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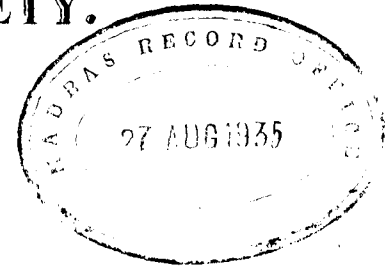
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Amaravati Sculpture depicting a Stupa.

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126

CONTENTS

	PAGES
1. <i>Gonarda, The Cradle of the Gonardiya</i> , by Prof. Sylvain Levi translated by Dinesh Chandra Sarkar, M.A.	1-10
2. <i>The Fore-fathers of Rani Samyukta</i> . Sri Lakshmi Narayana Harichandana Jagadeb, M.R.A.S.	11-12
3. <i>A Reply to "The Mandasa Plates of Dharmakhēdi"</i> by J.C.G. G. Ramadas, B.A., M.R.A.S.	13-22
4. <i>The Ponduru Copper-plate Inscription of Vajrahasta II</i> Manda Narasimham.	23-30
5. <i>Successors of Paramēśwaravarma II</i> , Govinda Pai.	31-46
6. <i>The Mēghas of Kōsala</i> , V. Appa Rao, B.A., B.L.	47-48

REVIEWS.

7. " <i>Vijayanagara-Origin of the City and the Empire</i> ." K. Iswara Dutt, B.A.	49-54
8. <i>Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology-1933</i> . V. S. Ramachandra Murty, B.A. (Hons.)	5
9. <i>Kabir and the Bhakti Movement</i> . K. Raghavacharyulu, M.A., B.L.	55-56
10. " <i>Qutub Shahi of Golcondah in the 17th Century</i> ." G. Venkata Rao, M.A., L.L. B.	57-58

NOTES.

11. ' <i>Shri Suktam</i> '. Rao Bahadur, Sardar M. V. Kibe, M.A.	59-60
12. <i>Select contents from Oriental Journals</i> .	61-62



V. S. Ramachandra Murty, B.A. (Hons.)

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Part 3

GONARDA, THE CRADLE OF THE GONARDIYA*

BY

Prof. Sylvain Lévi, D. Litt.

Translated by

Dines Chandra Sircar, M.A.

The Pārāyana, incorporated in the Pali Sutta-nipāta, is one of the most ancient monuments of Buddhism. The parallel writings, attested by frequent mentions have disappeared. But the Pali text, guaranteed as it is by two commentaries, the Mahā-niddesa and the Culla-niddesa, which, too, are very ancient, has an incontestable value. In the account, which makes use of the introduction to the collection, the Brahmin Bāvari, emigrated from the "charming city of Kosalas" (Śrāvasti), comes to settle himself "in the country of Assaka, in the vicinity of Muḷaka, on the banks of the Godhāvāri"; he sends his disciples in mission to the Buddha at his place of birth, at Sāvātthi of the Kosalas. The poet sums up in three verses (1011-1013) the steps of their route: "Paṭiṭṭhāna of Muḷaka; then the city of Māhissatī; also Ujjeni and Gonaddha; Vedisā; Vanasavhayā; Kosambi; and also Sāketa; and the big city of Sāvātthi, Setavya, Kapilavatthu; and the city of Kusinārā; and Pāvā; Bhoganagara; the Magadhan city of Vesālī and the Pāsāṇaka Cetiya."

The itinerary deserves the honour of an integral study. Here however, I shall only occupy myself with the intermediate step between

* The original article in French, *Gonarda, le berceau du Gonardīya*, by Dr. Sylvain Lévi, D. Litt (Cal.) Professor of the Collège de France and the University of Strasbourg, was published in the Ashutosh Commemoration Volume III, Part II (Orientalia)—Translator.

Ujjenī and Vedisā, two perfectly definite Localities: the one is still now Ujjain (Ogein), to the north of Indore, Lat. 23° 11' 10" N., and Long. 75° 51' 45" E., the other is Besnagar, very near Bhilsa, Lat. 23° 31' 35" N., and Long. 77° 55' 39" E. The Pārāyana places the city of Gonaddha between these two points.

The catalogue of Yakṣa in the Mahāmāyūrī¹ follows an exactly identical order: "at Avanti the Yakṣa is Priyadarśana; at Gonardana, Śikhandin; at Vaidiśa, Añjalipriya." Avanti is another name of Ujjayinī; Vaidiśa is the Sanskrit form of Pali Vedisa. The name of the intermediate locality is fluctuating in the tradition of the manuscripts; I have reproduced the reading of the Mss O and H in the text; but D reads Gonardane. Of the three Chinese versions, S transcribes Kiu-Kia-t'o-na, which supposes an original, Gogardana; Y translates You-hi "Bull-joy", which restores Gonandana; A translates you-ts'oei "Bull-compress", that is, Gomardana. The Tibetan translator has followed the same text (ba-lari'joms "Bull-compress"). The evidence of the Sutta-nipāta comes to confirm the reading Gonardana, because it is evident that, on both sides, the question is of the same locality. The Pali Gonaddha may be restored, without difficulty, to Sanskrit Gonarda. The aspiration, introduced subsidiarily in the Pali form, is a phenomenon, which is nothing exceptional; in that very introduction to the Pārāyana, we have already also met with the Sanskrit name of the Godāvarī, modified by aspiration of the dental in the interior of the word Godhāvarī; a list of analogous cases will be found, e.g., in the *Pali* by Geiger § 40 and § 62, and for Prakrits in general, in the *Grammatik der Prakrit-Śprachen* by Pischel § 207-202. In proper names, the phenomenon seems due generally to an erroneous interpretation: e.g., *Khanda*, "the god Skanda", owes its aspiration to a confusion with *Skandha*, "the Shoulder"; *Erūpatta* = *Airāvata*, "the divine elephant", has suffered the contamination of *pattha* "way", (as, in Sanskrit also, it has later suffered the contamination of *pattra* "leaf" in becoming *Elūpattra*). One will have believed to recognise the word *godhā* "big lizard" in the first syllables of the name of the Godāvarī. The Sanskrit *gonarda* (or *gonardana*, by developed suffixation) clearly signifies "the lowing of the cow". Passed to Prakrit under the form *gonaddan* (or *gonaddana*), the word becomes unintelligible. The root *nard* seems to have submitted in Prakrit to the root *nad* from which it hardly differentiates itself. Moreover, the word *go* quite naturally suggested the word *naddha* "attached, bound".

Whatever be the explication, the equivalence Gonarda = Gonaddha is certain. The name of Gonarda is indissolubly connected with the memory of Patañjali "the Gonardian" Gonardiya. A constant tradition

attested by Kaiyaṣa, by the author of the Trikaṇḍaśeṣa, and by Hemacandra, identifies the personage designated by the name of *Gonardiya* in the Mahābhāṣya with the author of the Mahābhāṣya. Kielhorn, it is true, vigorously contested the value of that tradition² and maintained that the Gonardiya was the author of the Kārika in verse, utilised and cited by Patañjali. The authority of Kielhorn in questions concerning the Mahābhāṣya surely deserves the highest consideration; but his interpretation is not in requisite contradiction with the Indian tradition. Patañjali might refer in the Mahābhāṣya to an anterior work which he had composed, designating himself with an appellation of impersonal character, derived from his place of birth. The geographical situation of Gonarda always agrees marvellously with the rare indications, which may be deduced from the Mahābhāṣya for fixing the date of Patañjali. The two essential facts are: 1° the mention of Puṣyamitra, of his court (sabhā), and of his sacrifice (iha Puṣyamitraṁ yajayāmah)³—2° the mention of the Greek conquests in India (arunad Yavanaḥ Sāketam, arunad Yavano Mādhyamikam). Now, Gonarda is the nearest step to Vidiśa. Vidiśa, according to the evidence of the accounts followed by Kālidāsa in the Mālavikāgnimitra, was the capital where resided the son of Puṣyamitra in the capacity of viceroy. And Vidiśa was also in close connections with Greek Politics; the column of Besnagar, on the site of the ancient Vidiśa, preserves the memory of a Greek ambassador (Yona-dūta), Heliodore, sent by the Greek king, Antialkidas, to the Indian king Kāśiputra Bhāgabhadra. Moreover, the geographical horizon of the Mahābhāṣya ordains itself harmoniously around the region Gonarda-Vidiśa as centre. Excepting some general designations of territories, as Vidarbha, Videha, Cola, Kerala, etc., which do not implicate any direct and personal knowledge, the names of localities, cities or towns, form themselves in a sort of triangle, of which the base goes from Pāṭaliputra to the Punjab, and of which the apex reaches the lower Narmadā with Māhiṣmatī. Māhiṣmatī figures in the itinerary of the Pārāyana as an intermediate step, which the disciples of Bāvari who started from Pratisthāna, reached on their way to Ujjayinī; likewise the Mahābhāṣya has,⁴ Ujjayinyāḥ prasthito Māhiṣmatyāḥ Sūryam Udgamayati.

A difficulty always seems to oppose the localisation of Gonarda that I propose. The name of Gonarda is cited as a name of place "in the land of the Orientals" in the Candrovsth⁵ and in the Kāśika-vṛtti, on Pāṇini I, 1. 75, just for explicating the formation of the derivative Gonardiya, without Vṛddhi. Pāṇini teaches that, by exception,

2. Ind. Antiq. XV, 81-83.

3. On Pāṇini III, 126.

4. On Candragomin III, 2, 25, etc.

¹ Journ. Asiat. 1919, I, P. 43 V. 19.

the diphthongs e and o should be considered as the degree of Vṛddhi (which is normally ai and au) in the names of places of the land of the Orientals (in prācām deśe; Candragomin reproduces this sūtra adapting it in his system III, 2, 25, enādyacaḥ prāgdeśāt.) We are evidently surprised, and even shocked, to see Gonarda which is in the midst of Mālava here placed in "the East" of India. We have not, however, the right to call the assertion of Candragomin and the Kāśikā in question. It is not the question of following a blind confidence in the geographical knowledge of these commentaries; but the reasoning, from the grammatical order, is unquestionable: Gonardiya is a derivative, formed by means of the suffix cha (=°tya); the suffix cha joins a stem having Vṛddhi; °Gonardiya is treated as a stem of Vṛddhi, though it has O, and not au, in the first syllable. The thing then is that it enters into the exception anticipated by Pāṇini: "So Gonarda, from which it is derived, is a name of a locality of the orientals."

But what should it mean by "the Orientals," Prāñcaḥ? The grammar, since Pāṇini, knows only two groupings as regards the Cardinal points: the Northerners (udañcaḥ) and the Easterners (Prāñcaḥ). A traditional verse quoted by the Kāśikā⁷ and by Kṣīrasvāmin⁸ establishes that division:

*Prāgudañcan, Vibhajate hamsakṣīrodake Yathā
Vidusām Śabdāsiddhyartham Śā naḥ pātu Śārāvati*

"She separates the East and the North, as the swan separates the milk and the water, for fixing well the usage of the classical language. May the Śārāvati protect us!"

And the Dictionary of Amara, in describing the earth, stands also on that double division, which he completes by the secondary association of the two other directions:

*Śārāvatyās tu yo' vadhah, deśaḥ pragdaksinaḥ prācya ūdicyaḥ
paścimottarah,*"⁹:

"in starting from the Śārāvati, the country, which is to the South-east, is the East; that, which is to the North-west, is the North."

Thus, to Amara, the South is expressly connected with the East, the North with the west. The glossologist Vandyaghaṭṭya writes on the passage that "the Śārāvati is a river of India that runs from the

North-East towards the Western ocean" (*etasmimśca Bhārata varṣe śārāvatināmanadi īśānyā diśaḥ Sakāśāt Paścimasamudragāminī vahati*). The indication seems plain and clear; unfortunately real geography does not confirm it. Vandyaghaṭṭya, a veritable glossologist, has deduced from the text itself, the indication which he appears to have added here. He has borrowed it neither from the modern geography, nor from the ancient, nor from the consecrated nomenclatures of the rivers in the epics and the Purāṇas. The pretended Śārāvati of Vandyaghaṭṭya will be searched in vain. In fact, the tradition has perpetuated, this time also, an appellation that had no more any relation, for a long time, with reality. There had been a time, when the name of Śārāvati, "(the river) with reeds," was applied to a course of water, which separated the whole of Aryan India into two parts. Pāṇini expressly teaches the formation of the name.¹⁰ The memory of a frontier traced by the river Śārāvati is curiously in a celebrated episode of the Buddhist doctrine. When Koṭikarna goes to consult the Buddha on the limit of the country of strict observance, the Lord fixes the Southern limit at Śārāvati. "In the South there is a city named Śārāvati, and beyond that is a river named Śārāvati there is the boundary (*dakṣiṇena Śārāvati nāma nagari tasyāḥ pareṇa Śārāvatināma nadi so'ntaḥ*.) such is at least the tradition of the Mūla-sarvāstivādin school in the original text gathered by the compilers of the Divyāvadāna (p. 21). The editors of the text, Cowell and Neil, cite two Variants of the name, furnished by some manuscripts of inferior value: Sarvāvati (ms. A.) and Sarvāvati (ms. B.). It is this last reading which has been followed by Yi-tsing, the author responsible, if not actual, of the Vinaya Mūlasarvāstivādin. He has rendered the name of the city and the river by che-pa (or:fo)-lo-fa-ti which supposes an original Śavaravati. "Yi-tsing reproduces the same form of the name in another treatise of the same Vinaya, the Mūlasarvāstivāda Ekaśata-karma, "where the same episode is repeated in abridgment. The reading Śavaravati is undoubtedly due to a trial of correction to substitute for the unknown Śārāvati a name which evoked the idea of the Śavaras whose savage tribes peopled the central plateau, on the southern border of the basin of the Ganges. The corresponding passage of the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins is known to us only from the Chinese version due to Puṇyatara, which appears, owing to the fault of the translator or of the original, in a state of inextricable confusion. After having given the Mount Uśira (Yeu-chi-lo) as the

5. Vṛddhaḥ chah P. IV 2, 114.

6. I, 75.

7. On Pāṇini I, 1, 75.

8. On Amara II 1, 6-7.

9. II, 1, 6-7.

10. Saradinamca VI, 3, 120.

11. Tok, XVII, 4, 108-a 9

12. Tok, XVII, 5, 57-b, 2.

northern limit, it adds: "beyond that mountain, and not far off, there is the tree So-lo by the source with rushes" ^{13*} The "source with rushes" seems to be the equivalent of Śārāvati "(the water) which has some reeds," and the tree So-lo = Śārā or Śālā seems to go back to the same original. Through and through, this Vinaya gives as the limit in the North East "the river of the Bamboos" which, too, evokes the Śārāvati. Such as it is, the passage is then inutilisable. The Pali Vinaya of the Sthavira school substitutes Salalavati (with the variants) Sallavati and Salilavati; but the evidence of Jātaka I, 49 and Sumangalavilāsini I, 173 confirms the reading Salala^o for Śārāvati; it makes that river the boundary in the South East: *puratthimadakkhiṇāya disāya Salalavati nāma nadi*. "The orientation of the South-East by the Pali work partly agrees with the orientation of the South by the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins; it is in absolute contradiction with the Brāhmaṇic conception of the Śārāvati, which, separating the North and the East, must flow to the North-West of the country of the Middle, the Madhyadeśa, which is the land of strict observance.

The city of Śārāvati (Śārāvatinagari), which the vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins places just on this side of the river Śārāvati is not better known than that river itself. A city of the same name, it is true, appears in the Raghuvamśa XV, 97, as the capital where reigned Lava, son of Rāma, while his other son reigned at Kuśavati:

"*Sa niveśya Kuśāvatyām ripunāgānkuśam Kuśam
Śārāvatyām Satām Suklāir janitāśrulavam Lavam.*"

This is at least the text adopted by Mallinātha and generally accepted on the authority of this commentator. But the commentators Vallabha, Vijayānandasūri and Caritravardhana read: *Śrāvastyāmca*. Hemādri and Sumalivijaya read: *Śrāvatyāmca*. And in fact, the Uttarakānda of the Rāmāyana, which Kālidāsa follows, name the capital of Lava Śrāvastī, in the text of Bombay CVIII, 5, as in the text of Calcutta CXXI, 4: *Śrāvastiti puri ramyā Śrāvītūca Lavasyaca*.¹⁵ In fact, according to all the texts of the Rāmāyana, Lava reigned over Uttara Kōśala, while Kuśa ruled over Kōśala proper (*Kōśalesu Kuśam vīram uttaresu tathā Lavam*.) Śrāvastī is the capital of Uttarakōśala. The city and the river of Śārāvati on the confines of the North and the East have nothing to do here.

* The Chinese characters are not given as they are not all available in our presses.

