

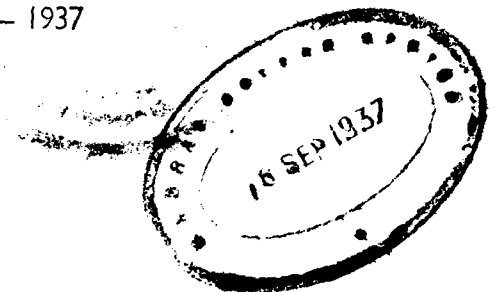
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JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

VOLUME X

Parts I to IV

1936 — 1937



JAYANTI RAMAYYA PANTULU
75TH BIRTH-DAY CELEBRATION
COMMEMORATION VOLUME.

1937

RAJAHMUNDRY

Published by the Andhra Historical Research Society

Annual Subscription Rs. 8 (Indian)

15 Sh Foreign; Postage Extra

Price Rs 10.



A
V215 20. N26
N37.10

Rajahmundry:
Printed by C. Nagaraju, B. A.,
at the Razan Electric Press..

IND 8

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CONTENTS

Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu Garu	<i>Frontispiece</i>
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS	
C. R. Krishnamacharlu, B.A.	
LIFE SKETCH of Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu	
Address (English)	
„ (Sanskrit)	
LEADING ARTICLES	
1. The Śailōdbhava Dynasty	
Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, M.A., Ph.D.	1-15
2. Conjeevaram Inscription of the Telugu Chōḷa King	
Jatāchōḷa Bhīma	
B. V. Krishna Rao, B.A., B.L.	16-60
3. Dravidic Animal-names	
L. V. Ramaswami Aiyer, M.A., LL.B.	61-72
4. Krishṇadēvarāya and the Portuguese	
Prof. Gurti Venkata Rao, M.A., B.L.	73-85
5. Meharauli Pillar Inscription of Chandra	
Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.	86-88
6. Karṇāṭa	
Dr. N. Venkata Ramanayya, M.A., Ph.D.	89-99
7. Parvata	
Dr. K. R. Subrahmaniam, M.A., Ph.D.	100-101
8. The First stage in the Extension of the Catholic Church	
in the Tamil Country From St. Xavier to Nobili	
Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A.	102-108
9. The Term Āndhra and early references thereto	
K. Raghavacharyulu, M.A., B.L.	109-115
10. The date of the Kāmbakāya Copper-plate Grant of	
Dēvēndravarman	
G. Ramadas, B.A.	116-119
11. A Note on the Date of the Kāmbakāya Grant of	
Dēvēndravarman	
B. V. Krishna Rao, B.A., B.L.	120
12. Polipāḍu Grant of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya (with plate)	
Dr. P. Srinivasachar, M.A., Ph.D.	121-142

13. Dhavalapēṭa Copper-plate grant of Umavarman (with plates)
Maṇḍa Narasiṃham 143—14
14. Genealogy and Chronology of the Western Gangas.
(From Mārasimha to Rakkasa Ganga II)
M. Govinda Pai, 145—15
15. On the Term Śātavāhana
V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M.A. 156—15
16. The aesthetic aspect of Early Mediaeval Seals
Dr. Hirananda Sastri, M.A., M.O.L. D.Lit. 159—16
17. Upalavāḍa Copper-plate Grant of Rāṇaka Rāmadēva
of Tailapa-vaṃśa (Family, with plates)
P. Satyanarayana Rajaguru 161—16
18. The Chōḷa Rājarāja I and the Eastern Chāḷukya alliance
Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D. 169—18
19. Genealogy of the Viṣṇukunḍins
V. S. Ramachandramurti, B.A. (Hons.) 187—19
20. Correspondence between the Hon'ble The East India
Company and the Kāṇḍrēgula Family in the Eighteenth
Century.
Prof. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T. 194—20
21. Āndhra Literature in the Vijayanagara Empire
T. Achyuta Rao, M.A., L.T., 209—22
22. Kamma Commanders of the Vijayanagara Armies.
K. Iswara Dutt B.A., (Cocanada). 222—22
23. A Unique Coin of the Andhra king Āpīlaka,
L. P. Paṇḍeya Sarmā 225—22
24. Notes,
Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sirkar, M.A., Ph. D. 227—23
25. Archæological Musuem for Andhradesa, (Editorial) 231—23

Notes of the Quarter.



Mr. JAYANTI RAMAYYA PANTULU, B.A., B.L.

By the kind courtesy of the Andhra Sahitya Parishat.

JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

VOL. X.

1936 — 37

PARTS I-IV

JAYANTI RAMAYYA PANTULU 75th BIRTH-DAY CELEBRATION.

In January 1936 the idea of celebrating the 75th Birthday of Mr. Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu B.A., B.L., occurred to the Managing Council of the Society. Mr. Vaddadi Appa Rao, B.A., B.L., then Honorary Secretary issued an appeal under the caption 'Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu Septuagenary Commemoration' in the Journal (Volume IX, Part 3). It was then intended to publish Parts 1 and 2 of Volume X of the *Journal* as a Special Number in commemoration of the event. A conference of scholars interested in historical research was also planned to be called on that occasion.

The idea took shape in the course of the next following months. At the Annual General Body meeting held on 7-4-1935 under the Presidentship of Rao Bahadur A. Rama Rao Pantulu Garu the Society resolved to publish a 'Special Number' of the *Journal* of the Society as "Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu Septuagenary Celebration Number," and also to celebrate his 75th birth-day as he is one of the pioneers in Historical Research in Āndhradēśa.

The Society further resolved at that meeting to appoint the following gentlemen as Sub-Committee with power to co-opt, to devise ways and means to carry out the resolution.

M.R.Ry. Rao Bahadur A. Rama Rao Pantulu Garu.

Professor R. Subba Rao, M. A.

Mr. K. Raghavacharyulu, M.A., B.L., (Cocanada).

Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, B.A., B.L., (Convener)

The Managing Council at its meeting held on 27-3-1936 with Rao Bahadur A. Rama Rao Pantulu in the Chair adopted a resolution

unanimously, to style VOLUME X of the *Journal Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, as the Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu 75th Birthday Celebration Commemoration Volume. It was also resolved that the Commemoration Volume should include all the four parts. Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao was elected Editor of the Volume and, empowered to carry on the work at once. Prof. R. Subba Rao M.A., L.T., and Mr. V. Appa Rao, B.A., B.L., were elected to form the Editorial Committee.

The Celebration of the 75th Birth-day was originally fixed in November 1935, but owing to casues over which the Society had no control, the celebration had to be postponed till this 22nd day of August 1937. The Managing Council resolved to request Mr. C. R. Krishnama Charlu, B.A., Superintendent of Epigraphy for the Southern Circle Madras, an eminent Scholar and a friend of Mr. Ramayya Pantulu Garu to preside on the occasion of the Birthday Celebration and the Managing Council is thankful to him for his acceptance of the invitation. The Society places on record its thanks to all those who have contributed to make the celebration a success.

B. V. KRISHNA RAO
Hon. Secretary & Editor

To

Āndhrabhāshāhvāchaspati Āndhraśasanōddhāraka,
Sri Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.

Sir,

This is a happy and memorable day in the Annals of the Society. We celebrate in your honour the occasion of your 75th Birthday and present you with this address.

The Andhras are grateful to you for your valuable discoveries which have contributed to the knowledge of history of the forgotten Pallava, Vishnukundin, Telugu Choda and other important glorious dynasties of this ancient land. They are also under a deep debt of gratitude to you for you have established the ANDHRA SAHITYA PARISHAT which has just celebrated its *Silver Jubilee*. Your services in the cause of the Telugu language and literature are many and memorable. You have rescued many a valuable work from obscurity and oblivion. Your services in the field of Epigraphy and Archaeology and the ancient history of the Andhras are unequalled. Your self-less endeavours and your achievements have been beacon-lights to the younger generation of scholars and sources of inspiration and emulation to them.

For six long and eventful years you were President of the Society. Even to this day you have been watching its progress as an Honorary President. We are therefore beholden to you for your abiding interest in, and warm sympathy with, the aspirations of the Society which is very dear to your heart.

We pay on this memorable occasion of your 75th birthday, this dutiful homage and loving tribute to you; and as a humble token of our appreciation of your inestimable services in the cause of Andhra literature, history and language wish to present you with this COMMEMORATION VOLUME. We request you to accept this and bless the Society to do long and useful work.

RAJAHMUNDRY, }
22 — 8 — 37. }

We are,
Yours Ever Loving and Admiring,
The Andhra Historical Research Society.

ॐ

अ भि नं द न श्लो का :

श्रीमज्जयतिवंशांभोधि सुधाकिरण ! रामयार्यमणे ! ।
 स्वीक्रियता मस्माभिः कुसुमांजलि रर्पितो भवत्प्रीत्यै ॥
 भवतो विद्यारक्षण दीक्षा माजन्म संभवा मेताम् ।
 स्तोतुं रा मा र्य म णे ! नवयं चतुराननाः कथंशक्ताः ॥
 सा हि त्य प रि ष द पि त त्स्थानीयत्वेन गण्यते लोके ।
 साहित्यपरिषदांभो तेजनहेतु र्दुद्भवे हेतुः ॥
 आं ध्रे ति हा स प रि शो ध क मं ड ली यं
 त्वद्वीक्षणेन नितरां गमिताऽभिवृद्धिम् ।
 रा मा र्य ! दर्शयति सांप्रतमुत्सवेऽस्मिन्
 त्वद्वेतुके त्तयि चिराय कृतज्ञभावम् ॥

ब्रह्मश्री ज यं ति वं श पारावारपूर्णसुधाकरस्य रा म या ख्यस्य महाशयस्य
 पंच स प्र ति त म वत्सर जन्मवर्धती महोत्सवे आं ध्रे ति हा स
 प रि शो ध क मं ड ली सभ्यै विनतिपूर्वक मियं समर्पिता

अ भि नं द न प त्रि का

अ यि स भाः भू ष ण ! ज यं ति कु ल पा व न !

रा म य ना म धे य ! म हा श य !

अ यि शा स नो ङ्गा र क !

पुरातनसंप्रदाय निवेदिनी बहुलपरिश्रम साध्या नानादेश 'शासन'
 सामग्री सर्वेषा मप्यस्मादृशानां जनानामविदितपरदेशपूर्ववृत्तानां हस्तानल
 की कृता नितरां प्रमोदमातनुते.

अ यि नि धं दु निर्माण कार्य दु रं ध र ! अ यि भा षो ङ्गा र क !

श्री सूर्यरायाद्रनिधंदुरूपेण पंडितानां पामराणां च जनानां परमोप
 कार मारचयतः भवतस्त्वाभाविकीं परमार्थदृशं वयं सादरं संस्तुमहे.

अ यि स क ल गु ण भू ष ण !

भवतो महोपकृति मुपगतै रनेकै र्विद्यार्थिभिर्नानापरिषत्कार्यस्थानसभ्यै
 पक्षेपदे विरचितां त्वद्गुणगणप्रशंसां श्रवणपेयं शृणुम इति सामोदं निवेद्यते.

great extent due to the beneficial influence of Buhler and later on also of Keilhorn. If the Bombay Presidency could produce native scholars of the eminence of these people it was her fortune to have had a Buhler to direct its studies in Sanskrit and allied subjects and if the Madras Presidency could not count so many scholars of wide reputation it must be explained by the fact of its not having clasped the hand of a Buhler. But in subsequent years, Hultzsch, another German Scholar did in Epigraphical and manuscript fields for Madras what Buhler and Keilhorn did on a wider scale in Literature and ancient manuscripts for Bombay and other parts of India. And I need not make specific mention of his able and reputed assistants, Venkayya and Krishna Sastri, whose contributions to Epigraphical Studies have been real land-marks in this untrodden area of Indological Research--because it is superfluous and because none of you here who has laid his hand upon any branch of South-Indian History could have missed contact with and benefit of their deep and thorough work. The late Mr. Swamikannu Pillai another colossus of a research scholar said in his Madras University Convocation Address that half a dozen Scholars combined together could hardly have produced the results which Mr. Venkayya had offered to the scholarly world. I cannot claim personal knowledge of or contact with Mr. Venkayya's nature and methods of work but I may transmit to you the opinion, handed down to me, of his Colleagues and assistants that he was a *Rishi* both in nature and temperament and in unflinching devotion to duty and truth--a very great desideratum in a Research Scholar. And of Krishna Sastri who followed him and presided over the Epigraphical *gadi* for nearly fourteen years after him, I can only say, from personal knowledge, that in him we, the junior members of the Department, found a culture-father, a very '*kulapati*' of the ancient model. We felt it a great good-luck to work at Epigraphy and better luck to learn it under one like him. Please bear in mind that there is no exaggeration in this.

To Buhler goes the credit of having founded the Bombay Sanskrit Series, 'a collection of Sanskrit classics for the use of Indian High Schools and Colleges, which was edited under the joint superintendence of Buhler and Keilhorn. These became the models for the other editions--nay--for a long time they remained the only standard source of Sanskrit Text-books for all Schools and Colleges throughout the length and breadth of the continent.

As Education Inspector in the Northern division of the Bombay Presidency he raised the level of Education in Gujarat, collected several thousands of manuscripts in Central India, Rajaputana etc., and added much to the stock of philological and archaeological lore and also raised the standard of Oriental scholarship throughout the West of India.

Buhler was a rarely gifted collector of Sanskrit manuscripts. By conversing fluently in Sanskrit Language with learned Pundits he inspired in them confidence and allayed their prejudices in lending their sacred volumes to an European. His careful and laborious search for Sanskrit manuscripts discovered most valuable and unexpected treasures and his masterly examination of these led to discoveries in all branches of Indian Literature. Indeed as Winternitz says *some entire branches of Literature were brought to light by him for the first time*. He was the first to start a systematic investigation of the Sarasvati Bhandāras (treasures of Sarasvati) of the Jains and lay bare their wealth. He was the first European allowed to search Jain monastic libraries. Libraries in London and Berlin and Indian Libraries have come into possession of this valuable class of Literature entirely through Buhler's discoveries and literary munificence. His efforts resuscitated to the notice of the Scholarly World and threw light on the forgotten History and religious system of a sect of which nothing had been known previously. It was his discoveries and collection of manuscripts that led to the excellent works of Professors Weber, Jacobi and Leumann in the department of Jain religion and literature. By the magic wand of Buhler's hand were brought to life the names of several dead books and dead authors. His one and dominating purpose was to bring light into the dark ages of the ancient history of India and--mark--to disentangle the chaos of the history of ancient Hindu Literature. While the American Scholar W. D. Whitney deplored the want of chronology but only the prevalence of chaos in the literature of India, it was given to Dr. Buhler and his band of pupils to disprove that theory and "make Whitney's wail sound only like an exaggerated groan". It was Buhler's belief and conclusion led to after prolonged studies and research--that instead of a *chaos of Indian history* and literature we should soon have a *cosmos of it*.

Buhler was not a votary at the shrine of 'inner Chronology' which, by a comparison of contents of different literary compositions, tried to establish a chronological sequence of works. On the other hand he was an ardent believer in important *Chronological data* for the proper interpretation of India's political History and determination of the periods of Hindu Works and their Authors and Indian Religious Systems. It was under the strong urge of this belief that he devoted himself to the task of searching for, deciphering and interpreting inscriptions. No one was more alive to the value of inscriptions in historical, geographical and literary problems. And every student of Indian Epigraphy knows what a large number of epigraphs have undergone his critical examination and what vast store of historical and literary matter has come to light through his phenomenal labours in this branch of Indological studies.

MR. JAYANTI RAMAYYA PANTULU
75TH BIRTH-DAY CELEBRATION
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Delivered by Mr. C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU,
Superintendent of South Indian Epigraphy, Madras.

Several are the names of luminaries that shine in the galaxy of Indological Research and even their mere list would run to a high number. But the saga of Indology can be taken to have been sung fully and well enough if we only recount the life incidents and achievements of that Vasiṣṭha of Indo-Aryan Research namely Professor Georg Buhler, C. I. E., Ph. D. He, like a well-cut diamond of several facets, reflected the several colours of Indological studies and problems and was therefore appropriately called a Prismatic Scholar. For, to whom else does posterity owe all the numerous collections of very valuable manuscripts made in India and preserved there and also those that have been secured and transported to learned Institutions and Societies in the West for better preservation primarily and for sound editing after a thorough and critical examination on strictly Scientific, unbiassed and non-sentimental lines? It would be enlivening to be told that he was the promoter of some very useful and extensive archæological explorations connected with India, and (to us Indians), the near west. Buhler's position in the Indological firmament is so unique and representative that if we point to him, we would be pointing to the Dhruva, the Pole Star, of Indology. How comprehensive were his studies and how vast and deep his learning and scholarship can be gathered from a mere perusal of the list of his several contributions.

His birth was co-eval with the accession to the British throne of that illustrious Queen and Empress of India, Victoria; i.e. it was in the momentous year 1837 on the 19th of July. So on the 19th of July, this year 1937 we ought all, earnest students of Indological Research, to be celebrating in our country, the country of Buhler's Scholastic and intellectual adoption and dedication, the centenary of his birthday. But whether the Oriental Conference Authorities rise to such an occasion or not, I do the homage of a Centenary Celebration in my own humble manner and style here on this important occasion by touching on the several aspects of that luminous scholar's life-work. I think thereby we will pay a well-

deserved tribute to his great memory and also, by way of example, compliment the guest of this evening Mr. Rāmayya Pantulu who has, in his own sphere, done research in various lines in problems connected with the Āndhra literature and history.

Like Buhler and Fleet, Mr. Rāmayya Pantulu held a responsible post under Government and like them also he utilised his opportunities, influence and leisure for the amelioration of a neglected and submerged branch of Knowledge i.e. ancient Indian antiquities and inscriptions. Most of you may not know what I know, viz. that in the Guntur, Cuddapah and other Telugu Districts wherever I happened to travel in quest of ancient epigraphs and manuscripts I used to be constantly told by the Village-folk and Officials that some years previously Mr. Jayanti Rāmayya Pantulu had examined them and taken copies of them too. The foundations of South-Indian Archaeology and Epigraphy were first laid by the enlightened and selfless labours of civilians like Sewell, Fleet and Rāmayya Pantulu. But it is sad to note that the enlightened hobbies of that generation of scholarly Officials have, in recent years, ceased to brighten the leisured darkness of modern Officials whose opportunities for sympathetic enquiry into the plight of the numberless neglected monuments lying over the land and preserving them are vast and manifold. May not the cultured Officials take a delight and pride in doing their best for the rescue of the dilapidating vestiges of our ancient culture and civilisation?

To return to Buhler, his first articles were concerned with Comparative Philology and Vedic Mythology. These were published in Journals edited by his master, the famous linguist and folklorist 'Theodor Benfey', who was always proud of his pupil. He differed from his master in certain theories, but, in the spirit of a Hindu *Sishya* devoted to his *Guru*, he would not write anything in opposition to him. He was so eager to come out to India at any cost—he loved her literature and past history so much—as the old his pupils that he would have gone out as a merchant's agent, had no better chance offered itself. But fortunately for Buhler—and certainly more fortunately for Indian Researches, he was appointed as the professor of Oriental Languages in the Elphinstone College at Bombay. In every way he worked hard to make the Indians acquainted with the European methods of research and with the results of Oriental studies in Europe. But he was not, like others, unaware of the great value of the traditional learning of the native Pandits for the progress of Sanskrit Studies both in Europe and in India. If India has produced such scholars like Bhandarkar, Shankar Pandit, Telang, Apte and others who had acquired and made excellent use of European methods of criticism it was to a very

years previously. Grierson says "I avoid writing of the close correspondence warm friendship which dated from those days, enriched by the treasures of learning ungrudgingly poured forth through the next eleven years. Never can I forget what I owe to him. True were the words of my Pundit when I told him of his death 'Mahā-Bhānur-astam gatati'—a great Sun had set and left many without the light which they could hardly spare".

Not less important is Dr. Buhler's part in the initiation of another momentous effort—the archaeological expedition into Khotan by Sir Auriel Stein. Stein says: "The remarkable results of this expedition we owe to the suggestion of Professor Buhler made for these explorations so early as 1897, on the strength of the important find of ancient Birch-bark leaves containing Buddhist text in early Prakrit and in Kharoshthi writing." Stein states that he had discussed the plan of such explorations with Professor Buhler before he left Europe in 1897 and acknowledges the keen interest evinced by him whose company was ever stimulating. Taking thus a full perspective of Buhler's studies as well as cultural outlook and suggestions we cannot help enshrining his great memory as the very '*Kalpa Taru*' of Indian Cultural Renaissance.

Success crowned his efforts in all his literary undertakings and foundations. Though he was a German Scholar in the true sense of the word—industrious, patient and accurate—there was yet something of the practical Englishman in him. He was a true Scholar, yet his world was never limited to his study. He was a man of the world in the interest and for the 'benefit of Science.' So says Professor Winternitz of Buhler and I apply all these characteristics to Mr. Rāmayya Pantulu, the honoured subject of this Celebration. One strong point common to Buhler and Mr. Pantulu is that with the former, the latter believes that 'our salvation is in the pick-axe and shovel and in paying more attention to Hindu tradition. Buhler's example and similarly Mr. Pantulu's literary life place before us models of disinterested labours in research and a scientific but generous attitude to be adopted in dealing with controversies.

Buhler was free of all touchiness in questions of Scholarship. He had a pleasure in meeting views different from his own, if they were expressed judiciously. This is the correct attitude for any research Scholar. Just as Buhler's name will remain inscribed in the first pages of the golden book of Indian Studies, Mr. Jayanti Rāmayya's Pantulu's name will remain the frontispiece to the silver screen of Andhra Researches.

People there may be who do not know the full extent of Mr. Pantulu's contributions to Andhra Epigraphy and Literature.

His interest and labours in the former foreran as a herald to his later essays into Researches in the latter. As I proceed you will find that Mr. Pantulu's Epigraphical discoveries, even as mere discoveries by themselves have revived the lost memories of early Pallava, Chālukya and other monarchs who held sway over this beautiful land. Every epigraphical discovery in my esteem and estimation counts as a 'jirnoddhara' and a 'nutana-pratishtha' and all that 'punyam' that we are as a spiritual race given to attach to these in respect of deities and their abodes we are glad as cultured race to attach to the recovery of every lost King's name and fame and every poet's lost name and fame. We may not be able to understand and elucidate all the mysterious discoveries that mother earth throws up to the pick of the axe but the mere fact of the discovery lends a glory to the achievement. Every discovery in Archæology or Epigraphy must therefore be looked upon as a brick or stone that goes into the magnificent bridge (the *mahasetubandhan*) of Indological Research. In a few cases the contribution may be even so small as the grains of sand carried by the squirrel which carried them in its scanty coat, for Rama's bridge, but the *bhakti* of the performance is not insignificant; probably its value enhances on account of the disinterestedness of the contribution.

The more mysterious the discovery, the greater the glory and interest of the achievement. Such are the new wonders of the cultured world--the Harappa Moheingo-Daro and allied discoveries. These, though enigmatic and un-understood, for that very reason, provided us with deeper historical foundations and fresh mystifying problems. They belong to the abysmal depths of our unfathomed history and, scholars who have handled these sites tell us that these are but the surface indications. Then what lies underneath these must be still more mysterious. I have remarked elsewhere that the hoarier the traditions of a nation the greater its antiquity. Similarly the more mysterious the discoveries of a nation the more puzzling and--shall I say--more dazzling and more deep-rooted are its history and culture.

So all glory to the cultured band of scholars that have brought to light these epoch-making lights on our ancient civilization. And you will all join with me in my fervent prayer to the All-knowing to uncover for us that greater light which can unravel the enigma and mystery of this culture conspiracy.

We have so far been gazing and gaping at the dazzling splendours of the Sun of Buhler and for welcome relief and pleasing coolness turn our eyes to the Moon like Rama, our Ramayya Pantulu. His interest in Andhra Epigraphy dates from the Nineties when most of us gathered here were probably reading the

Conclusions reached by Buhler on such bases led even the great Max Muller to acknowledge a change in his views regarding the Renaissance of Sanskrit Literature.

By his labours in connection with Jaina Literature Buhler was led to the study of Prakrit Grammar and Lexicography. But whatever branch of study was undertaken by him it was done only as a feeder to his great purpose--as a stream flowing into and contributing to his Oceanic effort of the elucidation of the Political history of Ancient India.

There was barely any branch of Indian Philology and Archaeology in which Buhler has not done pioneer work, on which his extensive knowledge has not thrown new and unexpected light. A very terse and dry branch of Indian studies required his attention. This was an enquiry into the history of the Indian Law Books--a branch of Sanskrit literature in which again we owe much to Buhler's pioneer work. Before Buhler, nothing definite was known to Western Scholars about the oldest legal literature in India. It is to Buhler again that the English speaking world owes its acquaintance with the most ancient Hindu Law books--The Dharma-Sastras. His important introduction to Sir Raymond West's Digest of Hindu Law gives a concise but complete summary of the Hindu Law literature. For Professor Max-Mullers *Sacred Books of the East* series, he translated the oldest and most important Law books in two volumes "The Sacred Laws of the Āryas". All these manifold and divergent literary efforts bear ample testimony to the fact that the search-light of Buhler's eye flashed upon all the hills and vales of Indian literature and surveyed India's ancient wisdom from the *Vedas* down to the *Vadas* (later theories). To him the historical works of the Hindus--the historical romances and chronicles--were no less important than inscriptions. Like some other Scholars he did not eschew out of his view all that was not epigraphical. As a faithful maker of history, he gave all historical works their due place and made judicious use of them. It was he who discovered the old palm-leaf manuscript of Bilhana's '*Vikramanka Deva Charita*' of Jaisalmir. He and his friend Professor Jacobi copied the huge work together in seven days. The other important historical work '*Rajatarangini*' also attracted his attention and it was his oldest manuscript of the work that formed the basis of Stein's edition of the work. Great as were the results of Buhler's work it was all intended as a kind of preliminary work of his life-ambition--namely to write a connected history of Ancient India. What with the labours of all the great European savants and American scholars and what with the solid contributions of Indian Scholars in the several branches of Indology a connected history of ancient India is as far from us as the horizon. Life piled

on life and Buhler erected on Buhler even would seem too little for this great task. It is my conviction that with all the century-old assets of Indological studies we have not yet touched even the fringe of the background of our ancient civilisation. An important but charming aspect of Buhler's nature was his hearty sympathy and tact which won for him the love and affection of the Indians. He scrupulously acknowledged by their names the help rendered by all native pundits in his vast search for manuscripts. And mark his appreciation of the native talent exhibited by the regard and love shown to his friend Pundit Bhagavan Lal Indrāji. The Pundit's excellent contributions to Indian Epigraphy and Archaeology would probably have been lost to the European world of learning if it had not been for Buhler who translated into English the papers written in Gujarati by his friend.

After leaving India in 1880, for reasons of health, he was appropriately enough appointed to the chair of Sanskrit and Indology in the University of Vienna. His interest in Sanskrit studies did not relax; and on the other hand he was anxious to make Vienna a centre of Oriental Studies. Through his initiative was founded in 1886 the Oriental Institute of Vienna University. This was speedily followed by the starting of Vienna Oriental Journal in 1887. To this Journal, Buhler made several valuable contributions on Indian history, Epigraphy, Archaeology, Lexicography etc., and other branches of Indology. He was a recognized leader among the Sanskrit Scholars of Europe, a position which he did not assume from any ambition on his part, but which was tacitly granted him as a matter of course. He never used his great influence with Scholars and Officials in high circles but in the interest of Science.

Buhler's ambition for research into Indian problems was boundless and unquenchable. Not content with all that he had achieved before, he aspired to crown his life-long labours with the *magnum opus* of an Encyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan Research. He founded the publication with the co-operation of about 30 Scholars from Austria, England, Germany, India, Netherlands and the United States. He not only planned the scheme but undertook its general Editorship. He was fortunate to live to see some valuable works published in the Encyclopaedia. What equipped Buhler to become so eminent a leading spirit of this undertaking were his qualities of a Universal Indologist—an epithet applied by Buhler to Professor Weber.

We have already recounted the several achievements of Buhler and there are still others which deserve prominent mention here. Writing in 1898, Sir George Grierson acknowledges that it was largely due to Buhler's personal efforts and advice that the preliminary operations for the Linguistic Survey of India were commenced two and half

'Balasiksha' in the Village pial-school. His great friend and equally great Scholar the Śābara lexicographer Rao Sahib G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu had in 1895 discovered a valuable set of Eastern Gānga copper-plates and with him is connected the important discovery—not soundly controverted yet—that the Eastern Gānga capital was not Kalingapatam but Kalinganagara identified with the modern Mukhalingam—a fact confirmed by the inscriptions at the latter place. This was followed in 1900 by the important discovery by Mr. Ramayya Pantulu of a copper-plate grant of the early Pallava King Sivaskandavarman, at Mydavolu, an ancient Village site in the Narasaraopet Taluk of the Guntur District. Dr. Hultzsch the then Government Epigraphist took the opportunity to bring to the notice of the Government that the work of the Department in this area was greatly facilitated by Mr. Ramayya Pantulu who by his disinterested researches into the history of the Telugu country had discovered the existence of important Telugu Choda inscriptions at Konidena and other villages. Mr. Pantulu's discovery of the Pallava plates mentioned above was a very important one and to this day it furnishes the bed-rock for the foundation of Pallava history. He has also drawn attention to the existence of four acres of ancient Village site (padu) near Mydavolu where the plates were unearthed but owing to the exigencies of the Archaeological Department, the site has not so far been explored. Another important contribution of Mr. Pantulu to Epigraphical thought is the theory that Saluva Narasimha usurped the Vijayanagara throne, a view arrived at by him after a study of the Devulapalli plates of Immaḍi-Narasimha. Mr. Pantulu drew the attention of our Department to a number of ancient inscriptions discovered by him in the Cuddapah District in about 1904. His is also the credit of having brought to light about this period a number of stone and copper-plate inscriptions of the Cholas of the Telugu country whose existence was till then unknown. Outstanding among these was his discovery of the Malepadu plates of Punyakumara which even to this day remains the sheet-anchor for speculation into the Telugu Chola Problem. His epigraphical activities continued to be productive year after year so much so that in 1909 the Madras Government expressed their satisfaction at the interest taken in Epigraphy by Deputy Collector J. Ramayya Pantulu. To the already creditable list of his important discoveries, Mr. Jayanti added in 1913 an important copper-plate grant of the Eastern Chalukya King Gunaga-Vijayaditya which he followed up in 1914 by the discovery of four more Eastern Chalukya Copper-plates and one copper-plate grant of Vishnukundins—the last being a very important source of our knowledge regarding an early but then little known dynasty of the Andhra Country. In the words of the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna

Sastri, it was on the information supplied by that—I shall now say this ever enthusiastic student of Epigraphy M.R.Ry. J. Ramayya Pantulu that a very interesting inscription on the top of the Indrakila Hill (locally called Telegraph Hill) at Bezwada which was subsequently published by Krishna Sastri in the Director-General's Annual Report, was discovered. Mr. Pantulu brought to light the memory and history of the Eastern Chalukya Pretender Yuddhamalla while his colleague the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao M. A. another disinterested votary in the shrine of Andhrology espoused the glory and the cause of Yuddhamalla's son Badapa. Mr. Pantulu has also enlightened us about an important copper-plate of the Eastern Chalukya King Amma I which mentions a Rashtrakuta vassal of the monarch, named Indaparaja who claims to belong to the Mahāratta-Vamśa. His contributions to the literature regarding the date and age of the Telugu poet Nannichoda are valuable. To his credit go the discovery of the correct name Ahobalapati of the author of a Sanskrit treatise on Telugu Grammar and also of the Poet's family, other works and the survival of his modern descendants in the Guntur District.

He turned his attention also to the Telugu literature that received patronage and prospered in the Nayaka Court of Tanjore in the Seventeenth century. Dealing with this branch of literature Mr. Pantulu notices the names of several poetesses that adorned the Nayaka Court and opines that almost all the Telugu dramas of those days including those composed by and for cultured Kings and scholars and enacted in royal theatres were of the *Yaksha-gana* type and not of the modern prose and verse model based on Sanskrit Classical dramas. Mr. Pantulu has also published a *thesis* on the *rasas* of the Sanskrit drama, Uttara-Ramacharita which he has also translated into Telugu. He has also translated *Amaruka* into Telugu—an indication of the harmony of the *rasas* that enter into the composition of Mr. Pantulu's *Manō-bhāva*. Though old in years he keeps his head and heart still young and youthful.

His two brochures in English on Dravidian Lexicography and defence of Literary Telugu and his criticism of the Gramya Vada (dialectic style) in relation to Telugu literary works indicate the position he occupies in the field of Literary criticism and style. Very recently—I dare say when he had passed his 70th year—he has published four early Archaic Telugu inscriptions from the Cuddapah District to which he has always been pointing his suggestive finger for the search of early Telugu (especially verse-inscriptions).

The inspiration given and the example set by his lifelong and sustained efforts in linguistic, epigraphical and lexicographical research has led many another Scholar in the Andhra country to turn

to these branches of knowledge. An important fruition of his devotion to these studies has been the recently published monumental Telugu Dictionary called the *Suryarayanighantu*. As the glory of the ancient Sūryavamśa was enhanced by the heroism of Rama, so too has the glorious munificence of Sri Suryaraya, the cultured Maharaja of Pithapuram been enhanced by the efforts of Ramayya Pantulu who has directed and guided the production of this great work. Another bright scholar, Dr. C. Narayana Rao, M. A. Ph. D. who I know was long associated with his *guru* Rao Sahib G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu, the *Sabara Sabdanusasana*, in his linguistic and allied studies has published a very thoughtful and thought-provoking work on the *History of the Telugu Language*, under the auspices of the Andhra University. I dare say I am voicing the opinion of the entire scholarly world of the Andhra Desa when I say that these and similar works are but realizations of the earlier dreams of Telugu savants like the late Chinnaya[Suri, Viresalingam Pantulu, Vedam Venkataraya Sastri, Appa Rao, Lakshmana Rao, Ramamurti Pantulu and our to-day's guest Mr. Ramayya Pantulu. I may go a step further and say that the Andhra Historical Research Society itself is an outcome of the dreams of all those great scholars and in that sense an embodiment of their Literary vision. It is a fitting tribute to Mr. Pantulu's life-work that he was President of the Society. It is also a matter for congratulation that the Society is an ideal organization which commands the willing co-operation and resources of the peasants and Scholars of the Andhra Country. These have carried the Society on the wings of prosperous existence and strident progress for over a decade and I trust that the broad basis on which its ideals and activities have so long been sustained will further grow in its all dimensions like the Banyan tree at Adyar and sink new and fresh roots of faith and hope for sustenance in the generations to come. If I may be pardoned for striking a personal note at this stage, I may say I have a right to call this Blessing upon this Society for the seed of it was sown in my house at Madras in the December of 1924* when one evening most casually and probably providentially also, a band of scholars from the Andhra country who had gathered at Madras for the Third Oriental Conference then holding its session at Madras—happened to gather there and in the presence of the late lamented Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri these scholars put forth the idea of such a society and it received his warm Blessings.

May this Society live long and may the memory of its founders and patrons be ever green in this evergreen Andhra Land.

MANGALA MAHA SRI SRI SRI.

*The Society was founded in 1922 and was already in existence in 1924 Ed.

Vizagapatam, Bellary, South Canara, Old Kristna, Cuddapah, Ganjam and Nellore. In 1911 he was posted to Madras as a Presidency Magistrate where he remained till April 1914. Then he went out again as a Deputy Collector and, serving in Chandragiri in Chittore district, in Bellary and Guntur, he retired in August 1917 as a first class Deputy Collector, after 31 years of Government service.

Soon after he went to Madras Mr. Ramayya Pantulu conceived the idea of establishing the Andhra Sahitya Parishat and enlisted the sympathies of many Andhras in that movement. The Maharajah of Pithapuram and his Dewan Mr. Mokkapati Subbarayudu interested themselves seriously in the matter with the result that the Parishat was established at Madras in April 1911, with both the Maharajahs of Pithapuram and Venkatagiri as founders, which order the Maharajah of Bobbili joined later. Mr. Ramayya Pantulu has been the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Parishat from the start. While in Madras he took a prominent part in the fight against the attempt to substitute colloquial Telugu for literary Telugu as a vehicle of expression in public examinations and his cause finally won.

In 1920 he was elected as a member to the First Indian Legislative Assembly as representing the two Godavari Districts and the Krishna District and worked for three years in that capacity. He was also a member of the First Senate of the Andhra University. He was for several years a member of the Telugu Board of Studies both in the Madras and the Andhra Universities and was also examiner in Telugu for several years.

Mr. Ramayya Pantulu's career as an Epigraphist dates back to the days when he was first posted as acting Deputy Collector in 1891. In the beginning of that year 1891 while spending his privilege leave at his native place he chanced to see a copper plate inscription now known as the Tottaramudi plates of Kataya-Vēma. He deciphered and translated the inscription and sent a printed copy of it as well as the plates to the Government Epigraphist. Dr. E. Hultzsch who was then the Government Epigraphist was kind enough to suggest to Mr. Ramayya Pantulu that he should edit the inscription for the *Epigraphia Indica* and at the same time send spare copies of three or four articles already published in that journal to serve as models. Mr. Ramayya Pantulu sent his article and it was published in the *Epigraphia Indica* under the title "Tottaramudi plates of Kataya-Vēma. Subsequently he published several other inscriptions in the same journal of which the Devulapalli plates of Immadi Narasingaraya, Yuddhamalla's Bezwada inscription and the Malkapuram inscription of Ganapati may perhaps be considered the most important. The first mentioned inscription enabled Mr. Ramayya Pantulu to fill up

a gap in the history of Vijayanagara Empire which had puzzled scholars till then. The gap was between the close of the first or Sangama Dynasty and the commencement of the third or the Tuluva Dynasty, Devulapalli inscription established that Saluva Dynasty consisting of two sovereigns intervened between those two dynasties. The inscription of Yuddhamalla at Bezwada is in archaic Telugu verse and shows that there was Telugu poetry before the time of Nannayabhatta the originator of Telugu literature. The Malkapuram inscription throws considerable light on the history of the Kakatiya Dynasty and also on the social life of those times.

Mr. Ramayya Pantulu has published several inscriptions in the Journal of the Andhra Sāhitya Parishat. The first of these is the Nandampudi grant of Rajaraja. This inscription records that Rajaraja (king of Rājamahēndravaram made a grant of the Nandampudi Village in the present East Godavari District.) as an agrahāra to Nārāyanabhaṭṭa, the scholar and poet who assisted Nannayabhaṭṭa in translating the first three Parvas of the Mahābhārata; and the text of the inscription was composed by Nannayabhaṭṭa himself.

