām Kṛishṇa-pakshē tu
- 8 Dvādaśām cha pramōdataḥ Kṛishṇarāya-mahīpāla-sārva-
- 9 bhaumaḥ prthak-dadhau | Sarvadhārī-samvatsara Kārtika Kṛishṇa-pa-
- 10 -ksha-Dvādaśī nāḍu Ururāyara-gaṁḍa Śrīman-mahāmaṇḍa
- 11 lēśvara-Kṛishṇarāyal-ayyavāru Kalyāṇa-Kalubarigi-
- 12 lōbāku vēsin-apuḍu Gummināyana-Lakshmināyani-Chimnna-
- 13 ma-nāyaḍu Vālmīka-Nāgasamudraṁ Peddavīra-Chinna-
- 14 ya-komāruḍu Peddabōḍeyyitō kūḍa laggana
- 15 chochhi thāṇā vēsiri ganaka Rāyal-ayyavāru bahu-
- 16 mānam yēmi kāvalen-ani aḍagaga Ghanagirilō chelle Gu-
- 17 yyalūru Bāgepalle saha dayatsāyavalen-ani ma-
- 18 navi chēyaga adē prakāraṁ ippimchiri | yī Pedabō-
- 19 ḍeyyaku yī Chinnamanāyaṇi śīmalō kulaṁ pedda tana
- 20 mu tapu-vopulu-vartana Nāgasamudraṁ-vuṁbaḷi sa
- 21 ha ichiri | Guyyalūru vartanalu māvi ani Maṁgi
- 22 nāyaḍu vyavahāraṁ chēyaga vīriki ardhaṁ vāriki a-
- 23 rdhaṁ nirṇayaṁ chēsiri Chemcharanāyanipalle mana āgra-
- 24 hāraṁ vīriki panilēkuṁḍā chēsiri Amuḍugūru
- 25 Tummalāmala-nāḍulō chellēdi ganuka vīriki paṇi
- 26 lēkuṁḍa chēsiri manaku varshāśanaṁ nāyaui vāruga 24—

INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION.

GWALIOR SESSION, Dec. 1929.

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.

The Twelfth Session of the I. H. R. Commission took place at the Jhansi Building on Saturday, the 21st December 1929, before a distinguished audience consisting of the Permanent, Co-opted, and Corresponding members and the public of the place. A special feature of the Session this year is the participation of two Indian ladies, Lady Luxmibai Rajawade and Lady Mamalabai Kibe as co-opted members. Col. Gabriel, the Resident and members of the Gwalior Government attended the opening meeting. The Home Member of the Gwalior Durbar, Shrimant Sadashiv Rao Khasa Sahib Pawar while opening the proceedings read the following Message of Welcome from Her Highness the Senior Maharani Sahiba:

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN!

On behalf of Her Highness the Senior Maharani Sahiba Scindia, President of the Council and the Council, I feel great pleasure in welcoming you to Gwalior, the Capital of that illustrious family of Rulers, who figured so prominently in the past and helped to make Indian History in several momentous epochs. We have to-day gathered together in a place, rich with Historical associations, that can never be forgotten. I hope that you will feel that all the worry and trouble attendant upon your long journey has been amply compensated by the pilgrimage to this historic place. On occasions like the present, one is naturally put in mind of those whom one respects, admires and loves. Picturing to myself the towering personality of His late Highness Madhav Rao, Maharaja Scindia extending a cordial reception to you, I stand before you to welcome you on behalf of the Gwalior Darbar with a crushing sense of 'a vacant Chair', a gap no attempts on my part can ever fill up. His presence would have been a source of inspiration and you would have taken back sweet memories of the Session at Gwalior. Nevertheless, I hope your stay will be happy. The Darbar will spare no pains to make the Session as great a success as possible.

* The writer of this article was deputed to attend the Session by the Society. He was appointed, by the Government of India, as a Corresponding Member of the Commission and as a Co-opted Member for the Gwalior Session.

2. I am thankful to the Government of India for kindly assenting to our proposal of holding the Session of the Historical Records Commission at Gwalior this year. I feel there is a particular significance in the arrival of the Commission here. It is not too much to say that Gwalior has left an indelible mark on the annals of the whole Empire from the Capital of India in the North to its Capital in the South, and this influence Gwalior exercised not only since the entry of the Marathas in the Northern theatre but long before they were known to History. Gwalior, so rich in art and architecture, has got standing witnesses in the form of its monuments and mausoleums, its architecture and sculpture, testifying to the vicissitudes, through which the Empire has passed from time to time and marking the stages of civilisation, India has been able to evolve. A visit to the Fort and its suburbs and a glance at the work which the Archaeological Department of the State has turned out, will convince even the most casual observer of the historical and cultural wealth of Gwalior.

3. We have thus gathered in the midst of the charms of the Muse of History. I need hardly emphasize the importance of Gwalior for the research worker. When you move round the city and see for yourself the marks that have survived the destructive stroke of time, you will, I am sure, be convinced of the rich field that awaits the labours of a scholar of history. If research operations are properly conducted, I am sure, new materials would be discovered which would throw a flood of light on obscure corners of our past annals and many a missing link may be supplied. I therefore, invite the earnest attention of the Commission to the work that awaits them in this part of the Country.

4. Speaking with special reference of the Scindia House so far available I am afraid the materials are rather scanty. The three first generations the Scindia dynasty had their own problems to solve and lived in troublesome times. They were too much engrossed in their own affairs to be able to pay any attention to the preservation of records and the plain, blunt and rugged manner of their life so characteristic of the early Marathas, was hardly suited to the pursuit of such a task. Truth to say, the historic instinct had not been sufficiently awakened in them for want of peace and leisure for literary pursuits. I am not speaking in derogation of the Marathas. They were engaged in bringing to fruition the 'increasing purpose' of their special mission, so aptly summed up by Samarth Ramadas in the two words "*M a h ā r ā s h t r a D h a r m a*" for which their hero, the great Shivaji "lived and died as none could live or die." For reasons just stated, nothing was done to preserve its records on modern lines till His late Highness Maharaja Madhav Rao Scindia assumed the Administration of the State. The confused condition of records could not escape the



Patron, President and Members of the Indian Historical Records Commission.
12th Session held in Dec 1929, at Gwalior.

penetrating gaze of that all-pervading Genius and he was the first to organise the Department of Records. With a prophetic vision he foresaw, decades ahead, the coming movement of historic research and undertook the spadework, opening the Archæological Department, which was followed by the institution of the Records Department, thus smoothening the path for the coming research-worker. But the absence of Historical Records at Gwalior need not disappoint us. The impression of the finger of Gwalior might be perceived from Bengal to the Punjab in the North, Rajputana and Gujerat in the West, the Bombay Presidency in the South and Nagpur and Orissa in the East. Records of the Gwalior Rulers may, therefore, be found scattered all over the Country. They will have to be sought mainly at Delhi, Agra, Kotah, Calcutta, Poona as also in most of the Rajputana States. The task is so huge that a body such as the Historical Commission alone is competent to handle it properly.

5. The Indian Nation is at present in the throes of a new birth in which all the different sections are expected to contribute the best that they can bring out from their past. Hence there is the great necessity of Research work at the present moment. But such an important study presupposes plentiful original material pertaining to all the communities and languages of the past and a central place where facilities for study could be provided. A critical study of Indian History is only just beginning and deserves to be fostered by the Universities and other public bodies. Madras, Calcutta and Maharashtra have already pushed on all-sided research in India's past History. But I am afraid Northern India is yet lagging behind, owing to various causes. Malwa, Bundelkhand, Rajputana and the United Provinces are all full of original materials which need to be collected and studied in some central place. The visit of this august body *viz*, the Historical Records Commission for the first time to an Indian State will, I hope, create the necessary interest in future in Historical research and will indirectly prove that so far as interests of history are concerned, the Indian states have much to contribute towards the study of history in which Gwalior would like to do its part for the common object of Indian history.

In view of these observations, the Commission may, perhaps, think of instituting branches of Research Societies in North India with their centre at Gwalior, working on the lines of those in the South. Such a movement seems to me to be pregnant with great issues. Perhaps the paucity of workers may be considered as a deterrent in this connection. But in recent times wide interest in research-work has been sufficiently awakened to warrant the institution of such societies. The Historical

Commission has itself done much by its sittings at various places to merit the thanks of persons interested in history, and perhaps no dearth of workers will be felt now.

6. I would now pass on to an important branch of the study of history. Farmans and Sanads in the possession of individuals have their own significance in the construction of History. If a genuine Sanad may illuminate doubtful points of history, counterfeit sanads may distort it. A proper scrutiny of Sanads has thus its own importance like the proper deciphering of inscriptions. But little attention seems to have been paid to this branch of study. It is often very difficult to distinguish a genuine Sanad from a counterfeit one in the absence of standardised formulæ of judging them. I believe a close and comparative study of a number of Sanads belonging to different periods and different dynasties may help the research worker to formulate certain rules about judging their genuineness. It is necessary to find out essential features common to all Sanads without which their genuineness may fairly be questioned. The Non-essentials cannot also be ignored. For this purpose the Sanads may be divided into three periods (1) Pre-Maratha period, (2) Maratha period and (3) Modern period, the last roughly dating from the commencement of the 19th century. It is not unlikely that certain features common to all Sanads might be discovered. There may be others also peculiar to certain divisions of time and place only. Peculiarities may also be observed in the case of certain Rulers and States. I think a pretty good Science may be evolved, dividing, defining, labelling them.

7. Every Government acts through agents, and the families of old Ministers of State, Generals and Diplomats in every Country often possess contemporary letters, diaries and account-books which illustrate the careers of their great ancestors and throw valuable light on the history of the State they served and the economic conditions of the times they lived in. Thus, the family archives of the historical noble families of England have made very important contributions to English history and supplied gaps in the State papers possessed by Government.

In Central India, the need of searching such family records for historical materials is still stronger, in view of the recent origin and incomplete condition of our Government record collections. I appeal to the ancient Jagirdar families of the State and to all private persons who may possess historical records, bearing on the past of the land we live in, to report the fact to the Central Record Office at Gwalior and to any historical society that may be founded for Malwa on the lines suggested by me, and to allow us to preserve the originals or at least copies of them, so that research workers may find all their materials at one place. This

is a patriotic task in which every one of us, living even in obscure places, may render some assistance.

8. I would draw your attention to one more point before I conclude. Time has now come when the research worker should widen his outlook and instead of confining himself to the study of Political event alone, should extend his vision so as to include all aspects of man, social, religious, economical, etc., in his study. History, in its proper sense should present the whole civilisation evolved from past events, dealing with social manners and customs, religious problems and dogmas, philosophical speculations and propositions, economical and industrial developments, political aspirations, doubts and fears entertained from time to time by the races comprised in the Nation. It would for instance, not only be interesting but also instructive to trace the present communal tension to its origin in the past and find out if it is a disease ingrained in the body politic itself or is merely a surface growth of modern times super-imposed by interested parties. Such a study of history might not only illuminate the past but would also clear up the path for all sided reform. If the present is the outcome of the accumulated past, the future would grow out of the present. I am conscious of the many influences at work, counteracting the attempts of man and the limitations with which he is circumscribed. And yet, I believe that while on the one hand, man is the creature of his times, he is also their creator on the other. Viewed from this stand-point, history would be a more useful science, if the present angle of vision is changed and its range is broadened. Our research, therefore, should include all the movements now afoot in the Country. The question of the untouchables, communal troubles, social iniquities, in fact, all aspects of life of the Nation deserve our attention and research work should be directed accordingly.

9. To sum up, I have placed the following questions before the commission for their consideration.—

- (1) Search of the Records of the Rulers of Gwalior at different places.
- (2) Institution of Historical Research Societies in North India with their centre at Gwalior.
- (3) Study of Sanads and Farmans.
- (4) Change in the angle of vision and the broadening of the range of research work.

In conclusion, I may be permitted to say that it was the life-work of His Highness the Maharaja Scindia to bring about a harmonious fusion of all the civilisations represented by the different creeds and communities of India. Research work in history, if conducted in a scientific spirit, would be a powerful incentive towards this fusion of the

various discordant elements in the Nation into a homogeneous whole. All our prejudices have to be shaken off before we can approach the pure and ennobling atmosphere with which the study of History is invested. No sex disabilities can darken it; no communal bias can taint it. Man and woman, Hindu and Mohammedan, Christian and Jew, all can join hands in a spirit of true brotherhood. The work, we have set before ourselves, will not only lift the curtain over the past but will also prove a seminary for the training and much needed discipline for true citizenship.

With these remarks, I once more welcome you to Gwalior and hope your stay here will be happy and "we shall this day light such a lamp in the country as shall never be put out."

In the course of his Presidential speech Sir FRANK NOYCE Kt., C.S.I., C.B.E., I.C.S. expressed the thanks of the Commission, and paid a tribute to the late Maharaja of Gwalior for the good work he did for his State and for India. The following are extracts from his speech:—

"I am sure my colleagues on the Commission would like me to take this, the first public opportunity we have had, of congratulating Sir JADUNATH SARKAR on the honour conferred upon him by His Majesty the King-Emperor in the last honours list. Sir Jadunath has shown that India can produce historians worthy to rank with the greatest names of the West. He has shown that it is possible to combine wide and deep scholarship with literary grace.

I share the feeling of my predecessors that there are many members of the Commission here today who could fill the president's chair far more ably than the Secretary of the Government in the Department of Health and Lands can hope to do.

On an occasion such as this, it is customary to say something about the work of the Historical Records Commission. It is, perhaps, specially desirable that I should do so to-day when I have I think the privilege of addressing a much larger audience than did most of my predecessors.

This is the 12th meeting of the commission which was constituted in 1919 in order that it might advise as to the best method of co-ordinating the work done by the Government of India, the Local Governments and by the Indian States in preserving their records and in making them more accessible to the public in general and to research workers in particular.

Of the value of the work the Commission has done in this advisory capacity, the state of our records rooms to-day, as compared with that which existed when the Commission came into being, bears ample testimony. But the advisory work of the Commission, important as it is, has become only part of its activities.

As Sir Jadunath Sarkar aptly said at Nagpur last year, from a small and purely advisory body of experts, it has become a large and elastic hand of explorers and collectors of Government records with the task of preserving which it was originally entrusted.

However, through the stimulus provided by the Commission's discussions, by the papers, communicated to it and, perhaps, more than anything else, by the exhibitions it has organised in conjunction with its meetings, private records have been tempted from their hiding places in increasing numbers and made available to scholars.

Amongst my multifarious activities is that of general supervision of the Imperial Secretary at Library and in pursuance of this task I study publishers' lists with some care. One feature in these lists is very noticeable. It is the way in which the output of really valuable works on Indian history is steadily increasing. That also is due, I am certain, in no small measure to the existence of this Commission, the members of which have set a noble example in that respect.

Even I have made my own very humble contribution in the shape of an essay on the relations of the British Empire in India with Afghanistan with which I won a prize at Cambridge some 30 years ago. I am thinking in all seriousness of suggesting to our Secretary that to the next report of our proceedings should be added a bibliography of the published works of our members.

It is specially fitting that I should say something to-day about the connection of the Commission with the Indian States of which this meeting represents the culmination. The importance of enlisting their interest in the work of the Commission was recognised at the outset and, at its very first meeting, a resolution seeking their co-operation was passed. The States of Baroda, Gwalior and Indore were requested to send representatives to future meetings. Baroda and Indore responded, but Gwalior did not. You will agree that it has since rectified the omission in a most princely way. At the second meeting, the representatives of those States submitted notes which were much appreciated and which showed the work which has been done on their records.

The note from Baroda also showed that the invitation to the Darbar had resulted in the appointment of a committee to do for the State work similar to that done by this Commission for British India.

At the last year's meeting, the question of deputation of the members of the Commission to Indian States was raised, but the Commission decided that it would not move in the matter, but would be prepared to consider the case of any particular State which might desire to have its record rooms inspected by members of the Commission, or to seek the

advice of the Commission on matters relating to the treatment of the official records of the States.

In addition to the representatives from Baroda and Indore, we have had at one or other of our recent meetings representatives from Hyderabad, Kolhapur, Benares and Rampur. That is how matters stand at present.

I should, perhaps, add that at the request of the Jaipur Durbar members of the staff of the repairing section of the Imperial Record Department have been deputed to Jaipur to teach the art of mending old and dilapidated records.

The Nizam's Government has recently asked for the loan of officers, for the same purpose. The Raj Daftardar of Baroda has visited the Imperial Record Department specially to learn this art and his librarian is still under training there.

I think what I have said shows that there is increasing co-operation between the States and British India in furthering the cause of historical research and I have no doubt, whatever, that our meeting here to-day marks the commencement of a new and much more fruitful era in this respect that the meeting is a landmark in our history.

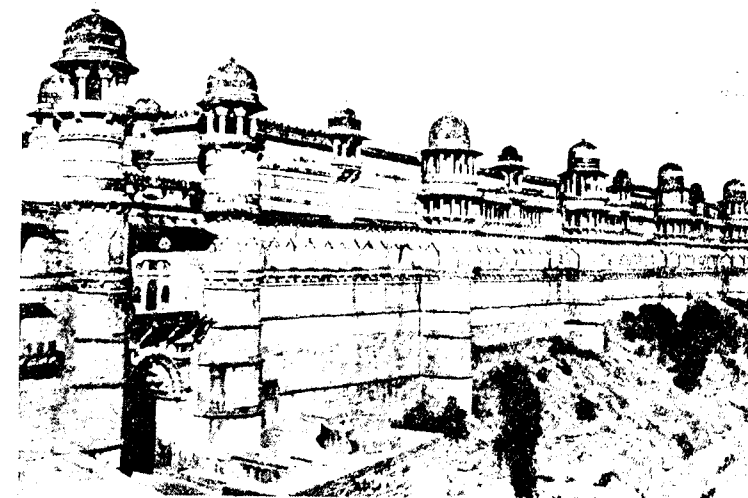
There is another landmark which I should be failing in chivalry if I did not mention. This is the first occasion on which ladies have been co-opted as members of the Commission. I cannot but regard this as a most happy coincidence in view of the deep interest which Her Highness the Senior Maharani has been good enough to evince in our deliberations.

There has been one change in the personnel of the Commission to which I should refer. Mr. Ramsbotham's term of office as a permanent member came to an end during the last year and he has been replaced by Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan from the United Provinces. It was felt that our membership being limited we ought to vary it as occasion offered. Mr. Ramsbotham has done much valuable work and on this occasion I am glad that he is with us to-day in a different capacity.

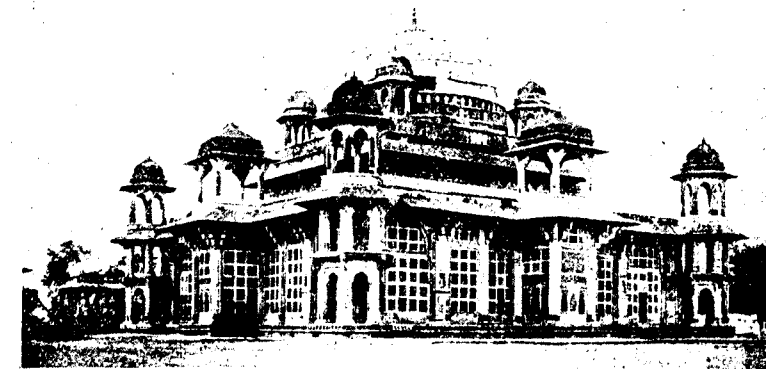
I also have great pleasure in welcoming Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan who will, I am sure, be as great a source of strength to us as was his predecessor. One distinguished scholar has succeeded another.

To my fellow members of the Historical Records Commission I have a message to deliver from Sir Muhammad Habibullah. It is that the Government of India deeply appreciate their unremitting, unostentatious and wholly disinterested labours in the cause of historical research."

Then the Reading of papers commenced. After the reading of seven interesting papers, two of which related to the capture of the fort of Gwalior, the Morning Session was adjourned.