13. Tok. XVI, 4, 59-a, 17.

14. Vinaya pitaka Mahavasya V, 13, 12.

15. The edition of Gorresio, CXIII, 24 has Sravati: *Lavasya tu purim ramyām Śrāvatiṃ lokaviserutām*.

A precise location of the site of Gonarda with regard to the Śārāvati, which is not to be found, must then be given up. But one fact subsists: in the traditional division of Āryāvarta in two regions, North and East, Gonarda, treated grammatically as a locality of the "orientals", is not in the North, however may have come its secondary orientation. It is then not to be surprised if Varāhamihira, the only author known who mentions Gonarda after the texts already cited* places Gonarda among the countries of the south in his astrological chart of India, Brhatsamhita XIV, 12: *atha daksinena Lanka.....Bharukacchā.....anVavāsikoṇ-Kaṇṇabhirāḥ.....Akara-Ven-Avartaka (corr. ānart^o) Daśapura Gonarda Keralakūḥ Karṇāṭa.....Nāsikya.....Tumbavana Kārmaneyakāḥ*. The name of Gonarda appears twice more in the Brhatsamhita, in the interior of two purely astrological groupings: IX, 13, *anyenātrākrante Mlecch Aḥavik Aśvajīvi Gomantān Gonarda-Nica-Śūdrān Vaidehāmścānyah Sprati*. And XXXII, 22: *Gonarda-cēdikukurān Kirāta-Vaidehakān hanti*. In his geographical nomenclature, Varāhamihira seems to throw the names at the hazard of the metre, so that nothing of their relative disposition can be inferred from a stand on the order of classification. Among these names of the southern regions, there is one, however, which deserves detaining attention: this is the name of Tumbavana. The locality is,

Some Purāṇas, notably the Mārkaṇḍeya, mention Gonarda along with the countries of the south.

- * "Sanka kālājīnāścaiva Śailika Nikatāstathā ||20
Mahendra Malayādrau ca Dardureca Vasanti ye |
Karkotakavane yū ca Bhrgukacchā Sakonṇkanāḥ ||21
Sarvāścaiva tathā Ābhirā Venvātīranivasinah |
Āvantayō Dāśapurā stathaiivā Kanilojanāḥ ||22
Mahārāṣṭrāḥ Sakarṇatā Gonardā Citrakūṭakāḥ |
Colāḥ Kolagirāścaiva Krauncadvīpajaṭādhārāḥ ||23
Kāvēri-Rsyamukasthā Nāsikyāścaiva ye janāḥ |
Śankhaśuktyādi Vaidūrya-Śailaprāntacarāśca ye ||24
Tathā Vāricarāḥ Kotaścarmapattani Vasinah |
Ganvāhyāḥ Parāḥ Kṛṣṇadvīpavāsānivasinah ||25
Sūryādrau Kumudādrāṇca ye vasanti tathā janāḥ |
Ankhāvanāḥ sa Piśikāś tathā ye Karmanāyakāḥ ||26
Dakṣiṇāḥ Kaurusā ye ca Rṣikāś Tāpasāśramāḥ |
Rṣabhāḥ simhalāścaiva tathā Kāñcinivāsinaḥ ||27
Tilangākūñjaradāri-Kacchavāśca ye janāḥ |
Tāmrparṇāstathā Kuṣīriti Kūrmasya daksīṇe ||28

[Mark. Pur. Ch. LVIII
Bangavāsī Edition. Cal.] Translator.

however, as far as I know, completely unknown in literature. Nevertheless, in Paramatthajotikā, his commentary on the Suttanipata, Buddhaghosa remarks, on some verses of the Pārāyana, where Gonarda is mentioned: *Ujjeniñcūpi Gonadham Vedisam Vanasavhayam*, that "Vanasavhaya (literally, 'which bears the name of a forest') designates Tumbavananagara; others maintain that this is Vanasāvatti." (*Vanasavhayanti Tumbavananagaram* (sic) *vuccati Vanasāvattihinti pi eke*); the gloss is quoted by Anderson-Smith in their edition of the Sutta-nipāta¹⁶. Thus, according to the statement of Buddhaghosa Tumbavana will be the step between Vidiśā and Kauśāmbi, on the route from Gonaddha-Gonarda towards the Yamunā. In fact, in the Stupa of Sanchi, near the site of Vidiśā (23° 28' N. Lat; and 77° 48' E. Long.) five inscriptions¹⁷ commemorate the donations made by some inhabitants of Tumbavana. Among the benefactors of the stupa are represented the inhabitants of Māhismate, Ujjayini and Vidiśā. It is astonishing not to meet some people of Gonarda.

The authenticity of the geographical nomenclature in the introduction of the Pārāyana is confirmed by a decisive trait. Bāvari is here represented as settled on the bank of the Godāvari, in the region of Alaka.

*So Assakassa visaye Alakassa Samāsane
Vasi Godhūvarikule uñchenaca phalena ca* 11 (Verse 2).

When his disciples leave him, their first step towards the North is the city of "Patitthāna of Alaka" (*Alakassa Patitthānam*, v. 36). Such is at least the text adopted by the editor, Fausböll and Anderson-Smith. But the material for criticisms furnished by the latter show that in the two passages, the Burmese manuscripts have "Mulaka" instead of Alaka. The inscription Siri Pulumāyi at Nasik, enumerating the provinces re-annexed by Gautamīputa in his empire, names the country of Mulaka, which it puts together with the country of Asaka (Assaka) exactly as does the Pārāyana: (*Asika-Asaka-Mulaka-Suratha-Kukurāparānta Anūpa Vidabha-Ākarāvati*) The latest editor of the inscription, M. Senart wrote about the name of Mulaka: "The Mulakas remain shrouded in obscurity. Bhagwanlal adduced the dynasty of the Muṇḍakas, known from the Viṣṇu Purāṇa; and the way in which they are there mentioned together with the Śakas and Tukhāras is such as to commend the hint. But I am doubtful about the change of

! into nd".¹⁸ Thanks to the text of the Pārāyana the mystery is dissipated. The site of Mulaka may also be determined with enough precision, since it is between Asaka (Assaka, Āsmaka) where exists the city of Pratisthāna (Patitthāna), now-a-days Paithan on the upper Godāvarī, near its source, and Suratha (Surāstra) which is the modern peninsula of Katthiawar. Mulaka should then designate the portion of the coast with the rear-country, Guzarat, to the north of Bombay.

I shall perhaps be accused of attaching an excessive importance to the order of succession in which the names of provinces are unstrung in the inscription of Pulumāyi. But the inscription of Rudradāman at Girnar, which goes up to the same epoch, also contains a list of provinces subdued by Rudradāman, the adversary of the Śātakarni dynasty, to which belong Gotamiputa and Pulumāyi. His domain is partly formed of the territories conquered from the Śātakarnis. Here will be found Ākarāvanti (Ākara + Avanti), Anūpa, Surāstra, Kukurāparānta (Kukura + Aparānta): *pūrvapar Ākar Avanti Anūpanivṛd Ānartta Surāṣṭa Svabhra-Maru-Kaccha-Sindhūsauvīra Kukur Aparānta Niṣaḥhādīnām*. But here the order of succession is inverse, since Rudradāman extended his conquests from the North to the South, starting from the region of Ujjayinī his capital,—whereas Gotamiputa starting from the banks of the Godāvarī, marched conquering from the South to the North.

The memory of the country of Mulaka is perhaps not entirely effaced from the Purāṇic tradition. In the genealogy of the race of Ikṣāku, the Viṣṇu Purāṇa (IV, 4) gives to Kalmāṣapāda, a son named Āsmaka; Āsmaka has for son and successor Mulaka, surnamed Nārīkavaca, because some women hid and saved him at the time of the general massacre of the Kṣatriyas. Āsmaka is clearly an eponymous hero, the eponym of the country of Āsmaka, the "Stony" territory (*āśman* = "stone"), situated to the south of Avanti and closely connected with it. *Avantiāśmakāḥ*, Gaṇapāṭha, gaṇa Kārta Kaujapādayaḥ, *Āśmakāvanti* in the Sarvāstivādi vinaya, episode of Koṭikarna; the Mūla-sarvāstivādi vinaya¹⁹ has *Āśmāparāntaka*, which Cowell and Neil wrongly read: *āsmat parāntaka*. The relation between Āsmaka and Mulaka so clearly expressed in the Pārāyana (*So Assakassa visaye Muḥakassa Samāsane*, v. 2) lets us think that the filiation indicated in the

16. Ad. loc., p. 194.

17. Luders List, Nos. 201, 202, 449, 450, 520.

18. Epigr. Indica VIII, 62.

19. Divyāvadāna 1.

Purāṇā between King Aśmaka and King Muḷaka interprets a geographical relation in the genealogy.

It will be less astonishing to meet in a section of the Suttanipāṭa with some details, so precise, of the geography of the regions that encircle the gulf of Cambay, if it is remembered that one of the pearls of the Collections, the admirable Dhaniyasutta²⁰ has the bank of the Mahī for its scene. The shepherd Dhaniya is settled here: *anutīre Mahiyā samāna vāso*; the Buddha passes a night on the bank of the river: *anutīre Mahiyekorattivāso*. The audacity of a poet and a local inspiration must have been necessary for bringing the Buddha in these exotic quarters so far from his real activity, in close contact of the sea, frequented by the barbarians.

THE FORE-FATHERS OF RANI SAMYUKTA.

[Sri Sri Sri Lakshminarayana Harichandana Jagadeb Raja Bahadur, Purathathvavisharath, Vidya Vachaspathi, Raja Saheb Tekkali.]

Princes belonging to several different dynasties had ruled over Utkal. But those of the Soma dynasty who were known by the title 'Kesari' ruled for a long time. Their rule in Utkal lasted for five centuries from 520 A.D. to 1042 A.D. The first King of this line was Jajati Kesari.

Buddhism was predominant in Orissa at the time he conquered this land. Jajati Kesari made serious attempts to re-establish Hinduism. But to renew idol-worship and other Hindu religious observances he could not find there a sufficient number of Brahmins at that time. He therefore wrote to the King of Kanauj requesting him to send Brahmins to enable him to perform some 'Yagas'. The required number of 10000 brahmins were readily sent by the ruler of Kanauj. Jajati Kesari had several sacrifices and other religious observances performed by these brahmins on the banks of the river Vaitharini.

The Kesari kings were followers of the Saiva school of Hinduism and so they chiefly aimed at spreading the Saiva faith in the land they ruled over. The important centres in Orissa of Buddhism at that time were Dhavalagiri, Khandagiri and Udaigiri near the present Bhuvaneswar. Lalatendu Kesari therefore transferred his capital to, and had a fort built at Ekambrakanana (the present Bhuvaneswar). There he built a famous temple of remarkable architecture for the God Linga Raj in 588 Saka or 666 A.D.† The ruins of the fort at Ekambrakanana are still found. Nrupa Kesari ruled from 920 A. D. to 935 A.D. This King transferred his capital from Bhuvaneswar to Cuttack where he had a fort built called Barabati. His son, Marakata Kesari, had got a big bund erected to prevent the town from being flooded by the river Kathojhuri.

Swarna Kesari was the last of the Kesari kings. He rejected Saivism and embraced Vaishnavism. He lived for a long time in Puri to pray and worship the Lord Jagannath. He was a brave warrior himself and maintained a large army. When, during his invasion of

† गजाष्टेषु मितेजाते शकाब्दे कृतिवाससः

प्रासाद मकरोद्राजा ललाटेन्दु श्र्वेक्षरी ।

the Deccan, Vijayapala, the ruler of Kanauj,* came to Utkal, he did not fight with Swarna Kesari in view of the old friendly relations between the rulers of Kanauj and Orissa. Swarna Kesari Mukunda Deb (that being the full name of the Kesari King) not only received him with great honour, but also gave the hand of his daughter in marriage to Jayachandra the grandson of Vijayapala. It was this royal couple that gave birth to the famous Rani Sanjukta.

Chand Bhatta, a courtier of Prithvi Raj (husband of Rani Sanjukata) had written about this fact in his book called 'Prithvi Raj Raso' as follows:—

समुद्रकि नारे के राजा मुकुन्द देव सोमवंसीका विजयपालको अपनो पुत्रीदेना ।
सोमवंश राजाधिराज । मुकुंद देवप्रभु ॥ सरित समुद्र सुतटह कटक मयमणि
नृत्यनभु ॥ तीसलष तीषार । लप्पगेवंगललज्जहिं ॥ दसहलप्पयदलह पुलत
दसखलति रज्जहिं ॥ दिवदिवस रितिमंतह जपति । जगन्नाथ

Translation :

Mukunda Deb of Soma dynasty whose capital was Cuttack on the seaside had 3000000 cavalry, 100000 elephants and 1000000 infantry. He was a devotee of Lord Jagannath. He entertained Vijayapala as a guest in his palace for ten days with great honour, and gave his daughter in marriage to the grandson of Vijayapala with a dowry of rich gifts such as precious stones, silks etc. along with a large retinue of servants. Vijayapala spent his time with Mukunda Deb in pleasure and comfort.

* कन्नौ जके राजा विजयपालका दक्षिणा दिशा पर चढाई करना कनवज्जह
कामधज्ज राज जयपालराजवर ॥ इयगयनवर भोर । सकलकियसेनजित्पर ॥
वीरधीरवर सगुन । भारउध्धारमहामति ॥ मत्तिराम शितविध (व्य) बीयरमाधि
राज्जरति ॥ संचस्यौ सेन सजिविजैनग । सकलजीतिभर राजधर ॥ मुखस्यदिस्य
त्रमसंगकिय । क्रम्यौ देस हक्षिनसुधर ॥ ६ ॥ २०१ ॥
पूजतदिनह ॥ दिगविजयकरन विजयपालनृप । सपतकोसभिद्योतिनह ॥ ६ ॥ २०२
मुकुंददेवकिपुत्रीका जयचंदके साथढाहोना । अतिआदर आदरिय । सहस
दसदीनगयदंहु ॥ धनअसंघनमुत्ति । रतनघटसमुनिमन्नदहु ॥ सौप्रजंकरजंकति ।
कोटिदसपाटपटंवर ॥ दिटपुत्रीसुविसाल । दासि सैं सत्तअडंवर ॥ परषीसुपुती
जयचंददिषि । सुभ्ययुन्हाइयआसरिग ॥ वरसवरपंचदंपतिदिनह । पानिग्रहन
उत्तिमकरिग ॥ ६ ॥ २०३
अतिसुललित सरूपविप । रमहिराजनसंग । इक्कथारमीजनकरहिं अतिसुषज
पतिप्रसंग । २०४ ।

A REPLY TO " The Mandasa Plates of Dharmakhēdhi "

by Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh in J.A.H.R.S. Vol. VIII
Part 4 pp. 233-237.

BY

G. RAMADAS.

The aim of the author appears to point out what he considers to be faulty in my discourse on the Mandasa Plates of Anantavarma-deva, Saka 913, published in J. B. & O. R. S. Vol. XVII pp. 175-88. In support of his statements he did not cite any authority. If his desire was to support the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, for 1917-18, there is no use of pronouncing dogmatic statements; but text and verse should be quoted in support of it from other records or Sanskrit literature. In the absence of such examples from the ancient writings what he has said becomes something like a table-talk of friends, having nothing to do, sit together and decry everything they do not like in the world. As such his remarks do not require any reply. But after I have published my discourse on the Mandasa Plates, some of my scholar friends required me to supply with examples from ancient writings in support of my interpretation of the Chronogram expressing the date of charter. Now I take this opportunity to give that information while pointing out that Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh's points of criticism are not sound.

I have observed, long ago, that some mistakes were left uncorrected in the discourse on the Mandasa Plates but it was too late to correct them. After all, they are not of such a serious type as those that are committed by the learned critic. If Kielhorn is spelt as Keilhorn; if Ugrakhēdi in the translation is not corrected to Bhāma-khēdi; and 'above' in the foot notes to E.1. the discourse is not affected. Yet I tender my apology to the readers of J.B. & O.R.S. for having left those uncorrected. In the reply to the points of criticism raised by Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh, I shall give reference to the page and paragraph containing the point of objection raised by him.

P. 233-p. 4. The learned critic thinks that 'Sakala-Kalingādhīpati' and 'Tri-Kalingādhīpati' convey the same sense. Do 'Sakala' mean the

1 My articles on 'Tri-Kalinga' in J.A.H.R.S. Vol. I, pt. 1, pp. 16-23 and J. B. & O. R. S. December 1928.

same as 'Tri'? If 'Sakala-Kalingādhīpati' gives the same idea as 'Tri-Kalingādhīpati', the Kings of Tripuri and the Somavamsi Kings of Orissā would have been the rulers of 'Sakala-Kalinga'. But they were not so. In that very Epigraphical Report from which the learned critic quoted the extract which formed the second paragraph on the page referred to above it is said, 'it has, however, to be noticed that these earlier *Varman* Kings called themselves 'lords of Kalinga', while the later Kings called themselves 'lords of TriKalinga'. If both these phrases 'convey the same sense': Why is this specially notified by the Superintendent for Epigraphy?

The next question of this learned critic, in the same paragraph is, Are the Kalachuris and the Chedis two different tribes? From my sentence'.....'which title was much coveted by the Gangas of Kalinga in the east and the Kalachuri and Chēdi Kings on the west', the learned critic appears to have understood that I had meant two separate tribes. Is the definite article repeated before each word? Let him refer to the English Grammar Book III by J. C. Nesfield p. 167 and take answer to his question.