Among his articles may be mentioned the paper identifying *Pedda mudiyam* in the Jammalamadugu Taluk of the Cuddapah District, with the town or village of *Mudivemu* which according to some inscriptions, was the birth-place of Vishnuvardhana, the founder of the Chalukya dynasty, which was published in the Annual Report on Epigraphy of the Southern Archæological Circle for that year.

Mr. Pantulu collected a large number of estampages of stone inscriptions in the Districts in which he served especially in Guntur and Cuddapah. These estampages, about 500 in number, have been made over to the Andhra University.

The crowning act of Mr. Ramayya Pantulu in connection with Epigraphy is the editing of a volume of the South Indian Inscriptions (Texts) Series for the Government of India. The manuscript was sent more than two years ago and is awaiting printing and publication. This volume consists of nearly 800 inscriptions--Telugu and Sanskrit--collected throughout the Andhra country and relating to all the dynasties except those of the Vijayanagara Empire. The method adopted in compiling this volume is, in some respects, an improvement up on that of the previous volume. The inscriptions will be found arranged chronologically and grouped under the dynasties to which they belong. Each inscription is prefaced with an abstract of its contents in English and an appendix will show the exact English equivalents of the original Saka dates; and the volume will contain a preface which will bring out the salient points contained in the inscriptions.

In requesting Mr. Ramayya Pantulu to undertake this work. Dr. Hirananda Sastri, the Government Epigraphist, wrote as follows:--"It is proposed to publish the Telugu inscriptions so far collected by our department in a separate volume or volumes of the South Indian (Inscriptions (Texts) series under the editorship of some sound Telugu Scholar. Though I do not know you personally, yet what I have seen of your publications makes me think that you will be the fittest person to undertake the work."

Mr. Ramayya Pantulu's literary work in Telugu is varied. He has published several papers on historical and literary subjects in the Journal of the Andhra Sahitya Parishat. These will make a decent sized volume or two if published separately. Some of these papers are on controversial subjects such as (1) the age of the poet Nannichoda, (2) the birth place of poets Vemulavada Bheemakavi and Bammara Potana, (3) whether the Kakatiyas were kshatriyas or not and (4) whether the letter (es) found in old inscriptions was identical with or different from the letter (ఙ). He has edited some Telugu books for the Parishat, chief of them being: (1) *Kavijanasrayamu* considered to be the oldest book on Telugu prosody, (2) *Rayavachakamu* which purports to be an account of the administration of the Vijayanagar Empire during the reign of Krishnadevaraya, and (3) *Sasanapadyamanjari* in two parts. This book consists of Telugu verses found in inscriptions from the oldest times. The text is reproduced exactly as it is in the original inscriptions, necessary emendation being shown in foot notes. The preface points out the peculiarities of orthography, grammar and prosody found in the inscriptions. Mr. Ramayya Pantulu has translated:

- (1) *Uttararamacharitra* of Bhavabhūti
- (2) *Champuramayana* of King Bhōja
- (3) *Amarukam* of Amaruka.

He has recently published a pamphlet describing the recent developments in Telugu literature. He is the Editor of the *Suryaraya Telugu Lexicon* an elaborate Telugu dictionary on the lines of Oxford English Dictionary, which is, being published by the Andhra Sāhitya Parishat with the munificent pecuniary help given by the Maharajah of Pithapuram. The First Volume dealing with words beginning with vowels has been published.

Mr. Pantulu is to-day 77 years old. We pray that Almighty may give him long life and health so that he may be spared long

LEADING ARTICLES

THE SAILODBHAVA DYNASTY.

DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., Ph.D., Dacca.

The history of the Sailōdbhavas is known from nine copper-plate grants.¹ The earliest of these, the Ganjam grant, was issued in the Gupta year 300 (619 A.D.) by Mahārāja Mahasāmanta Śrī Mādhavarāja (II), son of Mahārāja Ayaśōbhīta, and grandson of Mahārāja Mahasāmanta Śrī Mādhavarāja (I) of the Sailōdbhava family. A reference to Mahārājādhirāja Śrī-Saśāṅka at the beginning shows that the king who issued the grant acknowledged the suzerainty of the famous king of Gauda. The legend on the seal shows that king Mādhavarāja II bore the surname Sainyabhīta.

The next in point of time, the Khurda grant, mentions three generations of kings, viz., Sainyabhīta, his son Ayaśōbhīta, and the latter's son Mādhavarāja. Like the Ganjam grant, it was issued from Kōṅḍā, and its seal bore the legend 'Sainyabhīta'.

The kings mentioned in the two grants may be shown in the following tabular form.

<i>Ganjam Plates.</i>	<i>Khurda Plates.</i>
1. Mādhavarāja I.	Sainyabhīta.
2. Ayaśōbhīta.	Ayaśōbhīta.
3. Mādhavarāja II (Sainyabhīta)	Mādhavarāja (Sainyabhīta)

It may be held, therefore, that the two grants refer to the same three kings and we thus get the following genealogy: (1) Mādhavarāja Sainyabhīta I, (2) his son, Ayaśōbhīta; and (3) the latter's son Mādhavarāja Sainyabhīta II.

A more complete, though somewhat modified, genealogy of the same family is given in the Buguḍa and Parikud grants, as the following tables would show.

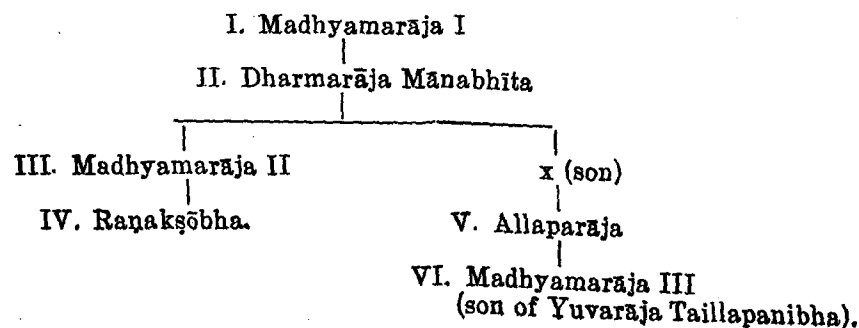
- 1 (a) Ganjam Pl. of Mādhavarāja (Sainyabhīta II), *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI, p. 143.
- (b) Khurda Pl. of Mādhavarāja (Sainyabhīta II), *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. 73, Part I, p. 284.
- (c) Buguḍa Pl. of Mādhavarāman Sainyabhīta (III) (Śrīnivāsa), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 43; Vol. VI, p. 144, fn. 1; Vol. VII, pp. 100 ff.
- (d) Mālagrāma C. P. Grant of Mādhavarāman Sainyabhīta (III) (Śrīnivāsa) (found in Puri dist.) *Sahitya* (a Bengal Journal) 1319 B.S., p. 889 (only one plate out of 3 has been preserved).
- (e) Parikud Pl. of Madhyamarāja (I), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 281.
- (f) Kōṅḍā C.P. Grant of Dharmarāja Mānabhīta, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 265.
- (g) Puri Pl. of Dharmarāja, *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 176.
- (h) Nivā C.P. Grant of Dharmarāja, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 34.
- (i) Tekkali Pl. of Madhyamarāja (III), *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. IV, p. 165.

<i>Buguda grant.</i>	<i>Parikud grant.</i>
1. Sailōdbhava (in his family) ⋮	1. Sailōdbhava (in his family) ⋮
2. Rapabhīta 	2. Rapabhīta
3. Sainyabhīta (I) (in his family) ⋮	3. Sainyabhīta (I) (in his family) ⋮
4. Ayaśōbhīta (I) 	4. Ayaśōbhīta (I)
5. Sainyabhīta II Madhavavarman (<i>alias</i> Śrīnivāsa)	5. Sainyabhīta (II)
	6. Ayaśōbhīta (II) Madhyamarāja.

Mr. R. D. Banerji who edited the Parikud plates regarded Madhyamarāja as the son of Ayaśōbhīta II. But this is due to a misreading of the last *pāda* of verse 13, of which the correct reading has been given by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti while editing the Nivina copperplate. It would appear from this reading that Ayaśōbhīta II and Madhyamarāja refer to the same king. Dr. Chakravarti has also clearly shown that the name of the king, usually read as Yaśōbhīta, should really be Ayaśōbhīta. His further suggestion that the name, read as Raṇabhīta, should also be read as Araṇabhīta, does not stand on equally sure grounds, and the name Raṇabhīta may be retained until we have more definite evidence one way or the other.

The Malagrāma grant of Mādhavavarman Sainyabhīta, of which only one out of three copper-plates has been found, seems to record the same genealogy as the Buguda plates.

The names of the successors of Madhyamarāja are furnished by the Tekkali grant. Unfortunately the first and last plates of this grant are missing, and thus instead of a complete genealogy of kings, we get the names of some intermediate kings alone. The genealogy of these kings may be stated in the following tabular form.



The name and relationship of the king No. V differs from that given by MM. Sāstrī who edited the grant, as I accept the reading of Dr. Chakravarti.² It appears from line 12, that Raṇakṣōbha was also called Mānabhīta. I have also some doubts about the relationship of king No. VI, as given by MM. Sāstrī. But the published facsimile of the plates is too small and indistinct to lead to any definite conclusion on these points.

Although the earlier portion of this grant is lost, there is, fortunately, no doubt that king Madhyamarāja with whom the genealogy opens is identical with king Madhyamarāja who issued the Parikud plates.³ For the opening lines of the Tekkali plates are identical with the last three lines of verse 13 of the Parikud plates, which contain the eulogy of Madhyamarāja.

The perfect agreement between the Buguda and Parikud grants leaves no doubt about the identity of the kings Nos. 1 - 5 mentioned in those two grants. Further, the names of the kings Nos. 3, 4 and 5 of this common genealogy are identical with those furnished by the Ganjam and Khurda grants, except that we have Madhavavarman in the former and Madhavarāja in the latter. But there are two objections against regarding these two sets of kings as identical.

(1) In the Buguda and Parikud grants Ayośbhīta is said to have been born *in the family of* Sainyabhīta I, while in the Ganjam and Khurda grants, Ayośbhīta is said to be *the son of* Sainyabhīta I.

(2) Madhavaraja (or Madhavavarman) Sainyabhita II flourished, according to the Ganjam grant, in 619 A.D., while the alphabets of the Buguda plates appear to be much later.

Before discussing the point any further we may consider the general question of the date of the kings mentioned above. From the Ganjam plates we know that Mādhavarāja II Sainyabhīta flourished in 619-20 A.D. Of the dates of the other set of kings mentioned in the Parikud and Tekkali plates, the only definite clues appear to have been furnished by the three grants of Dharmarāja.

Mr. S. N. Rajaguru, who edited the Puri copper-plate grant, read the date as Samvat 512, and referred it to the Saka era. Mr. G. Venkoba Rao read the date of the Kondedda grant as Samvat 800, while

2 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 35, fn. 3.

3 Mr. R.D. Banerji expresses two diametrically opposite views in this respect in his 'History of Orissa'. On p. 131 he thinks it 'impossible' to identify the kings of the Tekkali plates as belonging to the Sailodbhava dynasty. On p. 135, however, he regards it as 'fairly certain' that these kings 'belong to the Sailodbhava family'. The lamented death of the author before the printing of the book is evidently responsible for these contradictory statements. But there was never the least justification for the first view.

noticing the inscription in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* (p. 93) for the year 1920-21. But Mr. Y. R. Gupte who edited the grant read the date as Samvat 30 without, curiously enough, even mentioning the earlier reading. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, while editing the Nivina grant remarked: "Mr. Rājaguru's reading of the date in the Puri plates is incorrect. The date is evidently regnal." Thus there are diametrically opposite views about the reading of the dates in these records, and the facsimiles of the portions containing the date are too indistinct to enable one to form a clear judgment. The same remark applies to Parikud plates of Madhyamarāja, where, in line 59, Mr. R. D. Banerji read the date as Samvat 88 and referred it to the Harṣa era, while Mr. Venkayya took it to be a regnal year viz., 26.

Thus the dates relied upon by earlier writers can no longer be regarded as certain, though I must point out that the date in the Puri plates of Dharmarāja appears to be a figure in hundreds rather than a regnal year.

In the absence of a definite date we have to fall back upon another clue furnished by the three plates of Dharmarāja. These refer to the revolt of his younger brother Madhava. Being defeated at Phāsika, Mādhava resorted for help to a king named Tivara (or Trivara), but both were defeated by King Dharmarāja at the foot of the Vindhya.

The king, whose name is given as Tivara in the Puri plates, and Trivara in the Nivina and Koṇḍēḍa grants, has been identified with Mahāśiva Tivaradēva, belonging to the Sōmavamāsi rulers of Mahākōśala. Unfortunately, even this assumption does not help us much in ascertaining the date of Dharmarāja. For although Tivaradēva is generally regarded as belonging to the eighth century A.D., partly on palaeographic grounds, and partly on the proposed identification of Tivara's brother Chandragupta with the king of the same name mentioned in the Sanjan copper-plate of Amōghavarṣa, Prof. V. V. Mirashi has recently put forward certain arguments, at least equally cogent, in assigning a much earlier date to the Kōśala king.⁴ If we accept the date proposed by him, viz., 550 to 530 A.D., we cannot obviously regard this Trivaradēva as a contemporary of Dharmarāja.

Thus the two important data, viz., a positive date and, the contemporaneity of a Kōśala king of the eighth century A.D., on which Mr. R. D. Banerji⁵ and other writers relied for determining the date of Dharmarāja, fail us when closely examined.

In the absence of other data we have to fall back upon the palaeographic evidence for an approximate idea of the date of the

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 19.

⁵ *History of Orissa*, p. 134.

Sailōdbhava kings mentioned in the Parikud and Tekkali plates. Fortunately, there is a fair amount of general agreement among scholars on this point.

Dr. Kielhorn, after a careful examination of the letters of the Buguḍa plates of Sainyabhita II, remarked as follows:⁶ "To determine with confidence the exact time of these plates from the characters seems to me impossible; my impression is that they cannot be earlier than about the 10th century A. D., and that probably they are not much later."

Dr. R. G. Basak also referred the Malagrāma plates of the same king to the 9th or 10th century A.D. on palaeographical grounds.⁷ Mr. R. D. Banerji, while editing the Parikud plates, made the following observations on this question:—"But the characters of the Ganjam and Khurda grants are much older than those of the Buguḍa and Parikud plates. It may be that the former were written in the current alphabet of North Eastern India while in the latter the alphabet prevalent in the Northern Circars, was used."

MM. H. Sastri who edited the Tekkali plates also referred them on palaeographical grounds to the eleventh century A.D.

In view of these opinions we may, at least till more definite evidence is available, provisionally fix the date of king Mādhavavarman Sainyabhita II, who issued the Buguḍa plate, between 850 and 950 A.D. It would then appear that between the kings mentioned in Ganjam and Khurda plates and those of the same family referred to in the other plates, there was an interval of more than two centuries. We may designate these two groups of kings as 'earlier' and 'later' Sailōdbhava kings.

Curiously enough, we have another similar instance in the same region and about the same period. If we study the history of the Kara family of kings ruling in Orissa, we can easily distinguish an earlier and a later group.⁸ The earlier group consisted of Kṣemankara, Sivakara I, Subhakara, and Sivakara II. As Subhakara sent a manuscript to the contemporary Chinese emperor Te-tsung in 795 A.D., the family may be regarded as having ruled during the eighth and a part of the ninth century A. D. The second group of Kara sovereigns, consisted of Loṇa = (or 'la) = bhāra, Kusumabhāra, Lalitabhāra, Śantikara, Śubhākara, and the two queens Tribhuvana-Mahādēvi

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 102.

⁷ *Sahitya*, 1319 B.S., p. 890.

⁸ Dr. H. C. Ray—*Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, pp. 413-422; R. D. Banerji—*History of Orissa*, Ch. XI.

and Daṇḍimahādēvi. Kielhorn, who referred the Buguḍa plates to the tenth century, assigned the records of Daṇḍimahādēvi to the 13th century A.D.⁹

Now the three known grants of Daṇḍimahādēvi contain orders to her functionaries in Koṅḍa-Maṇḍala. In one of these, the Koṅḍa-Maṇḍala is said to be in Dakṣiṇa-Tosala, whereas in the other the name is written as Dakṣiṇa-Kōsala, presumably a mistake for Dakṣiṇa-Tosala. Sivakara II of the earlier group also grants villages in Dakṣiṇa-Tosali. It may be added that the sovereigns of both the groups, who issued land-grants, assumed imperial titles Paramēśvara, Mahārājadhīrāja and Paramabhaṭṭāraka.

From a comparative study of the records of the Sailōdbhava and Kara dynasties we may draw the following chronological table of the ruling dynasties of Koṅḍa-Maṇḍala, the dates proposed being only approximate.

- c. 550-700 A.D.—Earlier Sailōdbhavas.
- c. 700-825 „ —Earlier Karas.
- c. 825-1000 „ —Later Sailōdbhavas.
- c. 1000-1125 „ —Later Karas.

Kielhorn referred the inscriptions of Daṇḍimahādēvi to the 13th century, but it is very unlikely that there was an independent Kara kingdom in Koṅḍa-Maṇḍala after the conquests of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga (1076-1147 A.D.) had carried the frontiers of Kalinga empire up to the border of the Sēna kingdom in Bengal. But in the above chronology there is an interval of three hundred years between the first king of the later Sailōdbhava dynasty and the last ruler of the Karas, and this fits in well with the views of Kielhorn about the palaeography of Buguḍa plates and the Ganjam grants of Daṇḍimahādēvi. It is also possible, that the later kings of one dynasty might be, to some extent, contemporaries of the earlier kings of the succeeding dynasty, though, for the sake of convenience, the known kings of each dynasty are shown to have followed those of the other.

For the present, therefore, we may provisionally draw up the following list of Sailōdbhava kings with approximate dates of accession.

⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 136.

Sailōdbhava (mythical founder)

- 1. Raṇabhīta (c. 550 A.D.)
- 2. Sainyabhīta I, Mādhavarāja I (c. 575 A.D.)
- 3. Ayaśōbhīta I (c. 600 A.D.)
- 4. Sainyabhīta II, Mādhavarāja II (c. 615 A.D.)
- (about eight kings)
- 13. Ayaśōbhīta II (c. 825 A.D.)
- 14. Sainyabhīta III, Mādhavarāman, Śrīnivāsa (c. 850 A.D.)
- 15. Ayaśōbhīta III, Madyamarāja I (c. 870 A.D.)
- 16. Mānabhīta, Dharmarāja (c. 900 A.D.)
- 17. Madyamarāja II (c. 925 A.D.)
- 18. Raṇākṣōbha (c. 940 A.D.)
- 19. Allaparāja (c. 960 A.D.)
- 20. Madyamarāja III (c. 980 A.D.)
(son of Yuvarāja Taillapanibha?)

The beginning of the dynasty falls about the middle of the sixth century, when so many new dynasties arose as a result of the collapse of the Gupta Empire. It may be noted that the Gaṅga dynasty of Kalinga was also probably founded about the same time, i.e., in the first half of the sixth century.

The territory over which the Sailōdbhavas ruled is named Koṅḍa-Maṇḍala. There can be hardly any doubt that this kingdom is referred to by Hiuen Tsang¹⁰ as Kong-u-t'o (or Kung-yü-t'o). Scholars who have dealt with the geography of Hiuen Tsang's travels do not agree about its location. Cunningham and Fergusson identified it with the district round the Chilka lake, and Fergusson thought that the capital was situated to the north of that lake. V. A. Smith, however, placed it in the Ganjam coast.

Now Hiuen Tsang says that from Kong-u-t'o he travelled south-west for 1400 or 1500 li to Ka-leng-ka or Kalinga. Inscriptions of this period leave no doubt that the kingdom of Kalinga comprised at least the southern part of Ganjam. V. A. Smith also locates 'the

¹⁰ For the accounts of Hiuen Tsang and comments thereon 'cf. Beal's Translation, Vol. II, pp. 206-7; Watters' Translation, Vol. II, pp. 196-7, 341.

capital of Kalinga in Hiuen Tsang's time' at modern Mukhalingam in the Ganjam district. If, therefore, Kōṅḍa is to be placed on the Ganjam coast, it would only comprise a very small strip of territory to the south of Chilka lake. The older view of Fergusson and Cunningham, is, therefore, preferable.

This view is also corroborated by the epigraphic data which we next proceed to consider.

We learn from the Ganjam plates that the capital city of Kōṅḍa was situated on the Salimā river. This has been identified with the rivulet called Salia in Banpur state (Puri district), which falls into the Chilka lake.

Six *Viṣayas* are mentioned in the Sailōdbhava records, viz., Kṛṣṇagiri, Khīṇḍahāra, Varttani, Guḍḍa, Thorāṇa, and Kaṭakabhukti.

Hultzsch suggested that Kṛṣṇagiri-Viṣaya (Ganjam plates) might be identical with its synonym Nilagiri which is a name of Jagannātha (Puri) in Orissa. Mr. S. N. Rajguru pointed out that about 18 miles from the Khallikōṭa Railway station, there is a village called Phasi in Aṭṭagaḍa, and about four miles to the east of this village there lies a great field, surrounded by mountains and hills, of which one is called Kṛṣṇagiri, with ruins of old caves and temples. It is reasonable to conclude that Phasi represents Phāsika, the scene of the battle between Dharmarāja and Mānabhīta, referred to above, and that the hill Kṛṣṇagiri gave the name to the Viṣaya.¹¹

Khīṇḍahāra (Nivina and Kōṇḍḍa grants) was identified by Mr. V. Miśra with a "hilly tract of Banpur, bordering the Nayagadh state called Khedajhari".¹² But Dr. N. P. Chakravarti identifies it with the village Khīṇḍi in the Kudala taluk of the Ganjam district.¹³ The latter view seems more reasonable. In that case the village Kōṇḍḍa (of the grant of Dharmarāja) may be identified with Kondra ($84^{\circ}-45' \times 19^{\circ}-30'$).

Varttani (Puri plates of Dharmarāja) has been identified by Mr. Miśra with modern Boironee ($84^{\circ}-45' \times 19^{\circ}-35'$), a place of some importance, at the junction of two roads, one leading to Khallikōṭa and the other to Ganjam. But then the villages of Dongi and Dukka, identified with Dongi in Nayagadh state, and Dukkavellu 'near Khallikota,—at least the former,—would be too far away.

As regards Guḍḍa (Buguḍa plates) there are many villages in Ganjam and the neighbouring districts with names either beginning or ending in the form 'guḍa or guda'. The Buguḍa plates refer to the

village of Puipina in the Khadirapattaka of the Guḍḍa viṣaya. Mr. Miśra identifies Puipina with the village Poipuni ($84^{\circ}-21' \times 19^{\circ}-11'$) and Khadirapattaka with Khairapatty ($84^{\circ}-53' \times 19^{\circ}-37'$). But as the two places are more than fifty miles apart, both these identifications cannot be accepted. Further Khairapatty is quite close to Boironee which has been identified by Mr. Miśra with Varttani (viṣaya). It would, therefore, be more reasonable to accept the identification of Puipina with the village Poipuni and locate Guḍḍa-viṣaya in the same locality.

Thorāṇa (Khurda plates) has been identified by Mr. Miśra with Thora-bonga ($19^{\circ}-16' \times 84^{\circ}-25'$) and Kumbharacche (da?) with the village Kumaragan about four miles to the North-east. But the name of the village in Thorāṇa-viṣaya was Arahanna and Kumbhāracche(da) was a part of it, presumably named after the Kumbhāras or potters who lived in it. Besides, by this identification Thorāṇa would be quite close to Guḍḍa and we can hardly locate two viṣayas in the same locality. I would, therefore, propose a new identification. Near about Khurda, where the plates were found, there is a village called Aryoun ($85^{\circ}-40' \times 20^{\circ}-8'$) and another called Gurthurrah ($85^{\circ}-25' \times 20^{\circ}-12'$). As many places in the neighbourhood have the prefix Gur, the latter may be identified with Thorāṇa, and the former, with Arahanna. The Malagrama plates of Mādhavavarman refer to another village called Māla-grama in the Thorāṇa-viṣaya, and this can be identified with the village called Garr-Mallypara ($85^{\circ}-45' \times 20^{\circ}-17'$).

Lastly, there is the Kaṭaka-bhukti (Parikud plates). No identification of this has so far been proposed. But there is nothing against its obvious identification with the well-known city Cuttack. Near it there is a locality called Purva-Kachch, which may represent Pūrva-khaṇḍa of the plates.

Mr. V. Miśra has attempted to define the boundary of Kōṅḍa-Maṇḍala on the basis of the geographical places mentioned in the copper-plates. He thinks that the Kōṅḍa-Maṇḍala was bounded on the east by the Chilka lake and Bay of Bengal, on the south by the Mahēndragiri mountain, and on the west by the hills which now demarcate the western boundary of the Kalahandi state. So far I think there will be a general agreement. Mr. Miśra places the northern boundary of Kōṅḍa along the hill-ranges which run from Kalupara-ghata (on the northern extremity of Chilka lake) towards the west as far as the south-west frontier of the Nayagadh state. Now, if we place the Thorāṇa-viṣaya near Khurda, and identify Kaṭaka-bhukti-viṣaya with Cuttack, as proposed above, we shall have to stretch the northern boundary of Kōṅḍa-Maṇḍala to the lower valley of the Mahānadi river. It is, of course, just possible that the Kaṭaka-bhukti

11 J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XVI, p. 185.

12 Ind. Hist. Quarterly, Vol. VII, pp. 665 ff.

13 Ep. Ind.; Vol. XXI, p. 38.

was added by conquest, and that it was not normally included in Kōṅḍa. But there can be hardly any doubt that the territories round about the Chilka lake formed part of Kōṅḍa, and this would admirably suit Hiuen Tsang's description that Kōṅḍa borders on a bay, perhaps meaning thereby the Chilka lake.

We may now proceed to discuss the history of Sailōdbhavas. A legendary account of the origin of the family is given in the Buguḍa plates of Sainyabhīta III and is repeated in later records. The first historical person is Raṇabhīta who probably flourished about the middle of the sixth century A. D. when the collapse of the Gupta empire and that of Yaśodharman created opportunities for the rise of new ruling dynasties.

The early kings of the dynasty were, however, feudatory chiefs. This is evident from the earliest record of the dynasty, viz., the Ganjam plates, where the second and fourth kings are called Mahārāja and Mahāsāmanta, and the third king, simply Mahārāja. Further, the Ganjam plates definitely refer to Mahārājādhirāja Saśāṅka as the overlord of Sainyabhīta II.

There cannot be, of course, any doubt that this Saśāṅka is the Lord of Gauḍa who figures so prominently in the Harṣa-carita and Hiuen Tsang's travels. Saśāṅka, whose capital was Karpasuvārṇa, thus extended his supremacy up to Kōṅḍa. But then the question arises, who was the overlord of the Sailōdbhavas before the time of Saśāṅka?

The Southern Tosala, which comprised Kōṅḍa-Maṇḍala, was in possession of Paramamahēśvara Śrī Sagguyayana of the Māṇa dynasty in the year 283 of the Gupta Era.¹⁴ In that year his feudatory chief named Śivarāja made a grant of land in the Vorttanoka-viṣaya, which may be the same as Varttani-viṣaya of the Puri plates of Dharmarāja.

Even apart from this identification it is obvious that up to the year 602 A. D. the Māṇa chiefs exercised supremacy in the region where, seventeen years later, we find that Saśāṅka, king of Karpasuvārṇa, was invoked as the overlord by the feudatory Sailōdbhava ruler Sainyabhīta II. Even admitting that Kōṅḍa might have been outside the limits of the Māṇa empire, there can be hardly any doubt that Saśāṅka must have acquired the intervening region from the Māṇas before he could make himself recognised as the overlord of Kōṅḍa-Maṇḍala.

The Māṇa chiefs are known to us from two other records. The Dudhpani rock inscription,¹⁵ which has been dated on palaeographic

¹⁴ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX, p. 287. I must point out however, that the reading of the name of the king and also of the date is not beyond doubt.

¹⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 343.

grounds to about the eighth century A.D., refers to the establishment of small principalities, in the Hazaribagh district, by three brothers whose names end in 'māna'. They were then feudatories of the ruler of Magadha, but from a second record¹⁶ we learn that the Manas had become lords of Magadha by the end of the eleventh century A. D. Whether the Māṇa dynasty which exercised supremacy in southern Tosali was connected in any way with the other line or lines, we cannot say. But it is interesting to note that while the records of the Māṇa dynasty were found in Gaya Hazaribagh districts, Saśāṅka, who ultimately became the overlord of the same region, also probably figures as a feudatory chief in an inscription found at Rohtasgarh. From the evidence, available at present, we are unable to connect Saśāṅka with the Māṇa dynasty in any way. But some sort of relationship is not impossible.

From what has been said above, it may be regarded as very probable, though not certain, that the Sailōdbhavas were feudatories of the Māṇas before Kōṅḍa formed a part of the empire of Saśāṅka.

The death of Saśāṅka and the consequent dismemberment of his empire gave an opportunity to the Sailōdbhavas to set up an independent kingdom. This is proved by a comparison of the Khurda plates with the Ganjam plates, both issued by the same king Sainyabhīta II. Unlike the latter grant, the former contains no reference to Saśāṅka as the overlord. On the other hand, king Mādhavarāja Sainyabhīta II issues the Khurda grant from *Jayaskandhāvāra* of Kōṅḍa and claims to have exercised sovereignty over the whole of Kalinga. Thus there is no doubt that after the death of Saśāṅka the Sailōdbhava king Sainyabhīta II assumed independence and probably also increased the boundaries of his kingdom.

Sainyabhīta II's claim that he exercised sovereignty over the whole of Kalinga may not be a mere boast, and he probably had some successes against his southern neighbours the Gaṅgas. Although Kōṅḍa was technically included in Kalinga, the Sailōdbhavas never, save in the instance just mentioned, refer to their sovereignty in Kalinga, but always designated their kingdom as Kōṅḍa. On the other hand, the Gaṅgas, who ruled about the same time in the southern part of Ganjam and the northern part of Vizagapatam districts, always style themselves as lords of Kalinga. It would appear, therefore, that from the sixth century onwards the Gaṅga kingdom was regarded as Kalinga proper. The boast of Sainyabhīta II that he exercised sovereignty over the whole of Kalinga may, therefore, be taken to imply that he defeated the Gaṅga king, and perhaps wrested some of

¹⁶ Govindapur Stone Ins. of the poet Gangādhara, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 330.

their possessions. The utter silence in respect of Kalinga in the later records of the dynasty, shows, however, that the successes of Sainyabhīta II, in this respect, were purely temporary.

Some light is thrown on the political condition of Kōṅḍa about this time by the accounts of Hiuen Tsang.¹⁷ The pilgrim passed through the country in or about 639 A.D. The relevant passage in his travels is thus translated by Beal: "Within the limits of this country there are several tens of small towns which border on the mountains and are built contiguous to the sea. The cities themselves are strong and high; the soldiers are brave and daring; they rule by force the neighbouring provinces, so that no one can resist them." Watters' summary is somewhat different. The last sentence is rendered by him as follows: "As the towns were naturally strong there was a gallant army which kept the neighbouring countries in awe, and so there was no powerful enemy." In any case it is pretty certain that Kōṅḍa was a powerful military state in Hiuen Tsang's time.

Within three or four years of the pilgrim's visit, some time about 642 A.D., Kōṅḍa was invaded by the great emperor Harṣavardhana. It was, no doubt, an episode in the long-drawn struggle between him and Śaśāṅka. After having subjugated a great portion of Northern India, the emperor turned his attention to this remote principality that once formed a part of his rival's empire. This expedition is referred to in the two following isolated passages in the life of Hiuen Tsang.

(a) The king after returning from the subjugation of Kōṅḍa came to Orissa.¹⁸

(b) Śilāditya-raja, returning from his attack on Kōṅḍa, heard that the Master of Law was residing with Kumāra.¹⁹

Both the passages presumably refer to the same expedition which was thus evidently undertaken shortly before 643 A.D. when Hiuen Tsang visited Kāmarūpa. But while one of the passages refers only to an 'attack', the other describes it as 'subjugation.'

Whether these different terms are merely faults of translation, we do not know, nor have we any other means to make a proper

¹⁷ See fn. 10 above.

¹⁸ Beal—*Life of Hiuen Tsang*, p. 159.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

²⁰ For the date of Hiuen Tsang's visit to Kōṅḍa and Kāmarūpa, cf. Watters 'on Yuan Chwang's Travels in India', Vol. II, p. 335.

estimate of the amount of success that Harṣavardhana achieved in Kōṅḍa.²¹

But the subjugation of Kōṅḍa by Harṣavardhana practically brings to an end the history of the earlier group of Sailōdbhava kings, so far as it is known to us at present. The fact that a Buddhist dynasty, viz., the Kara, succeeded them, may not altogether be unconnected with the victorious expedition of the great Buddhist emperor. In any case it is interesting to note that the period 650-750 A.D. witnessed the revival of Buddhist influence in Eastern India by the foundation of at least three Buddhist royal dynasties, viz., the Khadgas and Palas in Bengal and the Karas in Orissa.

According to the chronological scheme of succession adopted above, the Sailōdbhava dynasty once more reappears on the stage at the beginning of the ninth century A.D. To the same period, or perhaps a little earlier, belongs the record of king Jayavardhana II of the Saila dynasty.²² Members of this dynasty are said to have established political ascendancy in Western India (land of the Gūrjaras), Benares, and Northern Bengal, while king Jayavardhana apparently ruled over

²¹ Diametrically opposite views have been entertained on this question. Thus Watters remarks about Kōṅḍa: "At the time of pilgrim's arrival in these parts, as we learn from the Life, this country had been invaded by Śilāditya, king of Kānyakubja, and it was then apparently a part of that great sovereign's kingdom". Watters is undoubtedly mistaken about the time. As will appear from the 'Itinerary of Hiuen Tsang' at the end of Watters' Translation, (p. 335), the pilgrim passed through Kōṅḍa in 638 or 639 A.D. But while he was in Nālandā at the end of 642 and the beginning of 643 A.D., he heard of Harṣavardhana's return from his invasion of Kōṅḍa. Again, as we learn from the passage quoted above, 'Śilāditya-raja returning from his attack on Kōṅḍa heard that the Master of Law was residing with Kumāra'. As this happened at the beginning of 643 A.D. Harṣavardhana's invasion of Kōṅḍa, should be placed shortly before that. Further it may be noted, that Hiuen Tsang's description of Kōṅḍa, particularly the statement that 'its gallant army kept the neighbouring countries in awe, and so there was no powerful enemy', is hardly compatible with the view, maintained by Watters, that Kōṅḍa had already been invaded by Harsha and annexed to his kingdom. Watters points out, presumably as an evidence in support of his contention, that in his description of the country, Hiuen Tsang does not tell us anything about the government'. But the same is true of Kalinga, the very next country described by Hiuen Tsang, and of many other kingdoms described by him.

Mr. R. D. Banerji goes to the other extreme. He remarks: "Some modern writers are distinctly wrong when they state that Orissa was included in the empire of Harsha. Even after Harsha's last campaign in Kōṅḍa and Orissa, the Sailōdbhavas remained independent." (*History of Orissa*, pp. 129-30).

But the subjugation of Orissa by Harṣavardhana, at least for a temporary period, seems to be beyond doubt from what is stated in the Life of Hiuen Tsang (Beal, p. 159.)

²² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 41 ff.

the Balaghat district and its neighbourhood in Central Provinces. Rai Bahadur Hira Lal suggested that "the Sailavamśa is very probably identical with the Sailōdbhavas or Sailōdbhavas of Orissa".²³ The affinity in respect of name and the tradition of origin lends some colour to this view, but we have no positive evidence to connect the two. The same remark applies to a further conjecture of Hira Lal that the Sailavamśa was probably a branch of the Gāṅgavamśa. I may add that it was towards the close of the eighth century A. D. that the powerful Sailēndra dynasty established an empire in Malay archipelago and Malay Peninsula, and there are reasons to believe that they migrated from Kalinga. I have elsewhere suggested that the Sailas or Sailōdbhavas might be the same as these Sailēndras.²⁴ While all these hypotheses may be kept in view in the hope that future discoveries might throw more light on them, it is unreasonable to regard them as proved truths as Mr. R. D. Banerji has done. He remarks, for example: "At some subsequent date the Sailas or the Sailōdbhavas migrated to the Malay Peninsula, where their inscriptions have been discovered".²⁵ This and the sentence following it show that Mr. Banerji had very inadequate knowledge about the subject that he was discussing.

So far as the later Sailōdbhavas of Koṅḍōda are concerned, the political greatness of the family seems to have been established by Sainyabhīta III, Mādhavavarman, who had the surname Srīnivāsa. The records of the dynasty do not tell us anything about his father Ayaśōbhīta II, but give high praises to his valour and success in battles. Although the eulogy is of a conventional kind there are two points which seem to be of some importance. It is said that by his birth (the greatness of) his family became manifest like lotus on the appearance of the sun. Further, he is said to have performed the Aśvamēdha and other sacrifices. From these we may reasonably conclude that he was an independent ruler of some importance. It may be surmised that the Pāla conquest of Utkala facilitated the revival of Sailōdbhava power, and the decline of the Pāla empire after Dēvapāla's death enabled Sainyabhīta III to establish his supremacy in the neighbouring region. His son Ayaśōbhīta III Madhyamarāja maintained the greatness of his family. He ruled for at least twenty-six years and is credited with the performance of great sacrifices like Vajapūya, Aśvamēdha etc. The land he granted by the Parikud plates was situated in the Kaṭakabhukti-viśaya. Kaṭaka may be reasonably identified

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

²⁴ *B.E.F.E.O.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 141.

²⁵ *Op. Cit.*, p. 131.

²⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 283.

with modern Cuttack, and if this was included in his kingdom as the name of the 'bhukti' implies, we must suppose that the Sailōdbhava kingdom extended in the north up to the Mahānadī, beyond, perhaps, the traditional boundaries of Koṅḍōda-Maṇḍala.

Mr. R. D. Banerji who edited the Parikud plates of Madhyamarāja remarked that "the fact that he performed the Aśvamēdha sacrifice shows that he claimed the rank of a supreme monarch (*chakravartin*)". Such a claim would, of course, be ridiculous in his case, and in that of his father who also performed an Aśvamēdha sacrifice. But I think we need not regard the performance of Aśvamēdha in this light, at least for the period of which we are treating.²⁷

Under the next king Mānabhīta Dharmarāja, the power and prestige of the family suffered much on account of a disastrous civil war. A very meagre account of this episode is given in identical words in the three records of this king. It appears that one Mādhava rebelled against the king and seized the kingdom, but Dharmarāja defeated him at Phāsikā. Mādhava then made an alliance with king Trīvara, but both were defeated at the foot of the Vindhya. The statement that the rebel Mādhava 'formed the evil intention of expelling from his province his elder relations' may reasonably lead to the inference that Mādhava was probably a younger brother of Dharmarāja.