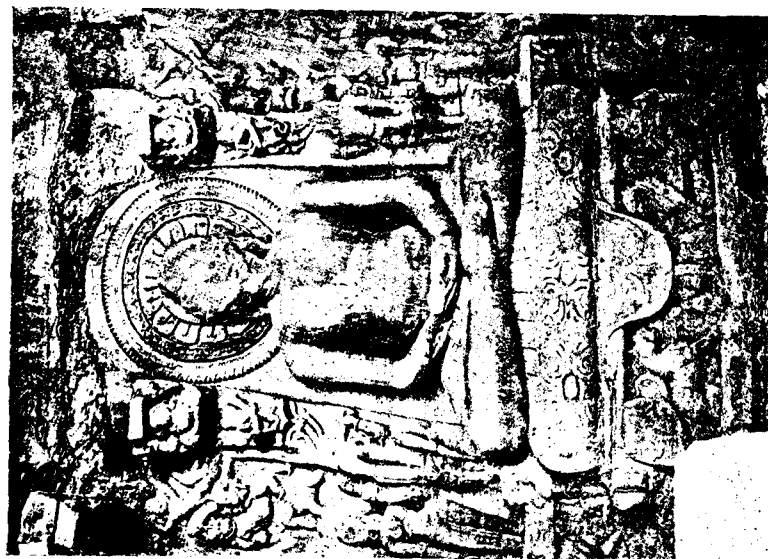
Mana Mandir of Raja Mansingh's Palace.



Tomb of Muhammed Ghaus, a well known contemporary of Babar, Humayun and Akbar.



A Jain Statue, 57 feet high.



A Jain Tirthankara.

After lunch, the reading of the remaining papers was continued till 4 P.M., when the members of the Commission reached the Jhansi Building to receive H. H. the Maharaja Scindia, Alijah Bahadur and to sit for a photo with him and with the members of his Government there. H. H. the Maharaja then formally opened the Historical Exhibition. Exhibits including ancient armory, Coins, Copper plates, Palmyrah leaf Manuscripts, Persian Farmans, Drawings and Paintings, Maps and Records, supplied by Native States, India Government, Research Societies and Individual Scholars were all displayed in the spacious Halls of the Jhansi Building. At 5-15 P.M., an 'At Home' was given by Members of the Elgin Club at the Club premises in honour of the Commission. On Sunday, 22nd December, all the members assembled at the Grand Hotel at 8 A.M. from where they motored to the Tomb of the Mohamadan Saint, Mohammed Ghaus Tausen the 'Orpheus of India', who was a contemporary of Baber, Humayun and Akber. The Gwalior Fort Album gives the following account of it:

"The tomb stands about a quarter of a mile to the east of Gwalior Fort and is an interesting example of Early Mughal Tomb Architecture. On plan, it is a square measuring 100 ft. each way exclusive of the hexagonal towers which are attached to the angles. The chamber of the tomb itself is a hall 43 ft square with the angles cut off by pointed arches so as to form an octagon on which the dome rests. Around this square building is a gallery 20 ft. wide enclosed on two sides by a screen of the most exquisite tracery in pierced stone work with a projecting porch on each face." (*vide* Photo print)

Then the party rode on elephant back into the fort of Raja Man Singh. (*vide* photo print of Man Mandir or Raja Man Singh's Palace, East face). This is one of the greatest and the most famous of the forts of India. Its location, antiquity, military strength and natural grandeur all alike have made it famous. The party entered from the east crossing the first two gates and coming into touch with the Gujar Mahal now an old but still picturesque a palace, first built by Man Singh at the close of 15th century for his queen, a Gujar by caste. "The vast eastern face of the palace which measures 300 ft in length and 80 ft in height is relieved at regular intervals by six round towers of a singularly pleasing design and crowned with domed cupolas." The fort itself has varied but interesting story to tell. A legend states that Suraj Sen, a Kachhwaha Rajput founded it at the bidding of a hermit named Gwalipa who cured the prince of leprosy. An inscription in the Sun temple on Gwalior hill states that Matricheta built it in the 15th regnal year of Mihiragula, the Hun Emperor (525 A.D.). Two inscriptions dated 875 and 876 A.D., found in Chaturbhaja temple, state that Gwalior was included in the kingdom of

Kanauj, then under the Pratihara king Mihira Bhoja. Then the Kachhawahas, Pratiharas, and Mohamadans ruled over it until in 1400, the Tomara Rajputs got control over it. It was during their regime that the Rock-cut Jaina Sculptures were made. (*Vide* the photo print of Jain Tirthankara and Jain Statue).

In the Gwalior fort are found the Sas-Bahu (Mother-in-law and Daughter-in-law temples (*vide* photo print) which were built in the 11th century by Mahipala of Gwalior, and dedicated to Vishnu. The Telika Mandir (Telingana Mandir or Telugu temple) is the loftiest of all temples in the fort. It is also dedicated to Vishnu. Its *Sikhara* is Dravidian in style though the ornate design is Indo-Aryan. It is over 100 ft. in height.

At Noon, the party visited the Record Office of the Gwalior Durbar and met for the Business meeting in the Council Chamber in the Moti Mahal. Among other things the Agenda consisted of:

(1) Review of the action taken on the Resolutions of the Commission passed at the 11th Session at Nagpur.

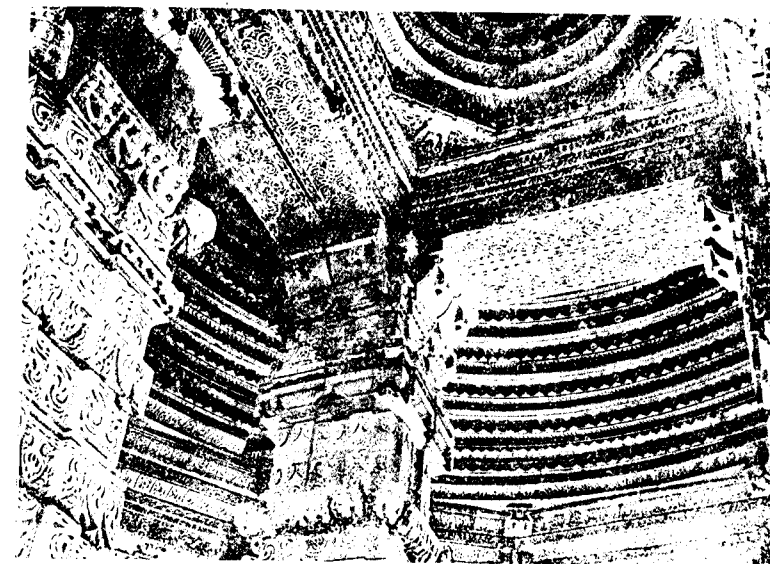
(2) Establishment of a Central Society in Malava and Rajputana for collecting historical records in the possession of Indian States or private individuals.

(3) Preservation of the Mackenzie Collection of Manuscripts.

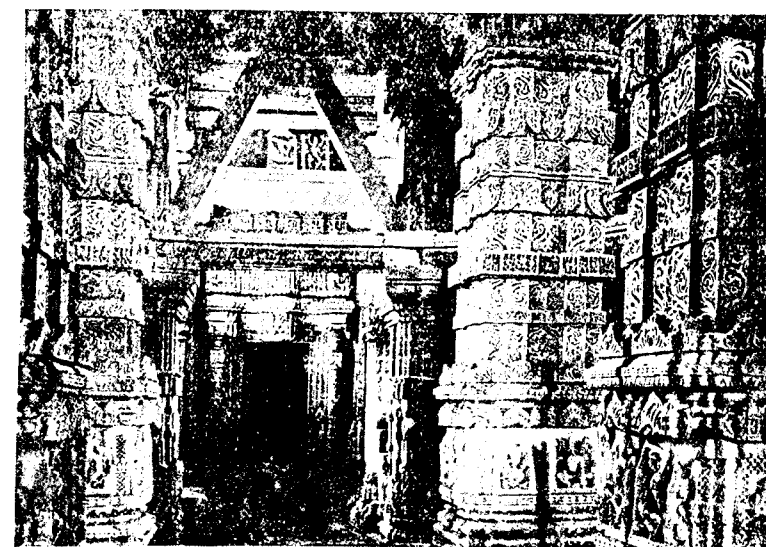
Reports of research work done by (1) The Rev. Father H. Herras S.J., M.A. of Bombay and (2) Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T. of Rajahmundry. Corresponding Members of the Commission, along with Reports of Records Offices in India and other reports and publications were laid on the table for perusal of members. In the evening, the party visited Jai Vilas Palace and the Archaeological Museum where H. H. Maharaja Scindia was 'At Home' in honour of the Commission. At 8-15 P.M., a grand dinner in honour of the Commission was arranged at the Grand Hotel by the Association of Sardars and Jagirdars of Gwalior.

At 8 A.M. on Monday, the 23rd December, at the invitation of the Army Member of the Gwalior Government, all the members of the Commission attended the Review of the Gwalior Forces on the Parade Ground, in the presence of His Excellency the Commander-in-chief in India. The Review of the Gwalior Forces which number in all about 10,000 was very pleasant and exciting. At 10 A.M. the members sat for a photo with H.H. the Maharaja in the grounds of the Jai Vilas Palace. In the evening, the Army Officers invited the members for Tea when military games and sports were displayed.

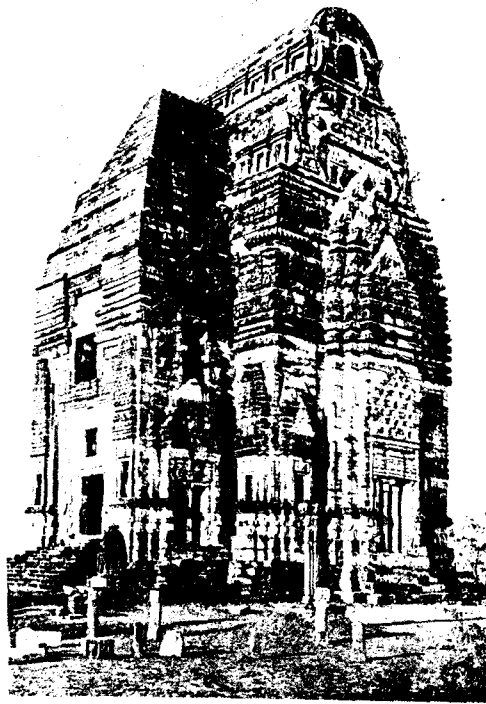
In conclusion, it must be gratefully acknowledged that the Gwalior Darbar spared no pains to make the Commission's stay at Gwalior as pleasant and instructive as possible.



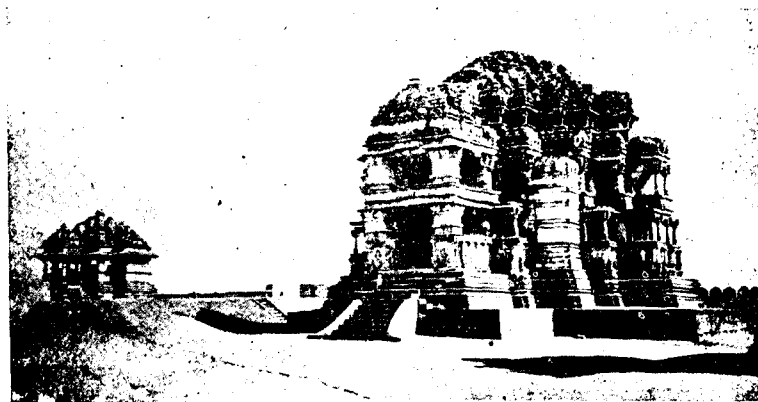
Larger Sas Bahu Temple: Dome and Ceiling



Larger Sas Bahu Temple: Interior: Pillars.



Telika Mandir: 100 ft. high, a 10th century Vishnu Temple with the Dravidian type of Sikhara.



Sas Bahu Temples, Gwalior Fort

EDUCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA.

K. VENKATAPPAYYA, B.A., B.L., B.Ed.

INTRODUCTION.

The ancient period of Indian History may well be divided into two definite epochs for our present purpose. The first epoch embraced the period between *Circa* 3000 B.C. and 300 B.C. and the second period between 300 B.C. and 800 A.D. The first epoch saw the composition of the Vedic *Samhitas*, the *Brāhmanas*, the *Āranyakas*, the *Upanishads*, the *Sūtras*, and the Epics; during this period Law and Philosophy were developed. The celebrated Grammarian Pāṇini who lived about the seventh century B.C. and composed his immortal Grammar. The second period was productive of greater intellectual activity than the first. Classical Sanskrit developed in this period and the best works in Sanskrit literature and Science were produced. Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, poets and dramatists of the first order, Amarasiṃha the lexicographer, Bhartṛhari the moralist-poet and king, and the renowned astronomers Āryabhaṭṭa Varāhamihira and Brahmagupta flourished in this period. The *Augustan age* of the Tamil literature, during which the famous Tamil classics like *Maṇi Mēkhalai*, and the *Kuṛaḷ* were composed, falls within this epoch, Nammālvār, who lived about 6th or 7th century A.D., rendered into Tamil the Vedas from Sanskrit, and the first Tamil grammar *Tolkāppiyam* was composed about the 8th century. Medicine was much advanced, and architecture, sculpture, painting and music were also fostered. What Capt. Cunningham says in the following lines may well be supposed to be applicable to this epoch. "The philosophy of the learned few was perhaps for the first time firmly allied with the theology of the believing many, and Brahmanism laid down as articles of faith the unity of God, the creation of the world, the immortality of the soul, and the responsibility of man. The remote dwellers upon the Ganges distinctly made known that future life about which Moses is silent or obscure, and that unity and omnipotence of the creator which were unknown to the Polytheism of the Greek and the Roman multitude and to the dualism of Mithric legislators; while Vyāsa perhaps surpassed Plato in keeping the people tremblingly alive to the punishment which awaited evil doers." (*History of the Sikhs* pp. 25—29). Weber writes thus of the antiquity of the Indian literature: "The literature of India passes generally for the most ancient literature of which we possess written records and justly so." (*History of*

Indian Literature, p. 2). Writing about the achievements of the Hindus, C. F. Tavernier says, in his "Education of the People of India thus: "The best of what they can do is what they have done. Their ponderous and elaborate grammatical system, their wonderfully subtle metaphysical distinction show them to have a German perseverance and a great activeness; and they have not been failing in poetry. What may we not expect from their power of mind invigorated by cultivation of true science and directed towards worthy objects, (page 111). Schopenhauer writes thus of the *Upanishads*: "In the whole world, there is no study so beneficial and so elevating as that of the *Upanishads*. It has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death." The eulogism of Goethe on *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam* is so well-known to be repeated here,

Education in ancient India may be considered under the following heads: (1) Education in the first epoch or education in the Vedic period. (2) Education in the second epoch or the Buddhist Education. (3) The Education of women (4) Popular Elementary Education, and (5) Centres of learning in the ancient period.

I

Education in the first epoch or Education in the Vedic period: *Circa* 3000 B.C. to *Circa* 300 B.C. Some knowledge of the kind of Education given in this epoch may be gleaned from the *Samhitas* of the Vedas, the *Brāhmaṇas*, and the *Upanishads*. But it is the *Sūtras* that furnish a complete account of the system of the Education in this epoch. The *Grihya Sūtras* deal with the life of a Hindu, (strictly speaking of the follower of the Brahmanical religion,) and prescribe the duties and regulations that should be kept in his view in his conduct of life. The Education of a boy was one of the duties imposed upon a member of the twice-born classes (*dvijāh*) and it was attended with many formalities and rituals.

As is well-known, the life of a Hindu centres round Religion. Every activity of the Hindu, social or otherwise has some bearing on Religion, and Education forms no exception. The *Brāhmaṇas*, *Kṣatriyas* and the *Vysyas* formed the three important communities in the ancient Hindu society, and it was the members of these communities alone that were entitled to the study of the *Vēda* which in its later development, included secular learning as well. The kind of instruction imparted was in the main, the same except for certain minor distinctions which were, however, ignored on emergent occasions. Thus the *Brāhmaṇa* was to be initiated in eighth year, the *Rājanya* (*Kṣatriya*) in the eleventh year, and the *Vysya* twelfth year after conception. The seasons appropriate for the performance of the initiation (*Upanayana*) ceremony varied, as also the kind of staff, girdle, and the garment with which the boy was invested

on the occasion of his initiation. The life of a student in ancient India may be divided into four stages, namely (1) the ceremony of initiation (*Upanayana*) which made the pupil entitled to study the *Vēda*, (2) The study of the *Vēda*, which the pupil made while residing in the house of his "*guru*" or spiritual preceptor. (3) The *Samāvartana*, the ceremony of taking the bath which terminated the study, and (4) *Snāṭaka*, during which stage, the young man had to lead a perfectly restrained moral and religious life as a preparation for his entry into the *Āśrama* of a *Grihasta*.

And first as regards "*Upanayana*", this forms the most important of the ceremonies which a student had to go through. This ceremony was binding upon all the members of the twice born (*dvijāh*) community. A *rāhmaṇa* could not be initiated after his sixteenth year a *Kṣatriya* after his twenty-second year and a *Vysya* after his twenty-fourth year. A person whose *Upanayana* was not performed till after the expiry of the prescribed age-limit became a *Patita Sāvithrika* that is, one who lost the right of learning the *Sāvithri* verse. This verse was regarded by the ancient *āryas* as the most potent of all the forces in the world. The loss of such a right involved many disabilities, "No one," it is laid down, "should initiate such a man, nor teach them, nor perform sacrifice for them, nor have intercourse with them". (*San. Gr.* II. I. 10-12). And a person whose ancestors through three generations had been *Patita Sāvithrikas* were denied the *Upanayana* ceremony and with it the right to study the *Vēda* (*Parāśara* V. 40. et. seq). To these, *Gobhila Grihyasūtra* adds the disability of entering into matrimonial relation with other members of the community (*Gobhila Grihyasūtra* II. 10-6). Some provision is, however, made for the initiation of such a person after certain expiatory ceremonies.

The ceremony of *Upanayanam* has been elaborately described in some of the *Sūtras*. The following appear to be the important features of this ceremony: The investment of the sacrificial cord, and of the girdle of the staff, and the garment, invocation to *Agni* and other deities by the pupil, the reciting of the *Sāvithri* verse by the *guru* to his pupil, the handing over of the custody of the pupil by his parent to his teacher, the begging for alms by the pupil of his mother and other women of neighbourhood who will not refuse alms, and the treading on the stone by the pupil during the ceremony. The *Sāvithri* verse was recited to the pupil first, *pāda* by *pāda*, then, hemistich by hemistich, and, lastly, the whole verse with "*Om*" preceding the recitation:

Brah! *Tat Savithrur Varenyam*, - Thou Adorable Splendour!
Bhuvah! *Bhargodevasya-dhīmahi* - Of the divine Sāvitrī may we obtain.
Suvah! *Dhīyo Yo nah Prachodayāt* - "Who should rouse our prayer,

Then, *Bhūr-Bhuvas ! Tat Savitri Varēnyam Bhargō-dēvasya-dhīmahi. Suvah Dhiyō yō nah Prachodayāt*

and lastly *Bhūr-bhuvas-suvah ! Tat Savitru-varēnyam Bhargō-dēvasya dhīmahi; dhiyō yō nah prachodayāt* (*Hiranya Kēi-Grihyasūtra* 1-2-6 verse 11.)

I shall quote only a few of the hymns significant of the nature of the ceremony and its importance. The student says "I came hither to be a student, Initiate me! I will be a student, impelled by the God *Sāvitri*" (*Hiranya* I—2-5-2) and the *Guru* accepts him saying "By the impulse of the God *Sāvitri*, with the arms of the two *Aśvins*, with *Pushans* hands, I initiate thee!" (*Hiranya* I—2-5-8.) The *Guru* says to his pupil, "Thy heart shall dwell in my heart: my mind thou shalt follow with thy mind; in my word thou shalt rejoice with all thy heart; may *Bṛhaspati* join thee to me!" (*Hiranya* I 2-5-11) touching the place of the heart of the student. Again the teacher says to the pupil, "Tread on this stone; like a stone be firm. Destroy those who seek to do thee harm: overcome thy enemies," and, "thou hast put on the garment for the sake of welfare; thou hast become a protector of thy friends against imprication. Live a hundred long years: a noble man, blessed with life, mayst thou distribute wealth" (*Hiranya* I-I-4 verses 1 & 3.)