Page 234, para 1. As the king was not the donor, the poet-composer was not concerned with giving the full titles of the over-lord' is the gist of his arguments. In the first place, the gotra and the genealogy do not come under the titles. They indicate the origin of the family and the pedigree of the king. Was it the concern of the poet-composer to give all the titles of the King except these two that really show the nobility of the family? Was he afraid that, if he included them, his master, the donor, would get angry? The learned critic may be informed that the drafting of the deeds of this sort did not depend on the whims and caprices of the poet composer. The several facts to be mentioned in the charter, the order in which they should be stated do entirely depend upon the will of the King and poet-composer's business was simply to clothe them in a proper language. Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh is of opinion that the points mentioned depend on these poet-composers and also upon the places at which the charters are written. The Smṛtis prescribe them. During the time of Pratapa Rudra Gajapati of Orissa, all the rules required for the administration of a Kingdom were collected from these Smṛtis and were given with commentary

1 The glory or greatness of the chief depends upon that of his suzerain lord. The vassals borrow their dignity from that of their over-lords. The Kondavidu C.P. of Ganadeva (I.A. Vol. XX pp.) and the Gopinathapura inscription (J. A. S. B. Vol. LXIX 1900, No.2) are instances of charters issued by the feudatory chiefs under Kapileśvara Deva of Orissa. The former was written in the south and the latter in the north, consequently the authors must be different. In the portion containing the eulogy of the Suzerain lord, is any point omitted in each of them?

in a book called 'Sarasvati Vilasam'. Of course, the commentary therein is such as was suitable to the 16th century A.D., but the Smṛtis were written many centuries before. Any poet-composer irrespective of his own intelligence, of the place of writing or of the chief whose service he holds, must mention the things required in the order prescribed in the Smṛtis. Even the feudatory chief cannot amend or omit any fact that might have been in vogue at that time. Can the learned critic show me one example of a charter issued by a feudatory chief omitting to mention all the points given in the eulogy of his Suzerain lord? The pedigree is essential to declare the antiquity of the ruler. It increases as the King achieves greater glory and more territory. Observe the genealogies given in the shorter and the longer copper plate charters of Anantavarma Chōḍa Ganga Deva. The shorter ones are almost like the charters of his grand father, Tri-Kalingādhīpati Vajrahasta Deva while the longer—only two have yet been discovered—give an increased pedigree. When the former King gained more territory, he grew ambitious and after a long and persistent search might have discovered the names of Kings that reigned before Gunamaharnava from whom the reigning king had been traced in the time of his grand-father. Should not the feudatory chief obtain the sanction of their Suzerain lord for every charter he issued? If not, how could it obtain the imperial seal on it? Does not the seal on the ring that held these Mandasa plates together, contain the couchant bull and other emblems of the Kalinga Ganga Kings? Would the King tolerate the omission of his pedigree, if he had any? If the Anantavarmadeva of the Mandasa plates were the same as the donor of the Narasapatam and the Nadgam plates, who also bore the title of Anantavarma, how could he allow the non-inclusion of his pedigree in the first set of plates? According to our learned critic the date of the Mandasa plates is saka 976. Let us allow it. The date of the Narasapatam plates is saka 976. If the King in both were the same, why did not the pedigree that had been mentioned in a document, appear in another document written nine years later? The date of the coronation of the King is invariably given in every charter of TriKalingadhīpati Vajrahasta Deva does not find mention in the record under question. Again the Mandasa plates state that his family had the stains of Kali age removed by bowing to the feet of the god Gokarna while the charters of TriKalingādhīpati Vajrahasta Deva record that his family had the stains of Kali washed by bathing in the holy waters and received the several war-weapons from the god Gokarna. If the sovereign mentioned in the Mandasa and the Narasapatam records were the same, though the donor of the former was a feudal chief, would such differences exist? Would the king allow such widely different facts said? There are five sets of the TriKalingādhīpati's, charters that have been

known till now. All of them are alike in style. Their poet-composers and scribes were different. But the Mandasa plates do not resemble any one of them.

Para 3. In this paragraph the learned critic asks, 'What appreciable difference in the formation of letter can there be in an interval of (976-913) 63 years?'. In my paper, I pointed out under Orthography pp. 176-178 every peculiarity in the script used in the grant. Epigraphic Indica Vol. XI gives the facsimile of the Narasapatam plates dated 967 (No. 14) and Professor Sten Konow gives the peculiarities he had observed of the alphabet of the document. The two comments may be compared and the alphabet used in each of the plates may be observed. A casual observer cannot see anything; an analytical study of each letter should be made. These differences cannot be explained in so many words.'

Paras 4, 5 & 6. Here the learned critic comes to the crux. The 5th para is an extract from my paper. The sixth contains the question, why I had made alterations in ending vowels of the component parts of the Chronogram. Does not the context require that the compounds intimating the year should be in the locative case? The question shows that the learned critic is as well acquainted with Sanskrit grammar. That he should think that 'mata' should be 'mita' is another evidence. The ordinal number is formed by the addition of 'tama' only and to illustrate the use of 'tama' I give a few extracts from other records of olden days.

I Gupta Inscriptions p. 233, Mathura Buddhist image inscription.

L.1. Samvatsara Śate-panchastri (trim) ś-ottara tamō.

II ibid p. 70.

L.3. Samvatsara-śate shach(t) chatvā

L.4. [ri *] rśad-uttara tamō

P. 235 para 1. The learned critic declares, 'There is no authority or argument for taking both in units place and adding them, particularly when two places viz., places of units and tens are to be filled in.'

1 Comparative details of the script are given here: Mandasa plates: 738 syllables in all of which 59 Telugu characters. Narasapatam plates dated Saka 967:—1577 syllables of which only 13 are Telugu; and the rest are all Nagari. Nandagam plates dated saka 979:—1230 syllables of which all are Nagari; no admixture. Between the Mandasa plates and the Narasapatam plates, there is a difference of 46 in the use of the Telugu characters.

In the last clause of this sentence his knowledge of elements of arithmetic is exhibited. Do we not get *one* to fill in the tenths place and *three* in the units place by adding the two figures 6 and 7. So his argument fails in the first place. In support of his interpretation he did give no authority and by saying, 'there is no authority' he hints that he could give none either in support or against it—If I cite authorities here and deduce arguments therefrom, it is not for him but for the information of those friends whom I have already referred to.

III Gupta Inscriptions No. 15 p. 67.

L.4. Varshē-ttrimśad-das-aik-ottarakā Śata tamō
Here *trīmśad* and *dasā* are two numbers in the tenths place. That 3 and 1 are to be in that place is intimated by giving their multiples of ten. Are not 3 and 1 units? What do we do with them? We add them and put the sum in the tenths place as indicated in the record.

So far as I am aware of, there is not a record which does not mention a number consisting of two or more figures without giving the place value of each figure in it and grammar does not allow that a compound number should be given without indicating the local value of each number in it when the local value of one is given. Whenever numbers are mentioned in their prime form, there is some word added to indicate what should be done with such numbers.

IV E. I. Vol. II p. 124. Date of the death of the Saiva ascetic Allāṭa)

Jātābdānam Sahasrē ttriguṇanava-yutē.

Here *three* and *nava* are unit numbers; that they should be multiplied is indicated by the word 'guṇa'. Similarly,

V A.S.I, An. Rep. 1922-23 p. 187.

Ll. 10-11 Śaradganē pañcha-śate vyatītē tri-ghātīt-asht-ābhya-dhike Kramēṇa||

Three and eight are to be multiplied (ghātīṭa). Let the learned critic observe here how a figure is obtained for the tenths place from two unit numbers, especially *when two places viz., places of the units and the tenths are to be filled in.*

When no such indication is made—giving the multiplies of ten of the two figures, the sum of which is to be in the tenths place, or giving a word which means 'multiplied by'—the units should be added. Examples of this case are many in the Rāmāyana. I shall quote a few of them from the Tanjore edition of the Vālmiki Rāmāyana. The number fourteen is expressed in Kanda II.

18  A Reply to the Mandasa plates of Dharmakhēdhi [J.A.H.R.S.]

त्वयारण्यं प्रवेष्टव्यं नववर्षाणिपञ्चच. 9 & 5 units = 14) Sarga 18, sl. 35.

सप्तसप्तचवर्षाणि दण्डकारण्य वासिनः (7 & 7 units = 14) do. do. sl. 37.

स षट् चाष्टौ च वर्षाणि
or सषडष्ट च वर्षाणि } 6 & 8 units = 14) do. 20, sl. 31.

इमानितु महारण्ये विहृत्य नवपञ्चच वर्षाणि (9 & 5 = 14) do. 24, sl. 17.

The number 17 is expressed as

दशसप्त च वर्षाणि तवजातस्य राघव do. 20, sl. 45.

The copulative च denotes 'and' but has no distinctive indication of addition in it. In the last example दशसप्तच whether there is च or no we add 10 & 7. The same number seventeen is expressed as सप्तदश without च. From twelve to twenty, the units place and then the tens are spoken of in English also e.g. 3 + 10 = three + ten = thirteen; seven + ten = seventeen and so on. This सप्तदश is found used in 'Śrīmad-Vikrama-Kāl-ātita-saptadaś-ādhika trayodasa śatika. (I. A. Vol. VI, pp. 210 ff. ll. 1-2). Daśa has the two laghu mātras; so has 'rasa'; Saptarasa is metrically the same as Saptadaśa. The chronogram of the Mandasa plates, 'Sapta-rasa tamē nava sataka' with a little change of the order of the compounds, reads like the extract given above. When sapta & dasa are added why not sapta and the number for which 'rasa' stands i.e. 7 & 6? One may argue here that, since both the numbers are not given in numerical words, one is a numerical word (sapta) and the other is a word-figure (rasa)—they may not be added. In Sanskrit the numerical words unless they be units are not given without the indication of the local value of each. If there is no such indication, each must be considered to be units and all units shall be added. In expressing a number consisting of two or more figures, it begins with the units place, then tens, then hundreds and so on. Yet the sum of units and tens are added on to hundreds and some such word as 'tama' or adhika is added. e.g.

Śatēshu dvādasau nava navatyuttarēshu (= 1299) nava navati (99) is added on (uttara) to 1200. Here nava is units and navati is tens. Sanskrit mathematicians even today carry on notation from left to right. But in the vernaculars of India, the notation is done from right to left. So, the Sutra, 'Varnānām vāmatogatih' is designed to convert Sanskrit notation to the Vernacular or English notation. The need for this sutra happened in this way. It was found out that the place-value indicators require more breath to express and more space to write; and that, therefore, the omission of these indicators might not alter the value of the number. The figures in the number consequently appear in their prime form but are expressed in the order in which they stand when joined by the local value indicators. I have not met with a number the figures which are expressed in numerals alone without the local-value indicators for each. It is the word-figures that are useful for expressing the figures in a number in their units form e.g. aja-giri-nidhi Śakābde. E.I. Vol. IV. p. 189 ff. In such expressions the numerals are also mixed where possible. e.g. vasu-nava-ashta. Whether expressed in word-figures purely or in a mixture of word-figures and numerals, the place value of no one figure is given. If the place value of one is given, that of each of the others also must be given. If not so given the other figures should be taken in their Prime values e.g. Nava-sata-yugala. Here the local value of nava (9) is given by 'sata'. The value of 'yugala' (2) is not given. We cannot put it in the tenths place on the plea that the tenths place naturally comes after hundreds that is to be filled in. Since Yugala indicates only the prime number 2 we must put in the units place and keep the tenths place vacant. The given chronogram becomes expressed in figures 902. Similarly in the chronogram under question, 'nava-sataka sapta-rasa tama' the place value of 'nava' is given; but of sapta and rasa are not given—They must be taken for their face value and be added as has been shown in the case of the two figures in the tenths place cited above. In whatever way we consider, it is proved that 7 and 6 in the expression must be added.

The interpretation assumed by the Superintendent for Epigraphy and our learned critic on the reason that the suzerain lord mentioned in the Mandasa plates was an Anantavarma and the donor of the Nadagam plates was also called Anantavarma and that, therefore, they are both identical does not stand, for identity of names cannot make the persons identical. There is chronology. It must also support it and the interpretation of the year must be supported by similar examples. In the absence of such authorities whatever is said will be futile.

P. 235, paras 3, 4 & 5. Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh then proceeds to question my reading of 'Samasta Padnāra 15' and without

1 In the letter-system each of the consonants of the alphabet (sanskrit) is given a value and numbers of two or more figures by expressing the letters in the order in which each figure occupies according to his local value. The units first, then the tens and then hundreds and so on. e.g. Ni-ha-ra = 0,8,2 = 280; sa-ya-la = 315; etc. The letters indicate the figures for which they stand in their unit form and the local value of each figure is to be understood from the position of the corresponding letter in the word.

understanding what it is or of what language, he attempts to adjust 'Samasta' to suit his own purpose. Let the learned readers consider why of the two words, 'Samasta' and 'Samāpta', which he himself admitted are nearest to 'Samasta' of the record, he took 'Samāpta' though 'Samasta' is the very word itself. Now coming to 'padnara', the figure '15' after the word clearly indicates the real form of the word. 'Samasta' is a word used in Oriya records. 'Padnara' must be an Oriya word. That there are many signs of Oriya influence in the document has been shown in my review of the plates. So the Oriya word for '15' is 'pandra', colloquially 'pandara'; the syllable 'nda' has been written 'dna'. The cordinal form is 'pandraro'. I spelt the word as the Oriyas pronounce it. There is the expression 'pandraro' '15'. His next statement was that he could not find 'samasta' mentioned even once in the 35 of Mukhalingam inscriptions quoted by M. M. Chakravarti. If Chakravarti did not mention, how am I responsible for it? How could he have accepted the extracts given by him to be true to the originals? When he was so very punctilious to raise objections to the interpretations of figures given by such savants as Dr. Hultzseh, why did he not verify these extracts with the originals, now made available in the South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. V. The Oriya inscriptions in the Jagannatha and Bhuvanēśvara temples are published by the same author whom he has quoted, in a volume of J.A.S.B. (Vol. LXII part I of 1893). Even now he can refer to them and get satisfaction.

The very Mandasa plates under question is the evidence to show that the samasta or anka system was in vogue prior to the reign of Trikalīngādhipati Vajrahastadeva. Ignoring this purposely or by oversight, he commits another blunder by saying that M. M. Chakravarti did not notice the anka system in the reigns of Kings before Rajaraja II. Was not this Rajaraja II the son, and successor of Anantavarma Chōḍa Gangadeva? Did not M. M. Chakravarti notice it in the reign of this later ruler? In everyone of my discourses on the Ganga copper plates in which this anka system had to be referred to, I gave such notes as were pertinent to the subject therein. In my discourse on the Chicacole plates of Madhu-Kāmarnavadeva of saka 526, I have given illustrations to prove that it had been in vogue in the time of Trikalīngādhipati Vajrahastadeva, and even long before he ascended the throne of Kalinga.

P. 236. He now says that the regnal year given in the Mandasa plates was that of the over-lord but not of the donor. In 1932 he said that the regnal year was of Dharmakhēdhi¹ but in 1934 he transfers it to Anantavarma. What miracle had happened during these two years

¹ I.A. December 1932. P. 238 ll 9-10.

for him to change his opinion? Kanyāsulkam is a Telugu colloquial social drama and in it is said that 'change of opinions makes a politician'. Perhaps that saying applies to these research scholars of history. In this very article to which I am replying, he says that the poet-composer was not concerned to give the gotra and the genealogy of the overlord, in one place, implying that the poet-composer was chiefly concerned to mention everything regarding his employer. But when he comes to the question of the regnal year, the poet-composer altered his mind and transferred his concern to the suzerain lord of his master. Let the readers observe what consistency in arguments, this learned critic maintains!

P. 236, paras 3 & 4. In these paragraphs he wonders at my mathematical feats. 'It is beyond our conception by what mathematical feat Mr. Ramadas has arrived at his figure.' Says he what I said was, 'This is 594 years prior to the Anantavarma Vajrahastadeva that was crowned in Saka 960.' But in his criticism he says, 'the interval between the first year of Anantavarma Chōḍa Ganga and the last year of Kāmarnava IV according to both is 98½' and then boldly pronounces that my calculation did not come correctly'. But let him answer by what superhuman faculty he did transform my Anantavarma Vajrahastadeva into his Anantavarma Chōḍa Ganga: He ignored the qualifying clause 'who was crowned in Saka 960' I have added it to identify which Anantavarma I had meant.' What kind of feat is this? The learned critic performs such ultra mundane feats himself and yet wonders at the simple subtraction of one figure from another as a mathematical feat!!!

Para 5 requires no explanation here, in the first place, I did not assert it for, the sentence begins with, 'it may be assumed'; secondly that very question has been dealt with more elaborately in my criticism of 'The initial date of the Ganga Era' by this learned critic in the Indian Antiquary of December 1932 pp. 237-38.

Page 237. He begins with, 'Yet another discovery is in store for us.' Here he exhibits his faculty of attributing one's discoveries to the credit of another. It was the discovery announced by the Superintendent for Epigraphy and I repeated it. Let him read the portion he has omitted in his extract on p. 233 which he has quoted from the Epigraphical Report for 1917-18.

Para 5. Do 'Paramēśvara' and 'Paramamāhēśvara' mean the same thing? Then Mahārāja and Mahārājādhirāja, Rāja and Mahārāja, Upādhyāya, Mahōpādhyāya, Mahāmahōpādhyāya must have been considered to signify the same honour, rank and dignity. Why do men

¹ In his article 'The Initial Date of the Gangeya Era', (I.A. December 1932, p. 238 ll 11 f) he says that 'the interval was 59 years according to this date.' Did he not refer to this paper when he wrote this criticism on the Mandasa plates?

waste their breath by pronouncing such a big word as Mahārājādhirāja when' the same sense is conveyed by the simple word rāja ?