It is very likely that the quarrel was a result of disputed succession. The unsuccessful candidate Mādhava naturally turned to his powerful neighbour Trīvaradēva for aid. Trīvaradēva has, as noted above, been identified with Mahāśivagupta Tīvaradēva of the Sōmavamśi dynasty. It reflects great credit upon Dharmarāja that in spite of the help rendered by the Sōmavamśi king, he could successfully pursue the rival claimant to the foot of the Vindhya hills and ultimately triumphed over him.

Of the successors of Mānabhīta Dharmarāja, no particulars are known so far. According to the scheme of chronology suggested above, the family continued to rule till at least the end of the tenth century A. D., when they probably succumbed to the rising power of the later Karas.

²⁷ There has recently been a prolonged controversy about the real significance of the Aśvamēdha sacrifice from political point of view. cf. *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, pp. 114-18, 311-13, 637, fn. 1, 704-6; Vol. II, pp. 140-41, 789-793.

CONJEEVARAM INSCRIPTION OF THE TELUGU COLA KING JATACOLA BHIMA.

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

The late Dr. Hultzsch noticed this inscription several years ago but did not give the text or a critical analysis of its contents.^(a) Mr. K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, formerly Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, considering the historical importance of the record published it in the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica* with plate.^(b) He had thus done great service to the History of South India. But his reading of the text requires correction in several places; likewise his interpretation of the inscription which is faulty and untenable, needs a scrutiny and thorough revision. His conclusions more than his text require a careful re-examination before they are accepted as final and as historical facts. As humble student of South Indian history I feel that this important record had not been properly and correctly interpreted; I therefore propose to examine the interpret it afresh according to my lights. This re-examination of the text and Mr. Aiyer's interpretation thereof, are rendered necessary also for another reason. Mr. Aiyer for some reason or other did not advert to many important materials which were available to him and which would throw considerable light on the obscure events of that epoch to which the present inscription belonged and to several events recorded in it. I shall therefore re-edit the inscription in this Journal and I hope those scholars who are interested in the study of the History of South India will hereby have before them a totally different interpretation of the record which is essential for the correct understanding of it. I give here merely the text of the inscription and request the reader to refer to the facsimile of the inscription which accompanies Mr. Aiyer's article in the *Epigraphia Indica* if he has any doubts.

The present record has an interesting but tragic history of its own. At some unknown time it was broken into a number of pieces, apparently with intent to destroy it and root out all traces of its existence. It had suffered cruel mutilation, and even to-day all the fragments of this important record have not been recovered. It is not found at the present day in its original position. It is found altogether in seven fragments, scattered all over the sanctuary of the god Rajasimhēśvara [which is situated in the same place as the temple of Kailāsanātha at Conjeevaram. One of the fragments is found on the *mukhamāṇḍapa* and a second on the roof of the *mahāmāṇḍapa* of

the shrine of Rajasimhēśvara. A third one is on floor of the sanctuary, and the fourth and fifth fragments are found in the roof of the *mahāmāṇḍapa*, while two more are in the window which opens from the *mahāmāṇḍapa* into the *mukhamāṇḍapa* of the temple.

Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer has mentioned five out of these seven fragments. No one knows what had become of the remaining two which the late Dr. Hultzsch had noticed. Mr. Aiyer marks the five fragments as A, A1, B and B1; and arranges fragments A and A1 as section 1 which runs into ten broken lines. He places together three fragments calling them B and B1, and makes them section 2 of the record which runs into 49 lines. From the size of the inscription and that of the fragments it appears that the stone or stones on which the record was inscribed measured roughly a width of four feet. It also appears that the entire record was not engraved on a single stone or slab but at least on two or more ones and joined together so as to form a pillar, which stood roughly six or seven feet high. It cannot be said where this huge pillar inscription originally stood.

The inscription on these fragments is in *Grantha* characters; it is in Sanskrit partly in verse and partly in prose, and in archaic Telugu which reads also like verse. At the end is a broken sentence in Tamil; only one word at the beginning and another at the end are visible. The middle portion which is the most important part of the Tamil sentence is lost on a fragment which Mr. Aiyer could not recover. Though Mr. Aiyer divides the inscription into two sections, it is not necessary to do so for purposes of our study, for the record in both the sections is a continuous document of one and the same prince. However for purposes of description the division into two sections may be accepted. It is extremely likely that section 1 lost three fragments: one at the left, another in the middle and a third on the right; and these, if found will complete the text of the first ten lines. As it is, section 1 has apparently lost about six letters in the beginning and about four or five letters in the middle and about seven or eight letters at the end of each line. In the same manner section 2 misses three or more fragments to complete the record. For instance, lines 10 to 26 appear to have lost roughly sixteen letters at the end of each line; and similarly about seven or eight letters must have been lost at the end of each line from lines 35-58. It is most regrettable that this part of the record had lost the fragment which contains the missing portions of the verses in archaic Telugu language.

Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer does not properly examine and interpret the record. When the inscription is apparently that of the Telugu Cola king Jata Cola Bhima surnamed Chōla Triṇētra, Mr. Aiyer tries to attribute it to the Cola monarch Rājakesarivarman

(a) *S.I.I.*, I, No. 144, p. 139.

(b) vol. XXI pp. 29-34.

Rajarāja I. He ignores the object of the inscription, but takes up only the broken sentence in Tamil at the end, the entire middle portion of which is missing, in line 58; and then writes, "The inscription ends by saying that such a distinguished person was captured by Rājaraṇa I." "Only the initial letter of the name is now preserved," he argues, "but there is no doubt that it should be read as Rājaraṇa. We know it was Rājaraṇa I. that was ruling over these parts, in S.S. 923-24." But Mr. Aiyer does not tell us why we should accept his baseless conjecture and read the name of Rājaraṇa. His reasons which are given above are absolutely unconvincing. He reads the date of the inscription to S.S. 923 expired, and on this *a priori* assumption attributes the inscription to Rājaraṇa I. in whose reign this date falls. He seems to argue in a vicious circle.

The entire trend of the inscription does not warrant the unsound assumption which Mr. Aiyer has hazarded. It is unwarranted on his part to have read the name of the king Rājaraṇa on the existence of the single letter *ra* and then presume quite gratuitously the missing contents of the Tamil sentence, all to suit conveniently his favourite theory. But we ask him the question, "Why not the letter *ra* be the beginning of the name of the holy lord 'Rajasimhēśvara' in whose sanctuary the inscription is found, and then the missing words of the sentence be restored as meaning, "Such a distinguished person (as Jaṭa Cōla Bhīma surnamed Cōla Triṇētra and Karikāla)", worshipped (*koṇḍār*) the holy lord Rajasimhēśvara established at Kāñcīpura,"? It is here that the proper clue to the correct interpretation of the inscription lies; and Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer with all his erudition has lost sight of it. He had also lost sight of several such important details which give a lie direct to many of his conclusions. Mr. Aiyer seems to be eager to attribute the record to Rājaraṇa. He fails to see that this record is not cast in the usual style of the Cōla records of Rājaraṇa I and others, beginning with a formal preamble, date and historical introduction which are so peculiar to them. He has not observed that this inscription is altogether different in form and style of the Cōla inscriptions of the period. The present inscription may be divided into five sections. In none of them the pedigree of the ancestors of the Cōla king Rājaraṇa is given. In the entire text which runs into 59 lines in both the sections put together, there is no reference to or mention made of the Cōla king Rājaraṇa I. The first part of the inscription describes king Cōla Triṇētra and his Cōla family. Then the pedigree of the imperial Eastern Cālukyas is introduced. The third part mentions the glory of the Telugu Cōla king Jaṭa Cōla Bhīma surnamed Cōla Triṇētra and Karikāla and, his exploits from his boyhood. The fourth section gives the *birudas* of king Jaṭa Cōla Bhīma which are wholly Cālukyan in style. The fifth part refers to

acts of piety and munificence of Cōla Triṇētra in Telugu verse. At the end of this is the broken sentence in Tamil language referred to above. In these circumstances Mr. Aiyer must tell us convincingly what the object of his hero Rājaraṇa I. was in recording the glory of the Eastern Cālukyas, the panegyrics of his bitter adversary Cōla Triṇētra partly in Sanskrit prose and poetry, and partly in Telugu verse, and then mention his own exploit in a very humble manner. Mr. Aiyer's interpretation cannot be accepted as correct for it is impossible to argue that the Cōla monarch who was very boastful in recording his own glorious exploits in every record of his time would have sung the glory of his opponent, the Telugu Cōla king and that of his overlords the Eastern Cālukyas, and recorded the great deeds of valour of Jaṭa Cōla Bhīma, his acts of piety and all his titles which in the extant portion alone number fifty three,—all at the expense of his own glory and greatness. It is obvious therefore that Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer has very gratuitously attributed the Conjeevaram inscription of Jaṭa-Cōla Bhīma to his rival Rājaraṇa I. of Tañjāpuri, and thus misinterpreted the entire record. This inscription is clearly a record of the *prāśasti* or glory of the Telugu Cōla king. It looks as it were a victory pillar inscription planted in the heart of Kāñcīpura to commemorate the conquests of the Telugu Cōla king. The hero of this record is therefore Jaṭa Cōla Bhīma and not his enemy Rājaraṇa I. It is evidently in a spirit of partisanship rather than that of a true historian that Mr. Aiyer has understood and interpreted the whole record.

The true import of the record is apparent from its first ten lines in Section 1; and lines 7 to 10 are the most important of them in as much as their restoration into correct Sanskrit enables the reader to grasp the proper object of this record. These lines are evidently in metre and this fact Mr. Aiyer seems to completely ignore. These lines may be restored thus:—

1. 7.bhakti-namraṁ rachit=āñjali-putam Bhagavatāḥ
Paramēśvarasya Paramabhāṭṭarakasya Śrīmat(d)-
Bhīmēśvarasya.....
1. 8. (Śa*)ka-nṛpa-nava-śata-saṁkhyā vi.....śu yātēsu
Tribhir-adhikēṣu *chaturthē*=*nvapāt* ... purastān=nirastē śāsati||
- L. 1. 8-9. Bhīmēśvarasya-dēvasya Bhī.....sa.....sya rūpēna
janmani janmani||
- L. 1. 9-10. (*.....)-dharanīpatiḥ Kṛta-yugē Trēta-yugē Ravanaḥ
Bhimah Pāṇḍu-Prthātmajaḥ Kuru-kula-dhvaṁsī yugē nva...
— — —(Ka*)liyugē śauryyadi dharmā(*nvitāḥ**)
(ka*)rttumēṣa nṛpatī-Cōla Triṇētrō=bhavat||
- L. 10. Bhūtō bhaviṣyan va bhūpatir-dāna śauryyataḥ|
... .. n-āpi bhaviṣyati||

The restorations in the above lines which are distinguished in italics are mine. I will attempt in the following pages how these restorations are not only reasonable but fully justifiable by a discussion of the events of the period to which the present record belongs. The above passage doubtless points to the irresistible conclusion that the inscription is a record of the exploits of the Telugu Cōla king Jata Cōla Bhīma. It is the *prasti* of the king planted in the heart of Kancipura the capital of Tonḍaimaṇḍalam. It was inscribed evidently on a pillar which was intended to be a *Jayastambha* and to commemorate Jata Cōla Bhīma's conquest of Tonḍaimaṇḍalam. The record gives a date which must presumably be the date of the conquest of Tonḍaimaṇḍalam and consequently that of the planting of the victory pillar at Kañcīpura. The verse which gives the date is abundantly clear on the point.

The subjoined inscription opens with the praise the glorious king Cōla Triṇētra, i.e., "The Three-Eyed Cōla," who is worshipped by a host of vassal chieftains. The king is compared to the god Bhīmēśvara who is likewise worshipped by a multitude of *Yakṣas*. Evidently the beginning of the record which contained an invocation to the god Bhīmēśvara is lost. The inscription then states 'Such is king Cōla Triṇētra; who is equal to him?' Then follows the preamble which refers to the illustrious family of the Cōlas from which sprang king Cōla Triṇētra. The Cōlas are represented to have "obtained sovereignty of the earth through the excellent favour of the god Mahēśvara" (Śiva), and "the invincible and great lion-crest through the favour of the goddess Amara-Durga," the consort of Śiva. "The illustrious Cōla kings acquired a store of merit, having built several temples for Śiva, constructed tanks and laid out pleasure gardens" etc. Then abruptly begins a long passage which describes the pedigree of the Eastern Cālukyas. The genealogy begins with Guṇagāṃka Vijayāditya, mentions his successor Cālukya Bhīma (I), then his son Kollavi(bhi)gāṇḍa "who was a jewel that illuminated the race of the Cālukyas." His dear queen.....dēvi^(c) who is likened to Gauri consort of Śiva, and Rāja Bhīma the son of that queen and her lord Kollavigāṇḍa are mentioned next. Rāja Bhīma is said to have resembled Kumāra son of Śiva. He is described as a man of marvellous strength, of fierce valour and majesty, as the very incarnation of the epic hero of that name. He is said to have distinguished himself as an invincible warrior in many a tumultuous battle. Then a long passage which must have contained the names of the son and successors of Rāja Bhīma is apparently lost. After that follows the

(c) From the Eastern Cālukya records of the time of Cālukya Bhīma II, her nāma appears to be Mēramba.

description of a king who is called 'ocean of liberality' and "whose footstool is made lustrous by the diadems of potentates like the Vaidumba chief and others." The king's name is unfortunately lost for the fragment is completely broken off here. But it is not improbable that the king who subdued and claimed overlordship of the powerful Vaidumba chief was Cōla Triṇētra himself. The rest of the mutilated passage in lines 6-7 seems to describe Cōla Triṇētra, but it is not possible to make out any connected sense from the broken words. Cōla Triṇētra is described as a very handsome person. "His strong bow excelled even that of god Indra." He is called the glorious king "Bhīma who is worshipped by a multitude of feudatories who bowed before him with hands folded on their foreheads in devotion and obeisance." "He is a pious king, a devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara. He is a *paramabhātāraka*, a great and powerful king." Then comes the passage in metre which records the date of the inscription. "After nine hundred years of the Śaka king augmented by three had gone by, in the fourth year, i.e., S.S 904 Bhīma having destroyed the power of the king of that country (Tonḍaimaṇḍalam,) had commenced to reign there in his stead." The next verse describes Cōla Triṇētra, "who is born through the favour of the god Bhīmēśvara." "He was born as the emperor (Māndhātā? in Kṛta-yuga, as Ravana in the Trētā-yuga, as Bhīma the destroyer of the Kuru race and the son of Pāṇḍu and his queen Pṛithu (Kuntī) in the Dvāpara-yuga, and lastly as Cōla Triṇētra in the Kali-yuga." "This king is the embodiment of supreme majesty, prowess and righteousness (*dharmā*) and all virtues. Such a great king was not heard of before, is not born in this age, and cannot even be thought of in future. Such is Cōla Triṇētra!" "He is called *Parachakra-Bhīma*."....."He is a Bhagadatta himself in the management of horses and chariots on the battle field." He enjoys the earth like Satakratu (Indra) who enjoys the kingdom of heaven, as long as the sun and the moon endure." He is called Karikāla. Then follows a highly mutilated passage which describes the heroic exploits of this great king, "While he was still a youth (*śaiṣavē*) king Karikāla Cōla attacked and destroyed the great army of king Kṛṣṇa (*Kṛṣṇa-nṛpa*), in great wrath and thus rose to fame and glory." (ll. 26-28) "Having first uprooted the *sāmantas* (feudatories) of the East (meaning perhaps Kalinga) and the *sāmantas* of the Forest (*Āṭavika*) country, (meaning probably the province of Trikalīṅga,) like fire of Death supported by fierce wind he conquered other foes. And having defeated the splendid army of king Danarṇava and Nṛpa Kāma and having killed them in battle, rendered it possible for... ..to become the lord of Andhra country which in right belonged to his sister." Evidently it means that his sister had married the prince who by right claimed to be the lord of the Andhra

country. (11. 22-28). "A wonder it is that he conquered the king of the distant North!" (1. 18) "He conquered Kāmarṇava and sent him to heaven. He then slew king Vinayaditya and others and destroyed their forces. Such is the glorious king Jaṭa Cōḷa Bhīma surnamed Gaṇḍa-Bhūriśrava. He surpassed Karna in liberality, Cupid in beauty, Sun in glory... He is king Bhīma, the crest jewel among the great feudatories. (*Bhīma-mahāmaṇḍalika-śikhāmaṇiḥ*). "He is Vijaya in battle." The follow his several epithets or birudas. They are for instance, *Arasarābharaṇaḥ*, *Śumaraika-vīraḥ*, *Raṇaranga-Rākṣasaḥ*, *Asahāya-vikramaḥ*, *Nagīrvāya-Bṛhaspatiḥ*, *Saujanya-dhavalah*, *Acāra-Bhagīrathaḥ*, *Rāja-Makara-dvajah*, *Vikrānta-Cakrāyudhaḥ*, *Kṣatriya-kula-nistārakaḥ*, *Gondāḷā-sāhasaḥ*, *Karikāla-Cōḷaḥ*, *Arirāja-bhīṣaṇaḥ*, *Tyāga-mahārṇavaḥ*, and *Nara-lōka-Rudraḥ*. With these titles the Sanskrit part of the record ends, and then begins the Telugu portion. "Like the great king Bētunḍu alias Guṇaka Vijayatunḍu i.e. Guṇagāṃka Vijayaditya, son of Kaliyāṇa, meaning Kali Viṭṭarasa, king Jaṭa Cōḷa Bhīma reduced the whole earth to submission by his prowess, including the lords of Anga and Kalinga. He is a worshipper of the god Bhīmēśvara established at Dākarambi (apparently the ancient name Dākṣārāma). There he set up perpetual lamps before the God for his merit... gave away several kinds of ornaments of gold to the Lord, whose name and image he bore, (*tana-rūpu-vāṇḍani*). He also gave away several kinds of musical instruments to the God, presented a jewelled gold belt to Him;...He established *satṭrālayas* (feeding houses) and planted pleasure-gardens at Dākarambi. "By him,—such a distinguished prince—is worshipped the holy lord Śrī Rājasimhēśvara established in this place."

TEXT.

I

- 1यक्षेश्वरप्रभृति [*भी]मेश्वराय ददता वदतः क एव चोळ लिणे त वसुधा-
पतिना समानः ।- [स्व*]स्ति श्रीमता म्मुकु
- 2जानाम्महेश्वर वरप्र[सा*] धानामरदुर्गप्रसादासारित^aसिंहमहालाञ्छ^bनानाम्
^cअन्तकशिवालय तटा(का*)राम प्रवर्त्तन प्र[भृ*]
- 3^dपरीतानाम् चोळ ना म् कु [विजया*]दित्य गुणकांग (गुणगांक) चालुक्य-
भीमनृप ^eरत्नालंकृत चालुक्यवंशप्रदीपायमान कोलविगण्ड प्रि
- 4देव्याम् ग्यौ(गौ)र्याम् कुमार म् भीमापरावतारः भीम पराक्रमः प्रवर्त्त
नमहाहवः दिगन्तमान्तःदर्पान्तञ्च^f यथायोग

- a. Read prasād = āsādita
b. Read anēka
c. " pari-palitanām

- d. Read lañchhanām
e. " ratna
f. " cha

- 5दानपरावाणर्णव^g तत् भृ वै दुम्ब प्रभृतिराजराजन्यराजिराजित पीठस्थमनेक
सहस्रशतकुम्भसम्भूतप्रभृ
- 6कटिसूत्रप्रभृति विचित्र नेकालंकारालंकृतमान्म^h रूप ममूल्यानेकरत्नⁱधुति
पटल विरचितेन्द्रचापमधःकृ
- 7लोकनार्थ मवनीमव [भक्ति*] नम्रम् रचिताञ्जलिपुटम् भगवतः परमेश्वर
स्य परमभट्टारकस्य श्रीम द्वीमेश्वर^j
- 8^k[श*]कनृपनवशतसंख्या वि धुयातेषु लिभिरधिकेषु चतुर्थ^k न्वपात्पुरस्त
चिरस्ते^l शासि ति^m॥- ⁿभीमेश्वरस्य देवस्य भी
- 9स्यरूपेण जन्मनि जन्मनि ॥-^o धरणीपतिः कृतयुगे त्रेतायुगे रावणः भीमः
पाण्डुपृथात्मजः कुरुकुलध्वंसी युगे न्व
- 10[क*]लियुगे शौर्यादि धर्मा^p तुमेव नृपतिः चोळ लिणे लो भवत् ।-
^pभूतोभवन्मविष्यन्वा भूपति दान शौर्यतः

II

- 11 नापि भविष्यति ।- चिन्त्यन्चिन्ता
- 12 ले धावन् स्यन्दन यादसि स पुरा
- 13 तूणोत्तीर्ण महाण्वाना[पु]
- 14 पतस्यत् पर च क्र भी म रिपवो
- 15 त्रैय विशालमण्डप विस
- 16 जेषु भगदत्त एव तुरगे
- 17 ततं शतक्र[तु*]रपि स्वर्ग^qन्तनो
- 18 मसु स्थेयाद्भुवि यावदर्क
- 19 धु बहुष्वथासीत् क रि का ल[चोळः*]
- 20 शैशवे कृष्ण नृपस्य वाचा

g. Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer reads the word as Dāna-par = āpnava and interprets that Dānārṇava is mentioned here as the king whose "footstool was made lustrous by the daidems of potentates like the Vaidumba and others." This interpretation is far from being tenable. The whole phrase is an epithet describing the virtues of the Telugu Cōḷa king and might mean Dāna-parāyana-ārnava, as Dr. Hirananda Sastri, corrects it.

- h. Read ātma
" ratna
j. Metre Aryā
ki Read chaturthā
l. " nirastē

- m. Read śāsati
n. Metre Anushtubh.
o. " S'ardulavikrīḍita
p. " Anushtubh
q. Read svarggaṭ-tanō

- 21 [म*]भिहत्य मदोद्धतान् अप
 22 चुको[प] सञ्जात समग्रमन्युः
 23 न्यै सुमुखा^r त्वचण्डः [॥-*] न्ययूयु [ः*]
 24 [नि*]श्चलम् स्व म ग (गि) नीप द म न्ध्र म
 25 नः प्राक्सामन्तमान्याटविक द्वि ...
 26 न दुर्नि खोधात् उज्ज्वलमारुतवशाद ... य ...
 27 दाना र्णव नृप का मौ यौ युधि सत्सकलसैन्यमभिहत्य देश [म*] ...
 28 मविनोत् परिनेतुमीशः [॥*] चिलं सुदूरमपि चारुकु. म्भन्तं का मा र्णव न्दिवमनि ...
 29 भूत् व्यक्तं व्यसिस्स पतस्त्रिवि वैपरीत्या का मा र्णव म् भु वि नयन् ...
 30 त् वि न या द न्य भू प तैः^s ।- त्यागेन कर्ण मपि रूपतया मनोजम् तेजो ...
 31 सि समदात्मकं यः ।- स श्रीमान् ज टा चोळ भीम नृ प तिः सत्^t गण्डभूश्रवा ...
 32 थ योगतः ।- स स्थापान्य चतु स्य भूषणचयम् भी ...
 33 म (१*) गण्डलि[क*]शिखामणिः ।- गण्डभूरिश्रवः ।- संग्रामविजयः ।- ...
 34 ग धवळः ।- अरसराभरणः ।- सुकविचिन्तामणिः ।- शौ ...
 35 कीर्त्ति दिलीपः ।- [स*]त्यावतारः ।- समरैकवीरः ।- वीरभट ...
 36 ... रंगमल्लः ।- परगण्डराक्षसः ।- दीनकल्पद्रुमः ।- ...
 37 न्द्रः ।- भूपालमेरुः ।- अचलितवीर्यः ।- चतु रंग रा ...
 38 विद्याधरः ।- विक्रमधनञ्जयः ।- सौजन्यधवळः ।- ...
 39 ननः ।- दुष्टकालानलः ।- असहायविक्रमः ।- कर ...
 40 ... युगाचारः ।- नगेवायबृहस्पतिः^u ।- सत्यम ...
 41 राणनः ।- भुवनैकदीपि(प)कः ।- आचारभगीरथः ।- ...
 42 कर्मु करामः ।- अतिथादित्यन् ।- अपुरणदधीचिः ।- ...
 43 णः ।- वनिताभिरामः ।- अभिनवान्तकः ।- सूर्यकुलवासः ।- ...
 44 सुन्दरः ।- राजमकरध्वजः ।- बुधजनौपादारः ।- संव्यक्त भा ...
 45 विक्रान्तचक्रायुधः ।- समस्तराजप्रेयः ।- राजकुल ...
 46 रः ।- गोन्दळसाहसः ।- मानसंपूर्णः ।- क्षत्रियकुल ...

r. Read probaby as su-mahā-prachandah

s. „ Vinayāditya-bhūpatyah

t. Read sad-gaṇḍa

u. „ Na-girvāya-Bṛhaṣṭa atih

- 47 ... आरः ।- चल रंगरामः ।- रणांगमृगेन्द्रः^v ।- वीर नरसिंहः ।- ...
 48 हदेवः ।- करिकालचोळः ।- अरिराजभीषणः ।- सु ... [स-]
 49 : ।- त्यागमहार्णवः ।- नरलोकुरुद्रः ।- [॥*] ^w सकल भू ...
 50 स्थिर सन्निय घटन यंग कालिं क(ग)पति(तु)लु नाटि ...
 51 ल रल्लोटि परिकोटि रो(को)डुलैरंतु(दु) मारोडु ले ... [क-*]
 52 लियुरे कोटु(डु)कु बेतुगडु गुणकविजयितुगडु ...
 53 क्रम्बु सधिञ्चि सो(शो)धिञ्चि गु(गो)नकोनि भीमेश्व[र*] ...
 54 महियलु गालुक्तम्बु दिगि(वि)यलु कटिसूत [म्बु*] बहु ...
 55 ^xलोपुलु गुल्लियलुनु दुत्तिम्बुलु सड्डुलु रचि ...
 56 रा(रो) यिल्लन ^y तनरूपुवाण्डनि पसिर्गिडगाय महाम्बु ...
 57 दा विक्रायुकुडय्या डा कर म्बि ...
 58 परित ... (?) *इवणै. श्रीकोरा [जसिंहेश्वर* ...]
 59 कोण्डार।-

The above *praiasti* though fragmentary in character is of considerable historical importance. The importance lies in its usefulness in settling some of the doubtful points in the history of the relations of the Calukyas of Vēṅgi with the Cōlas of the South. It is helpful also in the study of the history of the period of the so called *Interregnum* in the history of the Eastern Calukya dynasty.

The hero of the record is Cōla Triṇētra who belonged to the family of the Telugu Cōlas of the Andhra country. The Cōlas of the Andhra country seem to be somewhat different from the Cōlas of the South or the Tamil country though both of them claim to belong to the Kāsyapa *gōtra*, to have migrated from the same territory in the basin of the rivers the Kistna and the Musi and to have been born in the lineage of the Sun and Karikāla. But the Telugu Cōlas have for their crest a lion which is said to have been obtained through the favour of the goddess Amara-Durgā, while the Cōlas of the Tamil country bear the Tiger crest. It is here the main difference between the Telugu Cōlas and the Cōlas of the Tamil country lies. This apparently denotes that the immigration of the Cōlas from the North into the South occurred on more than one occasion, and that while the Cōlas of the Tamil country adopted the symbol of the tiger for their crest the Telugu

v. „ Raparamga-mrgendrah

w. From here begins the archaic Telugu passage which appears to be in metre.

x. Read trāmpulu

y. „ “yilanu” meaning “on this earth”

Cōlas who remained in the Andhra country itself retained their original lion crest. The lion crest was a Buddhist symbol.^(d) It was used by the Ikṣvākus of the third century of the Christian era, ^(e) and later on by the Viṣṇukunḍins of the fifth and sixth centuries. ^(f) The seal on the Malepāḍu plates of Puṇyakumāra contains the lion crest. ^(g) And all the Cōlas of the Telugu country, whether they were rulers of Rēnāḍu Seven Thousand province, corresponding to the modern Kurnool and Cuddapah districts or of Cōla-vāḍi, "the land of the Cōlas", ^(h) identical with the Mahaboobnagar and Nalgonda districts of the Nizams Dominions, bore only the lion crest. The earliest of the Telugu Cōla families who held sway till the dawn of the eleventh century do not appear to have adopted the titles of the Tamil Cōlas and called themselves 'Oṛayūr-pura-var-ādhiśvara,' 'lords of the city of Oṛayūr the best of towns.' The Telugu Cōlas and the Cōlas of Cōla-vāḍi called themselves *Kōḍūru-pura-var-ādhiśvara*, "the lords of the city of Kōḍūru the best of towns". ⁽ⁱ⁾ Again the preamble of the inscriptions of the Telugu Cōlas of Rēnāḍu or Mārjavāḍi or Maharāja-vāḍi as it is also called, differs entirely from that of the Cōlas of the Tamil country. But this only shows that the Cōlas of the Tamil country were either a later or earlier immigrants from Cōla-vāḍi in the north to the Cauveri region in the South. Cōla Triṇētra and his ancestors seem to have belonged to the Telugu Cōlas of Rēnāḍu; and therefore it is not at all unlikely that he was a descendant of Puṇyakumāra of the Malepāḍu plates, the last known independent or semi-independent ruler of Rēnāḍu, of about the beginning of the eighth century.

There is another circumstance in this inscription which supports this conjecture. The record gives the pedigree of the Eastern Caḷukyas commencing from Guṇagāmka Vijayāditya (849-892 A.D.) the thirteenth king. The Telugu Cōlas would appear to have been conquered by him and to have become vassals from his time. A stone inscription from Dharmavaram in Ongole taluk states that Guṇagāmka Vijayāditya espoused the cause of a certain Cōla and restored him to the throne. ^(j)

(d) *E. I.*, XI, p. 337

(e) Recent excavations at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa where a number of Buddhist monuments of the Ikṣvāku period contain numerous representations of the lion symbol; and this has led to the above conjecture,

(f) *E. I.*, IV, pp. 193ff.

(g) *E. I.*, XI, p. 337.

(h) *J. A. H. R. S.*, VI, pp. 182-3. Dr. Fleet (*Dyn. Kan. Dists.* p. 380) refers to Jo (Cō) la-vāḍi as the territory over which Arikeśarin II's ancestors ruled. He translated the name Jōlavāḍi as 'the land of the great millet'. This rendering of the name is not proper and correct. In the first place it is not Jōla-vāḍi, but Cōla-vāḍi, meaning "the land of the Cōlas." Both in Kannaḍa and Telugu the guttural *ca* becomes *ja* when it is preceded by its proper nasal or *anusvara*.

(i) *Telingana Inscriptions*, p. 157, No 6.

(j) *Madras Epigraphist Colln.* No. 739 of 1922,

It is therefore probable that this Cōla protege of Guṇagāmka Vijayāditya was a descendant of Puṇyakumāra and an ancestor of Jata-cōla Bhīma, the hero of the present Conjeevaram inscription. It would appear that the Telugu Cōla-Vaidumba conflict for possession and rulership of Rēnāḍu took a serious turn during the reign of Vijayāditya III. The Vaidumbas who for a long time had the support of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas would seem to have usurped the rulership of the Rēnāḍu province from the Telugu Cōlas about the beginning of the eighth century. But the struggle for possession of the province continued for two centuries between the Telugu Cōlas on the one hand and the Vaidumbas on the other. About the middle of the ninth century the Telugu Cōla kingdom of Rēnāḍu was threatened to be completely destroyed by the Vaidumba chief Gaṇḍa Saṁkali, the greatest prince of his line. He had apparently the support of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II. Gaṇḍa Saṁkali was an enemy of the Cōlas of Rēnāḍu, for we are told in a stone inscription from Kurubalakōṭa that his brother-in-law (*maṇḍi*) died in an attack against the Sōlas, i. e., Cōlas. ^(k) Yet another mutilated record from the same place mentions the fierce struggle between Gaṇḍa Saṁkali and the Sōlas (Cōlas.) ^(l) In the Eastern Caḷukya records it is stated that king Guṇagāmka Vijayāditya III, terrified an enemy of his by name Saṁkila who was an ally of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II. ^(m) and that he completely burnt the city of Kiranapura which had been identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa capital Mānyakhēta, where they had taken refuge. ⁽ⁿ⁾ Saṁkali of the Dharmavaram record seems to be identical with Gaṇḍa Saṁkali, (for Gaṇḍa means a hero, and, is therefore an epithet) the enemy of the Cōla protege of the Caḷukya king. In the conflict between the Cōla prince and the Vaidumba king Gaṇḍa Saṁkali for the possession of Rēnāḍu, Guṇaga Vijayāditya III took up the cause of the former and placed him on the throne of Rēnāḍu. During that conflict the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their subordinates the Vaidumbas were completely conquered by the Eastern Caḷukyas. From the days of this monarch therefore the Telugu Cōlas would appear to have become vassals of the imperial Caḷukyas of Vēṅḡ, and remained so till the fall of Jatacōla Bhīma of the present record. Otherwise there seems to be no justification for the insertion of the Eastern Caḷukya pedigree from Guṇagāmka Vijayāditya III down to the un-named king of Andhra who was the suzerain lord of king Cōla Triṇētra. The reference to the Lord of the Andhra country or rather to the Andhra country as the kingdom of his sister (*sva-bhaginīpadam Andhra-ma*) in line 24 and the use of the epithet [*Maha*]-*maṇḍalika-ikhāmaṇi* in line 33 indicate clearly that king Jata Cōla Bhīma was

(k) *Ep. Colln.* No. 301 of 1922.

(l) *Ep. Colln.* No. 300 of 1922.

(m) *A. R. E.*, 1914, pp. 84-85 para 6

(n) *E. I.*, IX pp. 45 ff., *Dyn. Kan. Dists.*, pp. 411-12.

a vassal of the Eastern Cālukya king of the Āndhra country, whose name is unfortunately missing in the fragments of the present record.

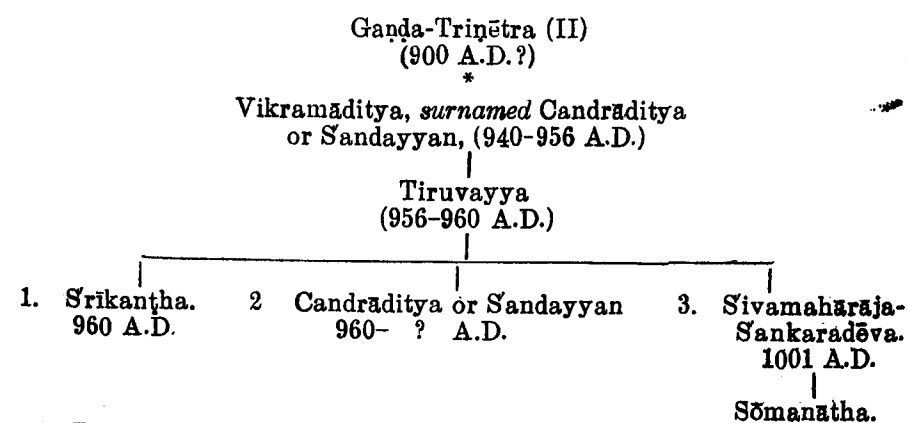
Lines 5 to 7 deal with the description of the greatness, prowess and power of the prince "whose foot-stool is made lustrous by the diadems of the potentates like the Vaidumba chief and others". There is no doubt that the king referred to here, and whose name unfortunately is lost on the missing fragment, was no other than the king Cōḷa Trinētra himself. For, the verse which gives the date of the record in line 8 below seems to state that by that date S.S. 904, the Telugu Cōḷa king conquered the province of which Kañcīpura was the capital, subdued its ruler and brought the whole territory under his sway. It is thus evident that Cōḷa Trinētra conquered the Vaidumba prince who was ruling over Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and became the lord of Kañcīpura. It was after the conquest of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam that Cōḷa Trinētra entered Kañcīpura and apparently set up the pillar of victory, with a record of his exploits inscribed thereon, in the sanctuary of Rājasimhēśvara, which is the present inscription itself.

A peep into the history of the Vaidumbas during the tenth century enables us to understand the significance of the passage in the present record and the claim of the Telugu Cōḷa king of having subdued the Vaidumba prince and made him his subordinate. The Telugu Cōḷas, as has been pointed out above, regained their lost hold on Rēṇāḍu during the ninth century through the help of Guṇagaṃka Vijayāditya. Some members of the Vaidumba family after the interruption of their supremacy in Rēṇāḍu seem to have moved towards the West about the end of the ninth century and settled in service in the Kanarese country under the Western Gāngas. Lewis Rice mentions in his Kōḷar volume two Vaidumba inscriptions which he assigns to about 900 A.D.^(o) One of them (Bg-62) is dated during the reign of the *Vaidumba-Mahārāja* Gaṇḍa Trinētra, who is said to be ruling his kingdom with Kiṇḍoṇḍe or the Little river as the boundary of his kingdom. He seems to be a member of the same family as that of his name-sake, the hero of the battle of Sōremāṭi, who flourished about the middle of the ninth century, though Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya assumes the former to be identical with the latter.^(p) But Gaṇḍa Trinētra looks more like an epithet or title rather than a proper or personal name. Further the interval between the date of the battle of Sōremāṭi which took place in or about 870 A.D. and the probable date of the Kōḷar record is sufficiently long to induce us to assume that Gaṇḍa Trinētra of the Kōḷar record was different from the hero of Sōremāṭi. A descendant of Gaṇḍa Trinētra (II) of the Kōḷar record was *Vaidumba-Mahārāja* Vikramāditya-Tiruvayya, as mentioned by Lewis Rice, and was the ruler of the Gāṅgavāḍi Six Thousand in 950 A.D., and a feudatory

(o) *Ep. Carn., X., Introd.* p. xxii.