The ceremony over, the pupil keeps fast for three days during which period he does not eat saline or pungent food. But after the expiry of this period, he is released from the vow and the restriction as to food is removed in the course of his residence with the teacher. But the dress of the student during the whole period of his student-ship remained the same that is, the kind of garment, the staff, and the girdle with which he was invested at the *Upanayana*. He should have no intercourse with women. He should beg for his food daily of persons who will not refuse and announce his food to his teacher on his return from begging.

THE VRATAS. The student has to observe certain 'Vratas' (rituals) during his studentship. They were the following: The *Sāvitri vrata*, which was a preparation for learning the *Sāvitri*, lasting for a year or three days. The *Brāhmaṇa* was sometimes taught the *Sāvitri* almost immediately without any lapse of time. *Sukriya vrata* was another. These were intended to enable the student to study the main portion of the *Veda*. *Sākvara Vratika Aupāṇishada* and were still other kinds of *vratas*, each of which lasted one year and was observed in the different periods of the study of the *Āraṇyakas*. Gōbbhila mentions *Jyeshtha Samika vrata* as a preparation for the study of *Ajyadōhas*.

THE STUDY OF THE VEDA. Education in the early stages of the first epoch meant the study of the *Veda*. But that was enlarged in later years so as to include the study of many other subjects based upon the Vedas, as for instance, the *Brāhmaṇās*, with the *Āraṇyakās*, the *Upanishads*, and the *Sūtras*. Still later, the Epics comprising *Itihāsa Purāṇa* and *kāvya*, dramatic poetry, Lyrical poetry, and ethico-Dramatic poetry, History and Geography, science and Art which included the Science of language, Grammar, Lexicography, Metric, Poetics and Rhetoric, Philosophy which included Logic, also Astronomy, Geometry, Arithmetic, Algebra, and Trigonometry, Medical science, the art of War, Music, Formative and Technical Arts and works on Law, Custom, and religious worship. (*History of Education in Ancient India* by Mazumdar, pp. 101-2). It is therefore clear that the Education of the Hindus in the ancient period was progressive. It is interesting to find that the Curriculum mentioned above is found totally more or less with what is found in *Chāṇḍogya Upanishad*. Nārada approached Sanātkuṃjara and asked him to teach him; whereupon the latter asked him to state what he knew already, to which Nārada replied as follows. "I know the *Rigveda*, Sir, the *Yajurveda*, the *Sāmaveda*, and the *Atharvaveda*, as the fifth *Itihāsa*, *Purāṇa* (*Bhārata*) the *veda* of Vedas, grammar, the *Pitriya* (rules for the sacrifices for the ancestors), *Rāsi* (Science of Numbers), the *Daiva* (science of portents) the *Nidhi* (science of time), the *Vākavākya* (logic), the *Ekāyana* (Ethics), the *Devavidya* (Etymology), the *Brahmavidya* (pronunciation (?)) *Sikshā* ceremonial, *Kalpā*, Prosody (*Chandas*), the *Bhūtaavidya* (science of demons) *Nakṣatravidya* (Astronomy), *Sarpa* and *Devajñānavidya* (science of serpents, poisons, and of genii) such as the making of perfumes, dancing, singing, playing and other fine arts). All this I know Sir!" (quoted in Keay's *Ancient Indian Education* 1 pp. 23-4).

PERIOD OF STUDY: The period of study prescribed for the study of each *veda* was twelve years so that it took forty-eight years for a complete study of all the Vedas. But this was not an invariable practice. Many of the students were content with the study of one *veda*. Instances of students who devoted all the forty-eight years were rare and they happened mostly to be those who passed on to the *Sanyāsa Āsrama* direct from the *Āsrama* of *Brahmacharya* to spend their life in teaching, meditation and prayer. The *Kshatriyas* and *Vysyas* had their special education fixed for them, as for instance, archery, military science, and the art of government for the *Kshatriyas* and commercial education, for the *Vysyas*, which enabled them to carry on their calling successfully. Thus it came about that the *Brāhmaṇas* alone who had no such special calling, were made to devote their student-hood for the learning of the

Vedas and connected subjects. It should not be inferred however that the other two castes did not altogether avail themselves of the opportunity of studying the *Vedas*. Only the number of *Kshatriya* and *Vysya* students in the Vedic Schools was comparatively less than that of the *Brāhmanas*. Even as regards the *Brāhmanas*, the period of 48 years did not long remain unreduced. In modern times the Vedic study has been reduced to a period of 8 years, and it is probable that this custom has been in existence for a very long time. Prof. Max Muller states in his (*India, What can it teach us?* pp. 209—10), thus, on the subject on the basis of information supplied to him (*Vedic scholar in India*.) "The student had to learn 10 books— First the hymns of the *Rigveda*, then a prose treatise on sacrifices called the *Brāhmanas* then the so-called *Āraṇyakas*. Lastly, six treatises on *Pronunciation*, grammar, etymology, metre, astronomy, and ceremonial, each line reckoned as 32 syllables. A pupil studied every day during the 8 years of his theological apprenticeship except on holidays which are called (*anādhyayana*) non-reading days. There being 360 days in a lunar year, the 8 years would give him 2880 days. Deducting from them 384 days, we get 2496 working days during the whole period. Dividing the number of lines, that is, 30,000 by the number of working days, we get about 12 lines to be learnt each day, though much time is taken up in addition, for practising and rehearsing what has been learnt before".

METHOD OF INSTRUCTION. The method of instruction in Ancient India was entirely oral. Even after writing came into use in India, about 800 B.C., it was taken advantage of by the trading and agricultural classes only. It took centuries before *Vedas* came to be reduced to manuscript, which is believed to be not earlier than 1500 A.D. But all the while, the study of the *Vedas* was conducted orally. The *Prātisākhya*s composed about 500 B.C., attached to each Veda fresh rules for the study of the *Vedas*. According to the *Prātisākhya* of the *Rigveda*, the pupil had to embrace the feet of the teacher both at the beginning and end of the study for the day. The teacher pronounced the different parts of the question with the pupil repeated but which were explained wherever necessary. After the explanation the pupil once again repeated the question which he knew learning it by heart, having pronounced every syllable with high accent. Further, Vāchaspati Misra's methods of *adhyayana* (hearing of words) *Śabda*, apprehension of meaning. *Uha* reasoning, leading to generalisation.

THE ANNUAL COURSE OF STUDY: The study was commenced at a particular season of the year and continued only for a specified period. The annual course of study was called *Adhyapakarāṇa*; for this *Āśvalāyana* prescribes six months, while other *sātra* writers prescribe periods of either

5½ or 6½ months. The study began in the month of *Śrāvaṇa* on any day in the bright fortnight, or on the day of the full-moon. During this period of study, the student satiated the *Āchāryas*, the *Rishis*, and the ancestors. The annual course of study was commenced with a ceremony called *Upākarma* and terminated with *Utsarga*. Parāśara (III-16-1) mentions the prayer offered by the student to prevent his forgetting the lesson of the *Veda* when once it has been acquired, in the following terms. "May my mouth be skilful. My tongue be honey-sweet speech. With my ears I have heard much. Do not take away that which I have heard which dwells in me". Again, "May my limbs grow strong; my voice, breath, eye, ear, honour, and power. What I have heard and studied, may that be fixed in my mind etc."

This period of study ranging from 5½ to 6½ months for the year was not however one continuous period of study. *Veda* was not studied on the full-moon, or new-moon days, as also no other days considered as holidays. There were also various restrictions in regard to the study, for instance, when earthquakes or other phenomena occurred or when dogs barked.

THE MODE OF LEARNING BY HEART. Much has been written about the system of oral transmission of Vedic lore by the *guru* to his pupil. This peculiarity of the Hindu mode of learning has elicited the admiration of many foreigners who visited India from earliest times. Itsing who stayed in India from 673 to 693 A.D. had many opportunities of observing at close quarters this method of learning while he studied in the famous University of Nālanda. He instances the case of some *Brāhmanas* who could recite all the *Vedas* containing as many as 1000,000 verses with absolute correctness. (see Max Muller, *India, What can it teach us?* Page 213). Such marvellous feats of memory were responsible for the exactness in pronunciation, meaning, etc. of the *Vedas* which were only reduced to writing nearly 3,000 years after the date of their original composition. Alberūni, who wrote his '*Indika*' in 1030 A.D. writes thus of how the *Veda* was recited in his day. The *veda* is recited in three different ways *Krama*, *Ghana* and *Jata*. First is a uniform manner of reading just as every other book is read. Second is such a way that a pause is made after every single word. Third is a method which is the most meritorious and for which plenty of reward in Heaven is promised. First the passage is read, each word of which is distinctly pronounced. Then it is repeated together with a part of that which has not been yet recited. Next the added portion alone is recited; then it is repeated together with a part of that which has not yet been recited. If this method is continued, the whole text is recited twice." (Alberūni

Vol. I. Translation by Dr. E. C. Sachan Ed. 1888 p. 128). Alberūni had probably in his mind the four methods adopted for the preservation of the sacred texts, namely, the *pāda* arrangement, the *Jata* arrangement, the *Krāma* arrangement, and the *Ghana* arrangement.

Now there remains only the last two stages of a student's career in times of old, the *Sāmāvartana* and this *Snātaka*. These need not occupy us long and can be dismissed with a brief notice. *Sāmāvartana* was the name given to the ceremony which a student had to perform to mark the close of his student-ship. The taking of a bath was the most significant part of the ceremony. The *Sūtra* prescribe the rituals that had to be observed for this performance after which he abandoned his girdle, staff, and garment. The payment of a fee to the *Guru* usually that of a cow is prescribed. The *Guru* was also entitled to all that belonged to the student during his residence at his house. The *Sumā-vartana* ceremony over, the young man became a *Snātaka* and returned home. The mode of his arrival at home and of his reception there, is also described in the *Sūtras* which however need not detain us. During the period that he remained a '*Snātaka*' he had to lead a perfectly moral life and many are the restrictions imposed upon him. Inter course with, or dalliance with women was prohibited, Daily salutation to this teacher, *Gurus*, *Śrōtriyas*, Abstention from slanderous talk, are among some of the injunctions imposed upon him by *Sāṃkhyāna*. (*Sāṃkhyāna*: IV. 11-12.)

Āśvalāyana mentions that a student might get himself released from his teacher if he pronounced the name of his teacher and said "Here will we dwell, Sir!"

It is interesting to note here that though in modern times the *Brahmacharya* rules are not followed in the way mentioned in the sacred texts, young man of the twice born castes is made to go through the various stages of his studentship in the course of the ceremonies of *Upanayana* and marriage.

(To be Continued.)

RAYAVACHAKAMU AND OTHER TELUGU SOURCES FOR KRISHNARAYA'S REIGN.

K. RAGHAVACHARYULU, M. A., B. L.

The ascendancy of the kingdom of Vijayanagar stands pre-eminent in Medieval South Indian History, and the reign of Krishnarāya (A. D. 1509—1530 Circa) was unique in the attainment of political supremacy as well as social well-being. The Portuguese Chroniclers, Nuniz and Paes, have recorded the contemporary events of his reign, and the inscriptions throughout Southern India speak of his victories and other achievements. The vernacular sources for the history of his reign are not wanting, and Krishnaswami Aiyengar's refers to the Tamil book, *Kongudesa-Rājakkal*, in his brief survey of Krishnarāya's reign. The age of Krishnarāya was the Augustan period of Telugu Literature and poets like Peddana and Timmana dedicated their works to him. The dedicatory verses at the beginning and end of the Telugu *prabandhas* like *Manucharitra* and *Pārijāpāharaṇamu* supply us with information as regards the stray incidents of his time. Krishnarāya's own book *Amuktamālyada* would help us to some extent in our search. A book called *Krishnarāyavijayamu* of the younger Dhūrjati describes the events of his reign to the end of the war with the Gajapati, and it was written shortly after the reign of Krishnarāya.

A Chronicle of the events of the reign of Krishnarāya written by a contemporary writer has been brought to light by the Telugu Academy (*Āndhra (Sāhitya parishat)*) and published in Volume (?) of its Journal. The book is known as *Rāyavāchakamu* and its Mss. were acquired in Pudukōṭa, in Tanjore District. The book claims to have been written by the *Sthānādhipati* (Ambassador or Agent) of Viśvanātha Nāik, king of Madura and describes the events of Krishnarāya's reign to the end of the war with the Gajapati and his victory over the Gajapati of Orissa. It is now proposed to deal with the material placed before us in this Chronicle and point out the deviations from the Chronicles of Paes and Nuniz, and other outstanding features which require reconsideration in the light of that material.

1. The Book opens with the last years of Vīra Narasimharāya's reign and describes the daily routine of the Vijayanagar kings. Incidentally the origin of the city of Vijayanagar is narrated in detail. It is described how the sage Vidyāranya was directed by his Guru Jñānēndra Sarasvati to go on a pilgrimage to Benares, how he met Śrīgiri Bhaṭṭa,

a learned and pious brahmin on the banks of the Varāha river, how the latter directed Vidyāranya to meet Vēda Vyāsa in Benares and how Vēda Vyāsa directed Vidyāranya to construct a capital city in the Karṇāṭa country. The book gives us further a detailed account of the selection of the site for the city of Vijayanagar at a spot where the sage observed a hare giving chase to the hounds on the bank of the river Paṁpā, (now called Tungabhadra). We are not concerned with the traditional account of the origin of the city but one important fact has been brought to light in this connection. The foundation for the city seems to have been laid on Thursday, 15th (*Paurṇamāsi*) day of Chaitra in the year Prabhava, corresponding to the *Śaka Samvat* 1125, (A.D. 1230). Vēda Vyāsa is said to have prophesied to Vidyāranya that the city would enjoy unrivalled splendour for 360 years only. This would bring us to A.D. 1563, two years before the famous Battle of Tallikōṭa (1565 A.D.) which dealt the final blow to the City of Vijayanagara. Historians describe how after the battle of Tallikōṭa, the city was deserted by its inhabitants and looted by the Mohammedan invaders. The prophecy as to the origin and continuance of the supremacy of Vijayanagar has turned out to be fatally true, and the Ruins of Hampi bear the traces of the Mohammedan onslaught after the battle of Tallikōṭa. Sewell's Genealogy of the Vijayanagar kings begins with the brothers Harihara and Bukka, about A. D. 1334. The period of 130 years prior to A.D. 1334 is shrouded in darkness and awaits the research of the modern scholars. *Rāyavāchakamu* further tells us that 300 years had elapsed by the time of Vīra Narasiṁharāya's reign, which is also substantially correct, and points out that he was the 29th king in succession. The genealogy from Harihara and Bukka gives us only a list of 16 or 18 kings and the family of 10 or 12 kings if any prior to Harihara I. should be brought to light.

2. A major portion of the book is then devoted to the description of the preparation of Krishṇarāya, prior to his campaign into the land of the Gajapatis. The political and moral rules of conduct were taught to him by his ministers and the king looked into the financial and military resources of the State. An elaborate organisation of espionage seems to have been brought him the information about the adjacent rulers, the Mohammedan powers of Gōlkoṇḍa Bijāpur, and Ahmednagar and the Gajapati Kings of Orissa. The Gajapati dominions extended southwards even beyond the Krishṇa river and the fortresses of Udayagiri, Koṇḍaviḍu, Bellamkoṇḍa, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Kandūr belonged to them. In a later portion of the book it is said that the kingdom of the Gajapati extended from Purī or Jagannāth on the north to Kālahasti on the south. The Mohammedan power to the north of the Krishṇa and the Gajapati dominions to the east were a menace to the Vijayanagara supremacy and it was the ambition of Krishṇarāya to bring them under subjection.

Nuniz also describes that Krishṇarāya was busy with his internal administration for a period of two years before he started on his victorious campaign against Gajapati.

3. The last quarter of the Chronicle describes the military campaigns of Krishṇarāya. Sālūva Timmarasu was left in Vijayanagar while Krishṇarāya marched against the fortresses of Ummattūr and Śivasamudraṁ and defeated the Gāngarāja, of the Mysore country. Narasārāja, father of Krishṇarāya made Gāngarāja the chieftain of the principality of Penugonḍa (*Penugonḍa chekreśvara*) and Fra Luiz refers to a rebellion in Penugonḍa. The Amarāvati Inscription of Krishṇarāya (*Ep. Ind.* vol. VII p. 18) refers to the capture of Śivasamudraṁ. *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* of Timmakavi refers to the capture of Śivasamudraṁ thus:

Ummattūri Śivamsamudra-pura-vara prō = nmulanā = dambarā!

The Chronicler Nuniz makes no mention of Krishṇarāya's campaign against Gāngarāja. The *Kōṅgudeśa-Rājakaḥ* goes further than the Telugu Source quoted above and states that Krishṇarāya settled the country about Kāñchīpura (Conjeevaram) before he proceeded against Gāngarāja of Ummattūr.

4. Krishṇarāya then proceeded towards the frontiers of Bijāpur and captured the fortresses of Raichur, Mudgal, Ādavani and Addanki and reached the frontiers of Gōlkoṇḍa. A battle was then fought with the three Mohammedan powers on the southern side of the river Krishṇa and the Mohammedans were totally defeated. Nuniz mentions only one siege i.e., of Raichur in 1520 A.D., and the earlier campaign against the same fortress was not noticed by him. Sewell accepts the statement of Nuniz as correct. *Krishṇarāyaviḷayamu* of Dhūrjati also mentions the earlier campaign against Raichur, Mudgal and Ādōni. This took place in A.D. 1512. It may not be out of place to mention here that the last mentioned book follows closely the *Rāyavāchakamu* in all its details.

5. Passing by the way of Gutti and Kaṇḍikōṭa (Gaṇḍikōṭa), Krishṇarāya proceeded then against Udaigiri, Kandūru, Koṇḍaviḍu, Vinukoṇḍa, Bellamkoṇḍa and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and lastly Ahmednagar. At that time the fortress belonged to Pratāpa Rudra Gajapati of Orissa. Virabhadra, the son of Pratāpa Rudra was in Koṇḍaviḍu, at the time of Krishṇarāya's campaign and was captured alive. *Amuktamālyada*, *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu*, and *Manucharitra* allude to the capture of Virabhadra. Nuniz would have it that Krishṇarāya on his return to Vijayanagar forced him to fight with a commoner, and that the latter took it as an insult and stabbed himself. This incident does not appear to be true; Krishṇarāya seems to have treated him with courtesy. (*Pārijāta*: I-21) *Rāyavāchakamu* tells us that Krishṇarāya kept his chieftains, Koṇḍayya at Koṇḍaviḍu, Bhāskarayya in Vinukoṇḍa, Virabhadrayya at Bellamkoṇḍa, and Ayyalayya in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The campaign against Ahmednagar does

not find place in any book except *Rāyavāchakamu* and *Krishnarāya-vijayamu*, and we are not in a position now to assert that it really took place at this juncture. Again the Gajapati king, contemporaneous with Krishnarāya is said to be Mukunda Gajapati, while the inscriptions and other authorities refer to Pratāparudra. A predecessor of Pratāparudra was Mukunda Gajapati and this might have led to the error committed by the authors of the *Rāyavāchakamu* and the *Krishnarāyavijayamu*.