Para 5. The learned critic wonders how I could make 'such unauthorised assumptions in the face of the Simhapura plates of the Gangeya era 520 = Saka 938'. In my review of the Chicacole plates of Anantavarma's son Madhu-Kāmārṇava, dated 526 Ganga era, published in J. B. & O. R. S. Vol. XVIII, 1932 parts III & IV it is pointed out, on p. 292 para 2 that Ganga era 520 corresponds to S. S. 791. This was based on the result of the investigations I had carried on to discover the saka year when the Ganga era had been begun. These investigations were first incorporated in the paper 'Chronology of the Eastern Ganga kings of Kalinga' published in J. B. & O. R. S. Vol. IX pp. 398-415. Subsequently all those investigations have been shown in my discourse on the Chicacole plates of Anantavarma's son Madhukāmārṇava referred to above. Basing on such sound mathematical conclusions if I say, he calls it assumption. But his declaration Gangeya era 520 = Saka 938 is not an assumption though unsupported by strong proofs. In my criticism' on the 'Initial Date of the Ganga Era' I pointed out, 'Thus Mr. Ghosh's date failed and even the date corrected according to his own data failed to satisfy all the data fully'. With such an assumption which has so many flaws shown in the above mentioned paper, how can he declare that the year 520 of the Gangeya era corresponds to the Saka year 938? The date of the Mandasa plates' has been shown to be Saka 913 and in this paper, authorities in support of it are given. The Gangeya year 520 has been shown to correspond to Saka 791.³ The former is 122 years later than the latter. But still he says that what I said was assumption, though my statements were invariably supported by extracts from the ancient records and Sanskrit literature. In the face of these evidences how can anybody prove—with fact and figure—that the Dharmakhedi of the Mandasa Plates and the Dharmakhedi of the Simhapura Plates' was one and the same person. Names may be the same but the persons bearing those names were different.

In conclusion, I may say that many of the scholars who have been working in the field of historical research have been making very venturous assumptions, basing their arguments on the similarity of names. Unless this synchronism be backed by chronology, their identifications fail and history becomes a myth.

The Ponduru Copper-plate Inscription of Vajrahasta II of the Kalinga kingdom.

Manda Narasimham.

1. **History of the plates:** This is a set consisting of three plates strung together by means of a circular solid copper ring nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ " thick. Each plate measures 9" by 4". The whole set together with the ring and the seal weighs 236 tolas. The seal circular in shape is $1\frac{1}{2}$ " across. On the surface of the disc are impressed in bold relief the figure of a 'Nandi' or bull in the centre. On the top is the crescent moon and towards the right and left of the 'Nandi' are an 'Ankusa' and a 'Chāmara'. These plates were found in the village of 'Ponduru' (Chipurupalli Taluk, Vizag Dt.) 12 miles from Chicacole. They are procured by my relation M. R. Ry., Adikarla Satyanarayanamoorthy Pantulu Garu, Proprietor, Nimmalavalasa Estate and hand over to me for examination. The rims of the first and the third plates are raised inside and those of the middle plate are raised both sides so as to protect the writing. Each plate has writing on both sides. The text of the inscription begins as usual on the 2nd face of the 1st plate and the last portion is written on the 1st face of the 1st plate. This is done perhaps by the shortage of one plate. Thus we see no covers are arranged to protect the writing.

2. **Alphabet and writing:** The alphabet employed is old Nagari and the language is Sanskrit. In writing the names of villages (many of them are pure Telugu names) the hard 'r' called Śakata Rēpha is also used. There are many errors of writing which are indicated by foot-notes under the text. The whole inscription is written in prose and the Vyāsa Gītas in poetry.

3. **Head quarters of the King:** This grant is issued from Dantapura as can be seen from its description in line 4 plate 1 face 2. This is the same Dantapura as mentioned in the Buddhistic Chronicles. This place is now identified with the modern village of 'Dantavarapukota' 4 miles from Chicacole Ry. Station.

4. **Genealogy of the King:** Unlike other Eastern Ganga Copper plate grants which give long lists of successive rulers with the number of years of their rule, this grant gives the names of the donor and his father only. Vajrahasta is stated to be the son of Kamārṇava of the Ganga line of kings. The kings of this line are in the habit of

1 J.B. & O.R.S. Vol. XX pt. 1, 1934 P. 36, p. 2 ll 1-2,

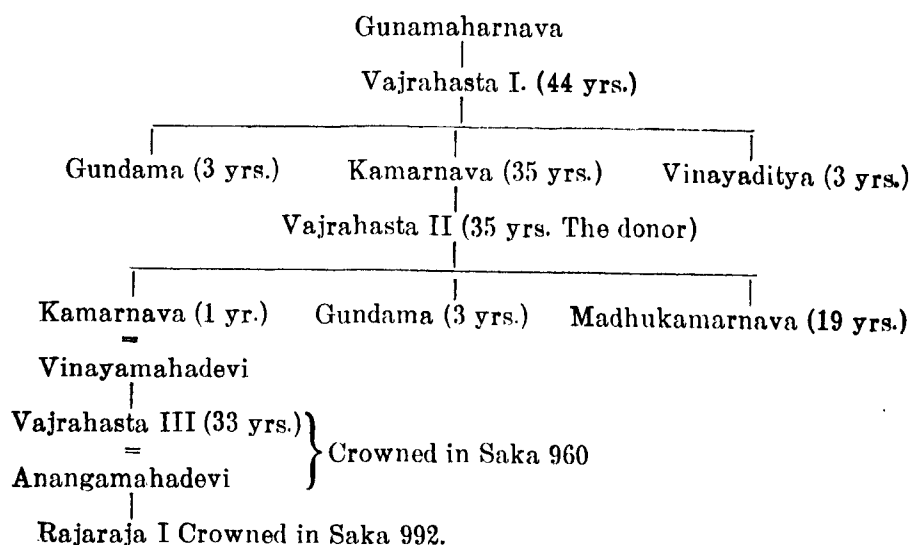
2 Ibid. Vol. XVII Pts. II-III pp. 175 ff.

3 Ibid. Vol. XVIII Pts. III-IV pp. 272 ff.

4 J.A.H.R.S. Vol. III pp. 171 ff.

dating their C. P. grants in the Śaka Era; but our king indicates the date of his grant in the 'Pravardhamana Ganga Era'.

The kings of this dynasty trace their origin from Gunamaharnava. We know from other sources that his son Vajrahasta I ruled for 44 years. He has three sons, Gundama, Kamarnava and Vinayaditya and all of them ruled the country in turn for a period of 41 years. Kamarnava's son is Vajrahasta II the present donor. He issued these in the 29th year of his rule (Vide lines 4 and 5 plate 3 side 2). From other records we know that his rule lasted for 35 years. The following genealogical table can be constructed with the help of the C. P. grants of Vajrahasta III and Rajaraja I.



We also know that Vajrahasta II gave this grant in the 29th year of his rule. Calculating backwards from the coronation of Vajrahasta III i.e., Saka 960 we have 29 yrs. intervening and hence we get Saka 931 or A.D. 1009 as the date of the grant of the present inscription. The donor further states that the grant is made in the 100th year of the Ganga Era. From inscription we will have to conclude that the Pravardhamana Ganga Era must have been in A.D. 909. But the already acknowledged date of this Era is A. D. 496. It is therefore to be inferred that the date of 100 G.E. as given in this C.P. is wrong or the date already accepted must be altered.

7. Object of the grant: King Vajrahasta gave this grant to two persons Ganga Nayaka and Hana Nayaka, grandson and son respectively of Bali Nayaka in recognition of the valour of Bali Nayaka who saved the life of Vajrahasta in the battlefield. It appears that under

the order of the king, the soldier Bali Nayaka, at the risk of his own life killed the enemy who was aiming at the neck of his master Vajrahasta. For this act of heroism the king gave ten villages as a gift for the maintenance of the son and grandson of the courageous Bali Nayaka. The villages are 1 Raka, 2 Samsōka, 3 Muttarilamu, 4 Pondūru, 5 Talacheruvu, 6 Chirilemu, 7 Varāva, 8 Thandami, 9 Gāra and 10 Jāmva. Of these the village of Pondūru came to the lot of Ganda Nayaka and Jāmva grāma to the share of Itana Nayaka. The boundaries of these two villages are minutely described and those for the other villages are not given at all. Perhaps they form full unit villages and require no stating of the boundaries.

6. Substance of the grant: Dantipura, the victorious city like Amarapura, gives happiness all the year round. The city abounds with rows of high towering white palaces. It always presents the gay appearance of a beautiful dancing girl. Many great and renowned scholars adorn the city. Its ruler Kāmarnava is the worshipper of the lotus feet of the god Gokarnaswami enshrined on the Golden mountain peak of Mahendra. This mountain gives shelter in its numerous caves to many a Saint. The God Gokarna is the stage director of the mobile and the immobile creation of the universe. By the adoration of this God, the king washed off all the sins of the Kali age. He is the overlord of many vassal kings who were subdued and tamed down by the victorious war cry emanating from the fierce battle field. His lotus feet are resplendent with the lustre of the gems set in the crowns of the vassal kings who bend their heads in prostration at the feet of their lord. He is the best of the line of Ganga kings. He is the lord of the whole Kalinga. He is the devout worshipper of the feet of his parents. He is the abode of such noble qualities as justice, obedience, kindness, charity, mercy, valour, grandeur, truth and self-sacrifice. Such a great king is Kāmarnava. After his death, he is succeeded by his son Vajrahasta. This king made prostrate at his feet many great and powerful kings. He worshipped the lotus feet of the Sun-god (perhaps enshrined in the temple at Arasavelli). The deeds of his valour extend as far as the divine river Ganges. He is the gem of the Ganga line of kings. Among the members of this line, Vajrahasta is, like a crocodile in water, indomitable. He assembled the householders residing in the villages of Tandami, Soka and Muttarila, situated in the district of Endumara; Pondūru, Talacheruvu, Chirilemu, Gāra and Jandiram situated in the Murrāpaka district, and Varāva and Tanta situated in the district of Varakattu and announced the following royal order thus: "These villages situated within the specified boundaries are given away as a gift free of all taxes with all rights pertaining to water and land. Soldiers both regular and irregular shall not enter

into the said limits. "This gift is made for the religious merit, longevity and fame of myself and my parents. It shall continue so long as the Moon, Sun and Earth exist. I bestow this gift in recognition of the services of Bali Nayaka who severed the head of my enemy that aimed at my throat unmindful of his own life. The gift is made in favour of Ganda Nayaka and Itana Nayaka, grandson and son respectively of Bali Nayaka for their maintenance in view of the great and heroic sacrifice on the battlefield and of the unflinching loyalty to me".

The following villages are granted to Ganda Nayaka 1 Rāka, 2 Sam-sōka, 3 Muttarilamu, 4 Pondūru, 5 Talacheruvu, 6 Chirelemu, 7 Varava, 8 Thandami and 9 Gara. The boundaries of Ponduru are—Northeast—The villages of Nāniya, and Kraunchavara and a row of stones between the villages of Vimana and Thandaka. East—The villages of Nōmi-yatha and Lankarayi. Southeast—The thrikūta of Munāpaka and Kalvarayi. South—Hanmangarika, Āchātlya, Muringa and Varava. Southwest—Irupivaramēnta, Varaja and the Krishna mountain. West—Mallarummēnta, trikūta of Varāva and the forest of Rēga. North-west—Mallamu, Ilindia mountain and trikūta. North—Uruvu, Uttudu, Undaki, Parvateswara and the channel leading to these four villages. The boundaries of this village are thus defined.

In the middle of the 29th year of the rule of Vajrahasta son of Kāmārnava the village of Jāmvagrāma is given to Itana Nayaka of the Kalvapa family, son of Bali Nayaka and the boundaries of this village are:—N.E.—Bāttarēvu, E.—Ant hill with Kadamba trees, S.E.—Margosa tree, ant hill and a wood apple tree on an ant hill, S.—Trikūta and Kadamba trees, S.W.—Vata and kadha trees and flat stones, W.—Forest, N.W.—Mountain, N.—Channel of the village of Jamva and a line of tamarind trees. The boundaries of this village are defined.

Then follow three Vyāsagitas. This grant is made on Sunday on the 1st day in the month of Āshāda in the Pravardhamana Vijaya-rajya year 100 (The number of years is both in figures and words as Sata 100 Ankēnapi). The grant is given with the sanction of the foreign secretary by name Śamapa. The plates are engraved by the Smith Vakhanoju.

7. Remarks: The Ganga Era is not still thoroughly fixed beyond doubt. Messrs. G. Ramadas and R. Subbarao differ widely. The present plates clearly state in words and numerals that the grant is made in the 100th year of Ganga Era. The donor Vajrahasta is stated to be the son of Kāmārnava. The first Kamarnava, grandson of Guna-maharnava, has ruled the country for 35 years. I identify his son Vajrahasta with the donor of the present plates. Either the date in

the present document is wrongly stated or the assignment of A.D. 496 is wrong. If both are correct, then this Vajrahasta must belong to some collateral line. Scholars will have to think again of this important subject and try to fix it on a thoroughly strong foundation. Many important problems cannot be adequately solved unless the starting date of the Ganga Era is well ascertained.

Some of the villages mentioned in this grant either as gift or as forming boundaries can be identified with the modern villages in the Chipurupalli and Vizianagaram Taluks of the Vizag District.

I give below the names of the villages named in the grant and their modern names:

Villages mentioned in the plates.	Their modern names.
1. Dantipura ...	... Dantavarapukota
2. Endumara ...	... Enduva
3. Tandami ...	... Tandemu
4. Sōka ...	... Not identified
5. Muṭṭarila ...	... Muttūru
6. Muṭṭāpaka ...	... Murāpaka
7. Paunduru ...	... Pondūru
8. Talacheruvu ...	... Talacheruvu
11. Jandirām ...	... Jandirām
12. Varakaṭṭa ...	... Not identified
13. Varāva ...	... do.
14. Tanta ...	... do.
15. Raka ...	... do.
16. Samsōka ...	... do.
17. Kaunchavaram ...	... Kaṇcharām
18. Vimina ...	... Not identified
19. Tandaka ...	... do.
20. Sōmiyava ...	... do.
21. Lankaraya ...	... do.
22. Nemi ...	... do.
23. Kalvarāyi ...	... Kalavarāyi
24. Hanmamgarika ...	... Garikavalasa.
25. Muringa ...	... Not identified
26. Varāta ...	... do.
27. Vanjaram ...	... Vanjarām
28. Rēga ...	... Pusapāti Rēga
29. Jamva ...	... Jami
30. Bāttarēvu ...	... Not identified.
31. Gara ...	... Gara (in Chicacole Taluk.)

Text of the Inscription.*

1st plate 2nd side.

- 1 खस्यमर पुरानुकारिणः सर्वर्तु मुख रमणीया
- 2 द्विजयवद्वहन सुधा धवळ प्रासाद माला दवि¹रित व
- 3 र विलासिनी ललित लास्या²दोर्दण्ड परिडतकुलालंकृत श्री
- 4 दन्ति पुरवासकात् प्रसिद्ध मिद्धतानेक³वसा ध्यासित
- 5 कंदरीदर महेन्द्र चलामल कनक शिखर प्रतिष्ठित
- 6 स चरा चर गुरोः सकल भुवन निमाणैक सूतधार
- 7 स्यशशांकचूडामणे भगवतो गोकर्णस्वामिन श्ररण
- 8 कमल युगल प्रणामा⁴धिगत सकल कलि कलं
- 9 को नेकाहव संक्षोभ जनित जयशब्द⁵प्रतापवनात

2nd plate; 1st side.

- 1 समस्त सामन्त चक्र चूडामणी प्रभा मंजरी पुंज रंजित
- 2 वर चरण कमल युगल⁶सकल कर्लिगाधिपति⁷गंगामल
- 3 कुल⁸तिलक⁹महा राजा धिराज परमेश्वर¹⁰मातापितृपा
- 4 दानुध्याता¹¹नय विनय दया दान दाक्षिण्य¹²सौर्योदार्य
- 5 सत्य त्यागादि गुण संपदा धार भूत¹³श्री कामार्णव दे
- 6 वः अभूत् तदनन्तरेण तस्य सूनु¹⁴विपुल विक्रमोन्नता
- 7 नेक भूपालमौलि मणि मरीची रंजित पाद पद्म
- 8 युगल¹⁵सुर सरि दाशा बहि मुख व्यापि प्रताप¹⁶सुर सं
- 9 सरित्कुलामल सकल माहाराज तिलक¹⁷मक

2nd plate; 2nd side.

- 1 र राज मिव वीर्य मूर्जित श्री मद्रज्रहस्तदेव¹⁸ रंदुमर विषये
- 2 तण्डमिसोक मुट्टरिलि मु¹⁹पक विषये पौंदुरुतल चे²⁰वु
- 3 चिल्लमुगार जन्दिरां वरकट विषये वरावतं ताः²¹अध्येग्राम
- 4 निवासिनः कुटुंबिनः समाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु भवतां
- 5 इमं²²ग्रामा श्रुतु²³शीमावच्छिन्न जल स्थल सर्व बाध²⁴वर्जि
- 6 त²⁵अचट²⁶भट²⁷अप्रवेश²⁸याव²⁹चंद्रार्क क्षिति सम कालं माता
- 7 पित्तो रात्मनश्च पुन्या युर्यशोभिः³⁰वृद्धये आयु वंश माला विज
- 8 यवतः कंतकटे अतम्युको स्वाशिधारकः स्वाम्याज्ञया तदरिं नि
- 9 हत्य बालि नायका भिधानो रणे त्यगमत्³¹अत स्तस्य सूनु दी
- 10 नानाथ भरणम्च³²ममाहापराक्रमवतः स्वजनवच्छलतस्मै³³ताम्ब्र

3rd plate; 1st side.