(p) *A.R.E.*, 1907. para 44. p. 64

of the Nolamba king Dilīpayya-Iṇivi-Nolamba, who ruled from (942 to 966 A.D.) (q) An undated record from Kiḷūr near Tiṅukkoyilūr on the South Pennar in the South Arcot district refers to a Vaidumba feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III. (938-967 A.D.) named Vikramāditya who was governing Maḷaḍu, Vāṇagoppaḍi, Singapuranaṇḍu and Venkuṇṇakottam.^(r) Three more inscriptions from the same village mention another *Vaidumba-Mahārāja* Sandayya-Tiruvayyan, a feudatory Kṛṣṇa III.^(s) These inscriptions are dated in the 21st, 22nd, and 24th years of Kṛṣṇa III. and therefore correspond respectively to 960 A.D., 961 A.D. and 963 A.D. of the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch.^(t) It may therefore be supposed that this Sandayya-Tiruvayya of the Kiḷūr inscription is identical with Vikramāditya-Tiruvayya of the Kōḷar record mentioned by Lewis Rice. Sandayyan, was perhaps another name for Vikramāditya. This conjecture is rendered highly probable by the proximity of the dates of Vikramāditya and Tiruvayya as well as by the fact of Tiruvayya's son having been called Candrasēkhara, apparently after his grandfather.^(u) And Candrasēkhara might have been familiarised into Candra and Sandayyan. If this conjecture is correct, it would appear that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III appointed the *Vaidumba-Mahārāja*, Vikramāditya surnamed Candraditya or Sandayyan to govern the province of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam soon after the battle of Takkoḷam in 949 A.D. This apparently seems to be the manner by which the Vaidumbas of Gāṅgavāḍi who were a branch of the Vaidumbas of Rēṇāḍu came to be settled as rulers of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, as a powerful bulwark against the impetuous Telugu Cōḷas of the north and the subdued Tamil Cōḷas of Tanjore. The following then is the pedigree of the Vaidumbas of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam.



(q) *Ep. Carn., X., Introd.* p. xx.

(r) *Ep. Colln.* No. 16 of 1905.

(s) *Ep. Ind.* VII., pp. 142-44, Nos. G. H. & I.

(t) These dates are arrived at on the assumption that the accession of Kṛṣṇa III. took place in the beginning of 939 A.D. See further remarks on this date in *E.I.* XXI. p. 262.

(u) *A.R.E.*, 1907. 6

Candrāditya or Sandayyan I ruled over Tonḍaimaṇḍalam from his capital Kāñcīpura. His son was Turuvayya who had apparently a short rule. He had three sons, Srikanṭha(v) Candrāditya or Sandayyan(w) and Sivamahārāja Sankaradēva(x). The eldest son Srikanṭha seems to have succeeded his father Tiruvayya about 960 A. D., if not earlier. A record of his time at Grāmam in Tiṅukkoyilur taluk mentions this prince ruling as a feudatory in the twenty-first year of the reign of Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III, and the regnal year corresponds to 960 A.D.(y) It seems therefore that Tiruvayya was the Vaidumba prince who was brought from Gaṅgavaḍi and placed on the throne of Tonḍaimaṇḍalam after the conquest of Kāñcīpura and Tañjai (Tañjapura or Tanjore) by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king after the battle of Takkōlam in 949 A. D. It is not known how long Tiruvayya or his son Srikanṭha ruled at Kāñcīpura. But his rule would appear to have been a short one. A record of his youngest brother Sivamahārāja-Sankaradēva at the temple of Bilvanāthēśvara at Tiruvallam in Chingleput district, mentions the Vaidumba prince as ruling as a feudatory of the Cōḷa king Rājarāja I in the sixteenth year of his reign which falls in 1001 A.D.(a) It is therefore probable that Srikanṭha's rule ended sometime after 960 A. D. and thereafter his younger brother Candrāditya II. or Sandayyan II. began to rule. Accordingly it is evident that Candrāditya and his younger brother Sivamahārāja-Sankaradēva were the contemporaries of the Telugu Cōḷa king Cōḷa Trinētra. We will not be wrong therefore if we assume that Jaṭā Cōḷa Bhīma conquered the Vaidumba prince Sandayya about 980 A. D. and annexed his territory to his kingdom. If this conjecture be correct, it appears that the Vaidumba-Mahārāja Sandayyan II. was the Vaidumba feudatory referred to in the present Conjeevaram inscription. The date of the record gives the actual date of the overthrow of the authority of the semi-independent Vaidumba chief and reducing him to vassalage.

With the death of Cōḷa Trinētra about 999 A. D. Tonḍaimaṇḍalam and the southern portion of Rēnaḍu which was contiguous to the Cōḷa kingdom of the South passed into the hands of Rājarāja I. and the Vaidumba king Sivamahārāja-Sankaradēva, the youngest son of Tiruvayya became a feudatory of that Cōḷa monarch.

(v) *Ep. Colln.* No. 742 (Gramam)

(w) *Ep. Colln.* No. 16 of 1905

(x) *Ep. Colln.* No. 743 of 1905.

(y) *Ep. Colln.* No. 742 of 1905.

(z) Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya thinks (*A.R.E.* 1907, p. 66) that Sandayya II was the prince who was installed in the rulership of Kāñcīpura and Tonḍaimaṇḍalam by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III. But this view as shown above is not correct.

(a) *S.I.I.*, Pt. 1, No. 51, p. 104.

In a record at Mobbudevalam is mentioned another Vaidumba chief named Bhuvana Trinētra, who appears to belong to the line of Gaṇḍa Trinētra I. This temple is near Upparapalli on the Cuddapah-Pushpagiri road in the Cuddapah district.(b) Bhuvana-Trinētra seems to have ruled over Rēnaḍu or Mahārājavaḍi or Marjāvaḍi as it was called. The record is dated in S. S. 894 corresponding to 972-3 A. D., and this date is stated to be also the date of the annointment of Bhuvana Trinētra to the throne. Bhuvana Trinētra seems therefore to be another earlier Vaidumba contemporary of Jaṭā Cōḷa Bhīma, but it is beyond doubt that he was not the Vaidumba feudatory referred to the Conjeevaram record. The epithet *Trinētra* attached to the name of the Vaidumba chief seems to indicate that he was a descendant of Gaṇḍa Saṅkali and Gaṇḍa Trinētra I. of the senior branch who were contemporaries of Guṇagāṃka Vijayāditya III. The Telugu Cōḷa having conquered the Vaidumbas and succeeded to the rulership of Rēnaḍu after a period of obscurity of their fortunes in the middle of the ninth century would seem to have adopted that epithet and assumed the surname Cōḷa Trinētra.

The Vaidumbas were the natural enemies of the Telugu Cōḷas, on account of their continued conflict for possession of their province Rēnaḍu. So were their overlords the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed and the Eastern Čalukyas of Vēṅgi were always hostile towards each other. It is therefore probable that the Telugu Cōḷas as proteges of the imperial Eastern Čalukyas came into hostile contact once more after they had annexed and settled down in Tonḍaimaṇḍalam, in or about 980 A.D. It was Cōḷa Trinētra that conquered Tonḍaimaṇḍalam first and extended his kingdom as far as the South Pennar.

The next important thing in the inscription is the date of the record which is mentioned in line 8. The passage is in metre and can therefore be easily restored. It is in Āryā metre and runs thus:

(Śa*)ka-nṛpa-nava-Śata-saṃkhyā vi ... shu yātēṣu |

Tribhir = adhikēṣu chaturthe = nvaṇt purastān = nirastē śasati||

In the above verse are lost apparently ten mātras or syllables in the first line between *vi* and *shu*. Upon the correct restoration of the missing mātras in accordance with the context of the inscription and in the light of the facts mentioned in it, depends the proper determination of the date recorded in that verse. Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer does not notice the fact that the passage is in metre. His interpretation of the date of the record is therefore open to serious criticism. He explains the text as yielding the date S. S. 923 expired corresponding to 1001-02 A.D., in order that it may synchronise with the so called Cōḷa invasion of Vēṅgi country in the fourteenth year of Rājarāja I. about 999 A.D. He restores accordingly the missing syllables after *vi* as *vimśa*, meaning

(b) *Ep. Colln.* No. 325 of 1905.

twenty, and thus reads the date of the inscription as S. S. 923 expired. But it is difficult to understand how Mr. Aiyer can bring in *vimśa* disregarding the canons of metre. Moreover, *vi* cannot be restored into, and read as *vimśa* for the reason that all the words that follow *vi* in that passage end with locative plural termination *ṣu* till the end of the stanza. Therefore the word *vimśa* does not fit in correctly and properly after the word *saṁkhyā* in the preceding foot. It is thus obvious that the phrase which begins with *vi* must contain words which have got no more than ten *mātras* and end with the locative plural termination *ṣu* which is visible. The text may be restored therefore in the following manner, and this seems to be the proper and correct restoration.

Śaka-nṛpa-nava-jāta-saṁkhyā vi (diteṣu varṣe) ṣu yātēṣu |*

Tribhir = adhikēṣu chaturthē = nvopāt purastān = nirastē śāsati ||

The passage means that "after nine hundred years of the Saka king, increased by three had gone by, in the fourth year (i. e., 904), having put an end to the authority of the previous ruler, he, i. e., Cōla Triṇētra began to protect the kingdom. The text thus properly restored gives the correct date of the record, as S. S. 904 corresponding to 982-83 A.D. It also speaks of the previous ruler of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam who as has been shown above appears to be a Vaidumba prince, a descendant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa protege appointed by Kṛṣṇa III. It seems, therefore probable that from that year S. S. 904, Jaṭa Cōla Bhīma commenced to rule over Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. And apparently in order to commemorate the glorious event and to record his other great exploits, that Cōla Triṇētra planted the 'pillar of victory' in the heart of Kāncīpura the capital of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam.

The inscription then goes on to mention several brilliant and heroic achievements of the Telugu Cōla king from the period of his youth. Lines 9-19 describe Cōla Triṇētra as a mighty warrior whose prowess equals that of Śatakṛatu and who bears the surnames Paracakra Bhīma and Karikāla Cōla. Lines 20-22 which are full of lacunæ seem to state that Jaṭa Cōla Bhīma rose to fame and glory on account of his encounter with a certain Kṛṣṇa-nṛpa and completely destroying his mighty army while he was still a youth. Kṛṣṇa-nṛpa may be identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III (939-967 A.D.); and the proximity of the date of the present record to the reign of Kṛṣṇa III renders the identification highly probable. The present inscription is dated roughly fifteen or sixteen years after the death of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch.

It may be interesting to trace the events that led to Jaṭa Cōla Bhīma's encounter with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in his youth. The Telugu Cōlas do not appear to have been at war with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas during the period of the latter's occupation of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and Tanjai, in the

south. But they were the vassals of the Eastern Cālukyas who were always at war with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and therefore it is probable that the Telugu Cōla prince came into hostile contact with Kṛṣṇa III as a subordinate military officer of Ammarāja II. (945-970 A.D.) the Eastern Cālukya contemporary and formidable enemy of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. An Eastern Cālukya grant of this period states that Ammarāja II had proceeded "in wrath against Kṛṣṇa, (meaning the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III.) in the direction of Kalinga in the twelfth year of his reign, having appointed his elder brother Dānārṇava as the regent of the kingdom." (c) Evidently Kṛṣṇa III invaded Vēṅgi through Kalinga in order to destroy and uproot the power of Ammarāja II. The expedition against the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king seems to have resulted in a splendid victory for the Eastern Cālukyas, for while Ammarāja II. thereafter returned to his kingdom and reigned successfully for a decade or more, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of this period never claimed a victory against the lord of the Andhra country. Moreover the Eastern Cālukya records of this period speak of victories everywhere to Ammarāja II. (d) The Andhra Academy plates of Saktivarman I describe the marvellous heroism and prowess of Ammarāja II and state that king acquired the title *Tribhuvanāṁkuśa*, 'the elephant goad of three worlds' by displaying heroism in the thick of a battle between the elephant forces, and slaying several of enemy's rutting elephants with his own hand. (e) It is quite probable that this battle refers to the period of Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion of the Andhra country from the direction of Kalinga in the twelfth year of Ammarāja II. (956-57 A. D.) Jaṭa Cōla Bhīma who was but a promising youth about this year would probably have taken part in the expedition against Kṛṣṇa III and displayed great heroism in defeating and destroying the mighty Rāṣṭrakūṭa army as an important military officer of the Eastern Cālukya army, under king Ammarāja II., and thus distinguished himself. If this view is accepted Jaṭa Cōla Bhīma who was probably a youth of about twenty years in 956-57 A.D. would be about forty five or forty six years of age on the date of his Conjeevaram record.

Lines 21-28 describe other interesting exploits of Jaṭa Cōla Bhīma. The words *abhihatya madōddhatān*, *cukōpa* and *prāk-Sāma-Triṇētra* destroyed the haughty vassals of the kingdom and subjugated the turbulent vassal chieftains of the Forest kingdom of the East, meaning probably the province of Triakalinga which was a feudatory *nta-mānyātavikā(n)* in lines 21-26 seem to suggest strongly that Cōla

c. C. P. No. 1 of 1916-17.

d. An unpublished grant of Amma II, in my possession speaks also of a great victory obtained by one of his vassals against the enemies of the country.

e. C. P. No. 15 of 1916-17.

of the Eastern Cālukya-kingdom. The Telugu Cōla king is said to have uprooted the insurgent vassals in great wrath, 'like Hell-fire supported by a fierce wind.' These achievements seem to have been followed by the defeating and slaying king Dānārṇava and prince Nṛpa Kāma in battle and destroying their excellent army. Jaṭa Cōla Bhīma seems to have conquered the Andhra country which in right belonged to his sister (*sva-bhagini-padam-Andhra* etc.) and made her husband the lord of the country. This was evidently accomplished after the death of Dānārṇava who was king of the Andhra country for three years after Ammarāja II. This suggestion is rendered likely by the imperfect passages in lines 22-28 of the sub-joined record as well as by a statement in the Arambaka grant of Adhirāja Bādapa.^(f) It is stated in the latter record that Bādapa succeeded to the sovereignty of the Andhra country after Ammarāja II. had reigned for a long time in peace over Vēṅgi and Trikalīṅga countries. The records of the Post-Restoration period, however, clearly state that after Ammarāja II had reigned for twenty five years and died, Dānārṇava succeeded him and reigned for three years, and that on his death the Andhra and Kālīṅga countries were without a king for twenty-seven years. It is probable that the period of 'anāyaka' that followed the death of Dānārṇava was the period of Adhirāja Bādapa the donor of the Arambaka grant. The short reign of Dānārṇava, and the statement that Dānārṇava and Nṛpa Kāma were slain in a battle and that their excellent army was completely destroyed by Jaṭa Cōla Bhīma, all clearly suggest that after the death of Ammarāja II., Bādapa fought against Dānārṇava for three years and succeeded in becoming the undisputed lord of the Andhra country through the invaluable assistance rendered by Jaṭa Cōla Bhīma who was apparently his wife's brother as the statement *sva-bhagini-padam-Andhra* etc., seems to suggest.

It is necessary to examine now the interpretation of the passage in line 27 which Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer has offered. Mr. Aiyer seems to attribute the exploits of Jaṭa Cōla Bhīma to his enemy Dānārṇava. There is evidently some confusion in Mr. Aiyer's reading of the line; he has read the two names Dānārṇava and Nṛpa Kāma as a single name. There is no epigraphical evidence in support of Aiyer's contention that Dānārṇava had another name Dānārṇava-Nṛpa Kāma. On the other hand there is evidence to show that Nṛpa Kāma was a younger brother of Dānārṇava. The Piṭhapuram inscription of Malla-Ammarāja II, and Kāma or Nṛpa Kāma.^(g) Again, there is another fact that Mr. Aiyer fails to see, that the name *Dānārṇava-Nṛpa Kāmō* as he

(f) *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 13 f. text lines 15-17.

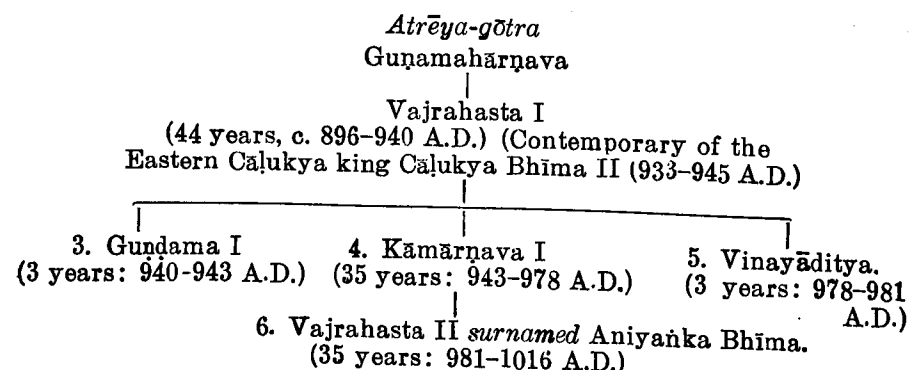
(g) *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 226, v. 15.

reads it, cannot be the subject of the sentence in the entire passage because the next letter *yō* in line 27 which is a pronoun in nominative singular seems to refer to Cōla Triṇētra. The passage in line 28 *avinōt-parinētum = iśaḥ* meaning 'who alone is able to accomplish this!' with reference to the heroic deeds mentioned above clearly supports this view. The words Dānārṇava-Nṛpa Kāmō have to be read with the accusative dual termination as 'Dānārṇava-Nṛpa Kāmau,' and then only the meaning of the entire passage which begins in line 23 and ends with the words *avinot-parinētum = iśaḥ* in line 28 and which is apparently in metre becomes clear. And the next verse which begins with the words *Citram su-dūram = api* also refers to Cōla Triṇētra's deeds of prowess and valour in distant Kālīṅga. At the end of the verse in line 31 which ends with the words *samud = ātmakam yaḥ*, the inscription says *Sa Sṛimān Jaṭa Cōla Bhīma nṛpatiḥ*, "He is the glorious king Jaṭa Cōla Bhīma." All this therefore clearly points to the conclusion that Mr. Aiyer's reading and interpretation of the entire passage in lines 19-31 is not at all tenable.

Lines 28-31 describe Jaṭa Cōla Bhīma's next exploit. The king is said to have led an expedition against distant Kālīṅga and sent Kāmārṇava to heaven. He is said to have also slain Vinayaditya in battle who, as we shall presently see, was also king of Kālīṅga in succession to Kāmārṇava. Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer has correctly identified Kāmārṇava with the Eastern Gāṅga king of Kālīṅga though he has wrongly attributed the slaying of the lord of Kālīṅga to Dānārṇava. The mistake is apparently due to a wrong understanding of the inscription. According to the accepted chronology of the Eastern Cālukyas, Dānārṇava would appear to have died about 973 A.D., and, therefore, he could not have fought with or slain Kāmārṇava. The Eastern Gāṅga records of Vajrahasta III give the date of his accession or more properly his coronation as the 9th April 1038 A.D.^(h) And this is the earliest known definite date in the chronology of the later Eastern Gāṅgas of Kālīṅga. In the copper plate charters of the Eastern Gāṅgas from the time of Vajrahasta III down to S. S. 1006, corresponding to 1004-5 A.D. the sixth year of accession of Anantavarman-Cōḍa-gaṅga and perhaps for some years afterwards also, an account of the ancestors of the dynasty commencing from Guṇamahārṇava and the number of years that each king reigned are given in the manner of the Eastern Cālukya records. If we therefore reckon backwards from the date of the coronation of Vajrahasta III the periods allotted to each

(h) *Ep. Ind.* IV, p. 186. But see A.R.E. 1925-26, App. E., p. 81, where the Government Epigraphist points out the error in the calculation of the equivalent of the date and corrects it to 9th April, 1038 A.D.

of the ancestors, we get at Kāmārṇava I who reigned roughly from 943 to 978 A. D., for 35 years, and who was a contemporary of Jaṭa Cōḷa Bhīma and his overlord Bādapa the lord of the Andhra country. Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer for some inexplicable reason identified Kāmārṇava of the subjoined record with Kāmārṇava IV of the pedigree given in the later day charters of the dynasty commencing from S. S. 1034 in the reign of Anantavarma-Cōḍaganga.⁽ⁱ⁾ In doing so he has accepted the chronology of the later charters in preference to the chronology of the family given in the earlier charters. The later or the revised genealogical account contains the names of several mythical ancestors which do not appear in the earlier pedigrees. Consequently the later day genealogical account composed in S. S. 1034, in the latter half of the reign of Anantavarma-Cōḍaganga is discrepant, and seems to be suspicious. Though the earlier pedigrees agree with the later genealogical account from the seventh king onwards, there is complete divergence between the two in the matter of chronology. Thus while Kāmārṇava I of the earlier genealogy seems to be identical with Kāmārṇava IV of the later pedigree, the period allotted to him in the earlier charters (35 years) does not agree with the period given to him (25 years) in the latter records. For these reasons therefore it is proper to accept the chronology and genealogy recorded in the earlier charters and reject the later accounts as doubtful and unworthy of credit. The following is the genealogy of the Eastern Gāṅgas according to the earlier charters.



The above clearly shows that it was Jaṭa Cōḷa Bhīma that was a contemporary of Kāmārṇava I and not Dānārṇava. Kāmārṇava I

(i) J.A.H.R.S. I. pp. 106-124. For a comparison of the two genealogical accounts the reader is requested to refer to *Ep. Ind.*, IV. pp. 185-186. It is indeed curious that the earlier genealogical account lingered long and appeared in a grant of the king dated in S.S. 1057=1135-36 A.D.

reigned till 978 A.D. and was killed as claimed by Jaṭa Cōḷa Bhīma in that year.

Apparently the subjugation of Kalinga was not complete with the slaying of Kāmārṇava I. The hostilities between the Eastern Gāṅgas and the Eastern Caḷukya overlord of Jaṭa Cōḷa Bhīma would appear to have continued unabated for at least three years more. Cōḷa Triṇētra claims to have killed Vinayāditya also on the battle field. Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer does not read the name of Vinayāditya in line 30 of the inscription, but reads the letters as *vinayād-anya-bhū-patiḥ*. But I think the word has to be read and interpreted as either *Vinayāditya-bhūpatim* in the accusative case as *Kāmārṇavam* is also in the same case, or as *Vinayāditya-bhūpatēḥ* in the genitive case. From the genealogical table given above, it appears that Kāmārṇava I. had a younger brother Vinayāditya who ruled for three years only after the death of his elder brother. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the name of the king Vinayāditya is meant here in preference to Mr. Aiyer's reading of the words which have apparently no sensible meaning according to the context.

The cause or causes that led to Jaṭa Cōḷa Bhīma's waging war against Kalinga and kill two of its kings successively in a space of three years may be traced here. There seems to be some sort of relationship between Dānārṇava of Vēṅgi and Kāmārṇava I and Vinayāditya of Kalinga. A recently discovered grant of Dānārṇava states that the king's mother Aṅkidēvī was a Kalinga princess.^(j) It seems probable that she was a sister of Kāmārṇava I. On account of this near relationship, Kāmārṇava I and Vinayāditya would naturally have gone to the assistance of Dānārṇava whose accession was bitterly opposed by Bādapa and his vassal king Cōḷa Triṇētra. But the death of Kāmārṇava did not put an end to the hostilities between Vēṅgi and Kalinga. Bādapa and Jaṭa Cōḷa Bhīma did not rest themselves evidently until they completely destroyed the power of Kalinga by killing two of its kings in battle and reducing the kingdom to submission.

The Telugu portion of the inscription which runs into 9 lines (lines 49-58) is full of lacunæ; and it is difficult to make any connected sense out of the archaic passages in it. Two or three things on the whole seem however to be clear. Firstly, Jaṭa Cōḷa Bhīma seems to compare himself to Guṇaka Vijayāditya III, the greatest prince of the imperial Caḷukya line. Secondly, on his return from the distant north, after completing the conquest of Kalinga, Cōḷa Triṇētra would appear to have visited the holy Dākarambi, the modern Dākṣarama in

(j) The grant is still unpublished and is in the possession of Maṇḍa Narasimham Pantulu, Teacher, Arasavalli, Chicacole taluka, Vizagapatam district.

the East Godavari district,^(k) and worshipped the god Bhīmēśvara, the tutelary diety of his family.^(l) It is probably for this reason that the epigraph opens with an invocation to the god Bhīmēśvara and that the Telugu Cōla prince compares himself to that Lord. Thirdly a number of gifts made by Jaṭa Cōla Bhīma at Dākarambi to the god are described in detail. Some of the words here are so archaic that it is difficult to understand their meaning.

The first great achievement of Cōla Triṇētra was the victory gained against the Raṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III, and the last exploit of his glorious career was the conquest of the Vaidumba chief and the annexation of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. The period covered by these brilliant achievements of Jaṭa Cōla Bhīma, ranges from about 957 A.D. to 982 A.D. This period is the most eventful epoch in the history of the Southern India and the Andhra country. Jaṭa Cōla Bhīma who was easily one of the most powerful princes of his day was certainly proud of his numerous exploits. When he at last reduced the insolent Vaidumba to vassalage and occupied Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam he would appear to have made Kāncipura his capital, and worshipped the holy lord Rājasimhēśvara and planted a 'pillar of victory' to commemorate his glorious achievement. The broken sentence in Tamil at the end of the record seems to mention this important fact, and it is improper to assume as Mr. Aiyer does that Jaṭa Cōla Bhīma was captured by the Cōla king Rājarāja I.

The present record is a very important document inasmuch as it throws considerable light on the obscure period of the *Interregnum* so-called, in the history of the Eastern Cālukyas following the death of Dānārṇava in 973 A.D., and the history of the rising power of the Cōlas of Tanjāvūr in the extreme south. I desire to take this opportunity to go into the available materials and construct the history of the period called *Interregnum* which my late lamented friend K. V. Lakṣmana Rao, M.A. had promised to write in the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica* as a separate article but could not on account of his untimely death.^(m)

The period commencing from the death of Dānārṇava about the beginning of 973 A. D. and ending with the accession of Sakti-varman I. surnamed Cālukya Candra about 999 A. D., is commonly

(k) See, *S.I.I.*, IV., Nos. 1015-1018, 1020-21, 1029, 1035, 1102, 1117 and 1212, for the several variants of the name of the village

(l) God Bhīmēśvara was also the tutelary diety of the Eastern Cālukyas. See *Ep. Ind.*, VI. p. 347, text line 71.

(m) *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 140.

called the '*unexplained interval* or the *Interregnum* in the history of the Eastern Cālukyas. Dr. Burnell assumed that this was a period of anarchy in the Andhra country,⁽ⁿ⁾ but Dr. Fleet went a step further and explained that the 'anarchy may be attributed to the Cōla invasions.'^(o) "I suspect," he wrote, "that the country was in fact conquered and held by the Cōlas, probably under the immediate predecessors of Gangaikonda-Kō-Rājarāja-Rajakēsarivarman." It is very unfortunate that such theories advanced quite ignorantly by eminent scholars like Drs. Burnell, Fleet and Hultzsch several years ago have not been examined till now in the light of abundant new materials that have been discovered by the Department of South Indian Epigraphy, but blindly accepted as absolute historical truths by our Southern scholars like the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyengar, Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer and others.

It may be recalled that the *unexplained interval* or *interregnum* of twenty seven long years was the period which synchronised with the decline and fall of the great Raṣṭrakūṭa empire and the rise or perhaps the revival of the Western Cālukyas of Kalyāṇapura in Kuntala and Deccan. It synchronised also with the fall and disappearance of the great feudatory dynasties of the South like the Nōlamba-Pallavas of Nōlambavādi and the Western Gāṅgas of Gāṅgavādi in Mysore and, on their ruins the rise and expansion of the great Cōla empire. It is therefore improbable that during this most eventful period of the history of the Deccan and the Southern India the vast and powerful imperial Eastern Cālukya kingdom in the Eastern Deccan which was at the height of its glory during the reign of Ammarāja II (945-970 A.D.) should have suddenly become a land of anarchy and remained a prey to the inroads of the rising Cōlas of the South and without a king for over quarter of a century.

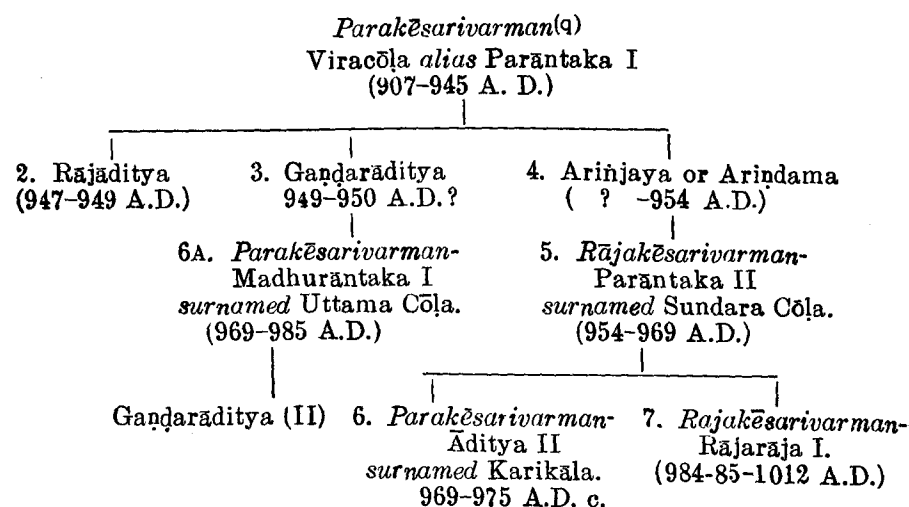
To understand properly the history of this most eventful epoch in the history of the Eastern Cālukyas, the *Interregnum* so called in the Andhra country, one has to survey the history of the Deccan and Southern India from about the middle of the tenth century, from the commencement of the Raṣṭrakūṭa occupation of Kāncipura and Tanjai, c. 950 A. D. The history of the Raṣṭrakūṭa occupation of the South is better understood by a study of the history of the rise of the Cōlas of Tanjai.

To begin with: The following table^(p) explains the relationship of Cōla kings to each other during the period of the Raṣṭrakūṭa occupation of the South and after.

(n) *South Indian palaeography*, p. 22, n. 6 and p. 57, n. 4.

(o) *Ind. Ant.*, XX., p. 272.

(p) See also *Ep. Ind.*, XV., p. 47 f.



On the death of Rājakēsarivarman-Parāntaka II surnamed Sundara Cōla, his eldest son Āditya II succeeded to the throne. But his succession seems to have been strenuously opposed by his paternal uncle Madhurāntaka-Uttama Cōla who also at this juncture crowned himself king of the Cōla kingdom. Then followed a fight for the throne between the two rival claimants. This view is suggested by the fact that the closing year of Parāntaka-Sundara Cōla's reign falls in the initial year of Madhurāntaka-Uttama Cōla's reign, i. e., 969 A.D.^(r) The Civil war in the Cōla country was followed by the invasion of the Nōlamba-Pallava king Vira Mahēndra II. surnamed Nōlambādhirāja, a vassal of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Khoṭṭiga. A record from Karṣanapalli which belongs to the time of Vira Mahēndra-Nōlambādhirāja, and which has been assigned to belong to the end of the tenth century A. D. by the late Mr. H. Krishna Sastri., refers to the conquest of Cōlanāḍu.^(s) Vira-Mahēndra II. was the son of Poḷaḷchōra II for whom we have a stone record from Kambaduru, dated in S. S 887 current Krōdhana samvatsara, which corresponds to 965-966, A.D. and which calls him "the lord of Kāncīpura".^(t) The date 965-66 A. D. clearly falls in the time of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III., and, indicates that the Nōlambas ruled over Tōṇḍaimaṇḍalam as vassals of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. If the invasion the Cōla country by

(q) A. R. No. 130 of 1929 gives the astronomical details for the eleventh year of Parāntaka I's reign. (A.R.E. 1930-31, p. 40, paragraph 7.), which falls in 917 A. D. Thus if 917 A.D. fell in the eleventh year the initial year of Parāntaka I. would be 907 A.D.

(r) A. R. E., 1925-26, pp. 100-01; 1928 p. 73.

(s) A. R. No. 325 of 1912: A. R. E. 1913, para 14, p. 91

(t) A. R. No. 93 of 1913.

Nōlambādhirāja-Vīramahēndra II. has to be accepted as a fact, then it would indicate that the Cōlas, under Parāntaka II who died in or about 969 A.D. and under his immediate successors Madhurāntaka and Āditya-Karikāla II., attempted to throw off their allegiance to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa overlords and their vassals the Nōlambas who were governing as their viceroys, in the wake of the disturbances in South India that followed on the death of Kṛṣṇa III. Though the Karṣanapalli record is not dated, it is possible to fix the date of the invasion of the Cōla country mentioned in it. As it has been assigned by the eminent epigraphist Krishna Sastri to the last years of the tenth century, we will not be wrong if we assume that the Nōlamba invasion of the Cōla country took place about the beginning of Uttama Cōla's reign between 970 and 975 A. D. The Cōlas were doubtless conquered and subdued by the Nōlambādhirāja once more. It would appear that this invasion of the Cōla country was the sequel to the disturbed state of the kingdom and the war of disputed succession. Krishna Sastri^(u) thinks that the Cōla-nāḍu which is stated to have been invaded by the Nōlambādhirāja may not refer to Cōla country proper but only to the province of Tōṇḍaimaṇḍalam which formed the northern portion of the Cōla country, and which was overrun completely by Kṛṣṇa III. But this view seems to be incorrect. Vira Mahēndra's father was already ruling in c. 966 A. D. in Kāncīpura which was the capital of Tōṇḍaimaṇḍalam, according the Kambadūru record. And thus, there can be no meaning in saying that Cōla country referred to in the Karṣanapalli record was not Cōla country proper but a portion of it, viz., Tōṇḍaimaṇḍalam. As a result of the Nōlamba invasion it would seem that peace was restored in the Cōla country at that time. Henceforward both the princes Uttama Cōla and Āditya-Karikāla II. ruled the country in peace independently, however, as co-regents. It is probable that they were punished by Vira Mahēndra II. and reconciled them to each other, so that both of them might jointly rule the kingdom. Both the kings bore the identical traditional Cōla surname Parakēsarivarman.^(v) But Āditya II. did not apparently enjoy a long reign like his uncle, for his last regnal year was only the 6th year corresponding to 974-75 A. D. according to this Tiruneḍuṅgalam inscription.^(w) On his death, again there was civil war, for Uttama Cōla appears to have opposed the accession of his younger nephew Arupmoḷivarman. It would appear that he wanted to exclude his nephew from the succession and become the sole lord of the Cōla kingdom. The Tiruvalangāḍu plates tell us in words pregnant with meaning, that on the death of Āditya II. the

(u) A. R. E. 1913 para 14 page 92.

(v) A. R. E. 1925-26 p. 100;

(w) A. R. No. 672 of 1909.

succession was again disputed, though Arunmoḷivarman was the rightful heir to the throne.^(x) The subjects and the ministers of the late king sought Arunmoḷivarman to become king, "or perhaps attempted to place him on the throne in succession to Āditya II. It appears that a dispute for the throne arose between Arunmoḷivarman and Uttama Cōḷa who had at this juncture usurped also the sovereignty of Āditya II and, lasted for some time. Prince Arunmoḷivarman at last declined the crown "for it is said that" he did not want to be king as long as his paternal uncle was fond of the kingdom."^(y) What happened at this period in the Cōḷa kingdom of Tanjapurī remains a mystery, and strangely enough all the Cōḷa records are scrupulously silent about the events of this period. It is probable that the Cōḷa kingdom was passing through a period of trial at this critical juncture. But it is certain that Arunmoḷivarman who clearly foresaw the unfortunate plight to which his country was reduced by internecine wars of the earlier generation, at once with the gesture of a farsighted statesman, declined the crown and allowed his uncle to enjoy peacefully the kingdom. The result of this was that, prince Arunmoḷivarman, afterwards the great king Rājaraḷa I., was immediately anointed as the heir-apparent by Madhurāntaka who then became the sole monarch of the Cōḷa kingdom.^(z) The statements in the Tiruvāḷaṅgaḍu plates are thus very significant, for it is stated in that record that the war of disputed succession ended in peace with the anointment of Arunmoḷivarman as the heir-apparent to the throne." Thenceforward, for eight years or more from that date (c. 976 A.D.) Arunmoḷivarman willingly assisted his uncle in the administration of the kingdom and distinguished himself as a great soldier and a wise statesman. And afterwards about the middle of 985 A.D. on the death of Madhurāntaka, he ascended the throne of the Cōḷa kingdom under the name of *Kō-Rājakēsarivarman-Rājaraḷa I.*^(a)

Madhurāntaka's usurpation and the protracted fight for the crown with Āditya II which commenced about 969 A.D. roughly synchronised with the fall and death of Ammarāja II in the Andhra country and the troubled period of three years' reign of Danārṇava, 970-973 A.D. Thus the early part of Madhurāntaka's reign, from 969 to 975 A.D. would appear to have been chiefly occupied by a protracted struggle for the throne between himself and his rival Arunmoḷivarman; and consequently that neither of them enjoyed any semblance of sovereignty or power. Though the hold of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas on the Cōḷa country had just then begun to slacken on account of the death of Kṛṣṇa III, (968 A.D.) their powerful feudatories the Nōḷamba-Pallavas, the

(x) S. I. I. III. Part 3 pp. 383-439.

(y) *Ibid.* verse 69.

(z) *Ibid.* verse 70.

(a) *Ep. Ind.*, VII., p. 7.

Western Gāṅgas and lastly the Vaidumbas were still powerful and remained a dominant check on the growth of the Cōḷa supremacy in the south. About the period of the decline and fall of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire in Southern India, the Telugu Cōḷas of Rēṇaḍu Seven thousand, who were foremost amongst the vassals of the imperial Eastern Cāḷukyas, would appear as the Conjeevaram inscription records, to have overpowered the Vaidumbas, their hereditary enemies, and extended their dominion into Tonḍaimaṇḍalam and occupied their city Kaṇḍipura. The troubled condition of the Cōḷa kingdom on account of the internecine civil wars, augmented by the incursions of the Nōḷamba-Pallavas on the one side and the aggressive inroads of the Telugu Cōḷas from the other, gave a rude set back to the growth of the Cōḷa power in the south and delayed at least the consolidation of the Cōḷa kingdom for another two decades. It is probable that this perilous condition of his country inspired prince Arunmoḷivarman to make a statesman-like gesture in giving up the fight for the throne and allowing his uncle peacefully to hold the sovereignty for the rest of his (latter's) life. During the latter part of Madhurāntaka's reign the Cōḷa kingdom enjoyed certainly peace and consequently the Cōḷas would appear to have been too busily occupied with their own internal affairs to become a paramount power, or to think of meddling in the affairs of the distant and powerful Andhra kingdom. It was not until the tenth year of Rājaraḷa I (c. 995 A.D.) that the Cōḷas commenced a policy of aggression towards their troublesome neighbours. The Cōḷa kingdom too until this period did not apparently extend on the north beyond the South Pennār in the South Arcot district.