Krishnarāya then defeated Chitaph Khan (Sitaph Khan) in the Ghats and proceeded to Potnūru and of Simhāchalarū. The erection of a Pillar of Victory in Potnūru and the inscriptions of Simhāchalarū, place these facts beyond doubt. The Book then goes on to describe how the sixteen *Pātrudus* (Chieftains) were separated from Gajapati by a clever strategem of Appāji (Sāluva Timmarusu) and how the Gajapati fled into the interior of his country. *Manucharitra* describes that Krishnarāya subjugated Mādugula and Vaḍḍādi and marched on Cuttuck (Kaṭaka.) *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* refers to the victory of Krishnarāya over the king of Orissa (Utkal) but says that the Gajapati entertained a fear that Krishnarāya would capture Cuttack. (*Pārijāta*: I-23) Krishnaswami Aiyengar calls it a poetic flight of Timmana and asserts that Krishnarāya never proceeded beyond Simhāchalarū. K. V. Lakshmana Rao thinks that he might have gone to Potnūru from Mādugula and Vaḍḍādi and returned to Simhāchalarū. But it is true that a treaty was entered into with Krishnarāya by Pratāparudra Gajapati, by which the latter gave his daughter Jaganmōhini in marriage to Krishnarāya, while the Emperor of Vijayanagar agreed to fix the river Krishna as the northern boundary of his dominions.

Krishnarāya then returned to Tirupati, and on his way subjugated the fortress of Kalyāṇa-Kalubarige. He endowed his tutelary God Śrī Vēṇkaṭeśvara on the Tirupati Hill, with a large sum of money and jewels and erected copper images of himself and his two queens Tirumala Dēvi and Chinnādēvi. From Tirupati he continued his march to Kālahasti on pilgrimage, and thence to the several places of pilgrimage in the farther south. The visit to Kālahasti is said to have taken place in the year *Śrīmukha*. This date is obviously incorrect. On his return to Vijayanagar he directed his court-poets Timmana and Peddana to compose their beautiful *prabandhas*, *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* and *Manucharitramu*. The southern tour on pilgrimage was not noticed by either Paes or Nuniz.

In connection with his campaign against Gāgarāja of Ummattūr *Rāyavāchakamu* further informs us that Krishnarāya went to Śrīrāṅga-pattṇam and inspected the troops there. He then reached Ikkēri Aranyam (?) of Sukkula Nāyaka and having inspected the fortress and the troops, he proceeded to the frontiers of Bijāpūr as above mentioned. It is not clear as to what town was meant by Ikkēri.

Again while describing the seige of Udaigiri, the Book states thus: “నుత్తి కంఠికోటమగ్గముగా శివయారికి వచ్చిన హుర్మత్తు అనే దుర్గముపై లగ్నయెక్కగా, దుర్గమునివారు”. *Krishnarāyavijayamu* of Dhūrjati does not refer to the above fact, but while describing the seige of Ummattūr, the following words were used: అనంతరం బోడిగ హురుమత్తున నుమ్మత్తున శివయారి స్థలంబుల, “నంకం” etc. This reading shown above in *Rāyavāchakamu* is evidently wrong. It ought to be శివయారివచ్చి హుర్మత్తున దుర్గములపై లగ్న యెక్కగా” *Hurmattu* is a Telugu word meaning ‘greatness’ or ‘grandeur.’ The scribe of the Tamil Country who was ignorant of Telugu language or that particular word might have taken *Hurmattu* to refer to a fortress and written has “హుర్మత్తు అనే దుర్గము” ‘a fort called Hurmattu.’ The word does not refer to a fortrees as has been supposed by Dr. Krishnaswamy Aiyengar, who also falls into the same error, like the scribe of the Tamil country.

As regards the queens of Krishnarāya, both the *Manucharitram* and the *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* mention only two of them Tirumaladēvi and Chinnādēvi. *Rāyavāchakamu* refers to the copper images of these queens in Tirupati and also mentions Krishnarāya's marriage with Jaganmōhini, the daughter of Mukunda Gajapati. *Krishnarāyavijayamu* calls her Tukka, and *Amuktamālyada* mentions three queens Tirumaladēvi, Annapūrnādēvi and Kamalādēvi. Annapūrnādēvi might have been called Chinnādēvi being the younger of the two, while the Gajapati's daughter might have been known by one of the three names Jaganmōhini, Kamalādēvi or Tukka. Lakshmana Rao, however, thinks that the name of the Gajapati's daughter was Annapūrnā. Readers are familiar with the traditional episode of Tukka's life, how she plotted against Krishnarāya having suspected his *Kshatriya* birth, how the king was saved by his minister Timmarusu, and how having been abandoned by her husband she lived for sometime at a place called Kambhārū. Tradition further tells us that she was reconciled to Krishnarāya some years later. The five extant verses in Sanskrit called *Tukkā pañchakam* are attributed to her. We are not in a position to assert or deny this traditional episode in Krishnarāya's life.

The *Prabandhas* give us some minor details about Krishnarāya. His palace was known as *Malayakūṭa*. (*Pārijāta*: II-1) His royal seat was known as *Bhuvana vijayam* (the Conqueror of the World). (*Pārijāta*: II-111 & Manu: I-13) Krishnarāya seems to have weighed himself in pearls and distributed them to the poor. (*Pārijāta* V-113) The King's Balance in the Ruins of Hampi speak to this. (“హక్కి నుంకొర 2958-3”) He is said to have also held a festival every year in his capital city called *Vasantotsava*. (*Pārijāta*: I-139) The Portuguese Chroniclers describe the festivals that were celebrated every year in the

capital, the *Maharnavamī* and the New Year's Day (*vasantotsāva*).

The colophons of *Amuktamālyada* refer us to some places which Krishnarāya seems to have conquered, “బహుళహళహళి భరిత కల్పిత నగర, సగరపురపరపబ్బిధ పవనయన, సృతన (Canto I. v. 41.) The Mohammedans are said to have been defeated both in Kalubarige and Sagar. The latter place has not been referred to elsewhere. Again the capture of the fort of Kembāvi is referred to thus: “.....యవనాశ్చక్ష్మర్ణ కంబావి...” (*Amukta* V. 160.) Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyengar thinks that Kembāvi was a place near Raichur and that the allusion was to the first siege of Raichur. According to that learned historian the first battle of Raichur was fought near the village of Kembāvi. Another expression is “...నైరావన యమనామ నిధనా” (*Amukta* VI. 69). It is not clear whether the word *Nairāvana* refers to a Sultan or to a town.

Verse 42 of Canto I, of *Amuktamālyada* refers to the death of the Sultan of Bijāpūr, (Adil Khān). Adil Shah in a battle fought with Krishnarāya. During the reign of Krishnarāya there were two Adil Shahs of Bijāpūr. Yusuf Adil Khan the founder of the kingdom of Bijāpūr died in A. D. 1510, and Ismail, his son in A. D. 1534. Yusuf Adil Shah recovered Goa from the Portuguese in the year of his death and Krishnarāya does not seem to have taken any active part in that campaign. Ismail Adil Shah was barely twelve years old when the three Mohammedan powers were defeated on the southern bank of the Krishna on the eve of Krishnarāya's victorious campaign against the Gajapati. It is not clear whether a Regent or commander of Ismail Adil Shah was referred to in the verse 42. Canto I, of the *Amuktamālyada*.

Manucharitra (Canto iii, v. 142) refers to Krishnarāya as “*yavanarājya sthāpanā*” and *Yavana Kshōṇidhava Sthāpanā* (Restorer or establisher of the kingdom of the Yavana, i.e., a Mohammedan prince). Some of the inscriptions of the king mention the same title. (*Ongole 71 : Nellore Inscriptions* of 1517—18). K. V. Lakshmana Rao also thinks that the title refers to the incident of Krishnarāya's enthroning a Bahamani prince on the throne at Kalubarige (Gulbaraga). This was after of the second battle of Raichur in A. D. 1520—21. *Manucharitra* was composed shortly after the campaign against the Gajapati sometime after 1516. A.D. It is not clear whether the title referred to above had anything with Krishnarāya's protection of the Portuguese from the Mohammedan invasions in the early years of his reign. We find thus that the vernacular sources of Krishnarāya's reign are very important in constructing the history of the reign of the period. The *Rāyavāchakamu* gives also references to a number of Krishnarāya's descendants and contemporaries. This subject will be dealt with in a separate paper.

EVOLUTION OF THE BRAHMANICAL HEIRARCHY IN ANCIENT INDIA.

S. BHIMASANKARA RAO, B.A.

(Continued from page 96 above.)

Mahāvīra also founded the Jain *Sangha* or *Nigranthas* which was said to have expounded by the early sages who were known as *Tirthankaras*. Mahāvīra died in B. C. 467, and at his death the *sangha* numbered 500 thousand members. Buddha was born in B. C. 563. Both Buddha and Mahāvīra were contemporaries for a long time and both of them preached and propounded their respective religions in Magadha and Kōsala, the two prominent central provinces, of Northern India. Both the religions, Buddhism and Jainism raised the standard of revolt against the orthodox Vedic Brahminism and both of them gained a good many followers, so much so that Buddhism was able to supplant Brāhminism to a very great extent and became a state religion two centuries after Buddha's death during Aśōka's time. At that time when Buddha began to preach his new doctrine the Śāisunāga dynasty, the first and ancient Aryan dynasty having a historical reality was holding Imperial sovereignty of Magadha empire and Bimbisāra, the founder of Magadha Imperial power was reigning and Buddha died during the reign of his son Ajātaśatru, the parricide king. It would appear that prior to Buddha, there were previous Buddhas who preached his doctrines and prominent among them was one Kanakamuni to whose memory a stupa was erected and which was twice repaired by Aśōka. The Buddhistic chronicles, the *Pitakas*, the Jain canonical books and Brahmin, Kshatriya Purāṇas, all combine to tell us the history of Magadha, Anga, Kōsala, Kāśī and Vaiśālī, and not of other countries during the 6th century B. C. The Śāisunāga dynasty came to an end in B. C. 372, and the Nanda dynasty came into power by usurpation of the throne Mahā Padma Nanda by a son born of a low caste Śūdra woman. The Nandas were followers of Jainism and evidently there was a set back to Brahminism and the Purāṇas say the accession of a Śūdra marked the end of the reigns of high born *kshatriyas*. The Nanda sovereignty came to an end in B.C. 321 by the deposition of the last Nanda king by Chandragupta Maurya whose mother was said to be the daughter of the keeper of king's peacocks (*Mayura poṣaka*) hence the dynasty was known in history as Mauryan dynasty. This Chandragupta Maurya was exiled from his native place Pāṭaliputra as he was concerned in a conspiracy against the king and he was living at the Aryan University town of Takṣa-Śilā or Taxila in Punjab. Aided by

the Brahmin Chāṇakya, the Aryan clans were roused after the death of Alexander, by Chandragupta and the Macedonian garrisons were defeated and driven away from the Punjab. Guided by his Brahmin adviser Chandragupta Maurya soon followed up his conquests, overthrew the Magadha king and became a paramount sovereign of the whole of Northern India from sea to sea. All the petty principalities of *Āryāvarta* were brought under his subjection and were made to acknowledge the suzerainty of the strong central Government. Chāṇakya's *Artha Śāstra* does not disclose any highly preferential treatment accorded to the Brahmin but he was exempt only from capital punishment and in other respects he was regarded as equal to others. When we come to the reign of Aśōkavardhana, the grandson of Chandragupta we find that the royal monarch openly embracing Buddhism being converted to it by the Buddhist saint Upāgupta, and he raised Buddhism into a state religion. The numerous pillar inscriptions, rock edicts and other monuments attest the endeavours of that monarch to spread Buddhism far and wide he sent Buddhist monks to distant countries on proselytising missions. The law of *Dharma* and the sanctity of all animal life was widely preached and there were appointed public overseers for the purpose enforcing all the ethical principles of the code which was promulgated in B.C. 243. Aśōka adopted the policy of universal toleration and did not persecute other religions. The laws of piety, charity and reverence were strictly enforced and a special agency of censors was organised for the purpose of enforcing the regulations concerning the sanctity of the animal life. The last king of the Mauryan dynasty, Brhadratha was slain by his commander-in-chief Pushyamitra of the Sunga dynasty and ascended the throne in B.C. 185. This Pushyamitra was the son of a Brahmin priest and his reign was the beginning of Brahminical reaction.

The fall of Mauryan dynasty probably was due in a large measure to a reaction promoted by the Brahmins whose privileged position must have been very seriously affected by the extreme favour which Aśōkavardhana showed to the Buddhist monks. The prohibition of bloody sacrifices and the irritating proceedings of the public overseers and censors organised under the Asokan regime must have produced a great deal of discontent in the public mind and was resented greatly as it interfered with personal freedom. When the strong hand of the old emperor Aśōka dropped the sceptre the Brahmin influence re-asserted itself, during the reigns of his weak successors and produced a revolt against the inquisitorial tyranny of Aśōka's system. The exaggerated regard for the sanctity of animal life which was one of the most cherished features of Buddhism and the dominant motive for Asokavardhana's characteristic legislation had necessarily involved the prohibition of bloody sacrifices which are essential for certain forms of Brahminical worship and were

believed by the orthodox to possess the greatest religious efficacy. Pushyamitra after repelling the double invasion of Magadha by Minander the Bactrian king and by the Kalinga king, performed the great *Aśvamedha* sacrifice which marked the early stage of Brahminical reaction. *Aśvamedha* was one of the ancient Aryan Vedic sacrifices enjoined to be performed by the kings for the welfare of the state and as a symbol of universal dominion. This sacrifice was attended by thousands of Brahmin priests who performed appropriate ceremonies on a grand scale and were rewarded very lavishly with *dakṣiṇā*. The celebration of this great national sacrifice was regarded as a definite reaction towards Brahminism and the beginning of the downfall of Buddhism. Pushyamitra's performance of the great *Aśvamedha* sacrifice claiming the paramount power in Northern India, was referred to in the famous play, Kālidāsa's *Malavikāgnimitra* and the historical traditions of the times have been well preserved in the letter of invitation sent by Pushyamitra to his son, the crown prince Agnimitra referred to in the sixth act of the play. The performance of this grand *Aśvamedha* sacrifice must have been witnessed also by the great Sanskrit Grammarian Patañjali who lived in Pushyamitra's reign for he referred to the event in his *Mahābhāṣya*. This indicates a revival of Brahmin Sanskrit scholarship. Pushyamitra is represented as being a relentless persecutor of the Buddhists, who burned monasteries and killed the monks. Many Buddhist writers have written about the persecution of Buddhists by him and they cannot be rejected as entirely false though they may be very much exaggerated. Buddhist chronicles no doubt allege that he burnt monasteries and killed many monks, and from that, it cannot be said that he was against Buddhism as a religion but against the Buddhist *saṅgha* a political power which had to be suppressed by violent means for the purpose safeguarding the interests of the state. Certainly it would be a flagrant outrage upon the Indo-Aryan sense of royal justice for a king to attempt to convert people from one religion to another by persecution, and Pushyamitra, who could not have overthrown the Mauryan dynasty for neglect of duties of Aryan Kingship except with the support of the people would not be so impolitic as to start persecution of a powerful religious community, and if there is any truth in the Buddhist tradition, we may reasonably infer that he had severely dealt with all political offences committed by the members of the Buddhist *saṅgha* who were concerned in the conspiracies against the *Saṅgha* dynasty. If Buddhism had declined, it was not on account of its persecution at the hands of Brahmin kings but an account of its natural decay owing to several other causes, and this seems to be more or less the accepted view of many scholars. Various explanations have been given for the decline of Buddhism and for the revival of Brahminism. But by far the most important reason for the decline of Buddhism is the

adaptability of the Aryan Brahmin intellectuality to the new and changed environment. If the Brahmin representatives of the Aryan intellectuality took a leading part in making Buddhism a state religion, Buddhist philosophy and ethics was equally powerful in exercising its influence over Brahminical thought. In pre-Buddhistic times, Brahmin influence was won by sheer force of intellect and character which could not have failed to adopt itself to the changed conditions. Vedic Brahminism was cleared of its intellectual cobwebs by the scientific broom which Buddhist logic applied to it.

Buddhistic philosophy recognises no arguments which could not be referred to the inexorable law of cause and effect implied in its interpretation of *Dharma*. When the Brahmins found that the sanctity of Vedic traditions no longer sufficed to gain acceptance for their theories, they fortified their position by their theories, applying the same logical system to the interpretation of the Vedas and by a searching investigation into the foundations by their beliefs. Thus the intellectual stimulus given by Buddhist teaching was the indirect cause of the rising influence of Brahminism in the 2nd century B. C. Neither Brahminism nor Buddhism in Puṣyamitra's time in B. C. 185 was the same as that at the time of Aśoka in B. C. 268. Both had undergone a good deal of transformation and were divided into different schools of thought and divergent sects, and a process of assimilation and adoption of popular religious notions went on for centuries. *Yoga*, the fundamental doctrine of Indo Aryan faith systematized by the great Grammarian Patañjali was accepted by the Buddhists as a psychological exercise, leading to true spiritual insight, though they rejected the Vedic implication of the Universal Spirit as God and first cause. The doctrine of incarnation, the cardinal dogma of Aryan religion was introduced into the Buddhist *Jātakas* which led to the creation of a large number Bōdhisattvas whose worship was carried with great rituals. All the religious cults and the different philosophical schools are agreed with regard to the position of one supreme God, and a three-fold aspect of this Supreme One first took its shape from the theory which had its ritual symbolism in *Sandhya* consisting of the worship of sun, in morning, noon and evening and gradually it extended to three paths, paths of service, knowledge and devotion i.e., *Karma*, *Jñāna* and *Bhakti marga* which was adopted by Buddhists also who elaborated a religious ritual and philosophy taking as their trinity *Buddha*, *Dharma* and *Saṅgha*. Gradually when Buddha came to be worshipped as the creator though, during his life he never claimed any divinity in himself, *Dharma* became the law of the cosmos and *Saṅgha*, the community represented the life of the universe. It was an easy transition therefore, to clothe Buddha with the Brahminical attributes of Śiva and Viṣṇu, and gradually the whole system of Buddha's

philosophy was submerged in the flood of Brahminical symbolism and the Brahmin members of the Buddhist *saṅgha* started the *Mahāyāna* form of Buddhism and compiled a revised version of *Dharma* in which orthodox Brahminical beliefs of *Yoga* and re-incarnation were incorporated and this Mahāyānist propaganda—specially identified itself with the Brahminical *bhakti marga*, which is the only way of obtaining *Nirvāṇa* by the passionate devotion of self to the Buddhist ideal by making pious gifts and doing good things.

The recognised exponent of this *Mahāyāna* doctrine was the great Brahmin monk Nāgārjuna, the Luther of Buddhism and the apostle of *Bhakti marga*. In the meantime the Brahmins were not less skillful and clever to readily admit the Buddha into their Vedic pantheon and proclaim him as one of *avatārs* or incarnations of Viṣṇu in view of the popular feeling manifested towards him. Buddhist ethics and philosophy was adopted wholesale and the sanctity of animal life except at sacrifices was observed. There is another potent cause which worked on the popular mind to bring about a collapse of Buddhism. The *saṅgha* organisation, like all other religious organisations endowed and patronised by the state, tended to create vested interests and monopolies and it was found that the Buddhist tyranny under the *saṅgha* was far greater than Brahminical tyranny, and Buddhist monks were equally clever adepts in fostering popular superstitions for their personal benefit than the Brahmin priests of the Vedic sacrifices. The Buddhist monks developed then the cult of relic-worship and elaborated as great a ritual as that of Vedic sacrifices, and the popular belief and human credulity in the miraculous were exploited to promote a lavish expenditure on the building of *stūpas* and monasteries for the safe custody of an eye-lash, tooth or toe, nail or hair of the Blessed One or of the ashes of some Buddhist Saint. Thus it is no wonder that there was a reaction naturally. The Brahminical reaction which began in the 2nd century B. C. from the reign of Puṣyamitra of the Sunga dynasty was continued by some of the Kushān emperors in the 1st century A. D. Orthodox Hindu worship conducted under the guidance of Brahmins and associated with sacrificial rites which were abhorrent to Jain and Buddhist sentiment had never become completely extinct and for all times it retained a large share of popular favour, though not of royal patronage. The Kushān emperor Wema Khadespes II. was a zealous Saivite worshipper, and the Brahminical reaction, which began in the 2nd century B. C. under Puṣyamitra had increased with great force and strength during succeeding centuries. This Wema Khadespes was a great patron of the Brahminical revival and was *hinduised* more than any other foreigner. His coins bear *Nandi* and *Śiva* on the reverse, and he styled himself as a worshipper of

Mahēṣvara. His Kuṣhān successors not only continued their respect towards the Brahminical deities but extended it also to others. But an all sided Brahminical revival could only be under purely Indian princes, and such were the Gupta emperors. The development of *Mahāyāna* school of Buddhism is itself a testimony to the reviving power of the Brahminical Hinduism and it was accompanied by a wide diffusion and extension of Sanskrit, the language of the Brahmin *pundit*. Whatever might be the causes, the fact is abundantly established, that the restoration of the Brahminical religion to popular favour and the associated revival of Sanskrit became distinctly noticeable in the 2nd century A. D. After it was greatly fostered by the Kuṣhān emperors it was made a brilliant success by the Gupta sovereigns. The reaction led by Puṣyamitra who performed the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice in 2nd century B. C., subsequently fell into disuse, till 4th century A. D. when Samudragupta revived the ancient rite and performed it with regal splendour once more; and in the 5th century A. D. his grandson Kumāragupta repeated its solemnity.