- 1 सासनी³⁴कृत्वा उदक पूर्वं कल्पपेन्वय इतन नायक पुत्र गण्ड ना
- 2 झो राकासंसोक मुट्टरिलिमु पौंदुरु तलचे³⁵वु चिरिलिमु वरा
- 3 वतण्डिमि गाररिंदे एते ग्रामान संसदत्त इति इदानी
- 4 शीमा³⁶लिगानि लिख्यन्ते पौंदुरु ग्रामस्य ईशान्य भागे नानि
- 5 य क्रौच वर विमन वण्डक मध्ये तल पाषाण³⁷शीम³⁸संधि
- 6 अस्य ग्रामस्य पूर्वतः नीमियतलंकरशयि³⁹सीम⁴⁰अतः आ
- 7 ग्रैय भागे नोमिमु⁴¹पक लिक्कट तल कल्बरायि शीम संधि

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| (18) Read as रेंदुमर | (19) Read as मध्ये (Ed) |
| (20) Read as इमे | (21) Read as शशीमा (Ed) |
| (22) Read as बाधा | (23) Read as ता (Ed) |
| (24) Plate reads as अचट (Ed) | (25) Plate reads as भट (Ed) |
| (26) Read as प्रवेश्याः (Ed) | (27) Read as चंद्रार्क (Ed) |
| (28) Drop the Visarga (Ed) | (29) The letters मग are omitted by the scribe. |
| (30) Read भरणस्य | (31) This letter is un-ne-cessary (Ed) |
| (32) Read ताम्र | |
| (33) Read शासनी | (34) Read सीमा (Ed) |
| (35) Read सीमा (Ed) | (36) Read संधिः (Ed) |
| (37) Read लंकरायि | (38) Read सीमा |

* From the original plates: [Facsimilies of plates will be published in the next part of the journal. Ed]

(1) Read—दविरत (2) The reading of the plate is—दुर्दण्ड It should be—दोर्दण्ड—Ed.

(3) Read—तापसा Ed. (4) Read—प्रणामद्विगत Ed. (5) Plates have got श्रुत

(6) Read युगलः (Ed) (7) Read पतिः (8) Read तिलकः (Ed)

(9) Read महा— (10) Read परमेश्वरः (Ed) (11) Read ध्यातः (Ed)

(12) Read शौर्य (13) Read भूतः (Ed) (14) Read सूनुः (Ed) (15)

Read युगलः (16) Read प्रतापः (17) Read तिलकः

- 8 तस्य ग्रामस्य दक्षिणभागे हन्मंगरिरके ततः आभात्यमूर्तिं
- 9 गन्तुमः अतः³⁹ वरात ग्रामस्य नैरित्या दिशा भागे रूपिवरर्मे
- 10 टवरज कृष्ण पर्वतः अस्य पश्चिमतः मल्लमु मेट वजरा

3rd plate; 2nd side.

- 1 वर तिकूट तल रेगटिप⁴⁰ नाम वन राजिकाः एतेषां ग्रामाणां वा
- 2 यन्वतः मल्लमु इलिन्दिय पर्वत तिकूट सीमः उत्तरतः उल्लुवुट⁴¹ दुंड
- 3 कि पर्वतेश्वर⁴² चलाह श्रौग्रामाः सीमा संधि वोंगत्ता इयंशीमान्य व्यवस्था स्थितः
- 4 अतः प्रस्वस्ति सहित श्री कामार्णव देवस्य पुत्र श्री वज्रहस्त देव को
- 5 नकह लिशमध्मे बालिनायकस्य पुत्र कल्व पेन्वय इतना नायकाम
- 6 जांव ग्राम संप्रदत्त इति अस्य सीमानि लिख्यंते ईशान्य भागे वाट
- 7 ल्लुवु तल पूर्वोण कदंब सह वाल्मीक मुनि सदेक आग्नेय भागे निंबा
- 8 वाल्मीक पुनः कविथत वाल्मीकः दक्षिणे तिकूटः तल कदंब वृक्षाः नौरुत्य भागे वउ
- 9 काद वृक्षः चपट पाषाणः पश्चिमतः वन राजिकाः अतः वायव्य दिशा
- 10 पर्वतः तल उत्तरतः जांव गता पुनः तिलिणीक पंक्तिः इमं
- 11 सीमा व्यवस्था स्थितः अल व्यास वचनाः

4th plate; 1st side.

- 1 बहुभि र्बभूव दत्ता राजाभिः सगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य तस्य
- 2 तदा फलं स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां षष्ठि वर्षे सहस्रा
- 3 णि विष्टयां जायते कृमिः तयस्त्रिंशति केलकां एव शासन मागतां
- 4 योनपालं फलारता आवीचि नरके व्रजेत् तस्य गंगान्वय प्रवर्ध
- 5 मान विजय राज्य संवत्सर शत १०० अंकेनापि आषाढ मास
- 6 दिन आदित्य वारे लिखितं शामपुन संधि विग्रहिना एतत्
- 7 लिखित मक्षशालि खानीजुना इति ॥

(39) Plate reads वरातंग्रामः From line 3 of plate 2nd side it is clear that the name of the village is वरावतं (Ed)

(40) Plates have got रेगरिप (Ed) (41) Plates read दुंड (Ed)

(42) Plate seems to have चतुश्चौ (Ed)

[On page 24, in the last para, the name of the donee has been wrongly printed as Hana Nayaka for Itana Nayaka. Ed.]

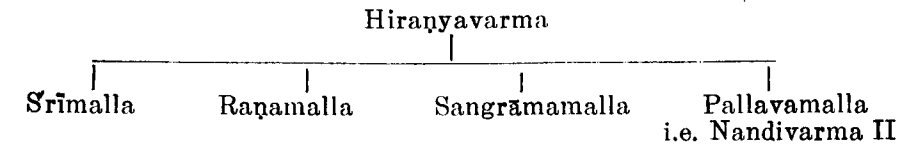
SUCCESSORS OF PARAMESVARAVARMA II.

Govinda Pai

In the Velūrpālaiyam plates¹⁵⁸ we are told that, after Paramēśvaravarma II, Nandivarma II sat on the Pallava throne; and from the Kāśakūḍi plates we learn that at the time when they were drawn up Nandivarma II, also called Nandipōtarāja as well as Pallavamalla, having been already chosen as king by the subjects,¹⁵⁹ was ruling over the kingdom of Paramēśvaravarma II *alias* Paramēśvarapōtarāja.¹⁶⁰ A graphic account of how this Pallavamalla *alias* Nandivarma II came to sit or be seated on the Pallava throne is given in the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ temple inscription.¹⁶¹ In his Pattattalmangalam grant¹⁶² Nandivarma II is said to have received the charge of the kingdom while he was yet young; and this is confirmed by the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ temple inscription according to which he was merely 12 years of age when he became the ruler of the Pallava dominions.¹⁶³

With respect to his place in the Pallava genealogy, we have the following information from his own inscriptions:—

(1) From the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ temple inscription we have—



158बभूवपरमेश्वरः.....तदनन्तरमन्वयस्य लक्ष्मी.....समवापदशेषपूर्व भू भृद्गुण सम्मेलनधाम नन्दिवर्मा ॥ (vv. 14-15. S. I. I.-II. pp. 501-17)

159 'वृतः प्रजाभिः' (S. I. I.-II. pp. 342-61; l. 63)

160 'तेन राजाधिराज परमेश्वरेण परमेश्वर पोतराज पदप्रशासनपरेण (l. 72) पल्लवमल्लेन (l. 78)नन्दिवर्मा नाम्ना (l. 79)श्री नन्दिपोत राजेन (l. 90) (Ibid)

161 E. I. (XVIII. p. 117)

162 Ibid (p. 121)—'आधत्त प्रथितबलो युवैव राज्यम्' (ll 13-14)

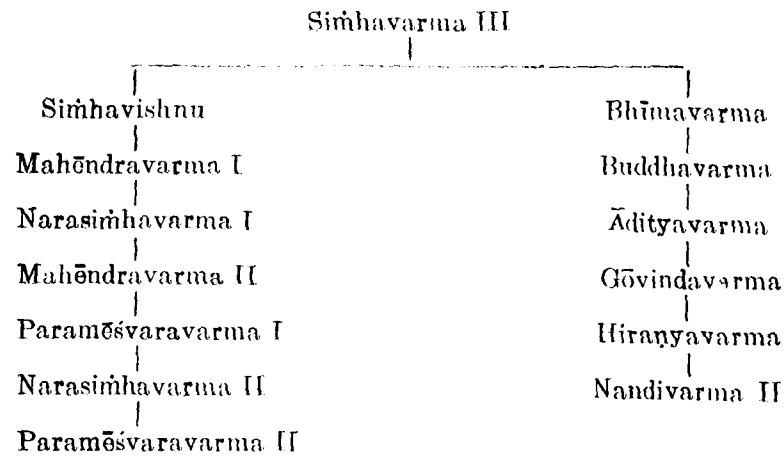
163 Ibid (p. 117)

(2) In his Tāṇḍantōttam plates,¹⁶⁴ Pattattalmangalam plates¹⁶⁵ as well as the Koṭrankuḍi plates,¹⁶⁶ he calls himself the son of Hiraṇya-varma.

(3) His Kāśakūḍi plates, in which he is called '*Hairanya*' i.e., the son of Hiraṇya(-varma) as well as '*Bhīmavarṇya*' i.e., belonging to the branch of Bhīma(-varma),¹⁶⁷ exhibit his descent and his relationship with Paramēśvaravarma as follows—

His 6th ancestor was Bhīmavarma, who was the younger brother (अनुजः) of the Pallava king Śimhaviṣṇu and was loyal to his master (अनुपतिः) i.e., the king Śimhaviṣṇu;¹⁶⁸ his 5th ancestor was Buddha-varma, 4th ancestor Ādityavarma, 3rd ancestor Gōvindavarma, and his 2nd ancestor (i.e., his father himself) was Hiraṇya(-varma), whose wife was Rōhini, and their son was the king Nandivarma II.¹⁶⁷

It would thus appear that his filiation with Śimhaviṣṇu would be—



¹⁶⁴ S. I. I. (II. p. 517-35) 'हिरण्यवर्मा.....नन्दिवर्मेति नाम्ना जातस्तस्मात्' (VV. 1-2.)

¹⁶⁵ E. I (XVIII. p. 121; II. 12-13) 'आसीत्तत्र हिरण्यवर्मा नृपतिर्भूपाल भर्ता ततः सर्वशक्तकिरीट धृष्टचरणः श्री नन्दिवर्माऽभवत् ॥ (ततः = From that + king; अभवत् = sprang)

¹⁶⁶ Mythic Society's Journal (XIV. no. 2; p. 127) Exactly the same words as in the Pattattalmangalam plates.

¹⁶⁷ हैरण्यो भीम (भैमः) वर्मो.....शेहिणीजः.....नन्दिवर्मा नरेन्द्रः ॥ (II. 70-71)

¹⁶⁸ 'षष्ठः श्री सिंहविष्णोरनुपतिरनुजः प्राभवद्भीमवर्मा । (I. 64)

and Nandivarma II would then be the paternal *uncle* of his predecessor Paramēśvaravarma II; and this is how their mutual relationship seems to have been accepted by the scholars. But this cannot be correct for in his own Udayēndiram (No. 2) plates,¹⁶⁹ Nandivarma II calls himself the son of Paramēśvaravarma II. Knowing as we do from his Vairakūṭha-Perumā temple inscription as well as from his Tāṇḍantōttam, Pattattalmangalam, Koṭrankuḍi and Kāśakūḍi plates that Nandivarma II was the son of Hiraṇyavarma and Rōhini, this statement of his Udayēndiram (No. 2) plates would be hardly sensible unless it means, and only means, that he stood in the relationship of a son to his predecessor Paramēśvaravarma II, and the only possible conclusion thence is that Nandivarma II was a *nephew* (i.e. brother's son) of Paramēśvaravarma II, or in other words his father Hiraṇyavarma was a cousin brother of Paramēśvaravarma II.

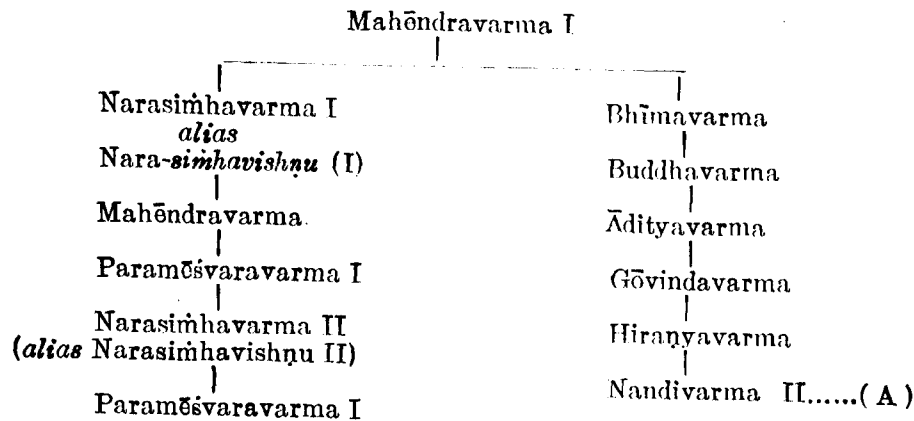
Now in the Kāśakūḍi plates the filiation of Nandivarma II to the senior branch is exhibited by only 6 steps from Bhīmavarma to himself and it is certain that there were only as many and no further steps, as in case there were any more, the same would have been duly mentioned. Bhīmavarma therefore will have to be brought down 2 steps lower than where he has been hitherto placed in the Pallava genealogy, when he would be the younger brother of Narasimhavarma I, and not of Śimhaviṣṇu. But was Narasimhavarma I also called Śimhaviṣṇu? Yes. In this Bādāmi rock inscription, Narasimhavarma is called *Narasimhaviṣṇu*,¹⁷⁰ which name again actually occurs as a variant of the name of his namesake and great-grandson Narasimhavarma II in Rangapatāka's inscription.¹⁷¹ There can be no doubt then that Narasimhaviṣṇu was another form of Narasimhavarma I, and the same

¹⁶⁹ 'सिंहविष्णोरपि महेन्द्रवर्मा (I), तस्मात्.....नरसिंहवर्मा (I), तस्य पुत्रः पुनरेव महेन्द्रवर्मा (II), ततः.....परमेश्वरवर्मा (I)' तस्मात्.....नरसिंहवर्मा (II) तस्य.....परमेश्वरवर्मा (II), तस्य परमेश्वरवर्माणः पुत्रो.....नन्दिवर्मा (II), पतिः पल्लवानाम् ॥' (S. I. I-II. PP. 365-74; LL. 13-31)

¹⁷⁰ I. A. (IX. P. 99); F. K. D. (pp. 328-29); Report on S. I. Epigraphy 1929 (App. E. p. 48; No. 100)

¹⁷¹ S. I. I. (I. p. 22)
F 5

has been abbreviated *metris causa* into *Simhavishṇu*¹⁷² in the Kaśakudi plates, where therefore this name Simhavishṇu stands for Narasimhavarma I. Bhīmavarma, the 6th ancestor of Nandivarma II, would accordingly be the younger brother of Narasimhavarma I *alias* Nara-*Simhavishṇu*, and descent from their father Mahēndravarma I onwards would then be —

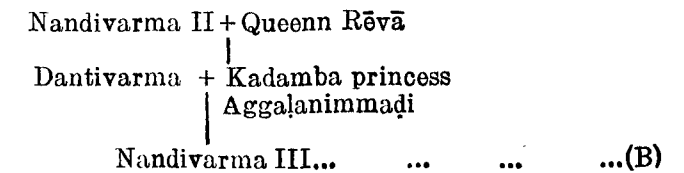


and Nandivarma II would stand in the relationship of a son to his predecessor Paramēśvaravarma II, exactly as is said in his Udayēndiram (No. 2) plates.¹⁷³

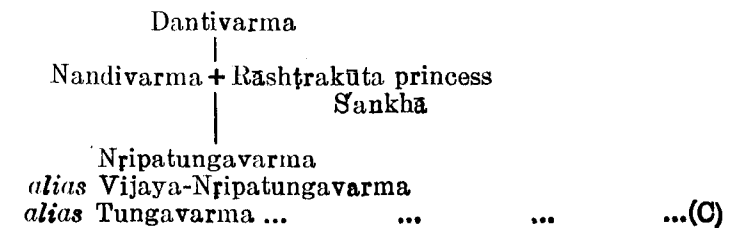
172 In the Bahūr plates (E.I.—XVIII, pp. 9-12) the name of Pallava King Nripatungavarma (II. 74) *alias* Vijaya-Nripatungavarma (II. 45-46) is found shortened under metrical necessity into *Tungavarma* (I. 42).

173 In the Pallava genealogy, (notes p. 13, & chart 2) of Rev. Heras, Mahēndravarma II and Paramēśvaravarma I have been taken as brothers, and not as father and son, with the result that Nandivarma II becomes a younger brother of Paramēśvaravarma II. It may be said once for all that it is only one's own son or nephew that would be called one's son, whereas one's younger brother would not be called as such. Now working backwards from this relationship of a son in which Nandivarma II stood to Paramēśvaravarma II, we arrive at the only possible conclusion that Mahēndravarma II and Paramēśvaravarma I were, and must be, father and son, and could never be brothers.