The inscriptions of Rājaraḷa I's reign up to the tenth year do not refer to any exploits of the king. The epigraphs dated in the tenth year refer to his expedition against the Chēras.^(b) They mention the destruction of the fleet at Kandalūr by the epithet *Kandalur-iḷāi-kalam-aruṭṭa*, which Rājaraḷa assumed after he had defeated the Chēra fleet off Kandalūr. This event must have happened before the middle of A.D. 995, the tenth year of his reign. This was the first exploit in the great military career of Rājaraḷa I. In the same year the king completely crushed the Pāṇḍyas also.^(c) In the next following two years (996-997 A.D.) he would appear to have been engaged with events nearer home, the exact nature of which we have at present no means to ascertain. The inscriptions of the fourteenth year (998-99 A.D.) mention Rājaraḷa's conquest the Gāṅgappaḍi, Nōḷambappaḍi, Taḍigaip-ḍi and the invasion of the country of Vēṅgi; and those of the sixteenth year (1001-02 A.D.) refer to his conquest of Kōḷam on the

(b) A. R. Nos. 193, 234 and 248 of 1926.

(c) S. I. I. III. Pt. I., Nos. 3 & 19.

south and of distant Kalingam on the north.^(d) If all these claims are not empty boasts, it must be assumed that Rajaraja I. conquered the whole of the present Madras Presidency with lightning speed in the course of two or three years. There is absolutely no doubt that he was a great king and displayed remarkable military activity during this period 997 to 1001 A. D., but it seems to be equally doubtless that this claims with regard to the conquest of Vēṅgi and Kalingam were either empty boasts or unwarranted exaggeration of facts. It seems certain therefore that the Cōlas of Tanjapuri did not interfere in the affairs of Vēṅgi, and much less of Kalingam, even if that was a fact, till about 998-99 A. D. the thirteenth or the fourteenth year of Rajaraja's reign.

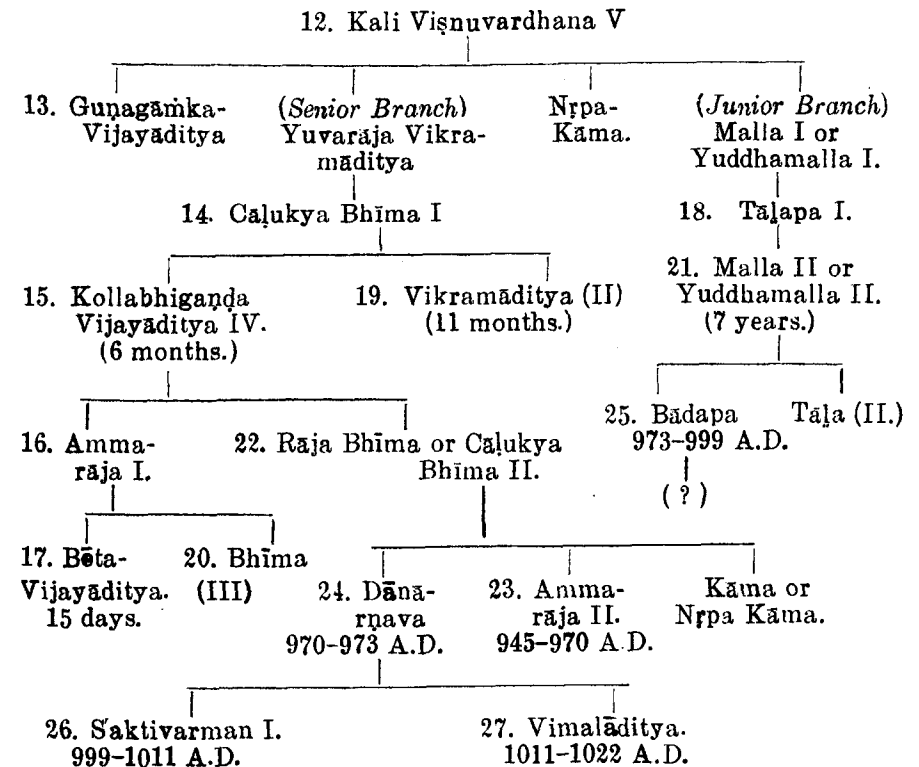
We shall now turn to the events in Vēṅgi from the time of Ammarāja's death about March 970 A. D. (e) The records of the post-Restoration period state that Danārṇava succeeded Ammarāja II immediately, and reigned for three years, 970-973 A. D., and that then followed a period of twenty seven years during which the Andhra country was without a king. The Ārambāka grant of *Adhirāja* Bādapa and the Śrīpūṇḍi plates of his younger brother Tājarāja II narrate the history of this period altogether in a different manner. King Bādapa and Tāja are not mentioned in the genealogical lists of the post-Restoration charters, though both of them doubtless belonged to the imperial Eastern Caḷukya dynasty. The Ārambāka grant states that Ammarāja II protected the kingdom of Vēṅgi together with the Trikalanga country according to the injunctions of *dharma*. Then Bādapa, with the help of the Vallabha king (Kṛṣṇa III) drove away the prosperous king Ammarāja from the country. (v. 1). "Having defeated the *dāyas* i.e. agnatic kinsmen, who were his rivals, crushed the multitude of the enemies, given a heap of things to the supplicants and honoured his relatives," the inscription records that, "*Adhirāja* Bādapa son of Yuddhamalla (II) became lord of Vēṅgi and protected the earth." Bādapa styled himself in the manner of his ancestors by assuming the secondary name Vijayāditya and the epithet *Samastabhuvanāśraya* and adopting the motto *Śrī Tribhuvanāṁkuśa* on the seals of his grants. He bore the usual titles denoting supreme sovereignty, such as *Rājādhirāja*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Adhirāja*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Paramēśvara* and *Paramabrahmaṇya* and the like.

If we now turn to the Eastern Caḷukya genealogy from the 13th king Guṇagāṁka Vijayāditya down to the 23rd king Ammarāja II and then pass on to his nephews Śaktivarman I and Vimalāditya, we will at once perceive the significance of Bādapa's claim to the throne

(d) *Ibid.* vol. II.

(e) J. A. H. R. S., IX., Part iv. table facing p. 30.

of the great kingdom of Vēṅgi. It becomes clear also that the *dāyas* whom he claims to have conquered before he had made himself the supreme lord of the country were Danārṇava and Kāma or Nṛpa Kāma. These princes are mentioned in the Conjeevaram inscription of Jaṭa Cōla Bhīma. And the 'multitude of enemies' might probably refer to the allies of Danārṇava, particularly Kāmārṇava and Vinayāditya, of Kalinga.



The above pedigree shows the two branches of the Eastern Caḷukyas: the senior branch descending from Yuvarāja Vikramāditya and the junior line from Malla I. It is a well known fact that, from the days of Guṇagāṁka Vijayāditya III a rivalry existed between the two branches of the royal family and that Guṇagāṁka Vijayāditya never reconciled himself to his youngest brother Malla I who opposed him in vain with the help of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amōghavarṣa I and later of his son Kṛṣṇa II. Malla I died in exile broken-hearted; but his descendants never lost hope. They attempted every now and then to usurp the throne of Vēṅgi with the help of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānykhēṭa, whom the senior branch of the Eastern Caḷukyas considered as their natural and hereditary enemies. And thus, there existed a bitter rivalry

and hatred between the children of Yuddhamalla or Malla I. on the one hand and the descendants of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya, who enjoyed the sovereignty of Vēngī to the exclusion of the former on the other. Malla's descendants continuously opposed the accession of the members of the senior line on the death of the reigning king from the days of Cālukya Bhīma I.^(f) Throughout the long reign of Cālukya Bhīma I. and his successors Kollabhiṇḍa and Ammarāja I. the discontented Tālarāja I, son of Malla I, remained in exile, making however futile attempts to fall upon Vēngī and seize the crown. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas who espoused his cause were beaten successively by Cālukya Bhīma I, his powerful son and grandson. On the death of Ammarāja I, at last Tālarāja I succeeded in capturing the throne by defeating and throwing into prison the boy king Bēta-Vijayāditya V. the eldest son of Ammarāja I.^(g) But he was king only for one month.^(h) He was then defeated and killed in a fierce battle by Vikramāditya II. the younger brother of Kollabhiṇḍa.⁽ⁱ⁾ But shortly after this Yuddhamalla II. the eldest son of Tālarāja I. rose and with the help of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda IV. and the Śabara chieftains of Trikalīṅga^(j) occupied Vēngī and reigned for seven years in great glory to the exclusion of Cālukya Bhīma II. the younger brother of Ammarāja I of the senior line. Yuddhamalla II. remained on the throne with the help of the powerful Rāṣṭrakūṭa army, and on the death of Gōvinda IV he fell, and was defeated and forced to flee from the kingdom by his rival Cālukya Bhīma II. who reigned in peace for twelve years.^(k)

In some records of this king the reign of Yuddhamalla II. was actually omitted in the list of the kings that preceded.^(l) Here perhaps is the earliest instance of an attempt by the members of the senior branch to ignore with contumely the reign of a king who belonged to the junior line, obviously on account of the latter having made a common cause with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the hereditary and natural enemies Vēngī. Throughout the reigns of Cālukya Bhīma II. and his son of Ammarāja II. roughly for thirty seven years (933-970 A. D.) the children of Yuddhamalla II. defeated and driven into exile, made futile attempts with the help of the king Kṛṣṇa III to conquer back the kingdom of Vēngī. The strong arm of Rāja Bhīma and later, of his illustrious son Ammarāja II. protected the fortunes of the senior branch

(f) S. I. I., I, p. 39.; C.P. No. 14 of 1908-09; C.P. No. 1 of 1913-14.

(g) Ind. Ant. XX p. 267.

(h) S. I. I., I, p. 43, No. 37, text line 15; Ind. Ant., XIII, p. 243, text line 16.

(i) Ind. Ant., XIII p. 243, text line 17.

(j) C.Ps. No. 1 of 1916-17., A. R. E. 1917, para 24, p. 117.

(k) Ibid

(l) S.I.I., I No. 37. p 43; Ep. Ind., V. pp. 134-139.

and enjoyed the imperial sovereignty of Vēngī to the complete exclusion of Yuddhamalla's children. It was at the fag end of Ammarāja's reign that Bādapa the eldest son of Yuddhamalla II. succeeded in defeating and expelling his rival from the kingdom and crowning himself king of Vēngī. But Dānārṇava and his brother Nṛpa Kama made a desperate stand against Bādapa and fought for three years. In the end Bādapa succeeded, for he claims to have conquered Vēngī with the help of the Vallabha king Kārṇarāja, who may easily be identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III. It is said that Bādapa solicited Kṛṣṇavallabha's help for a long time to conquer Vēngī. It is therefore quite natural that the junior branch of the Cālukya who depended on the assistance of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas for their fortunes were looked down with contempt and bitter hatred by the members of the senior line who claimed to be the rightful heirs to the sovereignty of Vēngī. It was this natural hatred for Bādapa, a mighty king though he was, that made Śaktivarman I. and his successors ignore his glorious reign of twenty seven or thirty years and call it contemptuously the period of *anāyaka* or *arājaka*, *asvāmika*, *interregnum* or anarchy. We can now understand the significance of the statement in the Kōrumilli grant of Rājarāja Viṣṇuvardhana^(m) namely, "that for twenty seven years a feverish desire to obtain a suitable lord consumed the earth i.e., Vēngī, which was without a leader, and that her fever or yearning was assuaged at last by Cālukya Candra." "The interregnum therefore was only from the point of view of the senior line, whose members, driven away from the Andhra country, had to spend their time abroad for twenty seven years. Consequently the expressions, *anayaka asvāmika* or *interregnum* do not connote the absence the rulers and therefore anarchy in the Andhra country as was represented in the records of the post-Restoration period and as is believed by our scholars. It only means that it was complete exclusion of the members of the senior branch from the sovereignty of the Vēngī and Kalinga kingdoms.

Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri expresses a doubt as to the correctness of Lakshmana Rao's suggestion that Bādapa commenced to reign after Ammarāja II. has reigned for twenty five years.⁽ⁿ⁾ His doubt is based upon the use of the participle *vinirgamya* in line 17 of the Arambaka grant with reference to Bādapa's overthrow of his rival Ammarāja II. "This participle", Krishna Sastri writes, "cannot indicate that Bādapa had once for all ousted Amma II from the Eastern Cālukya throne. "He might have temporarily displaced him for a time. "The Mangallu plates clearly state that Amma II in the

(m) Ind. Ant. XIV. p. 48 text line 49.

(n) Ep. Ind., XIX p. 140.

(o) Ep. Ind. XIX, p. 140, n. 1.

twelfth of his reign had to go to fight Kṛṣṇa, i.e., the Vallabha king Kṛṣṇa III who befriended Bādapa according to the Arambaka plates." But Krishna Sastri forgets that there is no suggestion in the Māngallu plates that Ammarāja's sovereignty was interrupted. That grant states merely that the kingdom was protected and governed to the great joy of the people by Dānārṇava the eldest son of Raja Bhīma and Ankidēvī, with the consent of his step-brother and king Ammarāja II. Moreover the Arambaka plates seem to indicate plainly that Ammarāja's reign had come to a close and that Bādapa had commenced to reign prosperously sometime back. (vv. 1-4) All the charters of the post-Restoration period state in unequivocal terms that Ammarāja had reigned for twenty five years uninterruptedly; and there is nothing to mitigate against this. Krishna Sastri's doubt, therefore, is ill-founded. It cannot be said on the strength of the participle *vinirgamya* that Bādapa had displaced Ammarāja II and held the throne of Vēṅgī for some period, after the latter had reigned for eleven or twelve years. The statement *āsriyā Karṇarājākhya-vallabham* (l. 17) in the Arambaka grant clearly indicates that Bādapa like his father Yuddhamalla II sought for a long time the protection and assistance of Kṛṣṇa III to conquer Vēṅgī and made several futile efforts for nearly quarter of a century before he could finally drive out Ammarāja II from the country. There can be no doubt that the invasion of Vēṅgī through Kalinga by Kṛṣṇa III mentioned in the Māngallu plates was one of such futile attempts of the junior branch represented by Bādapa to conquer Vēṅgī with the help of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army. Bādapa and his ally Kṛṣṇa III would appear to have been defeated on this occasion and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion was repulsed after a protracted struggle. It is probable that Bādapa made a second attempt to overthrow Ammarāja towards the end of the latter's reign. As the above statement *āsriyā Karṇarājākhya-Vallabham* suggests that this attack upon Vēṅgī was made again with the help of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army, and that Bādapa was supplicating Kṛṣṇa III for a very long time. This last invasion and attack on Vēṅgī might have taken place about 968 A.D. the year of Kṛṣṇa III's death,^(p) and towards the close of the reign of Ammarāja II. For three or four years a fierce struggle appears to have raged between Bādapa and his allies on the one hand and Ammarāja II and his brothers on the other. The fact that both Bādapa and his brother Tāḷa II issued grants of villages as *mānyas* or freehold military fiefs, lying in the Velanāṇḍu *viśaya* seems to indicate that Bādapa made himself in the first instance, master of the southern provinces of the kingdom, lying to the south of the river Kṛṣṇa, through the treachery

(p) A. R. No. 236 of 1913. The Saka date 889 current and the details seem to have been wrongly equated to 966 A. D. instead of to 968 A. D. (See A.R.E. 1914, App. E., p. 70.)

of the vassals of that region. Further Bādapa and his brother seem to have issued their charters during the period of struggle with Ammarāja II, between A. D. 967 and 970, after the latter was dispossessed of his throne and driven out of the country, but before he was slain. And that is the reason why the Arambaka plates do not mention Ammarāja's death but only his expulsion.

Bādapa seems to have crowned himself king of Vēṅgī even before the death of Ammarāja II, that is to say, immediately after he had conquered him. But his accession was opposed by Dānārṇava and his brother Nṛpa Kama, on the death of Ammarāja II, for at least three years. This period of struggle was therefore reckoned as the reign of Dānārṇava in the records of the post-Restoration epoch. We can thus safely attribute the victories of Jata Cōḷa Bhīma to his overlord; for the Conjeevaram epigraph states beyond doubt that Jata Cōḷa Bhīma conquered and slew Dānārṇava and Nṛpa Kama on the battlefield and made his brother-in-law, evidently Bādapa, the undisputed lord of the Āndhra country. Bādapa was doubtless a mighty king and rightly deserved the epithets he bore. He was powerful enough to remain on the throne of Vēṅgī for thirty long years amidst strife and struggle, continued and bitter hostilities of the exiled children of Dānārṇava. His reign was prosperous, and Vēṅgī enjoyed the same enviable position of being the most formidable power in the Deccan and South India, as in the reigns of his predecessors. His empire extended as far as Cādi in the north, and included Tonḍaimaṇḍalam in the south, and was bounded by Kuntala on the west. The so called interregnum was, therefore, really the period of Bādapa's glorious reign for twenty seven years. It was not brought about as Krishna Sastri wrongly assumed after a misreading of a copper plate inscription of Saktivarman II (q), "by the two brothers Dānārṇava and Ammarāja II having killed each other's sons just before the interregnum."

Though Bādapa was a mighty king who could remain long on the throne and, his reign was prosperous and peaceful, it cannot be said that it was free from wars and rebellions. The earlier part of his reign appears to have been crowded with the struggle against Ammarāja II and later with Dānārṇava and Nṛpa Kama. Shortly after he had established himself on the throne, there seems to have broken out a war with his erstwhile ally Kamārṇava I, the Eastern Gāṅga king of Kalinga. The causes for this outbreak of hostilities have already been dealt with above. Bādapa conquered and slew Kamārṇava I and his younger brother Vinayāditya during the protracted war between c. 978 and 981, A. D. and once more reduced Vajrahasta II surnamed *Aniyanka*

(q) A. R. E. 1914, para 10, p. 86. (C. P. No. 8 of 1913-14).

Bhīma, the successor of Vinayāditya to subjection. The Conjeevaram *prāṣasti* of his vassal Jaṭa Cōḷa Bhīma clearly supports this conclusion. Bādapa like his predecessors reigned over the prosperous and the great kingdom of Vēṅgi together with the country Tri-Kalinga. The children of Dānārṇava apparently remained in exile waiting for an opportunity to conquer back the kingdom of Vēṅgi which was theirs by right and from which they were expelled. The records of this period show that Bādapa and his brother were more bitterly hated by Saktivarman I and his successors than they themselves hated Ammarāja and Dānārṇava. It was for all that Bādapa had done to his illustrious uncle and father that Saktivarman swore inveterate hatred and regarded Bādapa's glorious reign as *arajāka*, *anāyāka* or *asvāmika*.

Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer has not attempted to explain the statements in the Ārambaka plates, nor has he endeavoured to determine the place of Adhirāja Bādapa in the genealogy of the Eastern Cālukyas of Vēṅgi. He has omitted to mention him in his discussion of the history of the Interregnum so-called. He has ignored every reference to the records of Bādapa and his brother Taja II. He has, on the top of these things, refused to accept three years' reign for Dānārṇava, even though the records of the latter's son Saktivarman state in unequivocal terms, that Dānārṇava reigned for three years. He writes "that perhaps Dānārṇava continued to live after his deposition, for the Chellūr plates of Kulōttunga Cōḷa II attribute to him a reign of thirty years, a period that covers his actual reign of three years together with so called interregnum of 27 years which immediately followed it." Mr. Aiyer fails to notice that the Chellūr grant of in S. S. 1065, i. e. 1143 A. D. was issued roughly one hundred and seventy years after the death of Dānārṇava. This is the only instance in which Dānārṇava is said to have reigned for thirty years as against the unanimous statement of all the earlier and contemporary records. Once more, Mr. Aiyer has curiously enough accepted the statement of a later day record in preference to the one found in all contemporary records of Dānārṇava's son and successor, without giving any reasons whatsoever for such preference. The reason for Mr. Aiyer's preference for the later day statement is evidently based upon his desire to advance his own theory of making that unfortunate prince appeal to the Cōḷas against the supposed attack of the aggressive Eastern Gāṅgas of Kalinga. This is how Mr. Aiyer wants to introduce the Cōḷa interference in the affairs of Vēṅgi at the end of the interregnum so-called. He writes, "It is very likely that the Eastern Gāṅgas made a counter invasion on Vēṅgi which must have eventually resulted in the deposition of the aggressive Dānārṇava and given occasion also to the Telugu Cōḷa chief Bhīma-nṛpa to acquire possession of a part of the Eastern Cālukya dominions."

What is the basis for this statement? This conclusion does not find any warranty even in the Conjeevaram inscription. It is based upon his misreading of that inscription as has been shown above. It is Jaṭa Cōḷa Bhīma that claimed the conquest of the Andhra country from Dānārṇava and Nṛpa-Kama. It is the same prince who also claimed victories in the distant kingdom of Kalinga, the slaying of Kāmārṇava I and his younger brother Vinayaditya. These, Mr. Aiyer has wrongly attributed to Dānārṇava. The three years that followed death of Kāmārṇava about A. D. 978 synchronise with the rule of Vinayaditya (A. D. 978-981) and rightly fall in the reign of Bādapa rather than of Dānārṇava. *If Dānārṇava was really living during the so-called interregnum, Saktivarman would certainly have reckoned that period as his father's reign and not called it contemptuously anāyāka or asvāmika.* It was because no crowned prince of the senior branch was living during that time, Saktivarman called the period of Bādapa's reign an 'interval', the period during which "the kingdom of Vēṅgi yearned for a suitable lord" meaning a member of the senior line.

Not content with assuming that Dānārṇava survived into the interregnum, Mr. Aiyer makes him appeal to the Cōḷas for help against his enemies, the Eastern Ganga king of Kalinga on the north and the Telugu Cōḷa prince Jaṭa Cōḷa Bhīma on the south, without any basis for his conclusion. He has omitted altogether Bādapa of the Ārambaka grant. According to him Dānārṇava lost the throne of Vēṅgi in his fight with the Eastern Ganga king Kāmārṇava I about 972-73 A. D. But there seems to be slight confusion in his mind when he writes that the Cōḷa interference in the affairs of Vēṅgi on the invitation of Dānārṇava apparently took place shortly before the invasion of Rajarāja I and not till then. He does not tell us where Dānārṇava remained all those years and what he was doing between 973 and 999 A. D. In his eagerness to advance a theory which would glorify the Cōḷas, Mr. Aiyer does not refer to the state of the Cōḷa country till the thirteenth year of Rajarāja's reign, 998 A. D. He has obviously disregarded the chronological order of events in the history of the Cōḷa and the Andhra countries and endeavoured to build up a theory to glorify his hero Rajarāja I at the expense of historical accuracy.

I shall now trace the course of events that brought the close of the interregnum so called or the glorious reign of *Adhirāja* Bādapa. Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer surmises "that the invasion of Rajarāja I. resulted in placing over the country of Vēṅgi a member of the direct line of the Eastern Cālukyas, namely Saktivarman, whose brother Vimaladitya was married to Kundava the daughter of the invading king." Let us examine how far this assumption, is rendered probable and likely by the sources available to us. I regret to state that

Mr. Aiyer, in drawing this inference has obviously ignored the existence of the copper-plate inscriptions of Saktivarman, the first king of the post-Restoration period, as well as the trend of events in the history of South India at the close of the tenth century.

There are three inscriptions of the time of Saktivarman which deal primarily with the events of the period of interregnum according to that king. They mention the exploits of the king from the days of his youth. They tell us how he conquered the kingdom of Vēṅgī and established himself firmly on the throne. These inscriptions, therefore are very interesting and important, and necessary in the reconstruction of the history of this period. Unfortunately they are not published in English; I shall, therefore, refer to them by giving extracts of the relevant passages. They are:

(A) *Āndhra Sāhitya Parishat Plates of Śaktivarman I.*

This record has been noticed by the Government Epigraphist; (*A. R. E.* 1918 part II. para 5 page 132) and numbered as C. P. No. 15 of 1917-18.

(B) *Pabhubarru Grant of Śaktivarman I.*, now preserved in the *Āndhra Sāhitya Parishat*, Cocanada. This has not been noticed till now by the Government Epigraphist. It was published in the *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, (vol. II. pp. 379-412) by Mr. J. Rāmayya Pantulu.

(C) *Pennēru Grant of Śaktivarman I.* Sir Walter Elliot mentioned this record in his *Telugu Sasanams* p. 777, and Fleet referred to this in "The Eastern Caḷukyan Chronology". (*Ind. Ant.* vol. XX. p. 272.) It is not known whether Elliot acquired the plates for the British Museum. They are now missing. A copy of the record is to be found in the *Local Records*: (15-6-26, p. 348 ff.)

The grant 'A' describes the exploits of Saktivarman in detail to some extent. Dānārṇava surnamed *Rāja Nārāyaṇa* had a son Saktivarman born to his wife Āryādēvī. He is said to have risen to celebrity even in his youth by his memorable victory in the battle with the Cōḷas (*Caulika-raṇē*) and put to flight a certain Baddema, Maharaja and others. A king named Cōḍa Bhima is said to have met with death like Ravana at the hands of *Cāḷukya Nārāyaṇa*, i.e., Saktivarman I. Here is the passage(r)

बाल्ये कीर्तिकलाभि चौलिकरणे येन व्रणोद्धासिना
येना न्युद्धत बद्यमाधिप महाराजादया विद्रुताः ।
रावणप्रतिनिधि श्वालुक्यनारायणेनापास्त
द्विषतापि येन निघनं श्रीचोड भीमाधिपः ॥

(r) These uncorrected lines are in metre and seem to form of two verses.

The record 'B' gives a similar account with some additional information. In the great battle with the Dramiḷas or Draviḍas (*Dramiḷ = āhaviḷ*) who opposed him with a vast army of mighty elephants *Cāḷukya Nārāyaṇa* while he was still a youth destroyed the enemy, like a lion which destroys the elephants, and rose to fame. By his skill, marvellous courage and invincible valour he killed in an instant with his sword the unrivalled hero (*eka-vira*) sent against him by Cōḍa Bhima. He conquered and put to flight a certain king called Baddema and drove away a prince named Maharaja. He destroyed root and branch the great tree who was the king Jaṭa Cōḍa who was worshipped by a host of vassals. In the tumult of a fierce battle between the horse and elephant troops, Saktivarman obtained a most decisive victory against his enemies and became then the king of the country of Vēṅgī. Here is the passage in the inscription.

यस्य कण्ठीरवस्येव शैशवं समशोभत ।
शौर्येणाभीलशुण्डाल निर्भिदा द्रमिळाहवे ॥
प्रेषितं चोडभीमेन यच्चित्रीकृत साहसः ।
पंचत्व मनयत्तीक्ष्ण मेकवीरं स्वबाहुना ॥
बद्धमश्च महाराजो [मदान्योबं....बलिणे ।]
उभा वभिभितां यस्माद्विभवद्विषणा [विव ॥]
उच्छैर्बलस्कन्धमतिप्ररूढ भूमृच्चिरःकोटिविसारितांग्रिम्
आमूल मुन्मूलयतिस्स योन्तस्सारं विशालंजटचोडवृक्षम् ॥
रुन्धन्तं दिगिभोपमेन्निजगजैराशामहीकीर्त्तनं
अश्वानां निवहैश्च.....प्रेखद्रजश्चघ्नना ।
युद्धेधर्मरथं विधाय सनयत् तत्सैन्यसम्मर्दना
त्पाप्तं यज्जयसंभवं स्तुतिपथातीतं प्रतीतं यशः ॥ (lines 40-47)

Inscription 'C' also gives the same account but furnishes some more details which are not mentioned in the above two records. Saktivarman conquered Baddema-nrpa. He also conquered a certain prince called Maharaja. He despatched to the presence of Yama the king named *Karikāla*, in the forefront of a fierce battle.

पश्चाद्दानार्णवस्य प्रथितगुणगणालंकृतेरिथकीर्त्ते
रायदिव्याश्चसुनुः शशिविशदयशा शक्तिवर्मा नृपाभूत् ॥
येनैवं जितोबद्धोनृपः येनैवं जितोरणे महाराजः
येनैवं करिकालचोळः समरमुख यममुखंद्रुतनीतः ॥

These records describe the exploits of Saktivarman: the events of his youth and the exploits that paved the way for his establishment on the throne firmly. The greatest event of his youth was the display of marvellous heroism in a fierce battle with the Dramilas or Cōlas. There is no doubt that the Dramilas mentioned in these inscriptions are the Cōlas of Tanjapurī, the descendants of Parāntaka I. The use of the appellation *Dramila* in the passage quoted above puts the fact beyond all doubt. The victory against the Cōlas was an event of his youth, when Saktivarman was perhaps about sixteen years of age. We have no materials to fix the date of this encounter. But if we assume that Saktivarman was about fifty years old at the time of his accession to the throne in 999 A. D. his birth may be placed about 949-50 A. D. during the reign of Ammarāja II. If this conjecture is probable, then Saktivarman's victory against the the Cōlas has to be placed about A. D. 956 when he would be about sixteen years old. This view is not improbable, for it will be remembered that at this time according to the Māngallu plates, referred to above, Ammarāja II. had proceeded on an expedition to Kalinga in wrath against the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III. Perhaps at this juncture the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch induced the Cōla king of Tanjapurī who was his subordinate to invade the Āndhra country from the south and thus harass Ammarāja from all sides. Danārṇava who was the regent of the kingdom during the absence of his brother the king, probably despatched his eldest son Saktivarman against the Cōla king of the Dramilas, and thus repulsed the invasion by inflicting a crushing defeat upon him. Saktivarman's great victory against the Cōlas of the south in his youth was indeed a matter of great pride and joy to him; and it was a memorable exploit of his youth, certainly the cause of his rising fame. The defeat of the Cōlas at the hands of Caḷukya Candra seems to fall in the reign of Parāntaka II. surnamed *Sundara Cōla*, (954-969 A.D.).

All the above three records mention the names of Baddema-nṛpa, Mahārāja, Jaṭa Chōḍa or Chōḍa Bhīma, Karikāla and several others whom Saktivarman conquered and became the king of Vēṅgi. Baddema may easily be identified with *Adhirāja* Bādapa of the Āraṁbāka plates. Baddema and Bādapa were popular forms of the Sanskrit Bhadra. The letter *ma* in Baddema and *pa* in Bādapa were only honorific endings and not parts of the original names themselves. Mahārāja is obviously a title and, therefore, it is difficult to identify the prince who was well known in those days by that appellation. It is probable that by that term Tājaraḷa II the younger brother of Bādapa was meant. Jaṭa Cōḍa, Cōḍa Bhīma and Karikāla were doubtless identical with the Telugu Cola king Jaṭa Cōla Bhīma surnamed Cōla Triṇētra, the hero of the Conjeevaram inscription. Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu identified

Jaṭa Cōḍa wrongly with Jaṭa Cōla Sundara Paṇḍya, the first Cōla Viceroy of the Paṇḍya kingdom and a son of Rajēndra Cōla I.^(a) From the order in which the heroic deeds of Saktivarman are mentioned in these records it appears that Jaṭa Cōla Bhīma survived his master and opposed Saktivarman for sometime longer. It is very important that Saktivarman in all these records claims to have slain Jaṭa Cōḍa Bhīma who resembled Rāvaṇa, in a very fierce battle and thus acquired the *biruda* Caḷukya Nārāyaṇa. This Cōla Bhīma as will be shown presently was indeed a mighty king and next in power only to the *Adhirāja* Bādapa in Vēṅgi. Thus it may not be wrong if we assume that Bādapa could enjoy the uninterrupted sovereignty of Vēṅgi for a long time only on account of this powerful Telugu Cōla feudatory.

Having thus overcome all his enemies Saktivarman ascended the throne of his ancestors. All his records state in plain terms that he obtained the kingdom through his own prowess and power. Neither the Cōla contemporaries nor Saktivarman's successors state that the Caḷukya Candra sought the assistance of any outside power in reconquering Vēṅgi. On the contrary the Raṇastipūṇḍi grant of his younger brother Vimalāditya, states us in unequivocal terms that about the close of the interregnum so called, (*atrāntarē*), "the son of Dāna-nṛpa, that glorious king Saktivarman, having overcome his enemies by the force of his valour, protected the earth for twelve years."^(b) This claim is rendered likely by the fact that no power of the Deccan at this period was paramount enough to help Saktivarman in his conquest of Vēṅgi. The Western Caḷukyas who were just rising to power under Tailapa III were too busy with their own affairs in the West and Mysore to interfere in the dynastic wars of Andhra. In 997 A. D. Tailapa III died and was succeeded by his son Satyaśraya. In the south the Cōlas were still unable to extend their dominion into Tondaimaṇḍalam and were not strong enough to interfere in the affairs of Vēṅgi. It is therefore probable that Saktivarman was able to conquer Bādapa and his brother, kill Jaṭa Cōla Bhīma and thus become the undisputed lord of the Āndhra kingdom by the force of his own prowess and the help of the devoted subordinates of his illustrious father and uncle.

But now arises an interesting question. Though the inscriptions of the time of Rajaraja I do not boast of anything like the slaying of the Āndhra king Bhīma with a mace, the Tiruvālaṁgaḍu plates of his son Rajendra Cōla I mention that act.^(c) This is indeed very curious. There is no doubt that the Andhra king Bhīma was identical

(a) Andhra Sahitya Parishatpatrika, vol. II. p. 379-412.

(b) Above vol. VI. p. 348 off. text lines 40-41.

(c) S. I. I; III. Part III, pp. 383 ff. text line 82.

with Jaṭa Cōḷa Bhīma, the Telugu Cōḷa king of Kāncīpura. But this prince was claimed to have been uprooted by Śaktivarman, and he was likened to a huge tree having deep roots, and branches spreading over a wide area. It was by killing this prince that the Eastern Caḷukya king acquired the title Cōḷukya Nārāyaṇa. So it is improbable that Rājārāja I killed him. The statement in the Tiruvāḷamgāḍu plates is evidently a boast; nevertheless it seems to contain some truth, a veiled statement of fact. The history of the Cōḷa kingdom of this period will enable us to understand the truth behind this boastful claim. It may be remembered that Rājārāja I came to the throne in July, 985 A. D. after the death of his paternal uncle Madhurāntaka Uttama Cōḷa. The Cōḷa kingdom was not strong enough at that time to oppose the powerful feudatory dynasties of the north, like the Western Gāṅgas, the Nolamba-Pallavas and even the Vaidumbas or their successors the Telugu Cōḷas in Tondaimaṇḍalam. The political condition of South India was thus not favourable for Rājārāja I. to begin his military career yet. Already for sometime the great Eastern Caḷukya kingdom of Vēṅgi rose to the rank of the foremost power in the Deccan and South India under *Adhirāja* Badapa. His powerful vassal Cōḷa Trinētra as will be seen from the Conjeevaram inscription extended his conquests into the South, overcame the Vaidumbas and annexed Tondaimaṇḍalam to his kingdom of Rēnāḍu. He subdued the Vaidumba chief, captured his capital Kāncīpura and there planted a pillar of victory immediately after his victorious return from Kāliṅga, in 982 A. D. The planting of the victory 'pillar' was thus three years prior to the death of Madhurāntaka Uttama Cōḷa and the accession of his successor Rājārāja. This was in the reign of *Adhirāja* Badapa. Thus it would appear that the Cōḷas of Tanjapurī were unable to oppose the Vaidumbas or their conquerors the Telugu Cōḷas for a very long time, during the time of Uttama Cōḷa and after. Even for sometime after the accession of Rājārāja I. the Cōḷas were kept under check by Cōḷa Trinētra. During this period c. 978-999 A.D. the Cōḷas under Rājārāja I., first as the heir-apparent and later as the king of the Cōḷa country appear to be making futile attempts to conquer their neighbours and extend their sway in all directions. The Cōḷas were thus slow to take advantage of the opportunity that was afforded by the fall of the great Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire. They were also unable to oppose Jaṭa Cōḷa Bhīma the greatest king of his line and his overlord *Adhirāja* Badapa. Till the fall of Badapa, in 998 A.D., therefore, the Cōḷas were nowhere on the political horizon of South India. The period commencing from 982 A.D. till 999 A.D. was the period of the glorious rule of Jaṭa Cōḷa Bhīma, whose territories apparently included the whole of Tondaimaṇḍalam on the south, Rēnāḍu on the north and Pakaṇāḍu on the north-east comprising the modern district of Nellore, and, who carved

out a small but semi-independent kingdom in the Southern Andhra country on the ruins of the great Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire. Towards the close of Badapa's reign his rival Śaktivarman would appear to have begun his depredations with the help of his father's devoted vassals, into the peaceful country of Vēṅgi. The disturbances in the Andhra country seem to have given a splendid opportunity to the Cōḷa king Rājārāja I. to invade the dominions of the Andhra king Cōḷa Bhīma at this period. The inscriptions of the fourteenth year of Rājārāja mention no doubt the invasion of the country of Vēṅgi. And the Tiruvāḷamgāḍu plates of his son describe the slaying of the Andhra king Bhīma. That record states that "Since Rājārāja, an expert in war as the same as myself has been killed by a powerful club, I shall therefore kill the Andhra king Bhīma, though he may be faultless. So saying he (Rājārāja) killed him with a mace." If we now read the above statements between lines we perceive that Rājārāja was for some time at war with the Telugu Cōḷa king who must have threatened by his aggressive attitude the integrity of the Cōḷa kingdom of Tanjapurī. And in the first encounter, as the Tiruvāḷamgāḍu plates suggest, Rājārāja despatched a general of his name against Cōḷa Bhīma, who was defeated and slain. It was on the second occasion that Rājārāja I. succeeded in overthrowing his great foe. It is this event that the Cōḷa king claimed as the invasion of Vēṅgi in the fourteenth year of his reign. Thus the so called invasion of Vēṅgi dwindles down into slaying of the Andhra king Bhīma. Since the inscriptions of Rājārāja, down to the 13th year of his reign do not refer to the so called invasion of Vēṅgi and that the invasion is first mentioned in the inscriptions of the 14th year, the supposed slaying of Bhīma must be placed about 998 A.D. the first half of the 14th year. Mr. Aiyer has not attempted to determine the date of Cōḷa Bhīma's death though he is presumably aware of the statement in the Tiruvāḷamgāḍu plates. On the contrary he has interpreted the Conjeevaram epigraph as yielding S. S. 923 (expired) 1001-02, A. D. as the date of Cōḷa Bhīma's capture. As has been stated above Cōḷa Bhīma was dead in A. D. 998; and it seems to be ridiculous to make Rājārāja capture a king who was dead two or three years previously.

Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer ignores the Cōḷa history of this period, but tells us that the cause for the outbreak of hostilities between the Telugu Cōḷa king and Rājārāja I was the result of an appeal made by Dānārṇava for help against his enemies, the Eastern Gāṅgas. He infers that Cōḷa Bhīma came into possession of the Eastern Caḷukya dominions during the period of confusion that followed the counter attack of the Eastern Gāṅgas, to oppose the aggressiveness of Dānārṇava, when the latter was deprived of his throne. There is no basis for all these conjectures. Mr. Aiyer is not clear about the date of this

event in one place, but he suggests that it was in or about 972-3, A.D. and at another place he thinks that it was immediately prior to the Cōla invasion of Vēngi in 1001 A. D. by Rājarāja I. Again he infers that Rājarāja, after capturing Bhīma and placing Caḷukya Nārāyaṇa on the throne of Vēngi, "proceeded straightway to Kalingam and subdued it." But, on the contrary, what appears to have been probable and likely at this juncture was that Rājarāja who was apparently watching the course of events in Vēngi made a counter attack upon the aggressive Cōla Triṇētra who was like a stumbling block in the path of Dramila Cōla expansion into Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. The successes of Saktivarman on the north rendered the task easy for Rājarāja I, who with the foresight of a shrewd statesman threw in his weight with the victorious Saktivarman I. Meanwhile Cōḍa Bhīma despatched his general whom the inscription B mentioned above calls *Ḍka Vira* against Saktivarman who defeated and killed him. By this date circa 998 A.D. Bādapa was apparently driven out of the country, and Cōḍa Bhīma was forced to fight alone against Saktivarman. It seems probable that at this juncture Rājarāja I. joined Saktivarman I. in conquering Jaṭa. Cōla Bhīma. Saktivarman I. defeated and killed Cōḍa Bhīma in a decisive battle, and this event paved the way for his accession to the throne of Vēngi. Rājarāja however, claimed in his usual boastful style the invasion of the Vēngi country, and his son claimed for him the slaying of Cōḍa Bhīma. Thus the so called invasion of Vēngi by Rājarāja is nothing but protracted fight with the Telugu Cōla king which ended in the latter's death at the hands of Caḷukya Nārāyaṇa in c. 998 A. D. And it is absolutely incorrect to assume that Saktivarman was placed on the throne of Vēngi by the Cōla monarch Rājarāja I. It is equally incorrect to say that Rājarāja straightway proceeded to Kalingam and subdued it. What he did perhaps was to assist Saktivarman to subdue the refractory king Vajrahasta II of Kalinga who probably helped Bādapa to oppose him at that juncture. It is probable that Bādapa after he was expelled from Vēngi proceeded to Kalinga and then with the help of the king of that country made the last and unsuccessful attempt to conquer Saktivarman.

It was Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya(v) who said that Vimalāditya was defeated and taken as a captive to the Cōla capital Tanjāpurī from a misreading of the Mahēndragiri victory pillar inscription,(w) and that the Eastern Caḷukya prince, while he was in Tanjāvūr married princess Kundava, the younger sister of Rājendra Cōla I. Vimalāditya of the Mahēndragiri inscription was not the prince of the Eastern Caḷukya dynasty; he was an obscure Kulūṭa prince of the North and

(v) *Ep. Ind.* VI. p. 351.

(w) *S. I. I. V.*, No. 1351: *A. R.* Nos. 356 & 357 of 1896.

the victory pillar inscription belongs to king Velanānti Rājendra Cōla I. who was the viceroy of Vēngi (1092-1100 A.D.) in succession to Vira Cōla. Venkayya's theory therefore is a pure myth. Rājarāja I was a great statesman, and the greatest monarch of his line. For the success of his plans and fulfilment of his cherished desires, namely that of establishing a Cōla empire in the south, he foresaw that the hostilities between the Eastern Caḷukyas and the Cōlas of Tanjāpurī should be put an end to. He needed a strong and faithful ally on the north to further his plans on the west. His eyes were on Mysore in the west and he had already come into conflict with the Western Caḷukya king Satyāsraya. The dynastic wars in Vēngi had come to a close; Saktivarman I became the undisputed lord of that country. Rājarāja I, therefore, entered into marital alliance with the Eastern Caḷukyas, and secured peace on the northern frontier which lasted for three generations. He gave his daughter in marriage to Vimalāditya, who already was annointed as the crown prince of Vēngi by his elder brother. It was this great act of far sighted act of statemanship that saved Cōla kingdom from extinction many a time during the reigns of his successors in the first half of the eleventh century, at the hands of the Western Caḷukyas. It is, therefore, wrong to infer that Saktivarman was placed on the throne of Vēngi by Rājarāja I, king of the Cōlas.

There is no evidence to support the assumption that Vimalāditya was carried as a captive to Tanjāpurī and, that while staying there as such was wedded to the Cōla princess Kundavāmba. There is nothing to suggest this conclusion, that Vimalāditya's marriage was brought about under the circumstances gratuitously presumed by Mr. Aiyer and others. The view suits well the Southern school of historians who are eager to glorify Rājarāja I at any cost by baseless assumptions. The view makes a romantic story but it is not history based upon reliable evidence.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since the above article going to the press, Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer, has published an article under the caption "The Larger Lieden Grant of Rājarāja I." in the *Epigraphia Indica*.(x) Therein, it is gratifying to see that, he has modified some of his views which he formerly held on the history of the relations of Rājarāja I with Vēngi, during the period of the *Interregnum* of the Eastern Caḷukyan kingdom. Mr. Aiyer has changed his view about the 'Interregnum' and written as follows:(y) "That the country of Vēngi, though deprived of its

legitimate ruler Dānārṇava, was not subject to anarchy is established by the rule of Bādapa, Tāḷa and others belonging the collateral line of Eastern Calukyas; and that the claim of Rājārāja I to have conquered Vēṅgi was merely an honorary, and must be based on a prior Cōḷa ruler's conquest is disproved by the fact that none of the predecessors claim it." In the preceding pages, I have shown clearly by tracing the history of the rise of the Cōḷa dynasty down to the period of Rājārāja I, how it was impossible for the Cōḷa king to have invaded Vēṅgi country. But it is regrettable that Mr. Aiyer reiterates his view expressed in his note on the Conjeevaram inscription of Jaṭa Cōḷa Bhīma, or Rājārāja as he calls it.⁽²⁾ When he states that the deposition of Dānārṇava was brought about by the counter invasion of Kāmārṇava (IV?) of Kalinga, we ask: what is the basis for this conclusion? The Conjeevaram inscription does not support this at all. Again Mr. Aiyer, without any evidence in support of it, writes that "the accession of Śaktivarman, the son of Dānārṇava, to the Vēṅgi throne immediately following Rājārāja's invasion suggests that the very object of the invasion might have been to secure the country to its rightful owner and was probably undertaken on behalf of the deposed Dānārṇava." This is travesty of facts and is plainly ignoring the inscriptions of Śaktivarman I.

(x) Vol. XXI pp. 213, ff.

(y) *Opi. cit.* pp. 227-229.

(z) *E.I.*, XXI, pp. 29 ff.

DRAVIDIC ANIMAL-NAMES.

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

(Maharajah's College, Ernakulam.)

The chief factors regulating the degree of persistence of animal-names in the various members of a language-family during the course of their evolution are (i) the geographical and climatic conditions governing faunal life in the particular language-areas, and (ii) the influence of foreign languages.

These and other features are revealed by the examination of the more important animal-names in the dialects of Dravidian. In the following discussion, I have envisaged not only the literary speeches of the south of India but also the Dravidian dialects of central and northern India, for all of which rich lexical material is now available.

I shall sum up straightway the results of my discussion.

(a) The bases denoting the names of the following animals are most widely distributed: 'rat', 'cat', 'sheep', 'fowl', 'fish', 'calf', 'scorpion', 'worm', 'deer'.

The bases for 'dog', 'buffalo', 'tiger', 'bear', 'elephant', 'pig', 'crab', 'monkey' are found only in south and central India. Gōṇḍi, it may be noted preserves native bases for 'buffalo', 'elephant', and 'crab', while Kūi does not have them.

A number of bases are, so far as can be judged from present materials, exclusively southern:—'snake', 'crocodile', 'jackal', 'tortoise'.

Even among the southern speeches, fairly large divergences are met with in the following:—'frog', 'bat', 'dove', 'pigeon'.

Names of animals that are not indigenous in India are foreign;—'camel' [Tam. *oṭṭagam*, Kann. *oṇṭe*, Tel. *oṇṭa*,—cf. IA *uṣṭra*]; 'rhinoceros' [Tam. *kāṇḍā mirugam*, Kann. *gaṇḍaka*,—cf. Skt. *khaḍga-mrga*].

(b) (i) IA loans for indigenous animals exist in some of the speeches as popular forms:—

'Cat', 'dog' and 'calf' in Tel.; 'crocodile', 'elephant', 'snake' in Kūi; 'tiger', 'scorpion', 'crab', 'crocodile', 'jackal', 'elephant' in,

In Brāhūi, many bases appear to be foreign.

(ii) The influence of Dravidian bases on IA has been suggested (with some reason, it strikes me) for the following:—

Dr. <i>mīn</i> 'fish'	...	...	IA <i>mīna</i> .
„ <i>verugu</i> , etc. 'cat'	...	...	IA <i>birāla</i> , etc.
„ <i>erumai</i> 'buffalo'	...	...	IA <i>heramba</i> .
„ <i>ēdu</i> , etc. 'sheep'	...	...	„ <i>ēdaka</i> .

(iii) Austric or Kolarian parallelisms exist for the following:—

Kūi <i>kulia</i> , Gō. <i>kol-y-al</i> 'jackal'	...	Savara <i>kulun</i> .
Gō. <i>brū-kal</i> } 'tiger'	...	Kolarian <i>kul</i> .
Kūvi <i>klāni</i> }		
Kurukh <i>pō-kṛōṭo</i> 'frog'	...	Sant. <i>pokot-rōṭe</i> .
Dr. words for 'bat'	...	"Austric words."

(iv) The structural similarities of Dr. words for 'horse' 'peacock' and 'donkey' to foreign words remain puzzles.

(c) Words that are structurally similar denote different animals in a few instances:—

<i>nari</i> 'jackal'	...	Mal. <i>nari</i> 'tiger' dialectally.
<i>karaḍi</i> 'bear'	...	Kūi <i>kṛāḍi</i> 'tiger', 'leopard', etc.
<i>eli</i> 'rat'	...	Kūi <i>oli</i> 'bear' beside <i>odri</i> 'rat'.
<i>kanṛu</i> , etc. 'young one of cow, buffalo'.		Kur. <i>wudd</i> 'young ones of animals as well as of humans'. [cf. Kann. <i>kandu</i> 'child' used endearingly].
South Dr. <i>tōḷa</i> , <i>tōḍelu</i> , <i>tōṇḍān</i> 'wolf'.		Brāhūi <i>tōḷā</i> 'jackal'.
Tam. <i>kaḍā</i> , etc. 'male of some animals'.		Mal. <i>kiḍāvu</i> 'calf', 'child', Tel. <i>krēpu</i> 'bull calf'.

(d) Interesting rules of phonology are mirrored in some of the inter-dialectal parallelisms:—

- (i) Tam., Kann. *ā* = Tel., Tuḷu, Gō. *ē* = Kūi *ō*.
- (ii) Southern *e* = Gō *a*.
- (iii) „ „ = Br. *a*.
- (iv) Tam. *nṛ* (the *r* is an alveolar plosive) = Mal. long dental nasal *nn* = Kann. *nd* = Tuḷu, Kūi *ñj* = Kur. *dd*.
- (v) Tam. *ḷ* = Tel. *ḷ*, *r* = Tuḷu = Gō., Kur. — Maltor.

- (vi) Accent-shift and aphæresis in Tel. and in Kūi.
- (vii) Incorporation in the base of the portion of an original plural ending [*ka(ḷ)*] in Tel. *eluka*, *īga*, *purugu*.
- (viii) The occurrence of (prothetic?) *h* in Brāhūi, as in the names for 'rat' 'goat', 'fly'.
- (ix) Other sound-correspondences like *t* = *c* [in *tēḷ* = Kann. *cēḷ*, Tuḷu dialectal *cēḷ*]; the lowering of the vowel in Kann. *ili* 'rat' beside Tam. *eli*; the influence of a bilabial consonant on the vowel following, as in Kann. *boku* 'cat', Gō *boka* 'cat' beside Kann. *bekku*, Tam. *verugu*; syncope of syllables with *r*; the correspondence of initial *v* [of Tam., etc.] to initial *b* [of Kann. etc.], etc.

In the tables below, I have not included IA or other foreign loans, generally speaking; but they are embodied in the discussions. Structural variants are either listed in different columns or enclosed within square brackets.

	Tamil	Malayā- lam	Kannāḍa	Telugu	Tulu	Kōi	Gōṇḍi	Kurukh	Malto	Brāhūi
1. 'Rat'	<i>eli</i>	<i>eli</i>	<i>ili</i>	<i>etuka</i>	<i>eli</i>	<i>orli</i> [cf. <i>oli</i> 'bear']	<i>alli</i>	<i>osge</i>	<i>osge</i> 'field rat'	<i>hal</i>
2. 'Cat' (a)	<i>verugu</i>	<i>verugu</i>	<i>bekku</i>							
(b)	<i>pūci, pūñai, pūnai</i>	<i>pōkkān</i> <i>pūcca</i>	<i>boku</i>		<i>puccæ</i>		<i>bōta</i>	<i>beræu</i>	<i>beræ</i>	[<i>pi:si</i>]
3. 'Dog'	<i>nāy</i> [<i>kukkai</i>]	<i>nāya</i>	<i>nāy, nāyi</i>	[<i>kukku</i>]	<i>nāyi</i>	<i>nākuri</i>	<i>nāi</i>	[<i>allā</i>]	[<i>allā</i>]	[<i>kucak</i>]
4. 'Sheep'	<i>āḍu</i> [<i>kōri</i>]	<i>āḍu</i> [<i>kōri</i>]	<i>āḍu</i> [<i>kuri, kore</i>]	[<i>gorre</i>]	<i>ēḍu</i>	<i>ōḍa</i>	<i>ēṭi</i>	<i>ērū</i>	<i>ēre</i> 'goat'	<i>hēṭi</i> 'she-goat'
5. 'Bull' (a)	<i>erudu</i>		<i>eddu</i>		<i>eru</i>			[<i>adḍo</i>]	[<i>aṇḍya</i>]	
(b)	<i>mūri</i>	<i>mūri</i>			<i>bōri</i>					
(c)		<i>kāḷa</i>	[<i>kōṇa</i> 'male buffalo']	<i>kōḍe</i>		<i>kōḷi</i>	<i>kōṇḍa</i>			[<i>arās</i>]
(d)			<i>gaḍi</i>	<i>krēpu</i>	<i>gaḍusu</i>	<i>kṛāi</i>	<i>kurra</i>			
(e)	<i>kaḍā</i>	<i>kaḍā</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>ā-v-u</i>		[<i>kōḍi</i>]	[<i>ṭāli</i>]	[<i>mekkhō</i>]	<i>ō-y-u</i>	
6. 'Cow' (a)	<i>ā, ān</i>	[<i>ā</i>]			<i>petta</i>					
(b)	<i>peṭṭam</i>									

	Tamil	Malayā- lam	Kannāḍa	Telugu	Tulu	Kōi	Gōṇḍi	Kurukh	Malto	Brāhūi
7. 'Calf'	<i>kanru</i>	<i>kan'n'u</i>	<i>kaṇu</i> 'calf'; <i>kandū</i> 'young one'	[<i>dūḍa</i>]	<i>kañji</i>		[<i>paṇyā</i>]	<i>ṣadd</i>	<i>ṣad</i> 'child'	
8. 'She- buffalo'	<i>erumai</i>	<i>eruma</i>	<i>emma</i>	<i>emma</i>	<i>emma</i>		<i>armi</i>			
9. 'Fowl'	<i>kōḷi</i>	<i>kōḷi</i>	<i>kōḷi</i>	<i>kōḷi</i>	<i>kōḷi</i>	<i>kōju</i>	<i>kor</i>	<i>ṣeru</i>	<i>ṣeru</i> 'hen, fowl'	
10. 'Pig'	<i>paṇi</i>	<i>paṇi</i>	<i>pandi</i>	<i>pandi</i>	<i>pañji</i>	<i>paji</i>	<i>paddi</i>	[<i>ṭ kiss</i>]		
11. 'Fish'	<i>mīn</i>	<i>mīn</i>	<i>mīn</i>	<i>mīnu</i>	<i>mīnu</i>	<i>mīn</i>	<i>mīn</i>		<i>mīn</i>	
12. 'Scorpion'	<i>tēṭi</i>	<i>tēṭi</i>	<i>cēṭi</i>	<i>tēṭu</i>	<i>tēṭu</i>	<i>cēṭu</i>		<i>tēṭe</i>	<i>tēṭe</i>	<i>tēṭh</i>
13. 'Worm'	<i>puḷu</i>	<i>puḷu</i>	<i>puḷu</i>	<i>purugu</i>	<i>purū</i>	<i>priū</i>	<i>purṭ</i>	<i>pogō</i>	<i>pocrū</i>	<i>pū</i>
			<i>pruvvu</i>	'snail'						
14. 'Fly'	<i>i</i>	<i>icca</i>	cf. <i>ical</i> 'flying ant'	<i>iga</i> <i>i in tēṭṭ-</i> <i>i</i> 'honey bee'		[<i>vṛsa</i>]	[<i>vṛsi</i>]	<i>i in tīn-i</i> 'bee'	[<i>ṭ isgu</i> 'bee']	<i>hīṭh</i>
15. 'Louse'	<i>pēn</i>	<i>pēn</i>	<i>pēn</i>	<i>pēnu</i>		<i>pēnu</i>		<i>pēn</i>	<i>pēnu</i>	
16. 'Lizard'	<i>palli</i>	<i>palli</i>	<i>palli</i>	<i>palli</i>	<i>palli</i>					
17. 'Iguana'	<i>uḍumbu</i>	<i>uḍumbu</i>	<i>uḍu</i>	<i>uḍumu</i>	<i>uḍu, oḍu</i>		<i>urum</i>			
18. 'Tortoise'	<i>āmai</i>	<i>āma</i>	<i>āme, āve</i> <i>ēve</i>	<i>tāmbēḷu</i>	<i>ēme</i>					

	Tamil	Malayâ-	Kannāḍa	Telugu	Tulu	Kûi	Gōṇḍi	Kurukh	Malto	Brāhûi
19. 'Frog' (a)	<i>tavakkai,</i>	<i>tavaḷa</i>								
	<i>tavakkalai,</i>	<i>tappalai</i>								
(b)			<i>kappe</i>	<i>kappa</i>	<i>kappæ</i>	[<i>pana</i>]	[<i>panne</i>]			
(c)			[<i>pōkkācci</i>				[<i>pōk-rōte</i>]	[<i>mūx</i>]	[<i>muæ</i>]	[<i>pughut</i>]
			'toad'							
20. 'Crab'	<i>ṇāṇḍu,</i>	<i>ṇāṇḍu</i>	<i>nāṇḍu,</i>	<i>eṇḍrika</i>	<i>naṇḷi, ēḍi</i>		<i>ēṭe</i>			
	<i>naṇḷi</i>		<i>naṇḷi, ēḍi</i>		<i>esōḍi</i>					
21. 'Hare'	<i>muyal</i>	<i>muyal</i>	<i>mosalu,</i>	[<i>kundēlu</i>]	<i>muggelu,</i>	<i>mrālu</i>	<i>malol</i>	<i>munyā</i>	<i>munyæ</i>	
			<i>mola, mala</i>		<i>mola</i>					
22. 'Jackal'										
'Fox' (a)	<i>nari</i>		<i>nari</i>	<i>nakka</i>						
(b)										
(c)			<i>kurukkan</i>		<i>kudikkæ</i>	<i>kulia</i>	<i>ol-y-al</i>	<i>māu</i>	<i>māku</i>	[<i>tōla</i>]
23. 'Deer'	<i>mān</i>	<i>mān</i>	<i>mān</i>	[<i>jinke</i>]	[<i>jinka</i>]					
24. 'Pea-	<i>mayil</i>	<i>mayil</i>		<i>mairæ</i>	<i>melu</i>		<i>mal</i>			<i>mor</i>
cock'	<i>ṇāmali,</i>		<i>navil, etc.</i>	<i>nemali,</i>	<i>navil</i>					
	<i>etc.</i>			<i>etc.</i>						
25. 'Bat'	[<i>vavvāl</i>]	[<i>vāval,</i>	[<i>bāvule.</i>	[<i>gabbī-</i>	[<i>bāoli</i>]					
		<i>vavvāl</i>]	<i>gabbilāyi,</i>	<i>lamu,</i>						
			<i>etc.</i>	<i>gabbidāyi</i>						

	Tamil	Malayâ-	Kannāḍa	Telugu	Tulu	Kûi	Gōṇḍi	Kurukh	Malto	Brāhûi
26. 'Dove'	<i>puṛā, prā</i>	<i>prāvu</i>	<i>pāriṇa,</i>	<i>pāvurāyi,</i>	<i>pāruvæ</i>	<i>pāoriṣ</i>	<i>puṛār</i>			
			<i>pāvurāṇa,</i>	<i>pāvuramu</i>						
			<i>etc.</i>							
27. 'Horse'	<i>kudirai</i>	<i>kudira</i>	<i>kudure</i>	<i>gurram</i>	<i>kuduræ</i>					
28. 'Mule'	<i>kaludai</i>	<i>kaluda</i>	<i>kalte,</i>	<i>gāḍida</i>	<i>kattæ,</i>					
			<i>katte</i>		<i>kardæ</i>					
29. 'Snake'	<i>pāmbu</i>	<i>pāmbu</i>	<i>pāvu</i>	<i>pāmu</i>	[<i>uccu</i>]			[<i>ner</i>]	[<i>neru</i>]	
30. 'Tiger'	<i>puli</i>	<i>puli</i>	<i>puli</i>	<i>puli</i>	<i>puli</i>		<i>pulli</i>			
31. 'Croco-	<i>mudalai</i>	<i>madula</i>	<i>mosale</i>	<i>mosali</i>	<i>mosalæ</i>					
dile'										
32. 'Ele-	(y)ānki	<i>āna</i>	<i>āne</i>	<i>ēnugu</i>			<i>ēne</i>			
phant'										
33. 'Bear'	<i>karadi</i>	<i>karkḍi</i>	<i>karadi</i>	<i>karadi</i>	<i>karadi</i>	[<i>kṛāḍi</i>]				
34. 'Mon-										
key' (a)	<i>kurāngu</i>	<i>kurāngu</i>								
(b)	<i>kōṇḍi</i>		<i>kōṭi</i>	<i>kōṭi</i>	<i>kōṭi</i>	<i>kōṇḷa</i>	<i>kovve</i>			
(c)	<i>mūsu</i>	<i>mocca</i>	<i>'black ape'</i>	<i>mocca in</i>	<i>mūḷju</i>	<i>musu</i>	<i>mūṇḷ</i>			
			<i>koṇḍa</i>	<i>mocca</i>						
(d)	[<i>mandi</i>]	[<i>moṇḍa</i>]	[<i>manga</i>]		[<i>manga</i>]					

1. 'Rat'.—A widely represented group.
 - (i) *oli* 'bear' of Kûi structurally belongs to this group; *krāḍi* corresponding to southern 'bear' *karāḍi*, has assumed the meaning 'tiger' in Kûi.
 - (ii) For south Dr. *e* = Gōṇḍi *a*-, cf. southern *erme* = Gô. *armi* 'buffalo'.
 For south Dr. *e* = Kûi *o*-, cf. *ēḍu* 'sheep' = Kûi *ēḍa*;
 Tel. *ēru* 'river' = Kûi *ēra* 'channel'.
 For Br. *a*, cf. southern *eḷ-upp*- 'to raise' = Br. **har-f*,
her-f, *hef*- 'to lift up'; the southern interrogative base *e*.
ē = Br. *a*.
 For the *h*- of Br., cf. *hēt* 'she-goat' [= southern *āḍu*, *ēḍu*],
hīlh 'fly' [= southern *ī*], Br. *hīn*- 'to lamb, calve, foal'
 [= southern *īn*].
-ka of Tel. is an original plural ending now embodied in
 the base; the Kur.-Malto *-ge* looks like being related; cf.
pocgō of Kur. to Tel. *purugu*.
2. 'Cat'.—(i) The divergence is noteworthy. Tel. *pilli* is IA
 [cf. *biḍāla*, *birāla*, *billi* of NIA, and cf. Jules Bloch, BSL,
 XXV, p. 14.]
 (ii) The syncope of the syllable containing *r* in the Kann.
 and Gô. forms, and the influence of the initial bilabial on
 the vowel following, are noteworthy.
 (iii) Colloquial Tam. *pūnai* is from *pūñai*, a variant of old
pūsai which finds its counterpart in Mal. *pūcca* and Tuḷu
puccæ.
 (iv) For the probable imitative origin of these and similar
 non-Dravidian forms for 'cat', cf. Bloch, BSL, p. 14,
 footnote.
 (v) Tam. *verugu*, I think, is perhaps the 'frightener'; cf.
 Tam. 'fear', *veruḷ*, etc.
3. 'Dog'.—(i) Cognates of *nāy* exist as far north as the Gōṇḍi
 area. Kur. *allā* is different. Malto *kucca* and Brāhûi
kucak are borrowings from neighbouring IA speeches
 [OIA *kukkura* 'dog'].
 (ii) The Kûvi word *nāhuḍi*, corresponding to Kûi *nākurī*, has
nāska [*nāy* + *kaḷ*] as its plural form. The affix *-k-urī* of
 the Kûi and the Kûvi words is not, therefore, a part of
 the original base which was perhaps only *nāy* or *nāi*.
 (iii) Tel. *kukka* [Tam. *kukkal*] is a borrowing from IA i.e.
 from a Prakritic speech current in Andhra deśa. But
 the OIA word *kukkura* which should have yielded the
 Prakritic form, has itself been suggested as being of

Dravidic origin by Gundert who connects it with native
 Dr. *kurai*, *kure*- 'barking' 'growling'.

It is worthy of note that the Tel. words for 'dog', 'cat'
 and 'cow-calf' [*dūḍa*] are IA loans.

4. 'Sheep, goat'.—(i) In the *āḍu* group, the sound-correspond-
 ence: Tam. (*y*)*āḍu* = Tel., Tuḷu, Gô., Kur, Br. *ē*, is to be
 noted. cf. 'elephant' below.

Old Tam. had (*y*)*āḍu* alternating with *āḍu*, like *yānai*, *ānai*
 'elephant'.

For the Kûi *ē*, cf. Kûi *ēra* 'channel', 'flowing stream' =
 Tam. *āru*, Tel. *ēru* 'river'.

I consider Kur. *ēra* to be directly allied, because Kur. *-r*-
 (IA flapped cerebral) may represent southern *-ḍ*-, as in Kur.
pār- 'to sing' = southern *pād*-.

- (ii) The group *korī*, *kore*, etc. is limited, so far as I can see, to
 south Dr.

5. 'Bull'.—(i) Tel. *kōḍe* is a 'bull-calf' and *kōḍi* 'bullock'.
 While Kûi *kōḍi* is used for an 'ox' or 'cow', Gô. *kōṇḍa* is
 a 'bullock'. Kann. *kōṇa* 'male buffalo' may be allied.
 cf. Skt. *gōṇa* 'ox'.

- (ii) *mūri* which is used in the colloquial only in Mal. for
 'bullock' has been derived by Gundert from *mūr*- 'to be
 active'.

- (iii) *kāḷa* 'bullock' was connected by the late Prof. Collins
 with native words like Tam. *kaḷiru*, etc.

At this connection, there is another widespread set deserving of notice:—

Tam. *kaḍā* 'male of sheep, goat or buffalo'.

kaḍāy 'bull, ox'

kiḍāy 'bull' 'buffalo'.

Mal. *kaḍāvu*, *kiḍāvu*, *kāḍvu* 'vigorous bull' and derivatively
 'young bull', 'young one of cattle', 'child' (ap-
 plied endearingly), and even an honorific appella-
 tion for certain families who were regarded as the
 'favourite children of the ruler or king.'

Tel. *krēpu* [structurally, the change is normal here]
 'bull-calf'

Kann. *gaḍi* 'young steer'. Tuḷu *gaḍusu* 'young bull'.

Kûi *krāi* 'female buffalo' [Note the restriction and trans-
 ference of meaning].

Gōṇḍi *kurra* 'bull-calf' is perhaps also of this group; but
 Gô. *payya* 'calf, whether male or female' is allied
 to south Dr. *pay*-, *pas*- 'young, tender, green' [Tam.
paidal 'what is young', Kann. *pasule* 'child', etc.].

- (iv) Yet another group denoting male animals is confined to Tam., Mal. and Tel. :—
 Tam. *pōtu* 'male of a number of animals'.
 Tel. " " " "
 Mal. " 'male buffalo'.
6. 'Cow'.—(i) Malto *ō-yu* 'cow' looks like being related to *ā* of the south. Grignard's lists do not show a cognate in Kur which has *mekkhō* 'cow' [?] and IA *gāy*.
 (ii) *ā-v-u* of Tel. owes its *-v-* to the off-glide; and *-n* of Tan. *ān* is an old augment [See Tolkāppiyam, E.], which was subsequently regarded as part of the base.
7. 'Calf'.—(i) The sound-correspondence series: Tam *-nr* = Mal. long dental *nn* = Kann. *r* or *nd* = Tuḷu, Kūi *ñj* = Kur. *dd* has been discussed by me full in my *History of the Alveolar Plosive* [JMU]
 For south Dr. *k* = Kur-Malto *x*-, see my paper on the subject in *IA* 1933.
 (ii) Tel. *dūda* 'cow calf' is a lone form, perhaps an IA loan if it originally meant a 'frisker, leaper' [cf N I A *daud*—'run' and the I A loan in Kann. *dūt*—'to hop, bound']
8. 'She-buffalo'.—Southern *e* is opened out to *a*- in Gōṇḍi.
9. 'Fowl'.—(i) The correspondence of Tam., Mal., Kann. *l* = Tel. *-d* = Tuḷu *r* = Gō., Kur., Malto *r* is met with here.
 (ii) I do not think that Dravidian need have adapted these forms for a very familiar faunal unit existing wild in south Indian jungles, from Skt. *Kukkūṭa*.
 (iii) The forms for 'hen' are interesting :—
 Tam. *pēḍai* 'female of birds', 'hen'
 " *pēḍu* "
 Kann. *peṇḍe*
 Tel. *peṭṭa*
 Mal. *peḍa*, *piḍa*
 All these words are connected with *peṇ* 'female' of the south Gōṇḍi *peḍ-gī* 'girl', Kur. *pell* 'female child' and Tam. *pēṇ*—'to desire, love'.
10. 'Pig'.—cf. 7 above for the sound-correspondence series.
11. 'Fish'.—Indo-Āryanists (Profs. Charpentier and Bloch) are inclined to derive I A *mīna* from this Dr. base.
 To me, Coldwell's imaginative but certainly shrewd, suggestion of the etymology of Dr. *mīn* from *min*—'to shine, glitter' is quite appealing.
12. 'Scorpion'.—A widespread base, absent (however) in central India.

13. 'Worm'.—Another widespread base, the representatives of which reveal the sound-correspondence series noted in 9 above and also the accent-shift in Tel. and in Kūi (for which, see my Dr. Aph.)
14. 'Fly'.—*-i* as such exists in Tel. *tēṇṭ-i* 'honey bee', Kur. *tin-i* corresponding to Tam. *tēn-i*.
 The Br. word (if allied) shows (prothetic ?) *h*-.
 15. 'Louse'.—Widely represented.
 16. 'Lizard'.—South Dr., judged by available materials.
 17. 'Iguana'.—South Dr. and Gō.
 18. 'Tortoise'.—Old Tam. has *yāmai*; the correspondence of Tam. (*y*) *ā* to Tuḷu *ē* has been noted in 4 above.
 19. 'Frog'.—Considerable inter-dialectal divergence exists here.
 (i) The lone Tam.—Mal. set was likened by me to Semang (Austrie) *tabek*, *tabak* 'frog' [Tam. *ṭavakkai* particularly]
 (ii) Cf. Kur *pōk-rōṭe* Santāli *pokot-rōṭa*.
 (iii) Cf. Gō. *ḍōḍe* 'toad' with *rōṭe* above.
 (iv) *pōk*-of the Kur. word, and Mal. dialectal *pōkkācci* resemble I A *bhēka*, and the Mal. word was very probably "corrupted" from Sanskrit; but Prof. Chatterji has already compared [Pre-Āryan and Pre-Dr., p. XXII] the Skt. *bhēka* to Austrie forms.
 The inter-relations of Kur. *pōk*, Santāli *pokot* to I A and to Austrie forms remain obscure.
20. 'Crab'.—Here the words appear to be allied; but the question of initial *n*, *ñ* is hard to settle. Is *ñ* original or secondary? For a suggestion, see my Dr Ph.
21. 'Hare'.—For Gō. *mal-ol*, cf. the Kann. variants *mala*, *mola*.
22. 'Jackal, fox'.—(i) The central Indian *kulia* and *kolh-y-al* appear to be connected with Savara (Austrie) *kul-un* 'fox,' Santāli *kul* and cognate words in extra-Indian Austrie, meaning 'tiger.' Pischel [Prakrit Grammar, p. 170] records the Prakrit forms *koḷhua*, *kuḷha*, and derives them from OIA *krōṣṭr*.
 The other Gō. word *khekṛi* is also foreign; cf. Santāli *khikṛi*.
 (ii) Sir Denys Bray has confronted Brāhūi *tōlā* 'jackal' with Kann. *tōḷa* 'wolf,' Tel. *tōḍēlu*, late Tam. *tōṇḍān* 'wolf.'
23. 'Deer'.—Tam. *iralai*, Kann., Tuḷu *eraḷe* and Tel. *lēḍi* mean 'antelope;' perhaps this set is adapted from IA *harina*. With the other type *man*, etc., one may compare Prakrit *maa* [OIA *mrga*; see Pischel, p. 53].
24. 'Peacock'.—(i) For the conceivable affiliations of these forms to words in IA and in Indian Austrie, cf. Bloch, BSL, XXV, p. 16.

For a tentative suggestion regarding the forms being native in Dravidian, cf. *JBORS*, 1930.

- (ii) Tam. *tūgai*, Kanu. *sōge*, Tulu *sogæ* are other words in these speeches; Tam. *pīli* 'peacock's tail' and derivatively 'peacock' may be compared to Kūi *pīli* 'peacock'?
25. 'Bat'.—Here is another set of forms with intricate IA and Austric connections. See my *Peacock and Bat* in *JBORS*, 1930.
26. 'Dove'.—The extraordinary structural variations point to a foreign origin; cf. IA *pārāvata*.
27. } 'Horse,' 'Mule'.—For an excellent discussion of the Dr. and
28. } other words, see Bloch, *BSL*, XXV, p. 11 ff.
29. 'Snake'.—Tel. *trācu* 'serpent,' Kui *srāsu* 'Snake' and Gō. *tarās* are adaptations of IA *trāsa*.
30. 'Tiger'.—(i) Only Gō. has *pulli*, among the northern dialects; and even here there is another word *brū-kal* 'mountain tiger' which resembles Kolarian forms. Cf. also Kūvi *klāni* 'tiger'.
(ii) Tam. *ciruttai* 'small tiger, panther, puma,' Mal. *cirutta*, Kann. *cirutte* 'panther, leopard,' Tel. *ciruta* have all been regarded as basically meaning 'a small species of tiger' and connected radically with *ciru* 'small.' But Skt. *citraka* means 'Leopard, panther.' Is there any "contamination" here? Or, are the Dr. and Skt. forms original in each family?
31. 'Crocodile'.—(i) For a discussion, see my paper in *ER*, 1932,
(ii) Kann. has *negal* 'crocodile' with which Prof. Bloch compares Skt. *nakra*.
32. 'Elephant'.—Except Gōṇḍi, the central Indian and northern dialects show IA *hāti*.
33. 'Bear'.—A south Dr. type which in Kūi means 'tiger, panther, leopard.'
34. 'Monkey'.—Tam. *mandi* has been suggested as being at the back of (*hanu*)*mant* [cf. *āṇ-mandi* 'male monkey']; and *manga* has been connected with Skt. *marka*.

These suggestions have not appealed to me. *mandi* is a lone Tamil form; it is not met with in other Dr. speeches. As for *manga* and *marka*, the explanations of both Gundert and Kittel (*Kann. Dict.*) are far too fanciful.

KRISHNA DEVA RAYA AND THE PORTUGUESE.

GURTI VENKET RAO, M.A., LL.B.,
Andhra University.

In the ancient and medieval times European Countries entirely depended upon India for a regular supply of spices, pepper, cloth etc. After the establishment of the Islamic dominion in Asia and Africa, the Mussalmans from Egypt, Arabia, and Persia secured the control of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, founded settlements on the Indian Seaboard, and monopolised the entire foreign trade of India with Europe. Wassaf and Barbosa have given¹ an account of their Commercial activities in the Arabian Waters before the coming of the Portuguese. The little trade that was left in the hands of the Christians of the Italian cities was jeopardized by the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in A. D. 1453. The Commercial cities of the Levant lost their business and the great European marts like Antwerp clamoured for spices.

Hence the close of the fifteenth century witnessed a series of attempts on the part of the Christian nations of Europe to circumvent the Mussalman control of the eastern trade routes by finding a new way to India across the Atlantic. Spain and Portugal, which abutted on the Atlantic, took the lead and succeeded in putting Europe in direct contact with America and India. In May, 1498 Vasco Da Gama landed on the Indian shores, near Calicut, 'where the pepper and ginger grew, and other drugs and merchandise were also procurable in almost unlimited quantities'.²

Circumstances were very propitious for the Portuguese enterprise in India at this time. The states of the Deccan and South India were passing through a most strenuous period of their history the imbecility of Sultān Mahmūd Shāh (A. D. 1482—1518) and the internal party feuds dismembered the Bahmani Kingdom into five principalities,³ the most important of which were Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and Golconda; the empire of Vijayanagar⁴ lost Goa, Chaul, Dabhol, and other important towns due to the worthless character of Virūpāksha Rāya (A. D. 1466—1485); and the region of Malabar presented a mosaic of small principalities open to

1. See Elliot, III, p. 32, 35; *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Dames, Vol. II, pp. 76—78.

2. F. C. Danvers: *The Portuguese in India*, Vol. I p. 47.

3. Berar (*Imad Shahi*); Ahmadnagar (*Nizam Shahi*); Bijāpūr (*Adil Shahi*); Golconda (*Qutb Shahi*); and Bedar (*Barid Shahi*).