The numismatical and inscriptional evidence during the Gupta period fully establishes a vigorous Brahminical revival, innovation of Hinduism and the growth of classical Sanskrit. In Skanda Gupta's Behari and Bhetan inscriptions it is represented that the Gupta emperors performed the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice which is pointedly spoken of as having fallen into disuse for a long time past. This is the first instance of a Brahminical revival under Gupta sovereigns. Gold coins were struck with the figure of a horse let loose and the Letter of *Aśvamedha parākrama* and *Aśvamedha mahendra* are found on the reverse of the coin. All the Gupta sovereigns were styled as *Parama bhāgavatas* on the coins.

(To be continued)

THE BIRTH-DATE OF SIVAJI, THE GREAT*

RAO BAHADUR R. KRISHNA RAO BHONSLE, M.R.A.S.

The Tanjore Maharaja Serfoji Saraswati Mahal Palace Library contains very many valuable manuscripts of great importance to the Student of Indian Chronology. Among these, the Manuscripts bearing on Mahratha History are particularly important as they afford clear evidences on some of the keenly debated problems of Mahratha Chronology.

Even on the birth-date of Sivaji the Great, the Tanjore Manuscripts have a distinct contribution to make. All Students of Sivaji Chronology are aware of the two dates assigned to Sivaji's birth. In their life of Sivaji Maharaj, Thakakav and Keluskar state that Monday the 10th April 1627 is the birth-day. This is accepted by one school of scholars. The other school of scholars led by Apte and Paranjape has fixed Friday the 19th February 1630 as Sivaji's birthday.

In support of the former school, the following is noteworthy. Sadaji, a Mahratha Scholar has, in his *Sāhityamanjūṣa* (described under No. 4242, in Vol. VII of the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tanjore Palace Library edited by Prof. P. P. S. Sastri) the following in his second verse.

यस्येन्द्रवराधशुद्धतुमुद्रवचुरङ्गानुभि
संख्याब्दास्थित शालिवाहनशके षड्गोक्षपृथ्वीमिते ।
आनन्देऽपि च शुक्र शुद्धमदनादे प्राप्य काशीस्थितान्
गागाभट्टत आप्लवं नृपपदे प्रावर्तयत्स्वं शकम् ॥

"He (Sivaji) who established his own era from the year of his coronation, which was performed by Ganga Bhatta of Benares, on the thirteenth (madanatrayodasi) day of the bright half of the Jyēṣṭha (sukra) month in the cyclic year Ananda which fell on Saka 1596 (1674 A.D.) which was the fortyseventh year from the date of his (Sivaji's) birth

* This paper was presented to the Sivaji Tercentenary Conference, held at Poona, on 16th March 1930. The writer of the article represented the A. H. R. Society as well as Madras University, Tanjore Maratha Association, and the Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjore before the above Conference.

which took place on the day of Fire (Tuesday or the thrithiya tithi) of the bright half of the Vaisakha (radha) month.

The birthday is given as the day of Fire-hutabhugghasra; which means either Tuesday, the day dedicated to the Fire God or the third day, the word hutabhuj signifying three. Tuesday in the bright half of the Vaisakha month will be Tuesday the 10th April 1627 and the third day of the bright half in the same month will be Saturday 7th April 1627. In either case, Sivaji's birth-date cannot fall on a Monday as stated by Thakakav.

In support of the latter school, attention may be directed to the rare work, Sivabharata, by Kavindra Paramananda, a contemporary of Sivaji himself, described under No. 4225 in the same volume of the Descriptive Catalogue. This is the oldest of all the copies available in this Library. The date of birth of Sivaji is here given as Friday the 19th February 1630 A. D. which falls on the third day of the dark half of the Phalgun month in the cyclic year Sukla in Saka 1551. (Vide Siva Bharata VI Chapter, Verses 26-27). This is further corroborated by the Tamil version of the above text which is also available in this library.

Tamil version should have been composed in the early decades of the last century during the reign of Serfoji II (1880-1832) and is a close translation of the Sanskrit original. It may also be pointed out that the latter date 1630 is fully supported by the Jedhe Sakavali and the Jodhapur Chronicle.

That Saka 1551 or 1630 A. D. should have been the more probable date of Sivaji's birth seems to be further supported by a critical examination of the Tanjore Inscriptions edited by my friend Rao Saheb T. Sambamurti Rao. On p. 15 of his book, between lines 20 and 21, there seems to be a distinct lacunae. A reference to Saka 1551 is made as the year in which Queen Jijabhai was in confinement and gave birth to a son. Again in the next line the reference to the birth of a son is made as having occurred in the cyclic year Pramoduta. Evidently the Saka 1551 represents the year of Sivaji's birth in the cyclic year Sukla while the reference to Pramoduta which falls on 1552 Saka is the year of the birth of Ekoji to Queen Tukkabhai as is supported by Sahendrarilasa.

From the above, it will be clear that there is ample material still awaiting further investigation and critical scrutiny by competent scholars interested in this absorbing problem, not only among the priceless treasures of Manuscripts in the Saraswati Mahal Library at Tanjore but also in the Inscriptions in the famous temple of Brhadiswara in Tanjore.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE AUTHOR'S VRTTI ON THE VĀKYAPADĪA.

M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI, M.A.

Vākyapadīya, a well known work on the philosophy of Grammar, consisting of three chapters, *Brahmakāṇḍa*, *Vākyakāṇḍa* and *Padakāṇḍa*, is the production of Bhartrihari. Bhartrihari wrote another work Tripādī which is a commentary on the last three *pādas* or sections of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. Subhāṣita in three *śatakas* is, also said to be his composition: but in reality it is only an anthology.

The printed text of Vākyapadīya extends over *Brahma* and *Vākyakāṇḍas*, with seven *samuddēśas* (sections) of the third *kāṇḍa*, while two-thirds of that *kāṇḍa* remains unpublished. First *kāṇḍa* consists of *kārikas* (verses) and *vrtti* attributed to Vṛṣabha.²

The second *kāṇḍa* also consists of *kārikās* and *vrtti* and at the end of it Punyarāja is stated to be the author of the *vrtti*.³ The commentary on the second *kāṇḍa* is easier and less technical than that of

1 The first volume of Vākyapadīya with the discovered *vrtti* of the author will be shortly published in the Dakshinabhārati Sanskrit Series at No. 7 Venkatarama Aiyer Street, G. T. Madras.

2 Harivṛṣabha is the name of Bhartrihari. It seems that *vṛṣabha* was appended to his name as he staunchly maintained the Śabda-brahma-vāda and as *vṛṣabha* means only Śabda-brahman. Cf. his own *vrtti* on the word (I-132): "पुरुषस्य वागात्मना प्रतिबिम्बोपग्राही नित्यस्तु सर्वव्यवहारयोनिः संहृतक्रमः सर्वेषामन्तः सन्निवेशविशी प्रभवो विकाराणां आश्रयः कर्मणां अधिष्ठानं सुखदुःखयोः सर्वज्ञा प्रतिहत कारकायशक्तिः घटादिनिरुद्धश्च प्रकाशः परिगृहीत भोगक्षेत्रावधिः सत्त्वमूर्तीनाम परिमाणा प्रकृतिः सर्वप्रबोध रूपतया च नित्यप्रवृत्तः स्वप्रबोधानुकारी प्रवृत्ति निवृत्ति पदाभ्यां पर्जन्य इवदावाग्निवच्च प्रसवोच्छेदनशक्तियुक्तः सर्वेश्वरः सर्वशक्तिर्महां छन्दवृषभः तस्मिन् खलु वाग्योगविदो विच्छिद्याहङ्कारग्रन्थी नत्यन्ताविनिर्भागेन संसृज्यन्ते ॥"

3 शशाङ्कशिष्याच्छुत्वै तद्वाक्यकाण्डं समासतः ।

पुण्यराजेन तस्योक्ता संगतिः कारिकाभिता ॥

The real form of his name is doubtful. In Benares Edition of Kāṇḍa II he is called Punyarāja, in the Kāṇḍa III pp. 214 & 198 he is called Phullarāja while in our own Ms. of *Helarajīya* he is called Bhullarāja. In Manjushā he is called p. 609; Pūnyarāja. It is doubtful whether he is the same as the commentator on Śārasvata Grammar.

the first *kāṇḍa*, and differentiation of style can be perceived by a careful reader both in the matter and expression. The third *kāṇḍa* also comprises of *kārikā* and a commentary, the latter is very elaborate and thoroughly discursive and is attributed to Helārāja, son of Bhūtirāja, probably of A.D. 980, and a native of Kāshmir. Helārāja, at the beginning of the third *kāṇḍa* says that he commented upon the first two *kāṇḍas* also यथावृत्ति⁴ which may mean according to the *vr̥tti* of the author, and it is supported by the fact that in his commentary on the third *kāṇḍa*, he refers to his own discussions in *vākya* and *Brahmakāṇḍas*.⁵ It is inferred that he calls his commentary on each of the *kāṇḍas* by a different name as शब्दप्रभा वाक्यप्रदीप⁶ and प्रकीर्णप्रकाश.

Puṇyārāja, the supposed commentator on the second *kāṇḍa* is very meagre and he calls the author *Ṭikākāra*⁷ as against *Bhāṣa*, *yakāra* and *Vārtikakāra*, (Patañjali and Vararuchi). In three places he says टीकाकारः स्ववृत्तौ meaning thereby that the author wrote a *tika* or commentary, and in one instance ग्रन्थकृतास्ववृत्तौ (II-78) clearly attests that the author must have written a *vr̥tti* also.⁸ At the end of the second *kāṇḍa*, a few verses give the contents of that

* काण्डद्वयो यथावृत्ति सिद्धान्तार्थसतत्त्वतः ।

ग्रन्थो विहितोऽस्माभि रागमार्थानुसारतः ॥

तच्छेषभूते काण्डेऽस्मिन् सप्रपञ्चे स्वरूपतः ।

श्लोकार्थं द्योतनपरः प्रकाशोऽयं विधीयते ॥

5a. विस्तरेणा गमप्रामाण्यं वाक्यप्रदीपेऽस्माभिः प्रथमकाण्डे शब्दप्रभायां निर्णितम् (P. 39).

b. क्रमाख्याहि कालशक्तिभ्रष्टाणां जन्मवत्सु...नापरो द्रव्यभूतः काल इति "अध्या द्विकल्पः" (I-3) इत्यत्र शब्दप्रभायां निर्णितोऽयमर्थः (Page 33)

6 विशेषश्चात्र योर्वाक्यप्रदीपेऽस्माभि व्याख्यस्तः । p. 93.

7 टीकाकारश्चासुमेव पक्षं...युक्तियुक्तं मन्यमानः शब्दः स्फोटलक्षणश्च वाचस्पति... पूर्वमुपक्रमते । (II-7)

b. अथ महाभाष्यस्यावतारान्वाख्यानपूर्वकं टीकाकारो महत्तामुपवर्णयन्...आह II-484.

c. इति टीकाकारस्याभिप्रायः (III Kanda page 215)

d. उक्तं च टीकाकारैश्च तयोरैक्यं प्रतिवचित् (Bhāvaṇaprakāsa, VI. 206) See the commentary thereon. (Our own edition)

8a. यथाप्रदर्शितं स्ववृत्तौ टीकाकारेण । II Kanda page 106

b. ग्रन्थकृतैव स्ववृत्तौ K.II, P. 106. c. एषा च टीकाकृता स्ववृत्तौ K.II, P. 106.

kāṇḍa, which are attributed to Śūravarmaṇ, or to Puṇyārāja. The verse which contains the name of Śūravarmaṇ appears to contain a clerical error, probably the author meant that Puṇyārāja wrote his commentary for Śūravarmaṇ.

There is a commentary, available for the first *kāṇḍa* by Vṛṣabhadēva.⁹ Both the commentator and his patron find no mention anywhere in the political or literary history. His commentary is very elaborate and seems to have been based on a number of previous commentaries on Vākyapadiya. He takes up *kārikā* or verse first and then elaborates discourse on *vr̥tti* giving *pratīkas* (leading words) from it. Among these only a few *pratīkas* under each *kārikā* are found in the printed copy of the first *kāṇḍa* and many more are missing and it cannot be doubted that the printed *vr̥tti* is slightly modified and much expurged from some *vr̥tti* which was used as the text for Vṛṣabha's commentary. That *vr̥tti* may be supposed to be the original written by Bhartṛhari himself. For a number of quotations under Bhartṛhari are found in prose also and could not be traced fully in the printed text. Many scholars deeply feel the loss of the *vr̥tti* of the author and Vṛṣabha's commentary in spite of its excellence is useless without it.

There are a number of treatises in Sanskrit in various sciences in the form of (1) *kārikā* and *vr̥tti* and (2) *kārikā*, *vr̥tti* and *sangrahaśloka*. Maṇḍana's, *Brahmasiddhi*, *Bhāvanāvivēka*, *Vidhivivēka*, *Vakrokti-jīvitā*, *Dhvanyāloka*, and *Vyaktivivēka*, come under this form of exposition. From quotations it is inferred that Vyāḍi's *sangraha* of grammar was also of this type. The commentators choose sometimes the *kārikā* or *vr̥tti* only, or both for explanation. The *kārikā* and its commentary are commonly studied together; but in case the author's *vr̥tti* is very elaborate and its commentary still more extensive, only the *kārikā* with its commentary is studied. Exactly this is what happened to Vākyapadiya; for, its first *kāṇḍa* is read with author's *vr̥tti* simplified and condensed by elimination of certain theories and discussions noted by the author. The second *kāṇḍa* is read with Puṇyārāja's commentary which he himself calls *sangati* of the *kārikās* (i.e. linking of the *kārikās*). In the third *kāṇḍa* Helārāja himself says that he comments only the *kārikās*. Even the study of purely *kārikās* and others commentaries thereon comes to 20,000 *granthas*, which is too long for a five year course of intensive study. The commentaries of Vṛṣabha and Helā for the first two *kāṇḍas* extend over author's *vr̥tti* hence they were reserved as books of mere reference.

9 यथापि टीका द्वयः पूर्वाचार्यैस्तु निर्मला रचिताः ।

We are specially fortunate in coming across some copies of author's *vr̥tti* only for the first two *kāṇḍas* and that it is author's is testified by the following marks.

1. *Kārikā* is not introduced by what is called the *avatārikā* as common in the treatises if others comment upon a work.
2. No *pratīkas* or leading words are given in the *vr̥tti* as a regular commentator would do.
3. *Vr̥tti* as we have it here, elaborates, discusses and concludes the theory set forth in the *kārikā*.
4. The characteristic terseness of Bhartṛhari's style is common to *kārikā* and *vr̥tti* we have obtained.
5. Vṛṣabhadēva gives in order *pratīkas* from the *vr̥tti* now discovered.
6. The passage quoted by Puṇyārāja as given by the author himself in his *vr̥tti* is actually found in the manuscript (II—79)¹⁰

Thus the recovery of the author's *vr̥tti* may be of immense help to trace the evolution of Indian Philosophy, Grammar and Literature. We quote below *vr̥tti* on a *kārikā* as found in our Manuscript and as in the printed text to ascertain the method of expurgation, and one instance from the second canto to show how far Puṇyārāja discharged his task.

कारिका—स्मृतयो बहुरूपाश्च दृष्टादृष्टप्रयोजनाः ।

तमेवाश्रित्य लिङ्गेभ्यो वेदविद्भिः प्रकल्पिताः ॥ ८ ॥

वृत्ति—अत्र काश्चिच्छब्दनिबन्धनाः स्मृतयः काश्चिदशब्दनिबन्धना विशिष्टेषु प्रासिद्ध समाचारात् । दृष्टप्रयोजनाश्चिकित्सादिविषयाः अदृष्टप्रयोजना भक्ष्याभक्ष्यगम्या गम्यवाच्यावाच्याः, तुल्ये विषये प्रसक्तिविरोधाद् दृष्टप्रयोजनाभावे विकल्पिन्यः, शिष्टानां तु विप्रतिपत्तौ यत्र दृष्टप्रयोजनमस्ति तासां प्रामाण्यं, अविप्रतिपत्तौ शिष्टानां दृष्टप्रयोजनं संभवति सति अवकल्प एवं, तद्यथा (?) मण्डूकवधे प्रायाश्चित्तस्य । तमेवाश्रित्य लिङ्गेभ्य इतिसति श्रुत्याश्रितानि लिङ्गानि श्रुतिविहितानां स्मृतिविहितानां च कर्मणां कर्तृसामान्यं प्रवेदयन्ति । येषां हि श्रुतिविहितैर्दृष्टादृष्टप्रयोजनैः कर्मभिरधिकारः ते श्रुत्यैव स्मृतिविहिता नामपि कर्मणां कर्तृत्वेनाख्यायन्ते । तद्यथा “अयं यजमानोऽतिथये आगतायाजमवष्टं महोक्षं वा पचेत्” इति । क्वचिच्च विषये दृष्टानि लिङ्गानि स्थालीपुलाकवत् श्रुत्यर्थाविरोधिण्याः स्मृतेः प्रामाण्यकल्पनायालम् ॥

10 एतेषां च वितत्य सोपपत्तिकं सनिदर्शनं स्वरूपं पदकाण्डे लक्षणसमुद्देशे विनिर्दिष्टमिति ग्रन्थकृतैव स्ववृत्तौ प्रतिपादितम् । आगमभ्रं शालेखक प्रमादादिनावा लक्षणसमुद्देशश्च पदकाण्डमध्यो न प्रासिद्धः । Page 101, Kāṇḍa II, cf. author's वृत्ति on II. 74.

Importance of Bhartṛhari's Work.