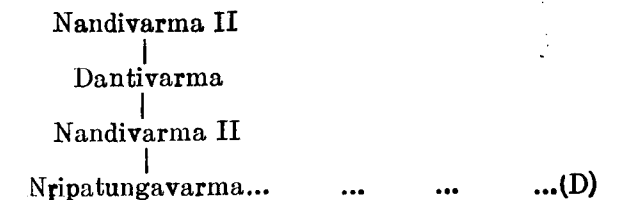
Next from the Vēlūrpaḷaiyam plates (II. 21-29), we have the following genealogy from Nandivarma, who was the immediate successor of Paramēśvaravarma II, i.e., Nandivarma II—



And from the Bahūr plates,¹⁷⁴ we have—



It therefore goes without saying that the Dantivarma of (B) is identical with his name-sake of (C), when we at once obtain—



The Rāshtrakūṭa princess Śankhā, who was the queen of Nandivarma III and the mother of Nripatungavarma, was in all probability the daughter of Rāshtrakūṭa king Nripatunga—Amōghavarsha I (814-877 A.C.), as is patent from the name Nripatunga which her son bore evidently after his maternal grandfather.

In the '*Mahāvamśa*' we are told that the Ganga king Prithivīpati effected an alliance with the Pallava king Nripatunga, and the allies attacked the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa in a battle that was fought

at Sripurambiyam or Tirupurambiyam (close to Kumbakōṇam) in which the Pallava forces were led by the Crown-prince Aparājita.¹⁷⁵ We further know from the Chōla records that the Chōla king Āditya I or Ādityavarma *alias* Kōḍaṇḍarāma completely crushed the Pallava king Aparājita, who, according to the Anbil Grant, is said to have been killed in that war,¹⁷⁶ whereupon his territory was annexed and the Pallava ascendancy was brought to an end.¹⁷⁷ This gives us one more step, and that is the last, in the Pallava Genealogy—

Nripatungavarma
|
Aparājita... (E)

Consolidating A, D, and E, the Pallava genealogy from Mahēndravarma I down to Aparājita would be—

17. Mahēndravarma I

18 Narasimhavarma I (<i>alias</i> Nara-Simhavishnu) 19 Mahēndravarma II 20 Paramēśvaravarma I 21 Narasimhavarma II 22 Paramēśvaravarma II	Bhūmavarma Buddhavarma Ādityavarma Gōvindavarma Hiranyavarma 23 Nandivarma II 24 Dantivarma 25 Nandivarma III 26 Nripatungavarma 27 Aparājita.
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¹⁷⁵ H. I. S. I. (pp. 36-37)

¹⁷⁶ This fact has also been repeated in the Kanyākumārī inscription of Vīrarājendra (E. I. XVIII. p. 42) आदित्यवर्मा भवदस्य पुत्रः कोदण्डरामाभिधया प्रसिद्धः। उत्तुल्य मत्तद्विरुद्धं संस्थञ्जवान यः पल्लवराजमाजौ॥ (II. 283-7)

¹⁷⁷ H.I.S.I. (pp. 39; 375-6).

The chronological facts, so far known with respect to the Pallava kings from Nandivarma II to Aparājita, are as follows—

I. Nandivarma II

(1) The Tanjore chief Perumbidugu-Muttaraiyan, who had been a vassal of the Pallava king Paramēśvara(-pōta-)varma II is said to have travelled from Tanjore to Kañchi to meet the newly-installed king, who thus would most certainly be Nandivarma II and no other; and this event has been ascribed to 717 A.C.¹⁷⁸ I do not know on what grounds this date has been arrived at. So I shall take it as it is. In case it is correct, the accession of Nandivarma II will have to be allotted to 717 A.C., itself, or placed at most a year earlier.

(2) As we have already seen, the Vakkalēri plates¹⁷⁹ issued in S. S. 679 (i.e. 757) the 11th regnal year of Chālukya king Kirtivarma II, claim that his father Vikramāditya II soon after his coronation invaded the Pallava kingdom and defeated the Pallava king Nandivarma II, who was his 'natural enemy'; and as we know that Vikramāditya II ascended the throne in 733-34 A.C., this event may be assigned to *circa* 735-36 A.C. or a little later.

(3) In the same plates we are also told that the same Pallava was again defeated by Kirtivarma II, who was then a crown-prince and had been deputed for the purpose by his father Vikramāditya II; and as we know from these plates that Kirtivarma II ascended the throne in 746-47 A.C., this event may be assigned to about the end of his father's reign, i.e., to *circa* 744-45 A.C. or a little earlier.

(4) In the Vēlvikuḍi grant issued in the 3rd regnal year of the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭila Parantaka, and decided to belong to the year 769-70 A.C.,¹⁸⁰ the said Pāṇḍya is stated to have defeated the Kāḍava i.e. the Pallava king Nandivarma II and Pennāgaḍam on the south bank of the river Kāvēri.

(5) Some of the regnal years of Nandivarma II are thus known from the following inscriptions—(i) the Udayēndiram (No. 2) plates are dated in his 21st year (l. 38); (ii) the Kāṣākuḍi plates are dated in his

¹⁷⁸ Ibid (pp. 394 & 27).

¹⁷⁹ E.C. X. (Kl. 63).

¹⁸⁰ H.I.S.I. (p. 30)

22nd year (l. 80); (iii) the inscription on the rock at Pañchapaṇḍavamatai is dated in his 50th year¹⁸¹ (iv) the Tanantottam plates are dated in his 58th year (l. 27; (v) the Kotrankudi as well as the Pattattalmangalam plates (ll. 22-23) are dated in his 61st year; and (vi) the Varaha-Perumal cave inscription is dated in his 65th year.¹⁸² To be sure then he had an unusually long reign of at least 65 years, and possibly he may have reigned yet a little longer.

(6) In the Manne plates of the Ganga crown-prince Mārasimha dated Monday the 19th June 797 A.C.,¹⁸³ as well as in the Alūr plates¹⁸⁴ issued in the 4th year of his *Yuvarāja*-ship¹⁸⁵ and dated Monday the 22nd July 799 A.C., the anointment of his father Śivamāra II is stated to have been performed with their own hands by the ornaments of the Rāshtrakūṭa and Pallava families, the crowned (kings) called Gōvinda-rāja and Nandivarma, whose (own) anointments to (their respective) kingdoms had already been performed.¹⁸⁶ Without doubt then the Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvindarāja spoken of here is the Rāshtrakūṭa king

Gōvinda III, and the Pallava Nandivarma is the Pallava king Nandivarma II.¹⁸⁷

Now it is certain that the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III ascended the throne in 791 A.C. (*Vide App. C*). In the Badanaguppe grant¹⁸⁸ of prince Kambhadōva of Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty, Govinda III is said to have been most merciful to the Ganga king Śivamāra II, whom he released from the misery of chains, i.e. from the imprisonment in which he had been long kept by Gōvinda III's father Dhōra.¹⁸⁹ As might be expected, this act of mercy would be done by Gōvinda III as soon as he came to the throne, possibly perhaps within a few days after his coronation, and accordingly the release of Śivamāra II may be assigned to 791 A.C. Now the Alūr plates of 799 A.C. are dated in 4th year (current) of the *Yuvarāja*-ship of Mārasimha, whence it would appear that he was nominated *Yuvarāja* by his father Śivamāra II in 796 A.C. Naturally enough this nomination would be made only sometime after the coronation of Śivamāra II himself, wherefore that event may be rightly assigned to 792 A.C. or in other words it was in the year 792 A.C. that the anointment of Śivamāra was performed by kings Gōvinda III and Nandivarma II, whence it would follow that Nandivarma II was still living and ruling as king in the year 792 A.C.

Now we are told that it was in the year 717 A.C. that Muttaraiyan proceeded to Kāñchi to meet the newly-installed king Nandivarma II,¹⁹⁰ whose installation therefore must have been either still

181 Ibid (p. 29).

182 E.I. (XVIII, p. 118).

183 E. C. IX. (NI. 69). The date details of these plates—S. S. 719, *Ashadha Sukla 5 Somavāra*—do not admit of a correct verification; wherefore either the name of the week-day 'Soma' (Monday) is a mistake for 'Saumya' (Wednesday) in which case the corresponding date would be Wednesday the 15th June 795 A.C.; or the name of the fortnight *Sukla* (bright fortnight) has been mis-engraved for 'bahula' (dark fortnight) in which case the equivalent date is Monday the 19th June 797 A.C. I have adopted the latter view, as the result corresponds correctly to the Saka year.

184 M.A.R. 1924 (pp. 72-76). The date of details are—S.S. 721, Monday, the full-moon day of *Śravana*, with *Dhanishtha nakshatra* on the occasion of a lunar eclipse; and there was a lunar eclipse on the previous night.

185 'युवराज मारपिह.....आत्मनः प्रवर्द्धमान संवत्सरेषु विपु समतीनेषु' (Ibid. p. 75.)

186 राष्ट्रकूट पल्लवान्वय तिलकाभ्यां मूर्द्धाभिषिक्त गोविन्दराज नन्दिवर्माभ्यां समनुष्ठित राज्याभिषेकाभ्यां निजकरवटित पट्टविभूषित ललाटपट्टे विख्यात विमल गङ्गान्वय नमस्थल गभस्तिमाली.....श्री शिवमारदेवः ॥ (Ibid. p. 74; ll. 63-66)

187 It has been suggested (H.I.S.I.-p. 33) that the Nandivarma "who anointed 'with his own hands' Śivamāra II may have been the prince Nandivarman, who afterwards reigned as Nandivarma III, deputed for the purpose by his father Dantivarman then on the throne." But this is quite inadmissible, in that the Nandivarma as well as Gōvinda, who performed the anointment of Śivamāra II are described in the clearest terms as those *crowned kings whose own anointments to their respective kingdoms had already been duly performed* and it need hardly be said that no prince nor even the crown-prince, would ever be described in such terms. Further it is only a crowned king (i.e. one whose anointment has already been performed) that has the right to anoint another to his kingdom, and that right no prince could exercise even as a proxy.

188 M. A. R. 1927—येनात्यन्तदयालुनाथ निगळकेशा दपास्थानतम्.....गंगम् (p. 113; l. 30). This grant is dated Monday the 6th November 808 A.C. in the reign of Govinda III. (p. 114; ll. 48-55). It may be noted that in mentioning the number of years in S.S. the words denoting the proper century have been omitted perhaps due to the inadvertance of the composer or the engraver.

189 Ibid (p. 112; ll. 11-12).

190 H.I.S.I. (pp. 394; 27)

going on or just over at that time, whence it would follow that Nandivarma II was crowned king in 717 A.C. Supposing then Nandivarma II to have died soon after he performed the anointment of Sivamāra II in 792 A.C., if the date 717 A.C. to which his own coronation has thus been ascribed is correct, he would appear to have had a reign of 75 or 76 years, which, if not impossible, is more or less incredible. It is not likely therefore that Nandivarma II was crowned in 717 A.C. Accordingly his accession will have to be placed at least some 5 or 6 years later.

From the statement in the Vaikunṭha-Perumā temple inscription—

“After the death of Paramēśvaravarma II, a deputation consisting of the *Mātras*, the *Mūlaprakṛitis*, and the *ghaṭakayar* waited on Hiranyavarma-Mahārāja and represented the fact that the country was without a ruler and requested him to grant them a sovereign”—¹⁹¹ it would appear that possibly there was an interregnum at Kāñchi, though perhaps of a short duration of, say, not exceeding 5 years between the death of Paramēśvaravarma II and the installation of Nandivarma II. Perhaps Paramēśvaravarma II died without issue; and the fact that a Pallava prince Chitramāya, who was evidently a claimant to the Pallava throne and had taken refuge with the Dramiḷa kings, i.e., perhaps the contemporary Chōḷa or the Pāndya kings, was conquered along with them by Udayachandra, a military officer of Nandivarma II, as recorded in the latter's Udayēndiram (No. 2) plates of his 21st regnal year,¹⁹² suffices to prove that, if at so late a date in his reign there was yet a prince trying to seize the Pallava throne with the help of his enemies, there must be many more, who on the death of Paramēśvaravarma II would be fighting among themselves for its possession. This state of affairs must have continued for some years, and the Pallava kingdom as well as the capital must have been harassed for some time before the nobles and the officers of the kingdom would feel compelled to take the necessary steps to put an end to that anarchy and wait in a deputation on Hiranyavarma to grant them a king. We have already assigned the death of Paramēśvaravarma II approximately to 720 A.C. Assuming therefore that the interregnum subsequent to his death lasted from 720 to 725 A.C., we would place the installation of his successor Nandivarma II in 725 A.C., and allowing him a reign of 68 years, we would allot his death to 793 A.C., when he would be 80 or 81 years of age, as in the Vaikunṭha-Perumā temple inscription he is to be 12 years of age when he became king.¹⁹³

191 E.I. (XVIII, p. 117)

192 S.I.I. (II, pp. 365-74; II, 46-50)

193 E.I. (XVIII, p. 118)

II. Dantivarma.

(1) In one of the copper-plate grants of Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III dated Thursday the 16th March 803 A.C.,¹⁹⁴ he claims to have conquered Dantiga, the king of Kāñchi, who has been rightly identified with Dantivarma and who, by the way, is the only one king of that name in the whole of the Pallava genealogy.

(2) An inscription at Guḍimallam is dated in the 49th year of the Pallava king Dantivarma, also called Dantivikrama.¹⁹⁵

Accordingly he may be allowed a reign of 50 years, when his regnal period would be 793-843 A.C.

III. Nandivarma III

(1) The Śēnnivaykkal stone inscription purports to be dated in the 21st year of the reign of Nandippōttaraiyar ‘who, after gaining a victory in the battle of Tellāgu, obtained a kingdom’,¹⁹⁶ and there is an old Tamil poem, which says that the Pallava king Nandivarma III fought battles at Tellar (in South Arcot), whence he derived his title ‘Tellārreṇḍa’, and also at other places.¹⁹⁷ He is also mentioned as Tellārreṇḍa Nandippōttaraiyer in an inscription in the Sādaiyar temple at Tiruchcheṇṇampūṇḍi dated in the 18th year of his reign.¹⁹⁸

194 F.K.D. (pp. 397-8). The date details—S.S. 726, *Subhanu Samvatsara*, Thursday, the 5th tithi of the dark fortnight of Vaisakha—do not admit of a verification according to the *Amanta* arrangement of the fortnights either for the year 803 A.C. (which was *Subhanu* according to the southern system) or for 804 A.C. (which was *Subhanu* according to the northern system). By the *Purnimanta* arrangement, however, the tithi and the week-day are brought together in the year 803 A.C. (i.e. southern *Subhanu*) and the equivalent English date is Thursday the 16th March 803 A.C. By the same arrangement the corresponding English date for the said tithi 804 A.C. would be Wednesday the 3rd April 804 A.C. (and not Thursday the 4th April 804 A.C., as given by Dr. Fleet), which, however, is inadmissible as it gives a wrong week-day.

195 H.I.S.I. (p. 34).

196 Annual Report on S. I. Epigraphy 1929 (p. 65).

197 H.I.S.I. (p. 34).

198 Madras Epigr. Report 1901 (p. 27 No. 233).

(2) An inscription at Tiruvallam refers under the title of Baṇa-mahādēvi to Kundavvai, wife of the Baṇa chief Baṇavidyadhara *alias* Vikramāditya I, and is dated in the 23rd year of his suzerain the Pallava king Nandivarma III.¹⁹⁹

Nandivarma III may therefore be allowed a reign of 25 years from 843 to 868 A.C.

IV. Nripatungavarma.

(1) His Bahūr plates are dated in his 8th regnal year.²⁰⁰

(2) We have already seen that the Ganga king Pṛithivīpati effected an alliance with this Pallava king Nripatungavarma, and the allies attacked the Pāṇḍya king, Varaguṇa in a battle that was fought at Śrīpurambiyam, which ended in the defeat of that Pāṇḍya and in which the Pallava forces were led by the crown-prince Aparājita; and this event has been assigned to about 877-78 A.C.²⁰¹

(3) An inscription at Guḍimallam of the Baṇa chief Vāṇavidyadhara *alias* Vikramāditya Prabhumēru I is dated in the 24th year of his suzerain the Pallava king Nripatungavarma.²⁰²

(4) An inscription at Ambūr is dated in the 26th year of Nripatungavarma.²⁰³

Nripatungavarma may therefore be allowed a reign of 28 years from 868 A.C. to 896 A.C.

199 H.I.S.I. (p. 36)

200 E.I. (XVIII. p. 11; II. 46 & 51).

201 H.I.S.I. (p. 37)

202 Ibid (p. 38)

203 Ibid (p. 39).

V. Aparājita.

As has been already said above, this last king of the Pallava dynasty was defeated by the Chōla king Āditya I (*circa* 880-907 A.C.). Aparājita was killed in that battle and his dominions were annexed. In the Kanyakumari plates²⁰⁴ this Aparājita, though not mentioned by name, has been called as पल्लवराज i.e. the Pallava king, wherefore he must have actually reigned as king. His defeat and death may be assigned to *circa* 900 A.C., in which case his regnal period would be 896-900 A.C.