4. To the Portuguese it was known as Bisanga, Narasinga and Narasynga.

attack by maritime powers. There was not much good-will among these states: Shōlāpūr formed the bone of contention between Bijāpūr and Ahmadnagar; so was Pathri between the latter and Berar; Golconda in its own interest tried to maintain the balance of power between the rival states; the Raichūr Doab furnished a fruitful source of strife between the Bahmani states and the empire of Vijayanagar; and the ambitious designs of Calicut caused constant irritation to the Kingdoms of Cannanore and Cochin. Perpetual jealousies among the rulers of these states, and their ignorance of the world forces paved the way for the foundation of the Portuguese power in India.

From the outset the Portuguese were attracted towards the hospitable and rich shores of the *Hindu States*, which possessed numerous sea-ports and produced almost all kinds of commodities so much in demand in Europe. Barbosa has given⁵ a description of important ports and towns of Vijayanagar and Malabar which carried on 'great traffic in goods of divers sorts.' Further, the Mussalmans were the political enemies and commercial rivals of the Portuguese in Europe as well as in India. The Sultan of Egypt rendered every assistance to the Zamorin of Calicut, who was considered to be friend of the Mussalman traders, to keep out the Portuguese from the Arabian waters. Hence the policy of the Portuguese from the beginning was anti-Mussalman. They resolved to destroy the power of the Mussalmans on the sea, to disable the Sultan of Egypt from co-operating with the Zamorin, and to build fortifications at strategic centres. Francisco de Almeida, the first Portuguese Viceroy in India, defeated the combined fleets of the Zamorin and the Sultan of Egypt in February 1509, and established fortified factories in the Hindu States of Cochin and Cannanore.⁶

On the other hand, the South Indian rulers always welcomed foreign merchants who fostered the trade and increased the revenues of the country. Special circumstances operated to make the Hindu rulers, except the Zamorin, ally themselves with the Portuguese. The Hindu Kings of Cannanore and Cochin, in their anxiety to resist the hegemony of Calicut, hailed them as their natural friends, gave them all commercial facilities and allowed them to erect fortified stations within their territories. The Vijayanagar emperors had also their own reasons to look with favour the advance of the new comers. Warfare had been going on for generations between the former and the Bahmani Sultans and its issues often depended on the efficiency of cavalry. As horses did not thrive on the South Indian soil, they had to be imported from Sindh, Persia and Arabia. The Mussalmans, who held a virtual monopoly in horse-trade,

5. *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 184—197; Vol. II, pp. 79—102, 124—132.

6. K. M. Panikkar: *Malabar and the Portuguese*, Ch. V.

evinced considerable partiality towards the rulers of their own creed in their dealings.⁷ The keen anxiety of the Emperors of Vijayanagar to secure for themselves a continuous supply of good horses brought them into close contact with the Portuguese.

The first relations of the Portuguese with the Emperor of Vijayanagar were neither direct nor very encouraging. This was due to the administrative system of the empire. Generally the different parts of the empire were held by the provincial Governors or the vassal kings.⁸ They could do what they liked so long as they remained loyal to the emperor, maintained the quota of horse, foot and elephants, paid him the fixed share of their revenue, and did not tyrannise over the people. Towards the west, between the kingdom of Bijāpūr and the land of Malabar, lay the coast province of *Tolināte* i.e., Tulu-nāḍa. It contained several busy commercial centres, such as Bankapur, Honavar, Bhatkal, Gersoppa etc., each of which was under the rule of a petty chieftain.⁹ The first dealings of the Portuguese were naturally with them. In A. D. 1502 Vasco da Gama, during his second voyage to India, touched Bhatkal. He put down the opposition of the local chief by force, and granted peace on condition that the Turks were prohibited from trading there; that no trade in pepper should be carried on at that port, etc. The 'King' accepted these conditions but excused himself from more, 'as he was only a tenant of the King of Bisnaga, to whom the country belonged'.¹⁰ In A. D. 1505 Francisco de Almeida came in conflict with the chief of Honavar and compelled him to offer allegiance to the King of Portugal.¹¹ The available evidence does not reveal the repercussions of these incidents on the Central Government at Vijayanagar.

Direct negotiations between the Portuguese and the Emperor of Vijayanagar were started in A. D. 1506, when Almeida asked King Narasa¹² for permission to erect a fortress at Bhatkal. Sewell says that no answer was returned.¹³ But it was probably in response to this request that the Emperor sent a message of friendship to Almeida with an assurance that 'he would allow him to build forts in his own ports, excepting Baticala (Batkai) which was rented, and he would furnish everything necessary for the erection of these forts'.¹⁴ Nothing, however, came out of these pourparlers between the two powers.

7. N. Venkata Ramanayya: *Studies in the History of the Third Vijayanagara Dynasty* pp. 284 ff.

8. Paes and Nuniz, R. Sewell's — *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 280—282, 379.

9. Barbosa, *op. cit.* Vol. I, pp. 183—197; Nuniz, *op. cit.* p. 375.

10. Danvers, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 82.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

12. Evidently Śāluva Immadi Narasimha.

13. F. E. p. 117.

14. See the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XVI, pp 66—68.

Krishna Dēva Rāya's reign witnessed a *renewal* of the friendly gestures by the Portuguese with greater earnestness. At this time all their efforts to dominate the Malabar coast were thwarted by the Zamorin of Calicut and the Sultan of Egypt. In January 1510, their attempt to reduce Calicut ended in a terrible disaster; their Marshal was killed and Afonso de Albuquerque, the successor of Almeida, was wounded. Albuquerque now realized that the forces at his disposal and the co-operation of the kings of Cannanore and Cochin were not sufficient to destroy the Zamorin and his Mussalman friends. Hence he looked beyond Malabar for effective assistance against the inveterate foes of his country, and for an independent base which could command the Arabian Sea. In pursuit of this policy, he applied to Krishna Dēva Rāya¹⁵ for help and sent Fr. Luiz of the Order of St. Francis as an envoy to his court to settle the terms of alliance. Fr. Luiz was instructed (1) to impress upon the Rāya the sea-power of the King of Portugal, 'without whose safe-conduct the Indian seas are not navigated now'; (2) to tell him that it was the policy of the Portuguese King to render 'willing service to all the Gentile (Hindu) Kings' and 'to destroy the Moors'; (3) to secure his co-operation by land in the campaign against the Zamorin and the Moors¹⁶ of Calicut; and (4) to ask for a site for settlement and factory in any place within his ports between Bhatkal and Mangalore. In return for these concessions the envoy was authorised to promise him assistance in the conquest of Goa from the King of the Deccan (The Ādil Shāh), and a monopoly in the supply of horses. The instructions to the envoy concluded by saying "And if the King of Narasinga be willing to do this he shall hold securely all the trade in horses and every other kind of merchandise of Portugal which he may need in his land".¹⁷ Armed with these instructions, the envoy embarked from Cochin for Bhatkal, from where he went to Vijayanagar by land. Here he was well received by all except the Rāya, who did not give any definite answer to the proposals of Albuquerque.

It may appear that by his indifference towards the offer of the Portuguese, the Rāya had let slip an opportunity to recover Goa and to settle the problem of the supply of horses once for all. But circumstances justify his conduct on this occasion: very recently he had been made emperor by Sāluva Timma in defiance of the claims of the sons of the late sovereign; there was an apprehension of trouble at home from his discontented brothers and nephews; the Rāja of Ummattūr was actually in arms against him; the Gajapati ruler of Orissa was tightly holding on

15. He will be mentioned below as the Rāya.

16. The Portuguese writers called all Mussalmans by this name.

17. *Commentaries* of Afonso Dalbuquerque (Hakluyt Edition), Vol. II, pp. 78-

77. This work will be quoted below as *Commentaries*.

to the eastern districts of the Empire as far south as Nellore; and the northern Sultans were not averse to fish in the troubled waters of his domestic politics.¹⁸ Even a couple of months had not elapsed between his accession to the throne and the arrival of the Portuguese envoy.¹⁹ Time was needed to settle the pressing problems at home before he could launch upon new schemes or have dealings with strange men from across the seas. The Portuguese were a new race of people, about whom reports, both favourable and unfavourable, must have reached the Court of Vijayanagar. All these explain the seemingly inexplicable behaviour of the Rāya in putting off the Portuguese envoy with vague answers.²⁰ At any rate, the proposed combined attack on Calicut and Goa was never realised. On the contrary, Albuquerque conquered Goa for his own fatherland.

Events moved with kaleidoscopic rapidity at this time. Fr. Luiz had been despatched to Vijayanagar in January, 1510. Within a month of this, Albuquerque, without waiting for a reply from the Rāya, left the Cochin Harbour with a fleet of twenty-three sail for the Red Sea. His object was to stop communications between Calicut and Egypt by destroying the naval forces of the latter. But Timoja, the Hindu Commander of a fleet at Honavar, informed him that one of the Captains of the Egyptian fleet was in the harbour of Goa and was hurriedly converting it into a naval base with the consent of the Ādil Shāh of Bijāpūr. Albuquerque immediately diverted his forces to an attack on Goa, and with the help of Timoja, vanquished the enemy and entered the town on 1st March 1510. The Ādil Shāh's complaint to the Rāya about Timoja's conduct, and his request for assistance to recover the place did not meet with a favourable response. On the contrary, the Rāya and the King of Gersoppa openly expressed their sympathy with the victors. The Portuguese, however, could not retain the place for more than a couple of months. In May the Ādil Shāh recaptured it with the help of the Mussalmans in the town.²² Albuquerque retired to Cannanore for the

18. Nuniz, *op. cit.*, pp. 314—316; Kumāra Dhārjati: *Krishnaraya Vijayanaga* (Vavilla Edition, 1914) pp. 51—57, Verses 109 ff.

19. Krishna Dēva Rāya succeeded to the throne of his brother in Novr. 1509 and the Portuguese envoy was sent to Vijayanagar in January, 1510.

20. *Commentaries*, Vol. III, p. 37.

21. Barbosa calls him a pirate, maintained by the lord of the land (Vijayanagar.) *Op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 186. The Portuguese rewarded his services by appointing him as the Governor of Goa. He did not take part in its re-conquest by the Portuguese. He died at Vijayanagar in A. D. 1511. See *Commentaries*, Vol. II, p. 104. Vol. III, pp. 7, 35 and 188.

22. *Commentaries*, Vol. II, Chs. XVIII—XXII, XXVII, and XXXIV. This work assigns these events to the reign of the boy-king Ismāil Ādil Shāh; but according to Ferishta, they occurred in the reign of his father, Yāsuf Ādil Shāh. See Briggs. III. pp. 29—30.

time being. But his iron will refused to accept defeat. He gathered another force, and wrote to Timoja and the King of Gersoppa to pin them to their promise of assistance. He also sent out an envoy to conclude a treaty with the rulers of Bhatkal, who had expressed a desire for friendship with Portugal.²³ But this time the Rāya appears to have set his face against any active co-operation between his feudatories and the Portuguese. The rulers of Bhatkal changed their minds and declared that they would do nothing without first of all finding whether the 'King of Narsinga, their Lord', approved of the terms of the treaty.²⁴ Timoja and the King of Gersoppa kept up a show of friendliness to the last moment, but did not turn up on the battle-field, giving rise to the suspicion that they had succumbed to the fear or gold of the Ādil Shāh.²⁵ Albuquerque, however proceeded with his task with grim determination and before the end of the year re-took Goa after a sanguinary fight for it.²⁶

The capture of Goa by the Portuguese had profound effects on the contemporary politics; it made the Portuguese one of the minor powers on the Indian sea-board, assured their naval and commercial supremacy in the Arabian Waters, and changed the attitude of some of the Indian Princes towards them. The Kings of Cambay and Calicut courted their friendship and offered them sites for fortresses within their own territories;²⁷ the rival candidates for the crown of Honavar approached them *instead of the Rāya* for assistance;²⁸ and even the distant ruler of Malacca evinced a desire for a friendly settlement with them.²⁹

Albuquerque wanted to make Goa the pivot of the Portuguese power in India. Much depended on the attitude of the Rāya and the Ādil Shāh. The one was an indifferent but powerful potentate, and the other was his avowed enemy. He wanted to bring either of them, most preferably the former, within his ever expanding sphere of political influence by an offer of military assistance and trade concessions to the one as against the other. On 22nd December, 1510, he wrote to King Dom Manoel 'I am sending a messenger with some horses and news of the capture of Goa to the King of Narsinga, in order to see if I can induce him to attack the Turks and desire our friendship'.³⁰ With a view to sound the feelings of the Ādil Shāh, regarding an alliance, he also wrote

23. *Commentaries*, Vol. II, Ch. XLVIII

24. *Ibid*, Ch. II, p. 241

25. *Ibid*, Vol. III, pp. 2-7.

26. *Ibid*. Chs. I-IV; *Ferishta*, Briggs. Vol. III, p. 34.

27. *Commentaries*, Vol. III, pp. 19, 30, 31. Of course, the negotiations broke down, as the site offered was not acceptable to Albuquerque.

28. *Ibid*, Ch. VI.

29. *Ibid*, Ch. x.

30. *Danvers, op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 212. Italics mine.

to him promising him help against his enemies, and offering him the refusal of all horses that came to Goa.³¹ The Ādil Shāh, who could not easily forget the recent losses, did not give any reply. The Rāya, however, sent his ambassadors to pay a friendly visit to Albuquerque without committing himself to any definite terms of alliance. Fr. Luiz availed himself of the services of these ambassadors to transmit a despatch to Goa detailing the trend of the political currents at Vijayanagar and Bijāpūr, and the result of his own mission.³² He wrote that he had been well received by all except the King (Rāya); that the King was making preparations for an expedition against one of his vassals who had seized the city of Pergunḍa (Penugonḍa); that after subjugating the rebel he would proceed 'to his places situated on the edge of the sea;' and that Albuquerque should keep up friendly connections with him and should not place any reliance upon the King of Gersoppa and Timoja who were in correspondence with the King (Rāya) against the Portuguese. 'And as for the negotiations which his instructions ordered him to carry out, he had presented them many times without getting any answer to the purpose, but always had been put off, etc.' Albuquerque was not satisfied with this apparent dilatory attitude of the Rāya. He ordered Fr. Luiz to take his leave of the Rāya with as much dissimulation as he could, and return immediately;³³ and at the same time he pressed the Ādil Shāh once more for a friendly alliance 'because he desired by means of this artifice to sow dissensions among them.'³⁴

Albuquerque's shot went home: the ambassadors, when they returned to Vijayanagar, told their sovereign about the proposed alliance between the Portuguese and the Ādil Shāh. This upset the Rāya so much that he immediately sent them back to Goa 'with full powers to conclude a treaty of friendship and to arrange the terms of trade in horses'.³⁵ Probably in response to this fresh embassy that Albuquerque, just on the eve of his departure to Malacca, sent Gaspar Chanoca to Vijayanagar to settle the issues. Chanoca 'returned with the answer', and brought back in his company another ambassador from Vijayanagar with a present for the King Dom Manoel. But in February, 1511, Albuquerque had left Goa on an expedition to Malacca, and did not return till October, 1512. In the meantime, the ambassador went back. Hence Albuquerque, after his return to Goa, sent Chanoca once more to Vijayanagar to represent³⁶ to the Rāya that 'in as much as all the kings of India had granted a

31. *Commentaries*, Vol. III, pp. 20-21.

32. *Ibid*, Ch. VIII.

33. But he never returned. He was killed by a Turk and 'it was reported that the *Hidalgo* (Ādil Shāh) had ordered his murder'. *Commentaries*, III, p. 38.

34. *Ibid*, p. 38.

35. *Ibid*, pp. 38-39.

36. *Ibid*, pp. 246, 247.

site in their harbours for the construction of a strong house wherein the property of the King of Portugal might be preserved, and he was very desirous of being on friendly terms with the King, therefore he ought to grant him such a site in Baticala (Bhatkal); and, in return for this, he would willingly forward all the horses that came to market at Goa to Narsinga, for he would be much more pleased to send them to him than to the Hidalcão (Ādil Shāh). This embassy also appears to have evoked no response from the Rāya. Albuquerque sent Portuguese ambassadors to him, *not once but many times*, 'desirous of procuring his friendship and begging him to turn his attention to operations calculated to crush the Hidalcão and the King of Deccan';³⁷ but he 'was always making excuses without coming to any settled purpose'.³⁸

At last about the close of A. D. 1515 events appeared to move towards a settled understanding between Goa and Vijayanagar. But this time it was the Rāya that knocked at the gates of Goa, while Albuquerque assumed a somewhat nonchalant attitude towards him with a view to display his political importance and to strike an advantageous bargain.³⁹

This change in the attitude of the two parties is nothing but a reflection of the altered political circumstances of the moment. By a series of campaigns the Rāya had subdued his enemies and recovered the lost fortresses of the empire. Now he probably thought of carrying his arms into the interior of the Mussalman territories which he had postponed to do before on the advice of Appāji (Sāluva Timma).⁴⁰ For this he needed the cooperation of the Portuguese, specially because the latter had proved their strength against the Ādil Shāh and the Zamorin and had acquired a key position in horse-trade. Some of the best ports of the Vijayanagar empire were ruined by the rise of Goa. Albuquerque had deliberately developed the latter at the expense of the former. He gave very kind of facility to the horse-dealers and compelled all ships to go into his harbour so that 'the caravans of Narsinga and of the kingdom of the Decan with their merchandise might come to Goa in search of horses'.⁴¹ Even Calicut could not escape his Machiavelian policy. When the Zamorin could not be subdued by fifteen years' open war-fare, he got rid of him by persuading the heir-apparent to poison him. On 24th December, 1513 the new Zamorin, by means of a treaty, granted to the Portuguese all their demands and allowed them to erect a fort on the

37. *Commentaries*, Vol. IV, pp. 204-205. Decan=Deccan. Perhaps the sculptures on the east wall of the steps on the south-side of the Throne-Platform are in commemoration of one of the visits of the Portuguese ambassadors to the Rāya. See A. H. Longhurst: *Hampi Ruins*, p. 62, and fig. 21.

38. *Commentaries*, Vol. IV, p. 123.

39. *Ibid.*

40. Kumāra Dhūrjati, *op. cit.* pp. 71-72, verses 49 ff.

41. *Commentaries*, Vol. III, p. 39. Decan=Deccan.

soil of Calicut.⁴² Thus they slowly but steadily acquired a commanding position in the political and commercial affairs of South India, so that their friendship became an object of keen rivalry among the rulers of the country. The Rāya is said to have remarked that since the Zamorin of Calicut had assented to the building of a fortress in his land by the Portuguese, Albuquerque might as well build another in 'Bisnaga', if he pleased.⁴³

Thus ultimately the policy of Albuquerque triumphed. In November, 1514, there arrived⁴⁴ at Goa 'an ambassador from the King of Narsinga, called Retelim Cherim, Governor of Bracelor.' 'Retelim Cherim' is obviously a corrupt form of Ratnappa Odeya of the family of Vaichadandā-dhipa who was in charge of the Bārakūru Rājya at this time.⁴⁵ Albuquerque, being informed of his coming, sent the captain of the fort with an escort of cavalry to accord him a warm welcome at the city gates. The ambassador came in a procession of horsemen and foot-soldiers, preceded by four big elephants richly surmounted with wooden 'castles'. In these 'castles' were seated Hindus of noble rank who carried 'wash-hand bowls of silver gilt' filled with 'pearls, jewelry of precious stones, and other richly made articles of native manufacture, which the king sent to Afonso Dalboquerque'. Albuquerque waited for him in an old palace of the Ādil Shāh, in a hall richly hung around with trophies of arms; here he sat on a throne of crimson velvet, under a canopy of brocade; standing on either side of him were all the captains, nobles and leading citizens of Goa. As soon as the ambassador entered, he went down to the middle of the hall to receive him, and from there both proceeded to their appointed seats. Then the ambassador delivered to him the presents and the letter of Credence which he had brought from the Rāya. On the following day Albuquerque gave the ambassador another audience when the latter, on behalf of his master, strongly pressed for an alliance against the Ādil Shāh for 'if both were of one mind in this war, it would cost them very little trouble to destroy the Hidalcão.' He also made mention of the trade in horses. The *Commentaries* do not furnish any details about this part of the proposal. According to the Rev. H. Heras, it consisted of an offer of £ 20,000 for the exclusive right of buying 1000 horses.⁴⁶ Albuquerque remembered the dilatoriness of the Rāya in dealing with his proposals of similar nature in the

42. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Ch. VX. Direct hostilities between the Zamorin and the Portuguese broke out again in A. D. 1524.

43. *Commentaries*, Vol. IV, pp. 74-75.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 121. Bracelor=Barcelor.

45. Nos. 42 and 54 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1901; also V. Rangacharya: *Topl. List of the Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*; S K. 225, 249, 277.

46. H. Heras; *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, Vol. I, p. 59.

past, and now resolved to pay him back in the same coin. He also wanted to impress upon him that it was 'in his power to destroy him by taking away from him the trade in horses, and giving it to the *Hidalcão*.' Accordingly, he put off the ambassador by promising him a careful consideration of the matter and reserving his answer to a future date.

Being informed of this uncertain reply, the Rāya suspected in it the diplomatic hand of the Ādil Shāh, and at once despatched a messenger to urge upon his ambassador to hasten matters by informing Albuquerque that he was already on the march against their common foe in anticipation of his favourable decision. Albuquerque finally agreed (1) to join in the war against the Ādil Shāh provided that the Rāya would pay his soldiers, and (2) to supply him horses at the price of 30,000 cruzados per year on condition that he would take delivery of them at Goa and pay the dues on them, or at Bhatkal or Barcelor, as the case might be. He sent Antonio de Sousa and João Teixeira in the company of the returning ambassador to secure the ratification of these terms; and these carried with them a rich present for the Rāya consisting of different kinds of fabrics which had been received from Ormuz and Portugal.⁴⁷

In a letter of 27th November, 1514, Albuquerque thus announced the result of this embassy to King Dom Manoel.⁴⁸

"On the 8th day of November, as I was on the point of starting from Goa to Cochin, the ambassadors from the King of Narasinga arrived, bringing me some bracelets and jewels, which I now send to Your Majesty. Their instructions were to conclude, on behalf of the King of Narsinga, a treaty of peace and friendship with Your Majesty; to wage war against the Turks in the Kingdom of the Deccan, and arrange about the free importation of horses into their ports from Arabia and Persia. The first thing we talked about was the war with the Turks, in which I agreed to help the King of Narsinga; and as the King of Onor (Honavar) was tributary of Narsinga, and at war against Melique Az (Captain of the Ādil Khān) then at Cintacora, I wrote to the Ādil Khān requesting him to instruct his Captains to cease hostilities, which he did at once. As regards the question of horses, I could not agree to *their* proposals, and they at last returned to the King laden with presents from us."

The Ādil Shāh of Bijāpūr, having come to know of the projected alliance between the Rāya and the Portuguese against himself, sent instructions to his ambassador at Goa to represent to Albuquerque that 'he

47. *Commentaries*, Vol. IV, Ch. XXVII.

48. Danvers, *op. cit.* Vol. I, pp. 307—308. Italic mine,

on his part desired (as he had often times sent word to him through his ambassadors) to maintain a state of peace and friendship with the King of Portugal, and to arrange the trade in horses, and they ought not to take away these (horses) to give them to the King of Narsinga.⁴⁹

Albuquerque, however, preferred the alliance of the Rāya, who was a Hindu, to that of the Ādil Shāh, who was Mussalman and under the influence of the Turks. Hence he temporised for sometime with the ambassador of the latter in expectation of a definite reply to his proposals from the former. But since the Portuguese agents had not returned with any answer from Vijayanagar, and the time of his departure for Ormuz was at hand, he sent João Gonçalves de Castel-Branco with the Ādil Shāh's ambassador with the message that he would give him (the Ādil Shāh) all the horses that found their way to Goa, and would not help the Rāya on condition that the Portuguese were given the mainland adjacent to Goa as far the *ghauts*.⁵⁰

Albuquerque had intended on his return from Ormuz to accept the alliance of that one who would concede the most favourable terms. But he did not live to complete the treaty with either of the rival suitors. He died on 16th December, 1515.

His successors, however, did not lose sight of the advantages they could derive from amicable relations with Vijayanagar. Although they did not enter into any *formal* engagement with the Rāya, they often exchanged presents and friendly greetings with him. Christovão de Figueiredo appears to have visited Vijayanagar twice or thrice in this connection. At first he had been sent by the Governor, Lopo Soares, in 1517 to Vijayanagar as factor, with horses and elephants.⁵¹ In A. D. 1520, he met the Rāya, while the latter was investing the fort of 'Rachol', and rendered him invaluable aid in its capture from the Ādil Shāh.⁵² Very shortly after this, he *carried some letters* and presents to the Rāya from the acting Portuguese Governor, Ruy de Mello.⁵³ Paes, who was one of the party, has given a graphic description of the exceptionally kind reception accorded to him and his companions by the Rāya at his metropolis.⁵⁴ They were assigned some very good houses and were

49. *Commentaries*, Vol. IV, pp. 125—126.

50. *Commentaries*, Vol. IV, Ch. XXVIII.

51. Correa; *Lendas da Índia*, II, pp. 509—510; Sewell, *op. cit.* p. 251 Note 1. The scepticism of Senhor Lopes has no foundation. The Rāya's cordial reception of Figueiredo immediately after his arrival at his camp at Rachol indicates previous acquaintance. Nuniz, *op. cit.* p. 343.

52. Nuniz, *op. cit.*, pp. 343—347.

53. He acted as Governor of Goa from February 1521, when Diogo Lopes de Sequeira (1718—1521) was absent at Red Sea.

54. Paes, *op. cit.*, pp. 251—263; 264, 284.

presented daily with liberal supplies of provisions. Figueiredo was visited by many lords and captains, and other persons who came on behalf of the Rāya. The Rāya also said many kind and pleasant things to him and seemed much pleased to hear about the kind of state which the Portuguese King kept up. On the occasion of the *Mahānavamī* festival, Figueiredo and his friends were given seats on the upper platform close to the Rāya so that they might have a fine view of the feasts and magnificence. After the festivals they were accorded permission to see the interior of the imperial palace and were taken round by no less a personage than the brother of the Primeminister.

The object of Ruy de Mello's letters to the Rāya is not clearly stated any where. Still from the trend of events it is not unreasonable to infer that they had something to do with the main-lands opposite the island of Goa. These Albuquerque had tried in vain to acquire from the Ādil Shāh by peaceful negotiations. Now the defeat of the latter by the Rāya had weakened his hold upon these regions and gave the Portuguese an opportunity to seize them by force. Faria Y. Sousa⁵⁵ says that taking advantage of the Ādil Shāh's difficulties Ruy de Mello seized the main-lands. Castanheda⁵⁶ tells us that he had been encouraged to do it by the Rāya, who wanted in return 'that all the horses that came to Goa should come to him and none to the *Hidalcão*.' Thus it appears that Ruy de Mello had written to the Rāya at this time either to sound his views regarding his own designs against the mainlands, or to thank him for his suggestions in the matter.

Exchange of friendly notes and service between Goa and Vijayanagar was not confined to mere military and commercial affairs. About A. D. 1520, the Rāya, with a view to construct an enormous tank or dammed up lake at the Capital, requested the Governor of Goa to send some Portuguese masons; and the Governor sent him João della Ponte, a great worker in stone.⁵⁷

Sufficient details regarding the diplomatic currents between Goa and Vijayanagar during the last half of the Rāya's reign are not available. Barros⁵⁸ states that about the year 1523 the Portuguese successfully repelled the attack of Sālūva Timma on the mainlands near Goa which had been seized by Ruy de Mello some three years back with the connivance of the Rāya himself. From the letter of the Chamber of Goa⁵⁹ to the King of Portugal we learn that these same mainlands were re-taken by the Mussalman King of Bijāpūr in April 1524. There might or might not have

55. Quoted by Sewell, *op. cit.* p. 145.

56. *Ibid.*, pp. 142—143.

57. Nuniz., *op. cit.*, p. 364.

58. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

59. Danvers, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 363

been some connection between these two incidents. In the subsequent years the Portuguese appear to have been generally on friendly terms with the Rāya. Nuniz tells us that when the Rāya wanted to arrest his own prime minister for treason 'he called for aid from many Portuguese who were then in the country with horses'. Four or five years latter, he was again constrained to seek help from the Portuguese. About this time the Ādil Shāh 'marched upon Rachol' with a view to recover it, but retired on hearing that the Rāya was advancing in person to meet him. Still the Rāya wanted to teach him a lesson by depriving him of Belgaum as well, and began to make preparations for war. In this connection he sent an ambassador to Goa for securing the co operation of the Governor, promising that after taking Belgaum he would give him the mainlands.⁶⁰ But before his project was carried out he fell ill and died shortly afterwards in A. D. 1530.

In short, the Portuguese wanted fortified stations on the Indian sea-board to fight successfully the rivalry of the 'Moors', and the Rāya keenly desired to have a continuous supply of good horses for his wars against the Ādil Shāh. Their common desire to strengthen themselves against the commercial and political domination of the Mussalman powers brought them together. Gradually both realized that they could be helpful to each other, and made serious attempts to seal their friendship by means of a *formal treaty*. But this could not be accomplished due to the circumstances noticed above. Nevertheless, during the reign of the Rāya, almost uninterrupted friendly intercourse continued between Goa and Vijayanagar and this contributed a great deal to the prosperity of both.

60. Nuniz, *op. cit.*, pp. 360—362.

MEHERAULI PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRA.

D. R. BHANDARKAR. M. A., Ph. D.

This is one of the most important records of the Gupta period, and has been a subject of much discussion among scholars and antiquarians. The late Dr. J. F. Fleet dubbed it as a 'posthumous' record of Candra. He similarly dubbed the celebrated Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta as 'posthumous'. The late Prof. G. Bühler, however, adduced many cogent reasons, controverting it, and no scholar now regards the latter as a posthumous record. It is a pity that Bühler had no occasion to treat of the Meherauli Inscription. Otherwise he would have shown that Fleet's view in regard to the posthumous character of this record also is based upon his mistranslation of the verses contained in it. And any Sanskritist, who carefully examines the text of this epigraph, will find that Fleet has gone wrong in important places in regard to the rendering of the verses. This is not, however, the place to show how he has mistranslated them. Suffice it here to say that Candra, whose name the column bears, was not dead, but alive, when the eulogy was engraved, though he was not then king. The second point of importance which has been discussed in respect of this epigraph is the identification of Candra. Some scholars take him to be Candragupta I, and some as Candragupta II, of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty. Some scholars again have expressed the opinion that he pertained to an entirely different family. Both these matters have been considered by me at length in the revision of Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions* which has been entrusted to me by the Government of India. Here I want to consider two other points connected with this inscription, which in stanza¹ speaks of Candra as having vanquished the Vālhikas after crossing the seven mouths of the Sindhu or Indus, and, in stanza 3, as having mounted the inscription pillar on the hill of Viṣṇupada as a standard of the god Viṣṇu. Years ago I drew the attention of my pupil, Mr. Chintāharaṇ Chakravarty, to the fact that the Petersburg lexicon noticed many references to Viṣṇupada contained in the epics and the Purāṇas. On the strength of these he published a learned paper entitled "the Original Site of the Meherauli Pillar" in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute*, (Vol. VIII, p. 172 ff.) But he was not able to identify the spot accurately. This was done better by Mr. J. C. Ghosh with practically the same materials.¹ The most important of these is a passage from the Rāmāyaṇa, which gives an account of the travels of the emissaries sent by Vasiṣṭha

1. *Ind. Culture*, Vol. I, p. 515 ff.

to bring Bharata back to Ayōdhyā from Girivraja, the capital of the Kēkaya country. It runs as follows:

Yayur = madyhēna Vālhikān Sudāmānā ca parvatam |
Viṣṇōḥ padaṁ prēṣmāṇā Vipāśā c = āpi Śālmālīm ||

Rāmāyaṇa II. 68. 11—19.

"They went through the Vālhika country to Mount Sudāman, viewing Viṣṇupada and also the Vipāśā and the Śālmālī."

It will be seen from this verse, that Viṣṇupada, Vipāśā and Śālmālī, if not even Sudāman, were all in the Vālhika country and close to one another. This is of great significance; first, because Viṣṇupada is here mentioned not alone, but along with Vālhika — just the two localities which are mentioned also in the Meherauli inscription, showing clearly that this is just the Viṣṇupada we are in search of; and secondly, because the passage provides us with the clue that these places were in the close proximity of the Vipāśā, which we know is the modern Beas, where it is joined by another river, the Śālmālī. In this connection it is desirable to notice another passage, namely, one from the Mahābhārata, which, though referred to in the Petersburg lexicon, was first quoted and brought to the attention of scholars by Mr. J. C. Ghosh. The passage runs as follows:

Ētad = Viṣṇupadaṁ nāma dr̥śyatē tīrtham = uttamam |
eṣā ramyā Vipāśā ca nadī paramapāvanī ||
Kāśmīra-maṇḍalam ca = aitat sarvaḥ puṇyam = arindama |

(*Vanaparvan*, Ch. 130, vs. 8 and 10.)

It will be seen from this description that not only the Vipāśā but also Kāśmīra was visible from Viṣṇupada. Viṣṇupada was thus on a hill near the Vipāśā, from where Kāśmīra was not far distant. "It appears that the Vipāśā had her source in the mountains of the Kāśmīra region in the time of the ancient Aryans (Jopson's *Historical Atlas of India*, No. 2). On emerging out of Kāśmīra into the country of the *Sapta-sindhavaḥ* (Panjab) it has formed a sharp bend in the border of Gurda-spur (Panjab) and Kangra Districts."² It is just at this bend that it has been joined by another river, which was apparently the Śālmālī. Viṣṇupada was surely somewhere there.

Before we dismiss this subject we have to note again that the passage quoted above from the Rāmāyaṇa associates Viṣṇupada with the Vālhika country and that both these localities are referred to in the Meherauli inscription also. We have further to note that Stanza 1 of this epigraphic record speaks of Candra having conquered the Vālhikas

2. *Ibid*, pp. 517—18

after crossing the seven mouths of the Sindhu or the Indus. The identification of this Vālhika clan or tribe was a great puzzle to scholars and historians. Haraprasad Sastri and others have taken it to mean the people living round Balkh. Mr. John Allan correctly points out that the inscription cannot mean that "Candra's arms penetrated to Balkh, the route to which would not be across the mouth of the Indus." He, however, opines that "the name Vālhika had acquired a more general significance and was used like Pahlava, Yavana, etc., of a body of foreign invaders of India."³ According to another view, they are to be identified with a dynasty of the Bālhika ruler placed by the Purāṇas in the region of Mahiṣmati on the Nurada. But we have now seen that the Vālhikas have to be located not far from Viṣṇupada in the region through which flows the northernmost part of the Beas.

3. *Cat. Coins Gupta Dynasty &c.*, Inter. p. XXXVI.

KARNĀṬA

N. VENKATA RAMANAYYA, M.A., Ph.D.

In my "Origin of the City and the Empire of Vijayanagara", I stated that 'during the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, nearly one-third of the land inhabited by the Telugu speaking people was known as Karṇāṭa'.¹ I have also adduced epigraphical and literary evidence to show that this area included the present Nellore and Cuddapah districts.² The problem has been engaging my attention ever since; and my investigation of ancient inscriptions brought to light certain facts which seem to throw fresh light on the origin of the term Karṇāṭa.

The Haiderabad plates of the early Chālukyan king, Vikramāditya I, record the gift of the village Chintakunṭa in *Kaṇṇa* Vishaya to a Brahman Nandīyāmin of Kāśyapa gōtra. The name 'Chintakunṭa' clearly indicates that the district, Kaṇṇa vishaya, in which it was included must have been situated in some part of the Telugu country. In attempting to locate Kaṇṇa Vishaya, the Telugu country north of the Kṛishṇā may be left out of consideration. Though this region was conquered by Pulakēśin II in 630 A.D., it had passed into the hands of the junior branch of the Chālukya family, and Vikramāditya I had no connection with it. As the record under consideration was issued after Vikramāditya's conquest of the Pallava dominions, say about 670 A.D., we are obliged to search for it in the remaining part of the Telugu country. The inscription does not offer details to enable us to locate it easily, the only clue being the name Chintakunṭa. As there are one or more villages of the name in every district excepting Guntur, it is difficult to state which of these was included in the Kaṇṇa Vishaya.

1. *App.*, D. p. 177

2. *Ibid* p. 178.

3. The difficulty may be seen at a glance from the following schedule:

District	Taluka	Village
Anantapur	Tadpatri	Chintakunṭa
Bellary	Adoni	"
"	Alur	"
Chittoor	Chandragiri	"
Chittoor	Chittoor	Chintalagunṭa
"	Kālahasti (Sub-dvn.)	Chintagunṭa
"	Puttur (Sub-dvn.)	Chintalagunṭa
"	Tiruttani (Sub-dvn.)	Chintalagunṭa
		Khandrige

We must now make an attempt to find out whether there exists any other means of discovering the area corresponding to this Kaṇṇa Vishaya. Fortunately an inscription engraved on a stone near the shrine of Vīraṇṇa-Siddhēśvara in Vēlpunūr in the Nandikoṭṭūr taluka of the Kurnool district, dated Thursday, 5 October 1318, states that Mahāsā-manta Charaku Mahēśvara Reḍḍi was governing the district of Kannāḍu on behalf of his master Pratāparudra of Warangal.⁴ Another epigraph engraved on the Nandi stone in front of the southern gate of the temple of Mallikārjuna at Śrīśailam dated a few years earlier (Monday 25, Feb. 1313) records the names of the districts, where two Śaiva maṭhas, the Arsi Maṭha and the Yaḍa Maṭha, held landed property. These districts are,—Kannāḍu, Kammanāḍu, Aijanāḍu, Lakandaranāḍu, Kusalānāḍu, Gōrakināḍu, Pallināḍu, Mōṭṭlanāḍu, Sabbināḍu, Rēnāḍu, Mulkināḍu, Kōvūru sthala and Kavalasarapāḍu sthala. It also mentions the names of the villages belonging to these maṭhas in these districts which enable us to locate Kannāḍu which is identical with Kaṇṇa Vishaya of Vikramāditya I's inscription. It is said that in the district of Kannāḍu the Arsi Maṭha held villages of Śivapuram, Kurukundi, Indirēśvaram, Nandikunṭa, Dandyāla, Vedurupāḍu, Tummalūru, Tāṭipāḍu and Gaṇapāpuram; and that the Yaḍa Maṭha held the villages of Ōramvrōlu, Pālamaddipālu, Siddhēśvaram (?), Kodindāla, Bollāpuram, Koṇapṛōlu, Gandavēmula, Kochūru and Kaḍamalākālva. Most of these villages are found in the Nandikoṭṭūr and the Nandyāla talukas of the Kurnool district. A comparison with the list of villages in the Madras Presidency (pp. 353-55), published by the Madras Government brings out the truth of this statement clearly.