It is said that *Mahābhāṣya* was not properly understood before Bhartṛhari and his *Tripāḍi* and *Vākya-pāḍi* actually gave a new life to its study. The tradition is partly supported by the author's statement in the second *kāṇḍa* that the *Mahābhāṣya* was written on the *sangraha* of Vyāḍi, which was fast passing away as a text-book and descendants of Patañjali school neglected even *Mahābhāṣya* the copies of which are found only on leaves but not studied, somewhere near Śrī Pārvata, probably in the Āndhra Country.¹¹ Even Vākya-pāḍi owing to its unusual extent and criticism of hundreds of philosophical theories as held in his days and remarkably aphoristic terseness of his language, whether in prose or in poetry, contributed to its disappearance as a text-book for the study of philosophy and grammar. But a careful study of the Indian philosophy reveals that most of the authors on *Mīmāṃsā*, *Nyāya*, *Vaiśeṣika*, *Vedānta* and *Vyākaraṇa* have simply worked

तत्रद्वादश षट्चत्वारिंशति वा लक्षणानीति लक्षण

समुद्देशे सापदेशं सविरोधं विस्तरेण व्याख्यास्यते ।

In lieu of this the printed text has दृष्ट प्रयोजनाश्चिकित्सादिविषयाः । अदृष्ट प्रयोजनं भक्ष्याभक्ष्यादि विषयाः । तमेवाश्रित्य लिङ्गेभ्य इत्यनेन सर्वासां स्मृतिनां वेदमूलकत्वेन प्रामाण्यं दर्शितम् ॥

चिरं क्षिप्रमिति ज्ञाने कालभेदादृते यथा ।

भिन्नकाले प्रकाशेते स धर्मो ह्रस्वदीर्घयोः (II—23)

वृ—तद्यथा चिरमिति ज्ञानस्य यदात्मकत्वं क्षिप्रमित्येतस्मिन् ज्ञाने किञ्चन तयोगत्मनोः काश्चिदपि स्थिति कालभेदोऽस्ति । लब्धात्मकं हि सर्वज्ञानं अविशिष्टकालं ज्ञानान्तरेण अथ च चिरमित्यो तज्ज्ञानं मतिक्रान्तं प्रत्यक्षमर्थं रूपेण तद्भावना विशेषाधानाच्च भावितापि प्रत्यक्षमर्थरूपेण प्रकृष्टतामिव कालाध्वनः प्रदर्शयति । क्षिप्रमित्ये तस्मिन् लघुप्रवृत्ति रूपेण प्रत्यक्षकृत्यत इव कालाध्वना । तथा दीर्घमुतादिषु यालाध्वना परिमाणं भेददर्शनं मविरुद्धम् ॥

11 संप्राप्य वैयाकरणान् संग्रहेऽस्तमुपागते II. 484 sloka

यः पतञ्जलिशिष्यो भ्रष्टो व्याकरणा गमः

काले स दाक्षिणात्येषु ग्रन्थमात्रे व्यवस्थितः ॥

पर्वतादागमं लब्ध्वा भाष्यबीजानुसारिभिः ।

स नीतो बहुशास्त्रत्वं चन्द्राचार्यादिभिः पुनः ॥ (II—489)

on the arguments advanced by Bhartṛhari in their contributions. It is not too much to say the final shape that *advaita* took in the hands of great Śankara had all the germs of development in Vākyapadiya itself though he identifies *Brahman* with *Śabda* or with *Śabdabrahman*. If Śankara rejected seriously any of Bhartṛhari's thoughts it is only *sphoṭa* which practically took shape under the author under notice. But its rejection, common to the *Mīmāṃsakas* also, was thus led by Jaimini, Vyāsa and a host of their *Bhāṣyakāras*. It is against such great odds that great Bhartṛhari had to maintain his theories. In this attempt even defeat was victory. But among Śankara's pioneers in *advaita* Maṇḍana Miśra and probably Brahmanandin owed their everything to Bhartṛhari. Maṇḍana actually recognised *sphoṭa* and his *Jāna-karmasamuccaya* theory is only a modification of what Bhartṛhari all the while maintains. The evolution of Indian philosophy shall lose an important link if study and appreciation of Vākyapadiya is ignored.

The Question of his Time.

It has been asserted that by a number of scholars both in India and outside that Bhartṛhari has to be assigned to A.D. 600. The chief basis for the acceptance of this date is the statement of It-Sing that forty years before he entered India a Buddhist author expired, who wrote a grammatical work extending over 25,000 ślōkas and commented upon *Cārṇi Bhāṣya*. The Chinese translation of the name of the author perhaps suggested the identity with Bhartṛhari, whose work comprises of three *kandās* and can possibly extended over 25,000. But the identity seems to be highly questionable for the authors whom Bhartṛhari names are very few and none of them can be placed after the third century A.D. The latest authors mentioned by him were Patañjali and his predecessors Vyādi. Though some scholars maintain that Vindhyavāsin was called Rudrila who flourished about A.D. 250 we have in one of our *Gleanings* established the identity of Vyādi with Vindhyavāsin on the strength of quotations with their authors' names furnished by Umbēka or Bhavabūti in his commentary on Kumārila's *Ślokavārtika*, Vyādi as synonym of Vindhyavāsin was given in ancient dictionaries, and the extracts quoted under either of the names are common to both. Of course supporters of this identity apprehend the fall of the date of Patañjali. Hari says that *Mahābhāṣya* was written when Vyādi's *sangraha* was in a state of perishing, which would take at least a hundred years after Vyādi. A close examination of Vākyapadiya, assigns the author to an age when different schools of *Mīmāṃsa* were in their full swing and *advaita* was established on the merits of *Upanishadic* thoughts. If It-Sing had not come to our help, and Kumārila, Umbēka, Maṇḍana and Śankara had not quoted Bhartṛhari one would be even tempted to place him immediately after Śankara on account of his criticism of their schools. But

alas! it could not be so. Hari criticises or at least, fully anticipates *niyoga* or *kārya* theory of Prabhākara but by whom he is quoted. The truth is, that all the schools developed by Bhartṛprapanca and Prithvīthara (*Advaita*), Kumārila (*Vidhi*) and Maṇḍana (*Śabdabrahman*), Prabhākara (*Niyogavādin*) and Śankara (*Jñānādvaita*), existed in more or less academical forms long before Bhartṛhari who championed the cause of the *Śabdabrahma advaita*. Similarly the Buddhist theories of *Mādhyaṃika* schools assigned to Nāgārjuna and others deserve a review in the same light. The dates of Buddhist authors based upon Chinese chronicles and translations certainly require re-examination especially as to the Chinese dates and the identification of Indian monks in China. I am inclined to place Vyādi, the *sanghrahakāra* in the pre-Christian centuries. Bhartṛhari cannot be dragged later than Vātsyāyana, Praśastapāda and Uddyōtakara though he is certainly later than Pañchaśikha, the author of *Satītantra*, from which he quotes a passage in his *vr̥tti*. It-Sing's statement as interpreted by the identifiers of Bhartṛhari is a believer in Vēdas, follows closely and applies also the *nyāyas* (principles) of *Mīmāṃsa* and finally establishes *advaita*. Besides this, he frequently criticises adversely *Saṃyavāda*, and *Vijñānavāda* of the Buddhists. It is suggested by Dr. C. Kunhan Rāja, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Madras, that Hārisvāmin mentioned by Mahēśvara in his *Nirukta Bhāṣya* might be the scholar mentioned by It-Sing. Bhartṛhari cannot be placed so late as 630 A.D. according to the identity proposed regarding It-Sing's story, for even Mahēśvara of 630 A.D. quotes from Bhartṛhari.

REVIEWS.

Pre-Muselman India. (In 9 Vols.)

Vol. I. Pre-Historic India.

By PROF. V. RANGACHARYA, M.A., L.T.

This Vol. I. is the first of a series of Nine Volumes in which the writer hopes to give the whole history of India up to the Moslem Conquest. It is well known that the author has been working hard for the past 10 years or more at the work and the first Volume has at last been published. It commences with the Azoic Epoch and traces the geological and geographical condition of India till the rise of Man.

The several theories about the origin of Man and his birth-place as well as the place of India in Eolithic cultural diffusion are next described. The Palaeolithic and Neolithic Ages with their characteristic features are next described, and an interesting and comparative account of Indian palaeolithic sites, drawings and paintings discovered here and there, is given. The history of Indian anthropological studies with an exhaustive bibliography will prove of special value to a student anthropology. From chapter VI especially, the history becomes more intelligible and interesting and useful even to an ordinary student. It is keenly regretted that several avoidable spelling and grammar mistakes have been left uncorrected. It is equally unfortunate that pictorial representations and photo-prints of the Neolithic habitation, dress, arts and crafts have not been included so as to illustrate life in Neolithic times. Chapters VIII and IX conclude the work and give an account of the Indus Valley Civilisation and the Aryans respectively, but it is regrettable that illustrations and maps which should invariably form part of the work are not given. These chapters should have been written in greater detail and precision. Some of the statements of the author as for instance, the Aryans were not physically very much different from the Dravidians, and they probably belonged to the same originally ethnic stock cannot be accepted as final. However, the book has to be welcomed and the author congratulated for the mass of interesting details given. The author is well known for his erudite scholarship and patient industry and the book clearly shows signs of the same. The public will be eagerly looking forward for the promised eight volumes. Meanwhile, we strongly recommend this useful book for all High school and College libraries and Research scholars.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL GENERAL BODY MEETING

HELD ON 19-4-1930.

Members Present :—

Messrs.

- 1 S. Bhimasankara Rao, B.A.
- 2 C. V. Hanumanta Rao M.A.
- 3 K. Venkatappayya, B.A., B.L.
- 4 V. Jagannadha Rao, M.A., L.T.
- 5 A. Suryanarayana, B.A., B.L.
- 6 D. Sriramamurti, B.A.
- 7 N. Kameswara Rao, B.A., B.L.
- 8 R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T.
- 9 Rao Saheb, C. V. Krishnaswami Iyer, B.A., B.L.
- 10 G. Gangadhara Somayajulu, M.A., B.L.
- 11 D. Venkata Rao, M.A., L.T.
- 12 Chilukuri Yenkata Rao,
- 13 A. Sankara Rao, B.A., L.T.

Resolutions Passed.

- I Resolved to adopt the Secretary's Report.
Proposed by Mr. A. Suryanarayana.
Seconded by Mr. D. Sriramamurti.
- II Resolved to adopt the Treasurer's Statement of accounts.
- III Resolved to elect the following *Office-bearers* for the year 1930-31.
 - 1 Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu, B.A., B.L. *President*.
 - 2 Mr. G. Gangadhara Somayajulu M.A., B.L. *Vice President*.
 - 3 Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T. *Secretary*.
 - 4 Mr. N. Kameswara Rao, B.A., B.L. *Treasurer*.
 - 5 Mr. D. Venkata Rao, M.A., L.T. *Librarian*.

Members of the Council.

- 6 Mr. A. Sankara Rao, B.A., L.T.
- 7 Mr. D. Sriramamurty, B.A.
- 8 Mr. V. Jagannadha Rao, M.A., L.T.
- 9 Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, B.A., B.L.

IV (a) Resolved that "the Society shall sue and be sued in the name of the *Secretary*, for the time being,"

(b) Resolved to number the above as Rule 41.

(Sd.) C. V. KRISHNASWAMI IYER,
Chairman.

19-4-30.

THE NINTH ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1929-1930.

*Read and Adopted at the Annual Meeting of the Society
held on 19-4-1930.*

The Secretary read the following report:—

The Council of the Society have great pleasure in presenting you with the following report of the Society's work during the year.

At the last Annual meeting of the Society held on 7-4-29 the Vice-President Mr. S. Bhimasankara Rao presided in the absence of the President. After the adoption of the Secretary's Report and Treasurer's Accounts, certain amendments to rules were passed. Rao Bahadur D. LAKSHMINARAYA of KAMPTI, C.P. was elected as a *Patron*. The following Office-Bearers were next elected for 1929-30.

Messrs

- J. RAMAYYA PANTULU, B.A. B.L., *President*.
- P. BHADRAYYA, M.A., L.T., *Vice-President*.
- R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T., *Secretary*.
- N. KAMESWARA RAO, B.A., B.L., *Treasurer*.
- B. V. KRISHNA RAO, B.A., B.L., *Librarian*.

Members of the Council.

- S. BHIMASANKARA RAO, B.A.
- A. SANKARA RAO, B.A., L.T.
- V. JAGANNATHA RAO, M.A., L.T.
- A. SURYANARAYANA, B.A., B.L.

In the evening a public meeting was held in the HINDU SAMAJ HALL under the Chairmanship of Mr. P. Bhadrappa, M.A., L.T. (*Vice-President*) at which Messrs. A. Hanumanthachari, M.A., and R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., read papers on *Vasireddiyam* and the Madras Museum Plates of Indravarma, respectively.

Members.

The number of *ordinary* members on 1-4-30 stood at 226 as compared with 193 on 1-4-29. The number of resident members rose from 59 to 62. The number of mofusil members also rose from 137 to 154. It is noteworthy that the Society got one *life member* in the Rajah of Dharakota and it is eagerly hoped that more would follow this example.

Subscribers.

As compared with the number of 26 subscribers (*Indian & Foreign*) on rolls on 1-4-29 there is at present the number 29. This increase in the number of both the members and subscribers shows the increasing popularity and usefulness of the Society.

Exchanges.

On 1-4-29 the list of exchanges stood at 67 while now it stands as high as 72 and this increase again shows that the work of the Society is widely appreciated.

Journal.

During the year, owing to unavoidable resignation of Mr. C. Atmaram, due to great pressure of professional work, Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, B.A., B.L., the former Editor of the Journal was elected to the place again. The Society had also to change its printing work from the Saraswati Printing Press where its *Journal* and *Kalinga Sanchika* were so far printed, to the Razan Press, Rajahmundry. Hence there was delay in the issue of the Journal. During the year therefore, Parts 2, 3 & 4 of Volume III were printed together, and Parts 1 & 2 of Volume IV. are also combined and printed and are about to be published. The *Journal* has continued to keep its high level of excellence. The Sanskrit drama *Kaumudi Mahotsava* so ably edited by the learned scholar Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi, M.A., Hon. Member of the Society, in the pages of the *Journal*, has come to a close, and the Society, records its appreciation of his work. It is proposed that the same scholar may be requested to edit *LILĀVATI*, a Prākṛta *Kāvya*, in the ensuing Parts 3 & 4 of volume IV. This work relates to the political and social conditions of the time of the 17th Andhra king Hāla Śālivāhana. Several copper-plate inscriptions relating to the history of the Kalingas have also been edited in the *Journal* by Mr. R. Subba Rao, and Śrī Lakshminārāyaṇ Harichandan Jagdev Bahadur, Raja of Tekkali. The Society's best thanks are due to the Editor and the Editorial Board as well as to the Contributors for improving the quality of the *Journal*.

Kalingadēśa Charitra.

By the time of the last Annual meeting, 42 formes (336 pages) of the work were printed and during the year 44 formes (352 pages) have been printed. Till now, in all 688 pages are printed. Earnest attempts are being made to expedite the issue of the work during the course of the year.

Meetings and other Activities.

During the year the Society held two meetings of the General Body, the first on 20-8-29 when a Sub-Committee to amend the rules was elected. Another meeting was held on 11-11-29 when amendments to Rules were passed. It was then resolved to enrol all those who pay a sum of Rs 2,000 or more as *Life-Patrons* and Rs 1000/ or more as *Life Vice-Patrons*. It was also resolved to elect Honorary Presidents, Honorary Vice-Presidents, and Honorary Correspondents for a period of three years at a time, subject to their re-election. It was also resolved that Office-Bearers who fail to attend three meetings consecutively should forfeit their places.

The Society held 12 meeting of the Council for the purpose of transacting the ordinary business of the Society, passing of Accounts, admitting new Exchanges and Members. The Society also arranged 6 public meetings, of which three were held in conjunction with the Town Hall for celebrating the centenary of Krishnadēvarāya, Śivāji, and Tikkana Sōmayāji; and three meetings were held at which Messrs. C. Narayan Rao, M.A., L.T., R. Subba Rao, M. A., L. T. and K. Venkatappaiah, B.A., B.L. read papers on (1) The newly Discovered Asokan Inscriptions (2) A Telugu Academy Plates of Madhavarman III and (3) Education in Ancient India, respectively.

During the year the Society deputed the Secretary, Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A. to attend the XII Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Gwalior, on 21st and 22nd December 1929. The Government of India, at the same time, appointed him as a Co-opted Member of the Commission, for the Session besides appointing him as a Corresponding Member of the Commission. The Secretary interviewed at Gwalior, Sir FRANK NOYCE K. C. S. I., I. C. S., Chief Secretary to the Government of India, who was pleased to recommend to the Director-General of Archaeology, the inclusion of the name of the Society in the list of Institutions to which the Archaeological Reports, Archaeological Memoirs, South Indian Inscriptions, Epigraphical Reports and other publications are supplied freely. The Secretary also interviewed Rao Bahadur D. LAKSMINARAYANA of Kampti, C. P. at Secunderabad, who was pleased to promise to send his donation of Rs. 2000/- to the Society at an early date. The Society also deputed Rao Bahadur R. Krishna Rao Bhonsle to attend the Sivaji Ter-Centenary Meeting, held at Poona. During the beginning of the year, the Secretary, along with Mr. C. Atmaram, B.A., B.L., the then Editor of the *Journal*, interviewed several zamindars as a result of which Rs 1,728/ were collected as donations to the Society.

During August, 1929 the Secretary submitted a petition to the Government of Madras, for granting annual financial support in aid of the research work, of the Society, and the Government have been pleased to inform the Secretary in their G. O. No. Mis. 190 dated 10-2-1930, that they are unable to sanction the grant from the Provincial Funds, but requested the Director of Public Instruction to recommend Library Grant whenever the Society applies, as in the years 1928-29 and 1929-30. In January last, the District Collector informed the Society of the probability of H. E. The Governor of Madras, visiting its Rooms but unfortunately owing to His Excellency's programme being over crowded, it could not take place. The needs of the Society were, however, placed before the Government.

Library and the Reading Room,

The Library continues to be located in the rented Rooms which are fast becoming congested. The Society is making attempts to have a better habitation for the Society. A peon on a salary of Rs 10. is still being maintained.

The Government gave a library grant of Rs. 100. with which one more almyrah and some books were purchased. The Society continues to get publications of eminent Scholars for review and of Institutions in exchange of the Journal.

During the year Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, who was originally elected as Librarian for the year resigned, having been elected as the Editor of the *Journal*, and in his place Mr. A. Suryanarayana was elected. But he too resigned in January 1930 owing to pressure of his professional work. Mr. C. Atmaram was then elected in his place. Thus owing to these resignations and frequent changes in the office, a catalogue for the Library could not be prepared and the work has greatly fallen into arrears. It is hoped the new Librarian in the coming year will set right the matters.

Museum.

During the year 25 gold coins collected by Mr. Sripāda Gōpāla Krishnamūrti, B.A., were purchased for a sum of Rs. 15. These coins were discovered at Kalingapatam in the Vijagapatam District, and belong to the Eastern Gānga Dynasty of Kalinga. Two Copper-Plate grants have also been obtained temporarily, and there is a chance of their permanent acquisition. The Council requests all members and sympathisers to search for new copper plate and stone inscriptions, historical manuscripts, coins etc., so that there may be a well equipped Museum.

Finance.

A detailed statement of the Society's financial position is given by the Treasurer. The Accounts were audited by Mr. D. Venkata Rao, M.A., L.T. to whom the Society offers its thanks. The Council earnestly requests all those members who are in arrears to pay up their dues early. The Council places on record its grateful thanks to all those gentlemen who sent in their donations for the publication of the *Kalingadesa Charitra*, and to others who helped the Society with donations and gifts of books etc.

Conclusion.

The Council has great pleasure in placing on record its thankfulness to the several office-bearers who worked hard to improve the condition of the Society. It takes this opportunity to appeal to the several scholars who have not yet joined the Society to do so at an early date, and it requests its *Ordinary* members to convert their membership into *Life* membership. It also appeals to the several *Zamindars, Rajahs and Maharajahs* to give their support so as to place the Society on a more stable basis, so that still better work may be turned out by the Society.

NOTES OF THE TWO QUARTERS.

Proceedings of the Adjourned General Body Meeting
of the First Quarter, held on 20-8-1929.

PRESENT

Messrs:

- (1) T. Achyutarao (*in the chair*).
- (2) C. Hanumantarao.
- (3) R. Subbarao.
- (4) V. Jagannadharao.
- (5) B. V. Krishnarao.
- (6) A. Sankararao.
- (7) K. T. Gopalrao.
- (8) D. Venkatarao.

1. Resolved to confirm the amendment to *Rule 11* as *Rule 11(a)* viz. "The subscription is payable in advance at the beginning of the Official Year i.e., 1 April" passed as Resolution No. 4 in the General Body Meeting held on 7-4-29.

2. Resolved to alter the number of the *rule 3* as *rule 5* and of the *rule 5* as *rule 3*.

3. Resolved that the following gentlemen be elected as the Sub Committee to revise and amend the rules and report the same to the General Body.

- (1) P. Bhadrappa.
- (2) A. Sankara Rao.
- (3) B. V. Krishna Rao.
- (4) C. V. Hanumanta Rao.
- (5) R. Subba Rao.