The final genealogy of the Pallavas from Kālabhartṛi to Aparājita, with their respective and approximate regnal periods, would then be as follows:—

1. Kālabhartṛi 87-107
2. Chūta Pallava 107-127
3. Virakūrcha 127-147
4. Skandaśishya 147-167
(*alias* Skandavarma I)
5. Kumāravishṇu 167-200
(*alias* Sivaskandavarma)
6. Buddhavarma 200-228
(*alias* Skandavarma II)
7. Viravarma 228-258
8. Skandavarma III 258-296
9. Simhavarma I 296-315
10. Viṣṇugōpa I 315-340
11. Skandavarma IV 340-364
12. Simhavarma II 364-389
14. Nandivarma II 414-437
13. Viṣṇugōpa II 389-414
15. Simhavarma III 437-472
16. Simhavishṇu 472-520
17. Mahēndravarma I 520-555

204 Vide FN. 152 *Supra*.

17. Mahēndravarma I 520-555

18. Narasimhavarma I 555-595	Bhīmavarma
19. Mahēndravarma II 595-630	Buddhavarma
20. Paramēśvaravarma I 630-660	Ādityavarma
21. Narasimhavarma II 660-685	Gōvindavarma
22. Paramēśvaravarma II 685-725	Hiranyavarma
23. Nandivarma II 725-793	
24. Dantivarma 793-843	
25. Nandivarma III 843-868	
26. Nripatungavarma 868-896	
27. Aparajita 896-900.	

APPENDIX C.

The passage in Jinasēna's Jaina '*Hari-vamśa*'—

शक्रेष्वब्दशतेषु सप्तसु दिशं पञ्चोत्तरेषूत्तरां

पातीन्द्रायुध नाम्नि कृष्णानृपजे श्रीवल्लभे दक्षिणाम् ।²⁰⁵

has so long been understood to mean that 'in S.S. 705 (i.e. 783-784 A.C.) (the king) named Indrayudha son of king Kṛishṇa was ruling in the north, and (the king, named) Śrīvallabha was reigning over the south'; and the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III is known to have been spoken of by the *biruda* Śrīvallabha in a Kanarese record at Lakshmēśvara,²⁰⁶ the name Śrīvallabha occurring in this passage of *Hari-vamśa* has naturally been taken to denote Gōvinda III, who would then appear to have been on the Rāshṭrakūṭa throne in the year 783-84 A.C.

But the Manne plates²⁰⁷ of Gōvinda III himself, issued when 18 years of his victorious reign had already gone by i.e. in his 19th regnal year, contain these date details—S.S. 732, *Monday* the fullmoon day of the month *Paushya*, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, the moon being in conjunction with Pushya *nakshatra*. In the two successive years 809 A.C. and 810 A.C. there were 3 lunar eclipses on the specified lunar days of *Paushya* full-moon, the equivalent English dates whereof are as follows—(1) Friday the 5th January 809 A.C. (eclipse on the previous night of Thursday the 4th January), (2) Tuesday the 25th December 809 A.C. (eclipse on the previous night of *Monday* the 24th December), and (3) Saturday the 14th December 810 A.C. (eclipse on the same night). Of these the 1st and the 3rd eclipses are easily disposed of as neither of them occurred on *Monday* and obviously therefore it is the eclipse that took place on the night of *Monday the 24th December 809 A.C.*, that has been referred to in these plates. The specified lunar *tithi* of full-moon day lasted from about 14 hours 24 minutes after mean sunrise on *Monday the 24th December* to about 13 hours 56 minutes after mean sunrise on the next day (i.e. *Tuesday the 25th December*), whence it is apparent that the grant in question was made on the night of *Monday the 24th December* either during the course of

205 'Jaina-Siddhanta Bhāskara' (Vol. I, Pts. 2-3; p. 74).

206 F.K.D. (pp. 394-95).

207 Mythic Society's Journal (XIV. no 2. p. 88; ll. B. 5-7)— द्वाविंशदुत्तरेषुसप्तशतेषु

शकवर्षेषु समतीतेषु आत्मानः प्रवर्द्धमानः विजयसंवत्सरेष्वष्टादशसु समतीतेषु पौष मास पौर्णमास्यां सोमग्रहणे सोमवारे पुष्य नक्षत्रे ।

that eclipse or soon after its close, and the said plates were issued perhaps at the same time. Accordingly 809 A.C. would be the 19th year of his reign, whence it would at once follow that Gōvinda III ascended the Rashtrakūṭa throne in the year 791 A.C.

This would mean that the Srivallabha mentioned in the above passage of *Hari-vamśa* could never be Gōvinda III as has been hitherto believed. Who else was he then? Connecting the words 'कृष्णनृपजे' (the son of king Kṛishṇa) with the immediately following name 'श्रीवल्लभे' (Srivallabha), as they really ought to be connected the meaning of the passage would be that '(the king) called Indrayudha was ruling in the north and (the king called) Srivallabha, the son, of king Kṛishṇa, was reigning over the south', when this Srivallabha would at once appear to be perhaps Gōvinda III's father Dhārāvarsha Kalivallabha Nirupama Dhruva, better known also as Dhōra, who was furthermore the son of the Rashtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa I. But was this Dhōra also known as Srivallabha? Yes. In the Badanaguppe grant of the Rashtrakūṭa prince Kambhadōva,²⁰⁸ dated Monday the 6th November 808 A.C. in the reign of Gōvinda III, this king Dhōra is not only spoken of as 'Nirupama Kalivallabha', but in a subsequent passage in the same in which his son and the then reigning king Gōvinda III is spoken of as 'the son of Maharājādhirāja Dhārāvarsha Srivallabha',²⁰⁹ Dhōra is unequivocally mentioned also by another biruda *Srivallabha*, whence it is manifest that he was also known as *Srivallabha*. Thus then the king Srivallabha mentioned in the above passage of *Hari-vamśa* as having been reigning over the south in the year 783-84 A.C. is unquestionably Gōvinda III's father and predecessor Nirupama Dhruva *alias* Dhōra, and never his son and successor Gōvinda III, who, as has been so expressly stated in his own Manne plates, came to the throne only in 791 A.C.

(Concluded).

THE MEGHAS OF KOSALA.

V. APPA RAO

The Mēghas were an ancient dynasty of kings who ruled over the Kōsala Country. They are mentioned in the Puraṇas along with various other dynasties. A few of their inscriptions on stone have also been found. In Epigraphia Indica, Volume XVIII, page 158, two inscriptions of these Mēghas were edited by Mr. Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni, M. A. The kings mentioned in these two inscriptions are (1) Sri Śiva Mēgha and (2) Sri Bhadra Mēgha. Mr. Daya Ram Sahni writing about the former says as follows: "This prince is not yet known from any other source and it is impossible to say to what dynasty he belonged"; and about the latter he states: "The only information of any interest obtainable from the inscription is the name of the ruler which on the analogy of the ruler's name in the preceding paragraph has been read as Bhadra Mēgha.....Śiva Mēgha mentioned in the previous record and Bhadra Mēgha mentioned in the present record presumably belonged to the same dynasty about which we at present know no more."

Pargiter in his 'Dynasties of the Kali age' treats this dynasty under the heading 'Dynasties of the 3rd century A. D.' at page 50. The passage concerning it occurs after the verses dealing with the Bāhlikas, Mahishas, Pushyamitrās, Patumitras and the Mēkalas. The text according to the Vāyu and the Brahmandā Purāṇas, concerning these Mēghas is as follows:—

¹ कोसलायां तु राजानो भविष्यन्ति महाबलाः
मेघ इति समख्याताः बुद्धि मंतो नवैवतु

The Bhāgavata and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa have the following brief notice of this dynasty:

“कोसलायांतु नवैवभूपतयो भविष्यन्ति”

Here we find that the name of the dynasty is not stated. But this dynasty is mentioned in both cases after the Mēkalas. Thus it is

²⁰⁸ M.A.R. 1927 (pp. 112-115) (Vide FN. 188 *supra*.)

²⁰⁹ Ibid.—'निरुपमः कलिवल्लभोभूत्' (p. 133; l. 19); 'महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर पृथिवी
वल्लभ प्रभूतवर्ष श्रीमत् गोविन्दराजदेवः धारावर्ष श्रीवल्लभ महाराजाधिराजस्य पुत्रः'
(p. 144; ll. 50-51)

¹ Dynasties of the Kali Age—page 51.

evident from the context that the nine kings of Kōsala mentioned by the Vishṇu and the Bhāgavata Purānas are no other than the 'nine wise and powerful kings' belonging to the Mēgha dynasty, mentioned by the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purānas.

Date of this Dynasty.

One of the two inscriptions published in Ep. Ind. Vol. 18 page 158 contains the year 82 in an era which is not specified. Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni suggests with hesitancy whether it may not be the Gupta era. Surely, we submit it cannot be that. On palaeographical grounds alone, the above inscriptions cannot be assigned to the very late date of the later half of the 5th century A. D. of the various local dynasties detailed after the Andhras in the Puranic account, the Śrī Parvatīya Andhras come first. We have the authority of the following passage that they were contemporaneous with the Imperial Andhras:

“आंध्रानां संस्थिते राज्ये तेषां मृत्यान्वया नृपाः
सप्तैवांध्रा भविष्यन्ति....”

The word 'संस्थिते' clearly indicates that the subordinate Andhras began their rule while the Great Andhra Empire was still flourishing. Then we have got the statement that these 'seven (generations of) Andhras were contemporaneous with the seven (generations of) Kōsalas.'

“तुल्य काल इमे भूषा सप्तांध्रा सप्तकौसला”

The seven Andhras referred to in this line can be no other than the seven generations of the Śrī Parvatīyas whose inscriptions have now been un-earthed at Nagarjunikonda.²

We have not as yet recovered the names of all these seven generations of these kings. The Śrī Parvatīya Andhra Dynasty came to an end by A. D. 220. As the Śrī Parvatīyas or Ikshvakus are contemporaneous with the Kōsalas or Mēghas we can safely assign them to the same period. The nine generations must have ruled for about 180 years giving an average of 20 years to each reign. The dynasty must have come to an end by about A.D. 250.

REVIEWS

“VIJAYANAGARA-ORIGIN OF THE CITY AND THE EMPIRE”

K. Iswara Dutt, B.A.

The history of the Vijayanagara Empire is one of the most fascinating periods of the South Indian History. It attracted the attention of a premier South Indian Historian at the beginning of this century. Now we find a host of South Indian Scholars, after a couple of decades, working at the various aspects of the problems connected with its history. Any amount of material is at hand for the compilation of the history of this mighty Hindu empire, which flourished for nearly three centuries, leaving behind it cultural traces, as a memento of its mighty power and a pageant of its pristine glory.

One of the knotty problems that confronts the historian, is the origin of the Empire. The problem is bewildering in its variety and baffling in its complexity. The scholars, who attempted to explore its source were not able to peer down into the labyrinth of contemporary history and later day legend and lost their way in the wilderness of conflicting evidence. The main theories that hold the field, are the Hoyaśala origin propounded by Messrs. Kishnaswami Ayyangar, and Krishnasastri, the Kanarese source advocated by Sir William Hunter, Rev. Heras and Mr. Hayavadana Rao and the Andhra genesis adumbrated by Wilks, Vincent Smith, and Dr. Venkataramaniah, the author of the work under review.

Of course, the rise of an Empire, like the source of a river cannot be spotted out easily. It requires a strong imaginative lens to peer down into the wilderness of contemporary history and fiction and arrive at the correct source. Hitherto, the endeavours of the research scholars resulted only in a hazardous guess and at times in a convincing conjecture.

We presume that Dr. Venkataramaniah wants to show forth his book as a rejoinder to the “Beginnings of the Vijayanagar History” written by Rev. Heras, one of the ardent champions of the ‘Kanarese origin’. Our readers may be interested to be informed, that Rev. Heras

• Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, Madras University Publication—Price Rs. 2.
F 7

stumbled upon a correct conclusion from false premises, and that Dr. Venkatramaniah managed to arrive at a wrong inference from correct premises—because one wants that it should be a Kanarese origin and the other a Telugu source.

In Chapter I of Part I of the Book, the learned Doctor, discusses at length the arguments for and against the Hoyasala Theory of the origin of the Empire and dispenses with this theory, as false and cannot be sustained. The arguments set forth by the author are really sound and we believe them to be irrefutable. He simply reiterates his reasons which he already gave in his earlier work "Kampli and Vijayanagara". In Chapter II of the same part he treats about the founders of the Empire. He says that Harihara, and Bukka, inspired by the sage Vidyanarya, were founders of the Empire. It is quite unfortunate that Dr. Venkataramaniah does not give due weight to the Kapalur grant. If he could have thoroughly grasped the weight of arguments of the late lamented epigraphist, Mr. Venkiah advanced in favour of the Kapalur grant, in the Indian Antiquary Vol. 38 pages 89-91, he would not have taken to the bad rut of unnecessary and meaningless arguments. Mr. Venkiah proved that the Kapalur Copper-plate grant is palaeographically and historically an excellent piece of evidence about the foundation of the Empire. Dr. Venkataramaniah became wiser than, when he wrote "Kampli and Vijayanagara", wherein, he did not condescend even to mention the laborious advocacy of Mr. Venkiah and his great defence of this grant, though we know that Dr. Venkataramaniah is, then, quite aware of that information. However, we want to show to our readers how Dr. Venkataramaniah feels shy to look at completely this copper plate grant and assess its historical value. He says "Nevertheless, it is not improbable that Harihara I should, have built a capital for himself on the advice of Vidyanarya; nor is it unlikely that the city of Vidyanagara or Vijayanagara should have been built about 1336, for according to some inscriptions, Harihara I was ruling from Vidyanagara in 1348 A.D." In the very next sentence our friend becomes a doubting Thomas. He says "But the testimony of the Kapalur grant and the Yeragudi grants cannot be taken as a proof for the construction of the city by Harihara I in 1336 A.D. Therefore, Harihara's share in the construction of the City must remain doubtful until some evidence of a more trustworthy character turns up." It should have been more honest on the part of the author, if he had met the arguments of the late Mr. Venkiah appraising the correct historical value of the two above grants. We strongly maintain that the Kapalur and the Yeragudi plates are the two pillars on which the mighty edifice of the History of the Vijayanagar Empire should be constructed. We have not seen any South

Indian Historian, uptill now, who had refuted the arguments of Mr. Venkiah. However, Dr. Venkataramaniah believes that "Vidyanarya seems to have had some undefined connection with the foundation of the City." This is no new discovery of this South Indian Historian. Rice long ago believed it. However it is quite fortunate that Dr. Venkataramaniah pours old wine into new bottles, and helps our cause, and asserts that "it is not unlikely that they (the two brothers) sought his advice and began to construct the city after he blessed their enterprise." Now, we ask a plain and pointed question. Does he not know that, Madhava Vidyarnya is a Karanese Brahmin by birth as instanced by the famous inscription of the Minister Lakshmidhara, compiled by "Madhura" the great Kanarese poet? We invite a reference to the South Indian Inscriptions No. 267 of Vol. IV. We ask why this illustrious Kanarese scholar, statesman and saint, fostered the cause of the two Telugu fugitives in the foundation of the Hindu Empire. Let the author of the Telugu origin of the Empire answer.

In part II of the book, the origin of the Empire was dealt at length and the author sets forth his theory of the 'Telugu Origin' of the Empire in a laborious way. One cannot feel, when one goes through these pages, that the author, like a lawyer pleading a bad case before a sleepy tribunal, wants to show an indifferent historical world, that the founders are of Telugu extraction. With reverent reluctance, we say that the author has not argued his case well. He faltered in depicting facts and failed in facing the problem squarely. The arguments advanced may command our admiration in certain cases, but the conclusions do not compel our agreement. He lost his way in pedantic wilderness, in his futile search for the source. In Chapter I, of this part, the author had some cogent arguments in dismissing the statement that the Sangama family, was related to Hoyasal-Ballalas and came to the conclusion that Ballala III had nothing to do with the affairs of the Kingdom of Vijayanagara. The author is of opinion that Kampila Deva sent Bahuddin to take shelter under Ballala III. But there is ample inscriptional evidence to demonstrate that Ballala III and Kampila were waging constant wars with each other and the author proved their mutual animosities. Then, it is beyond comprehension to believe that Kampila should have sent the unfortunate Muhammadan to the Court of Ballala III for rescue. "The neighbouring Hindu prince" should be somebody whom we have not yet identified. Dr. Venkataramaniah should have explained the inconsistent phenomenon. But let that be as it is. In Chapter II of this part, the author dealt at length about the early history of the Sagama family. The main inferences drawn from his researches are (i) that Harihara was a relation of Kanya-Naick whom the Sultan sent to Kambila (2) that he embraced Islam in the beginning and (3) that Bukkaraya, the

52 'Vijayanagara-Origin of the City and the Empire' [J.A.H.R.S.]

father of Sangama, was a Mandaleswara under the Kakatiya Emperor Prataparudra. One of the astounding statements made was that Bukka had a Muhammadan son Ganga Salar. In the first proposition, two things were taken for granted. Mr. Somasekharasarma, who originally wrote the article equating Kapaya Nayaka of the Telugu country with Krishna Naick of Ferishtah, and Kanya Naick of Barni, had his own doubts about the conclusions arrived at and Dr. Venkataramaniah who is inspired by that article, did not advance new arguments apart from those of Mr. Sarma towards that question. We may believe that Kanya Naick and Kapaya Naick are one and the same persons, but to say that Harihara was a relative of this famous Naick is preposterous. When Kanya Naick and the Sultan of Delhi were enemies and the former had led a rebellion against the Sultan in 1345, how was it possible that the Sultan could send a relative of his foe, to Kambala? Dr. Venkataramaniah proved to hint that Harihara was ruling independently, the Kampli State and its surroundings, and the country even extending to the west-coast from 1339 A.D., and that inscriptions were found bearing ample testimony to that fact. In that case, it is unwise to propound that the Sultan and Harihara were ruling the State simultaneously. Harihara did not owe any allegiance to the Sultan. But to serve his purpose, Dr. Venkataramaniah imagined so, and stated that it was Harihara who stirred up a revolt and he was the relative of Kanya Naick. What was the necessity for the revolt and against whom, did Harihara revolt? It is a pity that the Doctor did not visualise completely the conditions of the period. The truth, as we have understood is that there is a triangular fight for supremacy in the South. After the extinction of the Telinga Empire and the fall of the Kampli State, the Telugus headed by the Araviti Chiefs, tried to hold sway over the Raichuru doab and were successful in driving away Harihara and his followers, who were ruling that portion, as successors to Kampli State. Hence the transfer of the Capital was made from Anegondi to the Southern Bank of the Tungabhadra. The Muhammadan was driven away temporarily from the field by the Telugu Chiefs, who did not extend their activity beyond the Southern banks of the Tungabhadra, and allowed Harihara and his brothers to hold their own, without any further molestation. That is the truth, as we have understood. About the second proposition that Harihara embraced Islam, we have to thrust it aside as a figment of imagination. It followed from the first. Harihara had to be made a Muhammadan to support the first statement. When the followers of the Crescent, and the Hindus, were fighting with each other and when the two religions had come into conflict, it is impossible to believe that a Hindu Chief had, then, become a Muhammadan and that his followers had tolerated it. Dr. Venkataramaniah, had stated, that Bukka had a

Muhammadan son in one 'Ganga Salar'. The scholar who accuses Rev. Heras for some of the statements made inadvertently, should not commit the same mistake. The Turuka of Kalubarga was not the son of Bukka. To imagine that the son of Bukka should come and destroy the Gopura of Belur, is an unwarranted statement. This statement marred the whole piece of the good work turned out so far by the learned author.

When we come to Chapter III of the part, we are going through, we are faced with some interesting statements made by the author. He says that the Vijayanagar polity had its foundation in the Kakatiya administrative system. The students of the South Indian polity did not understand that in that way. The South Indian Polity had a broad continuous system. The author of the 'Indian Culture Through Ages' was of opinion that the Vijayanagar polity had its basis on the Hoyasala administrative machinery also. It is enough if we state that the statement of the Doctor is a partial truth, but not a hard fact. In Chapter IV of the part, the author accuses Heras of coming to 'absurd conclusions' and finds fault with him for 'interpreting literally the conventional verses which appear in most of the inscriptions.' Beyond this, Dr. Venkataramaniah could not satisfactorily explain the fight between the first few rulers of the Sangama Dynasty and the Andhras, as shown in the inscriptions. We believe that Rev. Heras, is strongly entrenched in this argument and say that it is the cardinal point raised by him in support of the Kanarese origin of the Empire. We have now come to the end. The last Chapter of this part deals with the expansion of the Empire. The chapter is well written and bears intelligent marks of research.

The bulk of the volume is enriched by a number of appendices. One or two points we have to state in connection with them. In 'Pratapardriyam' it is stated that Prataparudra conquered the Kampli State-vide Natakaprakaranam. We have also got the information from the Telugu literature, as quoted by the author. In the appendix 'Karnata and Andhra' the author had also made some strange statements. If any author of much less equipment and compliments had made these statements, the world of intelligent readers, would have discarded them as simply foolish. He says, that Sreenatha's statement that his language was Kanarese, should be interpreted literally. If Telugu is Kanarese and Kanarese is Telugu, we understand the statement. But one is not the other. We invite his attention to the interpretation given by Mr. Veerabhadrarao in his 'History of the Andhras' Vol. III. Dr. Venkataramaniah quoted the book as one of the books referred to by him and he should have contradicted the premier Andhra Historian in this respect.

As we are dealing with the origin of the Vijayanagar Empire elsewhere, we have not gone into details. We admire the indefatigable and painstaking energy, which throughout marks the work, and commands the arguments put forth, though they do not carry conviction with us. The book provokes thought and inspires the students in this particular field for further investigation. We wish all success to the author in his further attempts in the field of historical research and expect further productions from his pen.

1 Twentieth Century, June and July, 1935.

Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the year 1933.

Published by Kern Institute Leydon. (Price Rs. 6.)

We congratulate the Publishers on their maintaining the usual high standards of the Bibliography despite the distressing financial situation of the institute. Some welcome additions of the present Volume are (i) the elaborate introduction and (ii) a few lines in reverential remembrance of the founder of the Institute Mr. Hendrik Kern to whom the whole of the Oriental World of Research is indebted. The addition of an eminent Indian Scholar, Dr. Bimal Churn Law to the Editorial Board and his assuming the responsibility for digesting in the Bibliography books and articles written in the Indian Vernaculars are praiseworthy. We only suggest that the learned doctor would do well to seek the co-operation of the associations and individuals who are working in the field of historical research in the various provinces. The Introduction in which, are incorporated archaeological researches, epigraphic surveys and conducted in Persepolis, India, Kashmir, Ceylon, Further India, Indonesia, etc. along with the illustrations appended at the end enormously add to the utility of the Bibliography. We congratulate the Institute on the excellent Service rendered to Oriental Research. We recommend every institution to subscribe to this useful work and thereby help the institution financially.

V. S. R.

Kabir and the Bhakti Movement—Vol. 1 Kabir—his autobiography by Dr. Mohan Singh, Oriental College, Lahore 1934 (Atmaram & Sons, Lahore—Price Rs. 2/-)

This is the first volume of the author's work on Kabir and the Bhakti movement and deals with the biography of Kabir. The Volume under review has been his production under the guidance of Dr. Woolner of the Punjab University.

The theistic idealism of Ramanuja has given place in the north to various Bhakti movements centering about the Avatars of Krishna and Rama. The systems of Nimbarka, Chaitanya and Vallabha and latterly the degenerate Radha cult belong to the former class while the schools of Ramanand, Kabir and Tulasidas to the latter. They differed from the Bhakti Yoga of Ramanuja in that they gave more importance to self surrender and love of God rather than to continuous meditation accompanied by Yogic processes. Tradition has woven round all these religious teachers innumerable anecdotes the historicity of which is open to doubt and these have successfully confused the chronology of the various religious systems. Biographical details including the dates of birth and death of the religious teachers are conflicting.

Dr. Mohan Singh has attempted in this work to clear the way and give us true information relating to the life of Kabir. He had at his disposal many new manuscripts available in the Panjab University. The works of Reay, Westcott, Farquhar and other writers have been referred to and criticised. A detailed bibliography is given at the beginning of the work and numerous works in Punjabi, Hindi, Urdu, Marathi and Persian have been drawn upon. But we are sorry to note that the work far from being a connected narrative of the life of Kabir is no more than a collation of random jottings and notes. It consists of 39 sections and the last 24 are entirely disconnected. The points discussed have to be sifted from a maze of conflicting opinions.

The writer refutes the traditional details of Kabir's life and concludes that he was a mussulman of Julaha (weaver) caste and that he was born at Maghar rather than at Belhara or Kasi. The derivation of his name from Kar and Bir is rightly discredited as also of the names of his mother and wife Moi and Loi. The date of Kabir's birth is fixed between 1360-98 A. D. and his death between 1420-49. His alleged connection with Sikander Lodi of Delhi (1488-1512 A. D.) is criticised but the existence of a Sikander, a persecutor of Hindus, who died in 1416 A. D. and of another Malik Sikander Lodi of Lahore who died in 1428 A. D. is admitted (Para 37. Page 92). The author fixes the chronological order of gurus Namdev, Ramanand, Kabir, Raidas and Nanak and is conscious of having suggested a few startling points in reference to

Kabir's discipleship of Ramanand. Tradition is unanimous throughout northern and southern India that Kabir as a young boy became a disciple of Ramanand who was by that time in his old age. The writer concludes that Kabir had no Guru and attributes the story to the contrivances of eager Hindu Biographers!! Kabir's utterances 'I am the child of Allah and Ram; Hari is my Guru and, my pir' 'I have worshipped the Guru Bibek (vivēka) are interpreted as contradicting the discipleship of Ramanand. Ramanand according to the author was born in 1299 A. D. and died in 1354 A. D. The influence of the teachings of Namdev, and Ramanand on Kabir is however admitted (p 18 & 61) but their approximate dates as given by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Ranade are referred to on P 55 and 56 and passed over. Kabir's knowledge is said to have been derived from Bairagis, Jogis, and Sufis as the author of the Dabistan states but his discipleship of any religious teacher is negated. The Lord Himself, the Sat Guru is stated to be Kabir's guru. One has to pause and reconsider the conclusions of the author in this connection.

The author's views on the Philosophy of Kabir and the religious teachers like Gorakhnath, Namdev and Ramanand, though intended to be treated in Vol III of the work are yet foreshadowed in Pages 63-70. These are equally new and try to make the religious teachers like Gorakh, Namdev, Ramanand and Kabir propounders of the 'Shabad' doctrine (Śabda). The doctrine is even found in the Upanishads and is known to Sankara. (P. 64 and 69) Referring to Gorakhnath the writer says on P. 67 '*His new cult was an attempt to reconcile later Buddhism and Sufism. Gorakh's mind was taken up by Hinduism and Pauranism and called Bhag'ti.*' It has been the accepted opinion of many scholars that the Bhakthi cult as propounded by Ramanand and later religious teachers of the north was only a development of the early Bhagavata doctrines. It was Ramanuja who gave Bhakthi a new interpretation. With him 'it was man's reaching out towards a fuller knowledge of God quietly and meditatively. It was not mere emotionalism but included the training of the will as well as the intellect but this interpretation of Ramanuja was not accepted by Ramanand and his followers. We have only to await the author's pronounced views on the subject in the third volume of the work.

(Last but not least we wish to offer a suggestion with reference to the transliteration adopted in the book i.e. Bhagti, Baishnav, Samadh, Bibek etc.) It is better to adopt the transliteration according to the Sanskritists and have that in accordance with the northern India Vernacular pronunciation so as to make the work acceptable to all scholars throughout India.

K. Raghavacharyulu.

Qutbshahi of Golcondah in the Seventeenth Century in Marathi.

By C.V. Bendre. Published by Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala, Poona, 1934, pp. 158 + 203. Price Rs. 4.

The geographical and cultural unity of India should have made political unity a normal feature of Indian history. But physical impediments and human failings conspired to render effective imperial rule merely an occasional episode, so that a major part of the political history of India came to consist of the annals of the local dynasties. These must be critically studied before an exact and exhaustive treatise on Indian history can be written. Already considerable work has been done with regard to the various Hindu dynasties of the Deccan and South India. Similar detailed studies regarding the Mahammadan dynasties are still a desideratum. The central political theme of the 17th century happened to be prolonged duel between the Mughal Emperors and the Deccani Sultans. In this duel the Adil Shahis and the Qutb Shahis played a prominent part; and yet hitherto there was not a single *complete* impartial account of these dynasties. So far as the Qutb Shahis are concerned, Mr. V. C. Bendre's book removes this want to some extent.

The book under review consists of two parts the first part (pp. 1-158) contains a complete historical sketch in Marāṭi of the Qutb Shahi dynasty and serves as an introduction to the second part (pp. 1-203) containing three extracts from the Mackenzie collection bearing on the history of Golconda in the 17th century. The author has utilised most of the available original Maratha, Muhammadan and European records in writing the introductory part and editing the extracts. He has also carefully mentioned his sources and has given ample annotations in the foot-notes.

The first extract is entitled 'The History of a Late Revolution in the Kingdom of Golconda'. From internal evidence it may be inferred that it was written shortly after A. D. 1674 by an Englishman who was on familiar terms with some grandee of the Qutb Shahi court. It gives a vivid description of the circumstances under which Abul Hassan alias Tana Shah came to the throne of the Qutb Shahis of Golconda in A. D. 1673. It was first published in A. D. 1696 as an appendix to John Ovington's 'A voyage to Surat of 1689', which has now become very rare. Being a contemporary document, its importance to the history of the Qutb Shahi dynasty is obvious, and Mr. Bendre has rendered very valuable service in bringing it out in this new form.

The second extract consists of an English translation of the passages, dealing with the reigns of Abdullah and Abul Hassan, taken from Hadigat-we-Alem. The latter is a history of the Qutb Shahis and the Nizams compiled in persian about A. D. 1803 by Mr. Abul Qasim at the instance of Nawab Safdar Jang Nasir-ud-Doulah of Hyderabad. Although a late authority, its value lies in its quotations from contemporary authors which throw some new light upon the operations of the Mughals against the Sultans of the Deccan.

The third extract, entitled 'Some Account of Akkana and Madanna', was originally written in Telugu by some unknown author, and Col. Mackenzie got it translated into English about A. D. 1801. In the light of the researches of Dr. S. K. Aiyangar (published in the Jr. of Ind. Hist. Vol. X. pt. II.), the account of the rise of Madanna and Akanna as described in this extract appears to be rather unreliable.

In the introductory part of the book, Mr. Bendre has given a new orientation to the subject by emphasizing the relations of the Marathas with the Qutb Shahis and making Aurangzeb's aggressive Policy the keynote to the Maratha-Qutb Shahi alliance in the Deccan. Shivaji and Aurangzeb stood for two conflicting ideals, and the self interest of Abul Hassan naturally impelled him and his minister Madanna to sympathise and actively co-operate with the leader of the Marathas as against the Mughals. The author's description of the character and policy of Abul Hassan is extremely judicious. A few points, however, seem to call for remark. Madanna was not a Maratha as the wording about him on p. 4 is likely to suggest, nor Dhowleswaram is on the banks of Kristna as is mentioned in the foot-note on 35. The bilingual nature of the book detracts from its utility to those who do not know either Marathi or English. The repetitions could have been avoided, and the space thus saved could have been better used by providing an index. But there is no doubt that it is a piece of sound work and is a worthy companion to Mr. Moreland's 'Relations of Golconda'.

GURTY VENKATA RAO.

NOTES

THE SHRI SUKTAM.

Wedged in the old Samhita of the Rig Veda, the Shri Suktam is perhaps the most remarkable of its Khilas. By reason of the sonorous language and mysterious phraseology it has been the subject of many commentaries and almost every one of its fifteen riks has been impounded upon for achieving some object by reason of its ultra-mundane power.

The Sukta throughout with the exception of one verse, which is enigmatic, is in praise of Shri—the Goddess of Wealth.

In the first verse Agni is invoked to call the Goddess for the author, or recitor, by one word. The rest of the verse is devoted to the description and praise of her. One commentator, however, who regards the goddess as the deity of Suktam, and not Agni, as others do, translates the reference to him as addressed to the Veda itself.

In the second verse reference is made to पुरुषान्. Orthodox commentators take it as referring to family. Obviously it is a reference to slaves, who were found in abundance, say at the time of the invasion of Alexander the Great, if not earlier. The word must be translated as persons and does refer to male and female slaves. If this interpretation is correct then it will help to fix the age of its composition.

There are other Khilas of the Rig Veda which refer to the great sacrifice performed by Janmejaya the son, or successor, of Parikshit, who was born immediately after the close of the Mahabharata war, and also the herofication, if not deification, of Shri Krishna, who is addressed as "the beloved of Gopies" in the Mahabharat, and who is said to have protected Parikshit since his conception in the womb. This fact leads to the conclusion that Khilas were being framed even after the close of the Mahabharat war. There is no mention of the institution of slaves in the Vedic or Mahabharat literature. Slavery was rampant among Greeks and Romans. This reference seems to approve of it. This fact and the language of the Suktam, as well as its invocation to Shri, lead to the conclusion that it was composed between the conquest of Alexander and the downfall of the Greek dominion in India.

The third verse refers to three, out of the four, divisions in an India army of the time of Porus and perhaps of the Mahabharat war.

That is to say it refers to cavalry, chariots and elephants and suggests that wealth will be had by their assistance or through them.

The fourth and fifth verses are attractive by their alliterations only.

The sixth verse is enigmatic. The commentators paraphrase it thus.— The Sun-hued goddess by her penance, has produced the tree known as bilwa. May its fruit remove ignorance and poverty.

This exaltation of the tree and its fruit over the deity is enigmatic. The commentators have tried to solve it by referring to a story told in the Puranas that the goddess produced the tree from the palm of her hand.

The fact is clear that according to this verse the fruit of the Bilwa tree is prayed to remove ignorance and poverty. How can it do it is the question. Probably it refers to its alchemic property. There may be a hidden meaning in the rik or the process how to utilise this fruit for making wealth has been lost. One commentary enjoins repetition of this rik and avers that when it has been repeated a certain number of times certain object will be achieved and so on in arithmetical progression.

In this connection the adjectival oblique करीषिणीम् is significant. The word means dried cow-dung. It is well known that dried cow dung is used in alchemy for turning a base metal into gold.

The word चिकीत in the twelfth verse is obscure. Vidyaranya takes it to mean a son of Lakshmi but gives no authority.

The next two verses are alliterative and have almost the same words and the same meaning except that the deities with which the goddess is identified are different viz: The Sun and the Moon respectively.

The last verse, which breaks the metre, refers to female slaves as well as slaves in general.

Altogether this खिलसूक्त of fifteen verses represents a stage when the modern Sanskrit verse was coming into existence. The only claim to poetry which it has is its sound and alliterations. Perhaps its great popularity is due to some alchemic secret which it hides.

M. V. KIBE.

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