T. ACHYUTA RAO.
President.

**Proceedings of the combined First and Second Quarterly
General Body, (adjourned) Meeting, held on 11-11-1929.**

PRESENT.

Messers :

1. J- Ramayya Pantulu (*in the chair.*)
2. G. Gangadhara Somayajulu.
3. T. Achyutarao Pantulu.
4. N. Kameswara Rao.
5. K. J. Gopala Rao.
6. C. V. Hanumantha Rao.
7. A. Sankarao.
8. B. Kameswara Sastry.
9. B. V. Krishna Rao.
10. R. Subba Rao.

The following amendment of rules were proposed by the Secretary, Mr. R. Subba Rao and seconded by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao and passed.

AMENDMENT OF THE RULES.

1. Resolved that the last sentence in Rule 4, i.e., "*the Council shall be elected annually*" be omitted.
2. Resolved to omit the words "*and who are unlikely to become ordinary members*" in Rule 8 (a).
3. Resolved to add the words "*while at Rajahmundry*" to Rule 14 (2) at the end.
4. Resolved to substitute "*elect*" for '*invite*' in Rule 15 in the first line.
5. Resolved to substitute the following Rules for Rule 15.
 - (1) The Council may elect as *Life-Patrons*, persons who make a donation of not less than Rs. 2000 (Two thousand) and as *Life Vice-Patrons*, persons who make a donation of not less than Rs. 1000 (one thousand) only.
 - (2) In the case of existing *Patrons* and *Vice-Patrons*, the donations already paid by them shall be taken into account.
 - (3) The Council may elect suitable persons as *Hon. Presidents*, *Hon. Vice-Presidents* and *Hon. Correspondents*. They will hold office

for three years, but will be eligible for re-election. This rule will have retrospective effect.

6. If any number of the Council or the Vice-President, absents himself from three consecutive meetings of the Council, he will cease to be a member of the Council or the Vice-President of the Society. The Council then, may elect suitable persons in their vacancies.

7. Resolved to substitute '*one fourth*' for '*one third*' in line 2 of Rule 32.

8. Resolved to omit Rule 40.

9. Resolved to omit Rule 41.

10. Resolved to omit the word '*carnival*' in the heading above Rule 44.

11. Resolved to omit the words '*historical carnival of a great and "or of persons"*' in Rule 44 (a).

12. Resolved to substitute "*from time to time*" for the word "*annually*" in line 1, and also omit the words "*annual*" and "*festival*" in line 3 and the last sentence, in Rule 45.

13. Resolved to read Rule 49 as Rule 13 and renumber the rules accordingly.

J. RAMAYYA,

President.

DONATIONS RECEIVED DURING THE QUARTER ENDING
WITH 30-9-28.

Names,	Rs A
C. R. Reddy Esq.,	10 0
Sir A. P. Patro	250 0
Total	260 0

Treasurer's Statement.

SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID DURING THE QUARTER
ENDING WITH 30-9-28.

Names.		Names.	
Messrs.	Rs. A.	Messrs.	Rs. A.
Narasimha Iyengar S.		Venkatesam, N. K.	4 4
(27-28) 3 0		Srinivasa Raghavachari M. K.	2 0
Thompson, M. S. H. (26-28)	3 2	Rajaratnam, K.	4 0
Sivarama Sarma, B.	5 0	Achuta Rao, T. (27-28)	1 0
Suryanarayana, A.	4 0	Satyanarayana B. V. N. „	4 0
Raghavachari, N. (26-28)	6 2	Venkataramaiah, N.	4 0
Someswararao, Karra „	6 2	Sambasiva Rao, M.	4 0
Gopala Krishna Sarma, R.		Graeffe J. E. Rev.	4 0
(26-28) 6 2		Seetaramarao, K.	2 0
Pitchayya, V. (27-28)	3 2	Suryanarayana Rao, K.	4 0
Satyanarayana, G. „	3 2	Suryanarayana Ch.	4 0
Raghavachari, K. „	3 2	Sivarama Ross, D. (27-28)	3 0
Veeraraghavachari, S. E. V.		Anantagirirao, M.	3 0
(27-28) 3 2		Sriramamurti, D.	4 0
Rangachari, K. „	3 2	Bhadrappa, P. (28-28)	2 0
Ramakoteswara Rao, K.		Krishnamachari, M. „	3 0
(27-28) 3 0		Dharma Rao, G. „	3 0
Somayajulu, C. „	3 0	Narasimha Sastry, S. N. „	3 8
Venkataramanaiah, I. „	3 0	Hanumachchastry, A. „	3 0
Subba Rao, Rallabandi	4 0	Rajaguru Hemraj (26-28)	10 0
Subba Rao Pantulu N.	4 0	Brahmanandamurti C (27-28)	4 0
Kameswasara Rao N.	4 0	Apparao, Vaddadi „	2 0
Rama Rao, M. (26-28)	6 0	Parameswara Rao, Y. „	2 0
Kameswara Sastri, Bh.	4 0		
Rama Rao, A.	4 0	Total	176 10
Purnaiah Pantulu, Vepa	4 0		
Gnanaprakasam, P. (27-29)	2 0		

SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID DURING THE QUARTER ENDING
WITH 30-9-28.

Names	Rs A
Watson Museum, Raj kot	6 0
Arthur Probsthain 2 sets	26 12
Vicharnakatha Tirumalai Devasthanam, Tirupati Vols. 1 & 2,	12 12
Total	45 8

SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED DURING THE QUARTER ENDING
WITH 31-12-28

Names.		Names	
Messrs.	Rs A	Messrs.	Rs A
Mallikarjuna Rao, P.	4 0	Sitaramarao, K.	2 0
Popley, H. A. Rev.	3 0	Sankararao, A.	4 0
Sarma M. S. (27-28)	3 0	S. Hassan Khan (26-28)	6 2
Suryanarayanamurti, T.	3 0		
Narayana Rao, C. (27-29)	5 0	Total	32 2
Dhanaraju, T. (27-28)	2 0		

SUBSCRIBERS TO JOURNAL WHO PAID DURING THE
QUARTER ENDING WITH 31-12-28

Names		Names	
	Rs A		Rs A
Madras University Library	6 0	Govt Sanskrit College	
P. R. College Coconada	6 0	Benares	6 0
Andhra Xian College	6 0	Stall Training College for	
Noble College Masulipatam	6 0	Ministers, Guntur	6 0
Vicharanakarta. Tirumalai		Andhra University	6 0
Devasthanam	6 0	Commissioner	
Supt. of Archaeology.		Ajmere-Merwara	6 0
Eastern Circle	6 0		
Imperial Library Calcutta	6 0	Total	72 0
Secretariat Library,			
Fort, St. George	6 0		

LIST OF MEMBERS WHO PAID SUBSCRIPTIONS DURING THE
QUARTER ENDING WITH 31-3-29.

Names.		Names.	
Messrs.	Rs. A.	Messrs.	Rs. A.
Gopala Krishniah V.	3 0	Rangachary R.	3 2
Fernandez Theophilus (26-28)	6 2	Hume Sastry B.	3 2

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[J.A.M.R.S.]

Messrs.	Rs.	A.	Messrs.	Rs.	A.
Lochan Prasad Pāṇḍeya	6	2	Dubrieul G. J.	3	2
Venkateswarlu V.	3	2	Bhujangarao T.	3	2
Krishna Rao Nalam	4	0	Ramakrishnayya K.	3	2
Somayazulu G. G.	4	0	Perisastri S.	3	2
Dunkelberger R. M.	4	0	Heras Henry Rev. S. J.	3	2
Krishnaswami Iyer S.	4	0	Ramachandrarao B.	3	2
Werner O. V. Rev.	4	0	Venkataramayya M.	3	2
Sambasiya Rao C.	3	2	Narasimham D. L.	3	2
Sayed Khursheed Ali	3	2	Satyanarayana G.	3	2
Joganna U.	3	2	Abdul Ali A. F. M.	3	2
Jagannadhaswamy G.	3	2	Eswar Dutt K.	3	2
Somayajulu Ch. Y.	3	2	Venkatanarayana T.	3	2
Venkatramayya D.	3	2	Satyanarayana Rajaguru	3	2
Satyanarayana V.	3	2	Narasingarao G.	3	2
Sri Vikramadeva Varma	3	2	Krishnaswamirao C.	3	2
Prakasarao D. V. S.	3	2	Raghavachary N.	3	2
Raghavarao G. V.	3	2	Rangareddi N.	3	2
Raghavachary K.	3	2	Bhanadarkar D. R.	3	2
Ramakrishnasastri B.	3	2	Sri G. H. Jagadeb, Bahadur	3	2
Jogayya V. V.	3	2	Sri L. H. Jagabeb, Bahadur	3	2
Viraraghachary S. E. V.	3	2	Hanumantarao S.	3	2
Seshagirirao R.	3	2	Hassankhan Siddique	3	2
Atchyutarao T.	3	2	Prof. Radha Krishnan S.	3	2
Govindarajulu Ch.	3	2	Gopalakrishna Sarma R.	3	2
Ramarao M.	3	2	Ramachandrarao R.	3	2
Narasimharao S.	3	2	Bhagavatam Gupta T.	3	2
Sriramasastri D.	3	2	Purushottam S.	2	3
Apparao D.	3	2	Narasimulu M.	3	2
Subbarao L.	3	2	Lakshmanarao K.	3	2
Krishnarao Bhonsle R.	3	2	Hirdenarayan	3	2
Anantarama Iyer Bh.	3	2	Venkataramaraju R.	3	2
Apparao Vissa	3	2	Subbarao N. V.	3	2
Gopalam P. V. S.	3	2	Ramadas G.	3	2
Ramalingam W. V. B.	3	2	Sivasankarasastri T.	3	2
Subbarayudu M.	3	2	Ramamurty K.	3	2
Seshagirirao B.	3	2	Dr. Kalidas Nag	3	2
Ganapatirao D.	3	2	Gangooli T.	3	2
Ramamurty Y.	3	2	Subrahmanyam K. R.	3	2
Rao P. S., I.C.S.	3	2	Sambasivarao D.	3	2
Viranna P.	3	2	Gopalarao K. J.	4	0
Sarma B. N. Sir.	9	2	Pandit Neelakantadas	3	0
Seshadri P.	3	2	Akramali Mir	2	0
Sriram V.	3	2	Vajhalu R.	2	2

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Messrs.	Rs.	A.	Messrs.	Rs.	A.
Seshagirirao A.	3	2	Venkatachalam C. D. B.	4	0
Vedananda Tirtha	3	2	Lochan Prasad Pandeya	4	0
Narayanasastri C. L.	3	2	Subbayya P.	4	0
Suryaprakasarao C.	3	0	Dubrieul G. J.	1	2
Atmaram C.	4	0	Bhadrayya P.	4	0
Thompson M. S. H.	4	0	Nissanka Bahadur R. R.	3	0
Sambasivarao S. V.	3	2	Srinivasachary M. K.	1	0
Lakshminarayana Sastry Bh.	3	2	Seetapati G. V.	3	0
Somasundara Desikar S.	3	2	Ramamurty Pantulu G.	3	0
Kameswararao Sripada	3	2			
Jagannadharao N.	3	2	Total	367	4
Brierley W. B.	4	0			
Gnanaprakasam P.	4	0			

SUBSCRIBERS WHO PAID DURING THE QUARTER ENDING
WITH 31-3-29.

Names.		Names.	
Presidency College, Madras	6 0	G. A. College, Rajahmundry	6 0
Provincial Museum, Lucknow	6 2	Mhahrajah of Pithapuram	6 0
Literary Assn. Cocanada	6 0	Arthur Probsthain	13 4
Adyar Library	15 0	Total	70 6
Decca University	6 0		
G. T. College, Rajahmundry	6 0		

DONATIONS RECEIVED DURING THE QUARTER ENDING
WITH 31-3-29.

Names.	Rs.	A.	Messrs.	Names.	Rs.	A.
Messrs.						
Chinnababu Naidu B.	50	0	Govt. grant for the Library.	250	0	
Srinivasa Jagannadha Rao			Total	466	0	
Bahadur K.	116	0				
Suryanarayana Konduri	50	0				

SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID DURING THE QUARTER ENDING
WITH 30-6-29.

Names.	Rs.	A.	Messrs.	Names.	Rs.	A.
Messrs.						
Satyanarayana Bh.	3	0	Jagannadharaju U. S.	3	0	
Subramanyam M.	4	0	Satyanarayana B. V. N.	4	0	
Bhimasankara Rao S.	4	0	Gopala Reddy B.	3	0	
Venkata Rao Ch.	5	0	Nagaraju Ch.	4	0	
Vajhalu R.	2	0	Subba Rao Pantulu N.	4	0	
Kameswara Rao, D. Ch.	4	0	Kameswara Rao N.	4	0	
Subba Rao R.	4	0	Subba Rao Rallabandi	4	0	
Hanumachhastry A.	2	0	Krishnamurty D. B.	3	4	

Subrahmanya Iyer K. V.		Nagaraju Ch.	4 0
(26-29)	9 12	Jagannadhaswami P.	3 4
Jagannadha Rao V.	2 0		
Subba Rao V.	4 0	Total	82 4
Dhanaraju T.	2 0		

DONATIONS RECEIVED DURING THE QUARTER ENDING
WITH 30-6-29.

Names.	Rs. A.	Names.	Rs. A.
Messrs.		Messrs.	
Zamindar Doddampet	50 0	Raja of Gopalpur	100 0
Kameswara Rao N.	50 0	Raja Kallikota	100 0
Seshagiri Rao, Jupudi.	50 0	Raja of Parlakimidi	350 0
Raja of Chikati	150 0		
Raja of Mandasa	150 0	Total	1060 0
Zamindar Devadi	50 0		
Raja of Tekkali	10 0		

SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID DURING THE QUARTER ENDING
WITH 30-9-29.

Names.	Rs. A.	Names.	Rs. A.
Messrs.		Messrs.	
Brown, J. B. I.C.S. 28-30	6 0	Ganganna, J. 28-29	4 0
Krishna Rao, B. V.. 23-29	4 0	Sitapati, G. V.	3 0
Venkata Rao, D.	3 0	Rama Murthi Pantulu, G.	3 0
Srinivasachari, M. K.	1 0	Kameswara Rao, Somina	2 0
Raja of Dharakota (life)	60 0	Vajhalu, R.	2 0
R. Swaraswathi, A.		Appa Rao, Vaddadi 27-28	2 0
27-29	6 0	Miss Krishna Bai, R.S.	4 0
Venkataramanayya, I. 28-30	5 0	Venkata Ratnam, T. 28-29	3 0
Veerabhadeswara Rao, K.		Avadhani V. V. S.	3 8
(28-29)	3 0	Goedeke, H. Rev.	3 0
Ramayya Pantulu, J.	3 0	Jagannatha Rao, K. V.	4 0
Jagannadha Rao, V.	2 0		
Subba Rao, R.	4 0	Total	130 8

SUBSCRIPTIONS WHO PAID DURING THE QUARTER ENDING
WITH 30-9-29.

Arthus Probsthain	15 4.
Presidency College, Calcutta	6 0
Total	21 4

DONATIONS RECEIVED DURING THE QUARTER ENDING
WITH 30-9-29.

Names.	Rs. A.	Names.	Rs. A.
Messrs.		Messrs.	
Krishna Rao, B. V.	2 0	Raja Sahib of Devadi	50 0
The Raja Sahibs of Tekkali	50 0		
		Total	102 0

TREASURER'S STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS & EXPENDITURE.
(FROM 1-4-30 TO 31-3-30)

RECEIPTS.	EXPENDITURE.
Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Last year's balance ... 148 13 10	Postage ... 85 13 6
Subscriptions from mem- bers and subscribers	Travelling expenses ... 99 2 0
to Journal ... 440 7 0	Printing, including paper... 1,253 15 3
Donations ... 1,728 0 0	Cost of Blocks and Photos... 355 9 0
Government Grant ... 100 0 0	Furniture ... 8 4 9
By sale of Journals ... 65 13 0	Purchase of books ... 68 15 0
Sale of Sanchikas ... 32 0 0	Binding of books ... 114 2 0
Miscellaneous receipts. 24 0 0	Miscellaneous charges. 14 2 0
Advance by Treasurer. 130 0 0	Stationery ... 10 12 0
Interest on S.B. Account. 0 7 1	Peon's pay ... 112 4 0
	Permanent advances to Secretary and Editor for postage ... 35 11 7
	Balance in S. B. Account ... 200 7 1
	Returned to Treasurer. 130 0 0
	Balance on hand ... 180 6 9
Total... 2,669 8 11	Total ... 2,669 8 11

NOTE :—6 copies of Rajaraja Pattabhisheka Sanchika have been sold during the year and money was realised for 1 copy sold year before last. The price of 1 copy sold during the year has to be realised. 8 copies have been given in exchange or as complimentary. The number of copies on hand on 31-3-30 is 124 only.

Owing to the delay in publication of Volume IV of the Journal subscriptions could not be realised from many resident and non-resident members. So there is a sum of roughly Rs. 700 to Rs. 800 outstanding on this account besides Rs. 8 as donation. Nothing is collected during the year on account of donations promised on Kalinga day and Rs. 260 is still due thereunder. But the Society was able to meet its liabilities by

ii.

the munificent donations received during the year. The Society has yet to return Rs. 200 advanced by the Treasurer during the previous year.

Donations received during the year 1929—30.

Rajah of Parlakimidi	...	Rs, 350
Raja of Bobbili	...	500
Rajah of Chikati	...	150
Rajah of Mandasa	...	150
Mr. W. V. B. Ramalingam	...	116
Rajah of Devadi	...	100
Rajah of Kallikota (Besides Rs. 300 already given).	...	100
Rajah of Gopalpore	...	100
Sir A. P. Patro (Besides Rs. 500 already given)	...	100
Rajah of Tekkali	...	60
Zamindar of Doddampeta	...	50
Mr. Jupudi Seshagiri Rao	...	50
„ N. Kameswara Rao	...	50
„ Nalam Ramalingiah	...	50
„ B. V. Krishna Rao	...	2
Total		1,728

N. KAMESWARA RAO,
Treasurer.

Members who paid their Subscriptions during the quarter ending with 31—12—29.

<i>Messrs.</i>	RS.	AS.	P.
Kameswara Rao Sripada.	4	0	0
Thompson M. S. H.	4	0	0
Kameswara Rao Somina	2	0	0
Ramaswami Iyengar M. S.	3	4	0
Venkatapati Raju Nadimpalli. (26—30)	12	0	0
Gnanaprakasam P.	4	0	0
Bhogayappa Sastri V.	4	0	0
Gopalam P. V. S.	3	0	0
Hanumantacharya K. (26—30)	12	2	0
Narayana Rao B. L. („)	12	0	0
Gopala Rao D. B.	3	0	0
Nageswara Rao Gadi	3	0	0
Brahmanandamurti C.	4	0	0
Total	70	6	0

iii.

Subscribers who paid during the quarter.

The Adyar Library.	6	0	0
The Noble College, Masulipatam.	6	0	0
Superintendent, Archl. Survey, Eastern Circle.	6	0	0
University Library, Madras.	6	0	0
Andhra University.	6	0	0
Stall Training School for Mistresses Guntur.	6	0	0
Imperial Library, Calcutta.	6	0	0
Commissioner, Ajmere-Merwara.	6	0	0
Vicharanakarta, Tirupati Devasthanam.	6	0	0
Dacca University.	6	0	0
Watson Museum, Rajkot.	6	0	0
Government Sanskrit College, Benares.	6	0	0
Total	72	0	0

Donations received during the quarter.

Raja of Bobbili.	300	0	0
Sir A. P. Patro.	100	0	0
Mr. Nalam Ramalingiah.	50	0	0
Total	450	0	0

Members who paid their Subscriptions during the quarter ending with 31—3—30.

Krishnaswami Iyer C. V.	4	0	0
Bapiraju Adivi.	3	0	0
Datta Waman Potdar.	3	4	0
Total	10	4	0

Subscribers who paid during the quarter.

Secretariat Library, Fort St. George.	6	0	0
C. D. College, Anantapur (vols. 3 & 4)	12	0	0
Presidency College, Madras.	6	0	0
Presidency College, Calcutta.	6	0	0
Maharajah of Pithapuram.	6	0	0
Indian Museum, (Archl. Section) Calcutta.	6	0	0
Total	42	0	0

Donations received during the quarter.

Mr. W. V. B. Ramalingam.	116	0	0
Government Grant.	100	0	0
Total	216	0	0

iv.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

Serial Number	NAME OF MEMBER.	Date of Election.
1	Abdul Ali, A. F. M.M.A.	15-12-28
2	Akram ali Mir, B.A., B.L.	30-11-27
3	Anantahachari M.V.R.	24-11-29
4	Anantarama Iyer P.H., M.A.	27-10-26
5	Appalarama Mūrty J., B.A.	4-7-29
6	Appa Rao D, Bar-at-law	2-12-26
7	Appa Rao Vissa, M.A., L.T.	14-2-26
8	Appa Rao Vaddadi B.A., B.L.	19-5-26
9	Achyuta Rao T., M.A., L.T.	14-2-26
10	Atmaram C., B.A., B.L.	14-2-26
11	Avadhani V.V.S., B.A., B.L.	19-9-29
12	Bapiraju Adivi, B.A., B.L.	9-5-26
13	Benze, Rev. W.T.	9-5-26
14	Bhadrayya L. V., B.A.	13-11-27
15	Bhadrayya P., M.A., L.T.	30-4-27
16	Bhagavantam Gupta T., B.A., B.L.	27-1-26
17	Bhandarkar D.R., M.A.	10-12-26
18	Bhīmasankara Kao S. B.A.	14-2-26
19	Bheemasena Rao C, B.A., L.T.,	23-2-27
20	Bhogayappa Sastri V.	24-11-29
21	Bhujanga Rao T., M.A., B.L.	6-1-27
22	Brahmananda Murti C., B.A., B.L.	31-3-27
23	Brierley W.B., I.E.S.	10-12-26
24	Brown J.B., I.C.S.	28-7-29
25	Datta Waman Potdar	10-1-30
26	Dhanaraju T., B.A., B.L.	31-3-27
27	Dharma Rao G. M.A.	23-2-27
28	Dubrieul G. J.	31-3-27
29	Dharakota, Raja Saheb of	28-7-29
30	Dunkelberger R.M. Rev., M.A., STA.	12-3-29
31	Eswar Dutt K. B.A.,	9-5-26
32	Ganganna J., B.A., L.T.	...
33	Gangooly T.	23-1-28
34	Goedke Harry Rev,	7-10-29
35	Gopala Rao D.B., B.A.	24-11-29
36	Gopala Reddi B.	31-5-29
37	Gauripati Rao, I. B.A., L.T.	9-5-26
38	Gyanaprakasam P.	30-11-27
39	Gopalakrishna Sarma, R.	4-6-28
40	Gopalakrishnayya V.	18-10-17
41	Gopalam P.V.S.	1-4-28
42	Gopala Rao, Sree K. J.	12-3-29
43	Goviudarajulu Ch. B.A.	18-10-27
44	Graeffe J. E. Rev.	13-11-27
45	Hanumanta Rao S., M.A.	9-5-26
46	Hanumanta Rao C. H., M.A.	9-5-26
47	Hanumantacharya K., B.A.	7-10-29
48	Hanumatchastri A., M.A.	13-11-27
49	Herras, Henry S.J. M.A.	10-12-26
50	Hume Sastri B., B.A., B.L.	7-7-27

v.

DURING THE YEAR 1929—1930.

Profession and Address.
Keeper, Govt. of India Records. 3, Turner St. Calcutta.
Vakil, Rajahmundry.
Inamdar, Gutala.
Lecturer, P. R. College Cocanada.
Rural Reconstruction Supervisor, Achanta.
Deputy, Registrar High Court, Mylapur, Madras.
Lecturer, Presidency College, Madras.
Vakil, Rajahmundry.
Head Master, Higher Elementary Training School Rajahmundry.
Vakil, Rajahmundry.
Retired Sub Judge, Masulipatam.
Vakil, Bhimavaram,
Missionary, Yeleswaram.
Pleader, Ellore.
Chief Lecturer in History, Govt. Arts College, Rajahmundry
61 Narayana Mudali St. G. T. Madras.
Ballygunge, Circular Road, Calcutta.
Pleader, Rajahmundry.
Teacher, P. R. College. Cocanada.
Retired Dy. Collector, Repalle.
District Judge, Berhampore.
Vakil, Rajahmundry.
District Educational Officer, Bellary,
Collector, East Godavari Dt., Cocanada.
180, Shenwarpett, Poona.
Vakil, Rajahmundry.
Lecturer, Kallikota College, Berhampore.
Professor, Pondicherry,
Dharakota, Ganjam.
Missionary, Rajahmundry.
L. F. Auditor, Cocanada.
Head Master V. H. School, Rajahmundry.
35, Amherst St., Calcutta.
Missionary, Rentachintala.
Triplicane, Madras.
Buchireddipalem, Nellore Dt.
Head Master Rajah's High School, Tuni.
Secretary, A. E. L. M. Reading Room, Rajahmundry.
Taluk Sheristadar, Hindupur.
Inamdār Sattenapalli
Amalapur.
Student, Arts College, Rajahmundry.
Rev. Inspector, Nellore.
Missionary, Rajahmundry.
Professor Osmania College, Hyderabad.
Teacher, Board High School, Samalkota.
Vidwan, 622, Residency Bazar, Hyderabad.
Tirupati.
St. Xaviers College, Bombay.
Vakil, Vizagapatam.

51	Jaganatha Rao, N. B.A.	...	21- 7-25
52	Jaganatha Rao, K. V. Sri.	...	4- 7-29
53	Jaganatha Rao, V. M.A., L.T.	...	30-11-27
54	Jaganathaswami, P. M.A., L.T.	...	31- 5-29
55	Jaganathaswami, G. M.A. L.T.	...	...
56	Joganna, U. B.A., M.L.	...	27-10-26
57	Jogayya Pantulu, V. V. B.A.	...	17- 5-27
58	Jogi Jaganatharaju, U. S. Sree	...	31- 5-29
59	Kameswararao, N. B.A., B.L.	...	9- 5-26
60	Kameswararao, S. B.A., B.L.	...	10-12-26
61	Kameswararao, S. M.A., L.T.	...	27- 1-25
62	Kameswararao, D. Ch.	...	5- 9-26
63	Kameswara Sastri, Bh.	...	14-11-25
64	Kalidas Nag, M.A. D. LITT.	...	13-11-27
65	Krishna Bai, R.S. B.A., L.T.	...	...
66	Krishnarao, Nalam	...	30-11-27
67	Krishnarao Bhonsle, R.	...	27-10-26
68	Krishnamurti, M. B.A., L.T.	...	19- 9-20
69	Krishnamurty, D. B. M.A., B.L.	...	31- 5-29
70	Krishnaswamirao, C. B.A.	...	30-11-26
71	Krishnaswami Iyer S. M.A.	...	15-12-28
72	Krishnamachari, M. M.A., M.L.	...	27- 1-26
73	Khurshed Ali Syed	...	15-12-28
74	Lakshmanrao, K. B.C.E.	...	30-11-24
75	Lakshminarayana Sastri, Bh. M.A., L.T.	...	14-12-26
76	Lakshminarayana Sastri, C. B.A., B.L.	...	12- 3-28
77	Lakshminarayanarao, B.	...	24-11-29
78	Lochan Prasad Pandeya	...	15-12-28
79	Makoday Govind Balawant.	...	10- 1-30
80	Mallikarjunarao P.	...	7- 7-27
81	Nagabhushanam, S. B.A., L.T.	...	9- 5-26
82	Nagaraju Ch. B.A.	...	31- 5-29
83	Narayan Hirde. M.A.	...	15-12-28
84	Narsimham D. L. M.A., L.T.	...	...
85	Narasimha Iyengar S. M.A., L.T.	...	27-10-26
86	Narsimharao. S. B.A., L.L.B.	...	9- 5-25
87	Narasimulu Manda.	...	10-12-26
88	Narayanarao, C. M.A., L.T.	...	...
89	Nageswararao Gadi.	...	24-11-29
90	Narasingarao Gadi. B.A., L.T.	...	30- 4-27
91	Narasingarao, V. B.A.	...	1- 4-28
92	Neelakanta Das. Pandit. M.A.	...	25- 9-27
93	Neudoerfer A. F. A. M.A.	...	14- 2-26
94	Peri Sastri, S. B.A., L.T.	...	19- 3-25
95	Pitchayya, V. B.A.	...	6- 1-27
96	Popley H. A. Rev. B.A.	...	14- 9-28
97	Prakasarao D. V, S. B.A.	...	27-10-25
98	Purnayya Pantulu V. B.A., B.L.	...	30- 4-27
99	Purushottam S. M.A.	...	12- 3-28
100	Radhakrishnan S. M.A.	...	23- 1-28
101	Raghavachary K. M.A., B.L.	...	4- 6-28
102	Raghava Iyengar S. V.	...	24-11-29
103	Raghavachary N. M.A., L.T.	...	24- 6-28
104	Raghavarao, G. V. B.A.	...	30-11-24

Pleader, Narasarowpett.
 Zamindar Polavaram, Rajahmundry.
 Lecturer, Training College, Rajahmundry.
 Principal, Rajah's College, Parlakimidi.
 Head Master, P. R. College, Cocanada.
 Vakil, Cocanada.
 Pleader, Berhampore.
 Zamindar, Gopalpore, Vijayanagaram.
 Advocate, Rajahmundry.
 * Do.
 Lecturer, Training College, Rajahmundry.
 Inamdar, Rajahmundry.
 Pandit, Rajahmundry.
 University Professor, Calcutta.
 Teacher, Government Girls School, Rajahmundry.
 Merchant, Rajahmundry.
 Secretary, Government Examinations, Madras.
 Deputy Inspector of Schools, Rajahmundry.
 District Munsiff, Sompeta.
 Seeta Park, Basavangudi.
 Lecturer, Training College, Rajahmundry.
 District Munsiff, Chingelput.
 Director, Dafter Diwani Mall Hyderabad, Deccan.
 Supervisor, D.P.W. Ammapet, Tanjore District.
 Deputy Inspector of Schools, Ramachandrapur.
 Advocate, Vizagapatam.
 Shrotriendar, Bapatla.
 Kavyavinoda, Malguzar, P.O. Chandrapore, Bilaspur, C.P.
 Gwalior.
 Rajahmundry.
 Deputy Inspector of Schools, Sattenapalli.
 Proprietor, Razan Press, Rajahmundry.
 Professor, Morris College, Nagpur.
 Lecturer, C. D. College, Anantapur.
 Do.
 Deputy Collector, Bellary.
 Inamdar, Arasaville via Chicacole.
 Lecturer, C. D. College, Anantapur.
 Teacher, B. H. S. Nidadavol.
 Teacher, Rajah's College, Parlakimidi.
 Teacher, H. S. Pithapuram.
 Sachigopal near Cuttak.
 Missionary, Tallapudi.
 Deputy Inspector of Schools, Bhimavaram.
 Pleader, Cuddapah.
 5 Russel St. Calcutta.
 Cocanada.
 Sub Judge, Rajahmundry.
 Lecturer, Maharajah's College, Vijayanagaram.
 Professor, University, Calcutta.
 Vakil, Cocanada.
 Teacher, Hanumanlupett, Bezwada.
 Lecturer, C. D. College, Anantapur.
 Pleader, Yelamanchali.

105	Rajaguru Hemraj Pandit.	...	14- 9-28
106	Rajarajeswara Nissanka Bahadur.	...	12- 3-28
107	Rajaratnam, K. B.A.	...	10-12-26
108	Ramachandrarao, B. M.A., L.T.	...	25- 9-27
109	Ramachandrarao, D. B.A.	...	5- 9- 26
110	Ramachendrarao R. S. M.A., L.T.	...	9- 5- 26
111	Ramakrishnasastri, B. B.A.	...	12- 3-28
112	Ramakristayya, K. M.A.	...	30-11-24
113	Ramalingam, B.	...	30-11-27
114	Ramalingam, W. V. B. B.A., L.T.	...	17- 5-27
115	Ramamurti, G. Raosahib, B.A.	...	...
116	Ramamurti, K.	...	27-10-26
117	Ramamurti, Y. M.A., L.T.	...	17- 5-27
118	Ramanamurti R. V. M.A., B.L.	...	Do.
119	Ramiah Pantulu, J. B.A., B.L.	...	...
120	Ramaswami Iyengar, M. S. M.A., L.T.	...	15-12-28
121	Ramaswami Iyer, L. V. M.A.	...	7-10-29
122	Ramaswami Sastri K. S. B.A., B.L.	...	10- 1-30
123	Ramarao, A. Raosahib, B.A., B.L.	...	5- 9-26
124	Ramarao, K. M.A., L.T.	...	19- 9-29
125	Ramarao M. M.A.	...	4- 6- 28
126	Ramadas, G. B.A.	...	30-11-24
127	Rangachari, K. M.A.	...	"
128	Rangachari, N. M.A. L.T.	...	27- 1-25
129	Rangachari V. M.A.	...	Do.
130	Rangareddi, N. B.A., B.L.	...	6- 1-27
131	Rangaswami Saraswati A.	...	28- 7-29
132	Rao, P. S. M.A., I.C.S.	...	2- 12-26
133	Sambasivarao, C. Bar-at-Law.	...	7- 7-27
134	Sambasivarao, D.	...	9- 5-26
135	Sambasivarao, M.	...	30- 4-27
136	Sambasivarao, S. V. B.A., L.T.	...	17- 5-27
137	Sankararao, A. B.A., L.T.	...	30-11-24
138	Satyanarayana, B. V. N. B.A.	...	31- 8-27
139	Satyanarayana V. B.A.	...	15-12-28
140	Satyanarayanamurty, K. M.A.	...	28- 7-29
141	Satyanarayana, G. B.A.	...	3- 7-28
142	Satyanarayana, Raja Guru	...	23- 1-28
143	Satyanarayanarao, P. B.A., M.L.	...	2-12-26
144	Seshagirirao, Addanki. M.A., L.T.	...	31- 7-28
145	Seshagirirao B. M.A.	...	30- 4-27
146	Seshagirirao, P. B.A.	...	"
147	Seshagirirao R.	...	7- 7-27
148	Seshadri P. M.A.	...	18-10-27
149	Seetapati G. B.A. L.T.	...	...
150	Seetaramarao K. M.A.	...	5- 9-26
151	Setlur, S. S. B.A., L.L.B.	...	9- 5-26
152	Siddiq Hasan Khan, B.A.	...	15-12-28
153	Sivarama Ross, D. V. B.A., B.L.	...	14- 9-28
154	Sivaramasarma B.	...	...
155	Sivasankarasastri T.	...	9- 5-26
156	Sitaramiah Ch.	...	10- 1-30
157	Sitaramiah G. B.A., B.L.	...	17- 5-27
158	Somasekharasarma, M.	...	...

Dhakatole, Nepal.
 Zamindar, Sangamvalsa.
 Deputy Collector, Peddapur
 Head master, Town School, Guntur.
 Pleader, Fort, Kurnool.
 Head-master, Samasthanam High School, Bobbili.
 Pleader, Vizagapatam.
 Reader, Madras University, Madras.
 Municipal Councillor, Rajahmundry.
 Berhampore, Ganjam.
 Parlakimidi
 Municipal Supervisor, Vizagapatam.
 Lecturer, Kallikota College, Berhampore.
 Vakil, Berhampore, Ganjam.
 Mukteswaram, Tottaramudi Post.
 Chief Lecturer, Maharaja's College, Vizianagaram.
 Lecturer, Maharajah's College, Ernakulam.
 District Judge, Mangalore,
 Government Pleader, Rajahmundry.
 Headmaster, High School, Bezwada.
 Triplicane, Madras.
 Head master B. H. School, Jeypore.
 Lecturer, Maharaja's College, Vizianagaram.
 Headmaster, High School, Pithapuram.
 Professor of History, Presidency College, Madras.
 Vakil, Proddutur.
 Tank Square, Triplicane.
 Deputy Commissioner, Drug (C.P.)
 Luz, Mylapore.
 Y. M. C. A. Calicut.
 Vakil, Rajahmundry.
 Teacher, Mandasa.
 Teacher, V. H. School, Rajahmundry,
 Agent, Andhra Insurance Co., Vizagapatam.
 Teacher, Mission High School, Vizagapatam.
 Imperial Bank, Madura.
 Pleader, Ramachandrapur.
 Parlakimidi.
 Advocate, Madras.
 Teacher, P. R. College, Coconada.
 Lecturer, Maharajah's College, Vizianagaram.
 Deputy Inspector of Schools, Madanapalli.
 Agent, Macmillan & Co., Madras.
 Principal, Sanatana College, Cawnpore.
 Lecturer, Raja's College, Parlakimedi.
 Deputy Inspector of Schools, Ponnuru.
 Advocate, Bangalore City.
 Supervisor, Anjuman Hostel, Nagpur.
 Advocate, Coconada.
 Landlord, Rajahmundry.
 Author, Kottapett, Guntur.
 Parry & Co., Nidadavol.
 Vakil, Berhampore, Ganjam.
 2/13 Audiappa Mudali Street, Vepery, Madras.

159	Somasundara Desikar	...	9- 5-26
160	Somayazulu Ch. Y., B.A., B.L.	...	14- 9-28
161	Somayazulu G. G., M.A., B.L.	...	6- 1-27
162	Somayazulu N.S., B.A., L.T.	...	24-11-29
163	Someswara Rao K., B.A.	...	31- 3-27
164	Sri Gopinath Harischandra Jaga Deb	...	31- 7-27
165	Sri Lakshminarayana Harischandra Jaga Deb	...	31- 8-27
166	Srinivasachari C. S., M.A.	...	10- 1-30
167	Srinivasa Raghavachari, M. K. M.A., L.T.	...	31- 8-27
168	Sriram V., B.A.	...	6- 1-27
169	Sriramamurti D., B.A.	...	30-10-27
170	Srirama Sastri D., B.A., M.L.	...	12- 3-28
171	Subba Rao L., B.A., B.L.	...	27-10-26
172	Subba Rao Pantulu N.	...	14- 2-26
173	Subba Rao R., B.A., B.L.	...	31- 3-27
174	Subba Rao R., M.A., L.T.	...	...
175	Subba Rao V., B.A., B.L.	...	5- 9-26
176	Subbarayudu M., B.A., L.T.	...	9- 5-26
177	Subbiah P., M.A., L.T.	...	4-11-28
178	Subrahmanyam K. R., M.A.	...	5- 9-26
179	Subrahmanya Iyer K. V.	...	26- 4-29
180	Suri Sastri P., B.A.	...	12- 3-28
181	Suryakumar Bhuyan, M.A.	...	10- 1-30
182	Suryanarayana A., B.A., B.L.	...	3- 7-28
183	Suryanarayanamurti T., B.A.	...	1- 4-28
184	Suryanarayana Rao K.	...	5- 9-26
185	Suryaprakasa Rao C., B.A.	...	10-12-26
186	Suryaprakasa Rao P., B.A.	...	24-11-29
187	Surya Rao R., B.A., B.L.	...	31- 7-28
188	Vajjulu R., B.A., B.L.	...	Do.
189	Veerabasavaraju I.	...	5- 9-26
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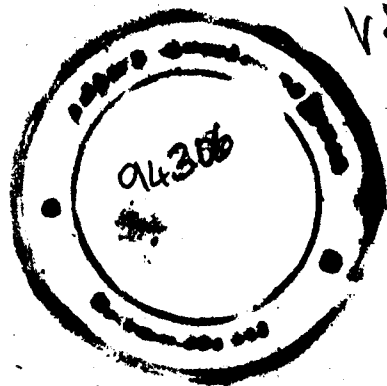
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