Villages mentioned in the inscription.	Villages mentioned in the village list.	Name of the Taluka.
Śivapuram	Śivapuram	Nandikoṭṭūr
Kurukundi	Kurukunda	"
Indirēśvaram	Indirēśvaram	"
Nandikunṭa	Nandikunṭa	"
Dandyāla	Dudyāla	"
Vedurupāḍu	?	"
Tummalūru	Tummalūru	"
Chittoor	Vayalapadu	Chintakunta
Cuddapah	Jammalamadugu	"
"	Proddutur	"
"	Rajampeta	Chintalagunta
Kurnool	Mārkapur	Chintagunta
"	Sirvel	Mallappa-Chintalakunta
"	"	Peda Chintakunta
Nellore	Podile dvn.	Chintagunta

4. *Mac. Mss.* 15—3—6, p. 57

Tāṭipāḍu	Tāṭipāḍu	Nandikoṭṭākūr
Gaṇapāpuram	Gaṇapuram	"
Ōramvrōlu	?	"
Pālamaddipālu	Pālamaṭṭi (?)	"
Siddhēśvaram	Siddhēśvaram	"
Ko (?) dindāla	Koṇidyāla	"
Bollāpuram	Bollāpuram (No. 47 & 67)	"
Koṇapṛōlu	Koṇapṛōlu	"
Gandavēmula	Gaḍivēmula (?)	Nandyāla
Na (?) kodūru	Nagaṭūru	Nandikoṭṭūr
Kaḍamalākālva	Kaḍamalākālva	Nandyāla

With the exception of two villages, Vedurupāḍu and Oramvrōlu which cannot be identified at present, the remaining 16 villages that are said to have been included in Kannāḍu are found in the Nandikoṭṭūr and Nandyāla talukas. Though no village called Chintakunṭa is found in either of these talukas there is one village of that name in the Mārkāpūr taluka which is in the neighbourhood of Nandikoṭṭūr on the east. This must be the village of Chintakunṭa in the Kaṇṇa Vishaya, which Vikramāditya I granted to the Brahman Nandisvāmin of the Kaśyapa gōtra. Therefore, the district of Kaṇṇa mentioned in the Haiderabad plates must have comprised parts of the Nandikoṭṭūr, Nandyāla and Mārkāpūr talukas of the Kurnool district. It is interesting to note that this region was known as the Kaṇṇāṭa *sīma* during the days of the Rāyas of Vijayanagara. An inscription of the time of Sadāśiva dated 1563 A.D., records that one of the king's nāyakas, Anantarāju-Narasarāju granted some lands in Miḍutūr included in the Kaṇṇāṭasīma to Daḷavāyi Bhadrānāyaḍu.⁵ The village of Miḍutūru is at present included in the Nandikoṭṭūr taluka. The epigraphical evidence cited above shows that a small district lying at the foot of the Śrīśaila hill corresponding to the Nandyāla, Nandikoṭṭūr and Mārkāpūr talukas of the Kurnool district was known in ancient times by the names of Kaṇṇa Vishaya, Kannāḍu and Kaṇṇāṭasīma. The manner in which the name of the district has undergone transformation is very instructive, as it indicates the right direction in which we have to search for the meaning of the term Kaṇṇāṭa. Kaṇṇa (Prākṛit) = Kanna (Telugu) = Karṇa (Sanskṛit). The Tamil poem, the *Chilappadikāram* states that the Chēra king, Chenkuṭṭuvān sent a message to Nuṇṇavar Kannar, asking them to keep the boats ready on the Ganges to enable him to cross the river.⁶ It is generally admitted that the term Nuṇṇavar Kannar is a literal translation into Tamil of the name Śātakarṇi. The Sanskṛit name Kaṇṇa is transformed in the same manner into Ganna in Telugu. Mārana for instance,

5. *Mac. Mss.* 15—3—6 pp; 111—12.

6. *Chilappadikāram*: M.M. Dr. Swāminātha Iyer's edition: *Canto* 28, ll. 163-5.

addresses his patron Nāgaya Ganna as Nāgaya Karṇa in his Mārkaṇḍēya-purāṇam.

శ్రీమదజపద భవాన్యయః । తామరసవసార్క మహితధర్మ వితర్కా-
సామహితమితవచనరచ నామోదితబుద్ధి, నాగయకర్ణా !

Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇam. 3:1.

Therefore, the equation of the Sanskrit Karṇa with the Dravidian Kanna appears to be based upon solid foundations. Similarly, Kanna Vishaya, Kannāḍu, and Karṇāṭasīma of the inscriptions must have derived their name from Karṇa (abbr. of Śātakarṇa) kings, who appear to have originally inhabited this district. This is as it should be.

An epigraph of the time of the Sātavāhana king Pulimāyi records the sinking of a reservoir in the village of Vēpūraka in the Sātavāhani-hāra.⁷ The name of this district also occurs in a slightly modified form, Sātāhani-rāṭṭha, in the Hirehaḍagalli plates of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman.⁸ Now, Dr. V. S. Sukthankar has expressed the opinion, on the data furnished by these two records, that 'the territorial division Sātavāhani-Sātāhani must have comprised a good portion of the modern Bellary district'.⁹ He has also shown reason for seeking the original home of the Sātavāhanas in this region. To be more precise, this Sātavāhani-Sātāhani sub-division appears to have comprised the Bellary and Ādōni talukas of the present Bellary district.

'The Sātavāhani-sātāhani district', the home of the Sātavāhanas corresponding to the Bellary and Ādōni talukas of the Bellary district, is not far from Nandikoṭkūr taluka of the Kurnool district, which was, as shown above, an integral part of the ancient Kanna Vishya. The Ādōni and the Nandikoṭkūr talukas are only separated by a small tract of land comprising the Kurnool taluka which still retains some vestiges of the old Āndhra dynasty. No. IV Kurnool plates of Vikramāditya I dated 665 A.D. records the grant of some land to Brahmans in the village of Raṭṭagiri on the banks of the river Andirikā.¹¹ Though the village Raṭṭagiri is not mentioned in the village list, the river on the banks of which it is said to have been situated can be easily identified. The Andirikā (Skt. Āndhrikā) is none other than the river Handri which, having originated in the hilly region, comprising the Pattikoṇḍa and Dhōne talukas, and flowing through the Kurnool taluka, falls into the Tungabhadra, near the town of Kurnool. Now the term Andirikā in this context, means a river that flows in the land of the Āndhras. If Kurnool and its neighbouring talukas in the south and southwest were known during the early centuries of the Christian era as the land of the Āndhras, it is only natural that the tracts around it should bear the names of Sātavāhanas and Śātakarṇis.

7. *E.I.* xiv. p. 155.

8. *Ibid.* I. p. 2.

9. *Ibid.* xiv p. 155.

10. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, I. p. 25.

11. *J.B.R.S.A.S.* xvi, pp. 227-28

It may not be without interest to note here that some of the place names in the Kurnool district are reminiscent of the ancient Āndhra people. Take, for instance, the place called Sātānikōṭa in the Nandikoṭkūr taluka. In the middle ages, it was a military post of some importance, and was referred to in the inscriptions as "Svētavāhanikōṭa",¹² which is of course, a corruption of Sātavāhanikōṭa that is, the fort of the Sātavāhanas. It is evident from the foregoing discussion that the tract of country comprising the Bellary and Ādōni talukas of the Bellary district, and the Kurnool, Pattikoṇḍa, Dhōne, Nandyāla, Nandikoṭkūr, and Mārkaṭpūr talukas of the Kurnool district formed the cradle-land of the Āndhra kings. This is interesting, as it has led us to a conclusion directly opposed to the theory of Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, that 'the Sātavāhani-hāra-Sātāhanirāṭṭha' 'the home of the Sātavāhanas'. 'lay outside Āndhradēśa'.¹³ This theory is based upon unsound foundations, as it has been formulated without due regard to relevant facts. In the first place, Dr. Sukthankar has not explained in a satisfactory manner why all the Purāṇas should speak of the Sātavāhana kings as Āndhras. Secondly, he has ignored relevant epigraphical data which he ought to have taken into consideration while expounding his theory.

There is definite evidence to show that the Āndhra country not only included within its boundaries 'the Sātavāhani-hāra-Sātāhanirāṭṭha', but it also extended to the south and east of it.

The Mayidavōlu plates of the Pallava prince, Yuva-Mahārāja Śivaskandavarman state that he made a gift of the village of Viripara in the Āndhrāpatha to a Brahman called Puvakōṭuḥa.¹⁴ This village has been identified with Vipparla in the Narasaraopet taluka of the Guntur district.¹⁵ As the charter embodying this gift was addressed to the official representing the prince at Dañṇakaḍa, it is very likely that Vipparla which is in the neighbourhood of Dañṇakaḍa is identical with Viripara. It may be concluded that the province of Āndhrāpatha which included Dañṇakaḍa within its jurisdiction embraced the strip of territory along the coast of the Bay of Bengal.

Some interesting information is furnished by the Bāṇa inscriptions about the Āndhrāpatha. It is said that one of the early Bāṇa kings, Jaya Nandivarman, who was very probably a contemporary and subordinate of the Pallava Nandivarman II, ruled the land west of the Āndhrāpatha or the Āndhra country.¹⁶ Though the Bāṇa princes were ruling over small principalities in Kōlār and Kurnool districts, the most important branch

12. *Mac. Mss.* 15-3-5 Malayala, p. 137.

13. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*: I. p. 26. n. 12.

14. *E. I.* VI. p. 88.

15. K. V. Lakshmanarao: *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute* IV p. 49.

16. *E. I.* iii p. 76.

of their family was holding sway over portions of the present Chittoor district. It cannot be said that Chittoor, which is in the southern extremity of the Telugu land, is situated to the west of the Andhrāpatha. Therefore, the territory to the west of Āndhāpatha, which Jaya Nandivarman is said to have ruled, must be looked for elsewhere.

The clue for the discovery of the original home of the Bāṇas is furnished by some of their titles, Parigi, or *Parvipurādhtsvara* and *Nandagirinātha* mentioned in their inscriptions.¹⁷ Now, Parigipura has been identified with Parigi in the Hindupūr taluka of the Anantapur district, and Nandagiri with Nandidrug in the Chikkaballāpūr taluka of the Kōlār district. As a matter of fact, the existence of the Bāṇa rule in this quarter is testified by inscriptions. As Anantapūr and Kōlār districts are situated in the western frontier of the Telugu country, the land to the west of the Āndhrāpatha over which Jāya Nandivarman ruled may with good reason be identified with this area.

The Bāṇas had been forced to move from this region eastwards owing to the pressure of the Kadambas and the Gaṅgas. According to the Tālaguṇḍa pillar inscription, Mayūrasārman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty (345—370), having fixed his headquarters in the impenetrable forests of the Śrīparvata, attacked the Bṛihad Bāṇa or the senior branch of the Bāṇa family and levied tribute from its chief.¹⁸ The early records frequently allude to the struggle of the Ganga kings with the Bāṇas. It is said that Koṅgāṇi Varman 'was a wild fire in consuming the stubble of the forest Bāṇa';¹⁹ he is also said to have been specially 'consecrated to conquer the Bāṇas';²⁰ and Nirguṇḍa Yuvarāja Duṇḍu is spoken of as the confounder of 'the Bāṇa kula'.²¹ It is evident from these that the Bāṇas were exposed to the attacks of the Kadambas and the Gaṅgas and that owing to the constant pressure of the enemy upon their original home, they moved eastwards in search of a new home, where they could remain in comparative freedom and security.

The foregoing discussion makes it clear that Āndhrāpatha or the country of the Āndhras extended along the banks of the Kṛishṇā and the Tungabhadra from the Bay of Bengal to Parigi in the Hindupūr taluk of the Anantapūr district, and that the Sātavāhani rāshṭra and Kaṇṇa Viṣaya the original home of the Sātavāhana and the Sātakarni kings were included in it.

Scholars are of opinion that the term Karṇāṭa is the Sanskritised form of the Dravidian word Kannaḍa, which has been taken to mean 'black country' (Kaṛ + nāḍu). It is pointed out that this word suitably designa-

tes 'the black cotton soil'.²² The late Mahāmahōpādhyāya R. Narasimhāchārya rejects this interpretation. "The suggested derivation from Kar + nāḍu, the black country", says he, "may seem more appropriate to outsiders, but the Kannaḍigas themselves are not likely to designate their language 'the black country language'".²³ While agreeing with the opinion that Karṇāṭa is 'a Sanskritised form of Kannaḍa, he suggests that Kannaḍa must be derived from Kannāḍu. "It is very probable," says he, "that Karṇāṭa is a Sanskritised form of Kannāḍa. We may compare with this Punnāṭa, the Sanskritised form of Punnāḍu, a kingdom which existed in the south of Mysore in the early centuries of the Christian Era. The original form of Kannaḍa was most probably Kannāḍu (compare Punnāḍu) which was subsequently changed into Kannaḍu and lastly into Kannaḍa. The form 'Kannaḍu' as the name of the language is even now heard in some parts of the Kannaḍa country."²⁴

It is evident from this that, in the opinion of Mahāmahōpādhyāya Narasimhāchārya, the word Kannaḍa is connected in its origin with the name of a country called Kannāḍu. The affiliation of the term Kannaḍa to Kannāḍu is indeed, very plausible, although the grounds put forward by Mr. Narasimhachārya for identifying it with the present Canarese country are by no means convincing.²⁵ The real clue for discovering the identify of Kannāḍu is found outside the Canarese country, and it may help us to view the problem in its true perspective. It has already been pointed out that in ancient times a small district lying at the foot of the Śrīśaila hill was called Kaṇṇa Viṣaya, Kannāḍu, and Karṇāṭa sīma. Now, Mr. Narasimhachārya correctly derives the word Karṇāṭa from Kannāḍu, though he is not able to establish its identity. I believe that the country, Kannāḍu, from which the Kannaḍa language is said to have obtained its name, is identical with Kannāḍu (Kaṇṇa Viṣaya = Karṇāṭasīma) that lay at the foot of the Śrīśaila hill. The Canarese people appear to have obtained the name of their country and language from this small district.

If the identification suggested above be accepted as sound and reasonable, it is necessary to explain how the present Canarese country came to acquire its name from a small district outside its boundaries. Before proceeding to explain how this happened, I must draw attention to the view of some scholars that in early times the Telugu and the Canarese peoples belonged to a common stock. Dr. Caldwell alludes to the views of some writers whom he, however, does not mention by name, that "Karṇāṭa or Karṇāṭaka is a generic term, applicable originally to both Telugu and the Canarese peoples and their languages, though it is

22. Calawell: *The Comparative Grammar*, p. 30. Dr. Shama Sastri, *M.A.R.* 1924, p. 15. If this were the real meaning of the word, it would describe the Ceded Districts more appropriately than the red-soiled Mysore country.

23. *Karnataka Kavicharite* iii, p. xix.

24. *Ibid* pp. xvii-xix.

25. *Karnataka Kavicharite* [i], p. xix.

17. *E*, I. xi, p. 231.

18. *E*, I. viii: p. 30;

19. *E*, C. X, *Introd.* p. iv. *I.A.* v. p. 136.

20. *E.C.* X. *Introd.* p. iv.

21. *Ibid* iv, NG, 85.

admitted that it usually denoted the latter alone, and though it is to the latter that the abbreviated form *Kannaḍam* has been appropriated".²⁶ "The word *Karṇāṭa* or *Karṇāṭaka*, though at first a generic term, became in process of time, the appellation of the Canarese people and of their language alone to the entire exclusion of the Telugu".²⁷ There is much truth in these statements. The Telugu and the Canarese peoples seem to have originally belonged to the same racial group. Not only is there a general resemblance in their physical appearance, but a strong affinity between their cultures seems to bring them together. One important fact must be noted in this connection. Of all the peoples living in South India, the Telugus and the Kannaḍigas alone possess practically a common script, though their languages are not the same. Consequently, any literate person belonging to one of these nations can read without effort what is written or printed in the language of the other. This common bond uniting the two peoples is not of recent origin. It seems to be as old as the peoples themselves. The *Bṛihatphalāyanas*, the *Śālankayanas*, the *Viṣṇukunḍins*, the *Pallavas*, the *Eastern Chālukyas*, and the *Telugu Chōḍas* that ruled over the Telugu country; the *Kadambas*, the *Western Gaṅgas*, the *Western Chālukyas*, the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, the *Hoḷambas*, the *Bāṇas*, and the *Ālupas* that held sway over the Canarese country, employed the same script in their records. To indicate this identity of the script, scholars have coined the expression 'the Telugu-Canarese script'. The Telugu and the Canarese people spoke very probably the same language in remote times; but of this no evidence is available at present.

It has been stated in a previous context that the district *Kanna Viṣhaya* (*Kannāḍu* = *Karṇāṭa Sīma*) was the home of the *Śātakarṇi* kings who governed the whole of the Deccan for nearly four centuries and a half. They must have at first reduced to subjection all the kindred tribes inhabiting the territory corresponding to the present Telugu and Canarese countries before undertaking the conquest of far distant lands in the north. The reduction of the *Āndhra* tribes and their unification into a nation under a single monarch must have preceded the establishment of the Mauryan empire in Northern India. The *Āndhras* and the *Karṇāṭakas* appear to have remained a single, united people during the time of *Aśōka*. Though the *Aśōkan* inscriptions enumerate all the southern peoples, both subordinate and independent, the *Karṇāṭakas* are not even remotely alluded to.²⁸ The *Āndhras* are classed among the subordinate peoples of the empire;²⁹ and the *Chōḷas*, the *Pandyas*, the

26. Caldwell, *The Comparative Grammar*, p. 30.

27. *The Comparative Grammar*, p. 31.

28. My attention has been drawn to this fact by my friend M. Somasekhara Sarma.

29. *C. I. I.*, p. I 48 xiii Rock Edict (Kalsi)

Kēraḷaputras and the *Satyaputras* are spoken of as independent nations of the Southern frontier.³⁰ The *Aśōkan* inscriptions thus give what appears to be an exhaustive list of southern nations; and the *Karṇāṭakas* do not find a place among them. This is indeed significant, as the region corresponding to *Karṇāṭaka* constituted the southernmost province of the Mauryan empire. Therefore, it may be concluded that during the days of *Aśōka*, the differentiation between the *Āndhras* and the *Karṇāṭakas* was not known. It is perhaps for this reason that the *Aśōkan* inscriptions do not allude to the latter, though they mention the former more than once.

The united *Āndhra* kingdom must have acquired the name of *Karṇāṭa* (*Kannāḍu*) from the original home of the *Śātakarṇis* at the foot of the *Śrīśaila* mountain. It must have been in this manner that the Telugu and Kannaḍa countries came to obtain the common name of *Karṇāṭa*. There is nothing improbable in this. Instances of large areas obtaining their names from small districts and ruling families are not unknown. The name *Vengi*, for instance, originally denoted only a part of the land between the deltas of the rivers *Krishṇā* and *Gōdāvarī*. But with the expansion of the power of the *Eastern Chālukyas*, it came to denote, in process of time, an ever widening territory, embracing ultimately the whole of the sea board of the Telugu country. *Karṇāṭa*, which generally denoted the Canarese country in the 14th century, became the designation of the whole of South India up to *Rāmēśvaram* with the expansion of *Vijayanagar*. The *Gangavāḍi*, *Hoḷambapāḍi*, *Perumbānappāḍi*, etc., obtained their names from the *Gangas*, *Hoḷambas* and *Bāṇas* respectively. Similarly, the united *Āndhra* kingdom might have got the name *Karṇāṭa* from *Kannāḍu* at the foot of the *Śrīśaila* mountain, when the *Śātavāhanas* rose to prominence and brought the territory corresponding to the present Telugu and Canarese countries under their sway.

The allusions in later inscriptions and Telugu literature give the verisimilitude to what is stated above. In an inscription of the time of *Dēvarāya II* (dated 1441 A.D.) the fort of *Udayagiri* which is included in the present *Nellore* district is said to have been in the middle of *Karṇāṭaka*.³¹ The Telugu poet *Tripurāntaka* who lived about this time addresses the God *Raghuvīra* of *Onṭimittā* in the *Cuddapah* district as 'the lord of *Karṇāṭa*'. *Śrīnātha*, another Telugu poet, who was also a contemporary of *Dēvarāya II*, states that the language of his poems is *Karṇāṭa bhāṣha*, though he never wrote in any language excepting Telugu. Lastly, another writer who visited *Tirupati* (*Chittoor* district) about 1630 A. D. states in an introductory verse of the Telugu hymn which he

30. Ibid p. 28, Second Rock Edict (Kalsi)

31. *NDI*. iii. O. 72.

composed in praise of the God Venkaṭeśa that he performed 'vāchā kain-karya' to the deity in the Kannaḍa language.³² The first two allusions may perhaps be explained otherwise; but the last two force on us the conclusion that during the middle ages the Telugu language spoken in the country south of the Kṛṣṇā was also known as the Karṇāṭa *bhāṣa*. The only explanation that we can think of is that during the days of Śrīnātha and even later there still persisted the tradition by which the name Karṇāṭa was also applicable to the Telugu country and the Telugu language.

I have so far described the probable manner in which the name of the small district 'Kannāḍu' lying at the foot of the Śrīśaila mountain might have become the designation of the Śātavāhana kingdom, I shall now proceed to show how its use came to be restricted to the Canarese country exclusively. Though the Āndhra empire suffered dismemberment during the first half of the 3rd century A.D., a dynasty of kings bearing the name of Śātakarṇi ruled over the present Canarese country with Banavase as their capital. A king called Hāritiputta Śātakarṇi of the Chūṭu family is mentioned in an inscription at Malavalli in the Shimoga district.³³ As he is called the king of Vijayanti, it may be inferred that his authority extended over the district of Banavāse. This is corroborated by another epigraph of the same king at Banavāse itself, dated in his twelfth regnal year.³⁴ The rule of the Śātakarṇi princes, in the Kōlar district, is alluded to in the Tālaguṇḍa Pillar inscription of the Kadamba king Śāntivarman.³⁵ The name of another Śātakarṇi, Saḍakana kālalaya Mahārāṭhi, who very probably ruled over the same region, is brought to light by a number of lead coins discovered on the site of the ruined city of Chandrāvali.³⁶ The evidence of these inscriptions bear testimony to the continuance of the Śātakarṇi rule over the Mysore country even after the Āndhra power had passed away in other parts of the Deccan. These later Śātakarṇis have perhaps to be identified with the Śrīparvatīya-Āndhras of the Purāṇas who are said to have ruled for a short period of half a century.³⁷

A number of independent kingdoms arose from the ashes of the Āndhra empire. The founders of these kingdoms are said to have been Āndhrabhṛityas or the feudatories of the Āndhra monarchs. The Purāṇas declare that,

"When the kingdom of the Āndhras has come to an end, there will be kings belonging to the lineage of their servants (*Tēṣāṃ bhṛtyānvayā nrpāḥ*), 7 Āndhras and 10 Ābhīra kings, also 7 Gardabhīns, 18 Sakas. There will be 8 Yavanas, 14 Tushāras, 13 Murundas 11 Maunas".³⁸

32. *Elliot Collections*, p. 11. I owe this reference to Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma.

33. *E.C.* vii. Sk. 263.

34. *I.A.* xiv p. 333.

35. *E.I.* viii. p. 36.

36. *Rice: Mysore and Coorg* p. 15; *E.I.* vii p. 51.

37. *Dynasties of the Kali age* p. 72.

38. *Dynasties of the Kali age* p. 62.

Most of these dynasties must have been contemporaneous. In addition to these, there arose the kingdom of the Ikshvākus with one of its principalities Vijayapura, perched on the eastern spur of the Śrīśaila mountain. The territory extending to the south and the west of the Ikshvāku kingdom was reduced to subjection by the Pallavas of Kāñchi. There were probably other kingdoms besides. On account of the establishment of the independent kingdoms with separate names, the territory under the sway of the Chūṭus became a distinct political unit as the land of Śātakarṇi kings. Therefore, it must have been regarded as Karṇāḍu or the country of the Śātakarṇi kings to the exclusion of the other parts of the old Āndhra kingdom.

An interesting parallel to what has been adumbrated above is offered by the later history of the kingdom of Karṇāṭaka or Vijayanagara. After the battle of Rikshasi Tangidi, the Rāyas gradually withdrew to Chandragiri in the Chittore district and ultimately to Vellore in the North Arcot district. After the death of Venkata II, the empire began to break up, and the Nāyaks who had hitherto been subordinate to the Rāya asserted their independence one after another, and the kingdom of Karṇāṭa became confined to a comparatively small tract of territory between the Eastern Ghats and the Bay of Bengal, extending probably from Udayagiri to the Coleroon. Although the successors of Venkata II had little or no authority over the Canarese country, they still called themselves kings of Karṇāṭaka and their kingdom was known to their contemporaries by the name of Karṇāṭaka. Even after the Muhammadan conquest the name Karṇāṭaka clung to the Tamil country along the east coast. The Muhammadan officers who were posted to govern this region called themselves the Subēdars of Karṇāṭaka, and soon their place was taken by the independent Nawābs of Karṇāṭaka. The servants of the French and the English East India Companies who knew nothing about the history of the term Karṇāṭaka, believing it to be the real name of the Tamil country around their settlements on the east coast gave permanency to it in their records, so that Karṇāṭaka has come to be regarded as its proper designation until almost down to our own day even to the exclusion of the Canarese country.

Therefore, there is nothing improbable in a similar thing happening to the name as Karṇāṭaka in ancient times. Having due regard to all the facts stated in this connection, I believe that Karṇāṭa got its name from Karṇa vishaya or Kannāḍu in the neighbourhood of the Śrīśaila, and it came to denote exclusively the present Canarese country owing to historical circumstances.

PARVATA.

K. R. SUBRAHMANYAM, M.A., Ph. D.

An inscription found on the site of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Mācherla Taluk, Guntur District) calls the place Śrī Parvata. The Buddhists must have called this sacred spot Parvata in imitation of the Hindu Parvata which is but 50 miles from here, as the crow flies. The Buddhist Parvata figures prominently in Buddhist scriptures. Thus the *Manjusri Māla Tantra* says,

Śrī Parvatē mahāśailē Dakṣiṇāpatha saṃjñikē
Śrī Dhānyakaṭakē chaityē, Jinadhātur dharē-bhuvi.

According to Tārānātha, Nāgārjuna lived here *in his old age*. Hiuen Tsang, in describing 'Po-lo-mo-lo-kili', refers to a conversation between Nāgārjuna and Dēva. The former exhorts the latter to take over the torch of learning as he '*was now old and infirm*'. Thus, it is probable that Hiuen Tsang's 'Po-lo-mo-lo-kili' is Parvata.

There are some sculptures in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa which depict the conversion of a king from his traditional Nāga cult to Buddhism. There are also clear traces in the place of close contact with Ceylon. Herein, we may see the story that Nāgārjuna returned from Nāgalōka (Ceylon) with a casket of relics over which he built a stupa and, at the same time, converted his king and a large number of brahmins.

Fā-hian describes from hearsay a great Buddhist centre in the Deccan which he calls Po-lo-yu. The term literally means in Chinese 'a pigeon' (pārāvata). The name Parvata, Fā-hian must have noted down by mistake as Pārāvata and subsequently he must have translated Pārāvata into Chinese as Po-lo-yu. We should read his account of Po-lo-yu very carefully. "There is a *great rock* out of which are excavated many buildings. The monastery has *five storeys*. There are *1500 cells* all told. *Water flows naturally* round the establishment from perennial springs. The land all round is *uncultivated* and *uninhabited*. *Foreign pilgrims* go to this place." The last point seems to be confirmed by an inscription at the place, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The country all round is even to-day barren. There is a great rock and extensive ruins are found on the site. Hundreds of monks and nuns must have lived here once.

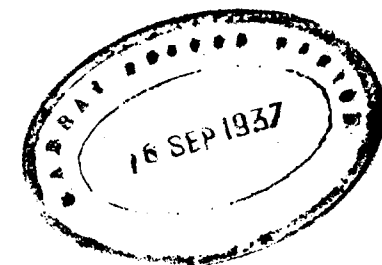
Hiuen Tsang's description of Po-lo-mo-lo-kili is exactly like Fā-hian's of Po-lo-yu. The *peak towers* above the rest. There are *five storeys*. There were *1000 priests*. *Streamlets of water* flow down the hill and round the establishment.

There seem to be two difficulties in the way of our identifying Po-lo-mo-lo-kili with Parvata. Hiuen Tsang locates the former in Dakṣiṇa Kosala but the latter was in the kingdom of Dhānyakaṭaka. The confusion might have arisen as the Ikshvāku kings of Dakṣiṇa Kosala held sway over the Parvata region in its heyday. Secondly, Po-lo-mo-lo-kili means 'black peak' (Nallamalai) or peak of the black bee (Brahmaragiri or the hill of Pārvaṭi or Brahmarā?) But, if it is admitted that the two pilgrims speak of the same place and that Nāgārjuna lived at Parvata towards the close of his life which is indicated by the great sage's conversation with Dēva at Po-lo-mo-lo-kili, then we need not worry about Chinese etymology at all.

Now, a step further. Can we not see Parvata in Hiuen Tsang's story of the old capital of Dhānyakaṭaka? Tārānātha speaks of the University of Dhānyakaṭaka with several storeys. Does it not remind us of Fā-hian's and Hiuen Tsang's accounts? Is it not here alone in the Deccan that we have the most extensive remains of the Buddhist epoch which tell us that many schools of monks flourished here? Was Amaravati or Bezvada deserted for centuries before the pilgrim's time as Nāgārjunakonda was?

Hiuen Tsang's *Travels* and *The Life* tell us that the capital of Dhānyakataka was full of hills, woods and streams. Could this be said of Amaravati? The description on page 221 of Beal's translation volume II reminds me of Nāgārjunakonda. "To the east of the capital bordering on a mountain is a convent called Purvaśaila, (This is referred to in a local inscription!) To the west of the city bearing against a mountain is a convent called Avaraśaila. These were built by a former king to do honour to Buddha. He hollowed the valley, made a road, opened the mountain crags, constructed pavilions and long galleries; wide chambers supported the heights and connected the caverns.....1,000 monks used to dwell here....."

Thus, the irresistible conclusion is that Po-lo-yu and Po-lo-mo-lo-kili were Parvata in Dhānyakaṭaka, in the vicinity of which was the ancient capital of Dhānyakaṭaka. The presumption is strong that Hiuen Tsang confuses places and kingdoms, and his distances are not reliable.



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II

The First Stage in the Extension of the Catholic Church in the Tamil Country from St. Xavier to Nobili.

A Study of Missionary Effort in South India in a particular phase.

Rao Saheb Prof. C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M. A.

Annamalai University

I

The first appearance of the Portuguese in the Tinnevely country was in 1532 when a deputation of the Paravas or fishermen of the coast, came to Cochin for obtaining Portuguese aid against the Moors. The deputation was successful in its application and Father Michael Vaz, who was deemed by St. Xavier to have been "the true father of the Comorin Christian", accompanied the fleet that was fitted out, along with some priests. The Paravas had been persuaded by one Joam de Curz, a Christian Malabarian, who had been in Portugal as an envoy of the Zamorin of Calicut, himself a convert, into adopting the plan of securing Portuguese help by adopting the Catholic religion. The members of the deputation, numbering seventy, were baptised at Cochin by Father Vaz who managed, soon after his arrival on the Parava coast to convert over 20,000 of the community, inhabiting 30 villages. All this happened in 1532 when we are told Portuguese garrisons were stationed at Tuticorin, Punnaikayal Manapad, Vembar, Cape Comarin and other places under a commander at Punnaikayal.

When St. Xavier first visited the Parava coast, the pearl fishery had come to be entirely controlled by the Portuguese; and Punnaikayal was their principal settlement and continued to be so till about 1582, Tuticorin being a place of less consequence all the time. The "Christianity of the Fishery Coast" was established in 1532, under the supervision of the See of Goa. St. Xavier laboured among the Paravas for two years and gave them their first practical lessons in the doctrines of the new faith. He taught himself Tamil, and translated into it the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the *Ave Marria*. He always moved about from village to village, bell in hand, collecting the people together and instructing and baptising them. The letters that he wrote to the headquarters of his Society in Rome from Tuticorin, Manappad, Vaippar, Punnaikayal, Tiruchendur, Virapandyapattanam and Alanthalai give a very graphic and interesting picture of his labours. St. Xavier called the field of his activity the Comorin Coast, and the convert community the Comorin Christians. The Portuguese authorities called the coast the Pescaria, the fishery; and their chief official was styled the Captain of the Fishery.

According to the testimony of Dr. Caldwell, based on the material collected by the Dr. Burnell from early Portuguese writers, two hospitals and a seminary were founded at Punnaikayal (Punicale) in 1551; and in the next year the forces of the Madura Nayak defeated Coutinho, the Captain of the Fishery and captured the mud fort of the place. The place was retaken by the Portuguese fleet in the year following. De Sousa says that twenty-five years later, in 1578, Father João de Faria cut Tamil types and had some religions printed in the same year on the Pescaria coast—the books being the *Doctrina Christiana*, the *Flos Sanctorum* (an epitome of the lives of the Saints) and others. Paulinus a Sancto Bartolamaeo makes the statement with reference to Cochin, where, he says, a lay brother, Joannes Gonsalves, cut Malabar-Tamil types and printed a *Doctrina Christiana* and a *Flos Sanctorum* in the next year. Regarding this point, Dr. Caldwell says as follows:—"It looks as if very much the same incident were referred to by both writers. If one of these narratives is to be accepted, and the other rejected, the one which has the best claim to be accepted is the one which related to Tinnevely, as De Sousa compiled his book from Mss. in Goa in the seventeenth century, a century before Paulinus." He further says that this an interesting incident, as being the first introduction of printing on the Coromandel coast the next instance of Tamil printing we hear of, taking place at Ambaladadu in the Cochin country in 1679.

St. Xavier was, according to one authority, never able to speak Tamil himself and was always obliged to use the services of interpreters. But his influence was naturally great; and he wrote, in one of his letters, that "it often happens to me that my hands fail though the fatigue of baptising, for I have baptised a whole village in a single day; and often, by repeating so frequently the creed and other things, my voice, and strength have failed me." He left a copy of the Christian Instruction in each of the villages baptised by him; and he arranged to have the rudiments of the Christian faith chanted to all the assembled people on festival days. Each village had a headman, *Pattangatti* (chosen to be the headman) for whose wages the Portuguese Viceroy assigned 4,000 *fanams*; and they were empowered to correct the vices of the people. An order was obtained from the King of Portugal that the pearl fishery should be entirely in the hands of the Christians. St. Xavier himself was on the Parava Coast, when, in 1544, Tuticorin was taken by the Badagas (Nāyak forces from Madura); and the Saint urged his assistant, Francis Mancias, to get relief from Punnaikayal and other Christian centres, relief for the fugitive Governor of Tuticorin who was forced to take refuge in its neighbouring islets. According to Correa who wrote about 1560, the places in the Fishery Coast, about 1544, where there were most Christians, were Tuticorin and Manapadu.

III

Antonio Criminalis, the immediate successor of St. Xavier, in the charge of the Comorin Christians, threw himself into the midst of his people when they were attacked by the Badagas, covered their flight and perished from the darts of the enemy. This martyrdom is said to have taken place, according to some at Manapad, and according to others to others to at Vedalai near Pamban. There is, however, a much more distinct and credible tradition of its having taken place at Punnaikayal, where the Portuguese suffered a defeat in 1552, eight years after the departure of St. Xavier from the coast. Criminalis is regarded by the Jesuits as the first martyr of their Society in South India (1549).

Father Antonio Criminalis was an Italian Jesuit and appointed Superior of the Missions among the Paravas of the Fishery Coast, on St. Xavier's departure to Japan. He was then in the neighbourhood of Ramesvaram, engaged in the instruction of some new converts when the Badagas attacked Vedalai, a mud-fort near the great Hindu shrine, the Portuguese Captain of which dug a trench close to his fort barring the path of the Hindu pilgrims to Ramesvaram and compelling them to pay toll. Father Criminalis rushed to Vedalai to protect his Christians and refused to move out from the place till every one of his flock had left it. He was pierced with a lance in front of Chapel of St. Vincent and his head was raised on the top of a spike, over the door of the Chapel; and if Nieuhoff is to be believed, the head and garments were carried by the soldiers to their temple at Tiruchendur. Father Criminalis was held by St. Xavier to be "a holy man indeed and just born to be the apostle of this country." He was, indeed, the proto-martyr of the Society of Jesus and died in protecting his Christians. But, according to the learned Father H. Heras, S. J., the reason of his murder was not likely any hatred of the Christian faith; and his murderers supposed that he was probably one of the *Paranguis* or Portuguese against whom they were engaging a war¹.

The Badagas frequently disturbed the peace of the Paravar community who agreed on one occasion to pay a tribute in the shape of the catch of one day's fishing, the value of which would be about 10,000 *pardaos*. In 1553 a big attack was launched on Punnaikayal, by the combined forces of the Badagas and a Muhammadan pirate named Irapali and it was probably after this expedition that the Fishery Coast agreed to pay the above mentioned tribute. An expedition was led by the famous Visvanātha Nāyak of Madura against Punnaikayal, in 1560, which was sacked and destroyed; and the Paravas consented to pay the victor the

catch of two days' fishing, as demanded. The Portuguese Viceroy built a fortress on the island of Manar on the other side of the bay and transferred to it the inhabitants of Punnaikayal. When this fortress decayed, it was "restored and fortified again through the diligence of the Jesuits working among the Christian Paravas of the Fishery Coast."

IV

But little has been known to the student about the spread of the sea-coast Christianity into the interior of the Madura country, though there is much in the letters of the Jesuit missionaries regarding the mission established in Madura in 1606 by the celebrated Robert de Nobili, his activity and the controversies raised by his peculiar modes of work. Dr. A. C. Burnell supplied Dr. Caldwell with information from a book published in Spain in 1604 (*Guerreiro, Relacion Annal*; Valladolid) from which we learn that there were in 1600 twenty members of the Society of Jesus, seventeen fathers and three brothers and the former were distributed over 22 parishes, 16 of which were on the coast and 6 inland, including the residences at Madura and besides these there were other parishes in the island of the Manar. In all the coast the number of Christians was estimated to be more than 90,000. The principal residences of the fathers were in seven chief places of which Tuticorin was the first. More attention was given to instructing old converts than to making new ones. Indeed 547 persons were baptised in that year, including 74 in Tuticorin, 300 in Manar, 100 in Vaipar, 100 in Vembar, but only 4 in Madura. In 1596, according to Guerreiro, Father Fernandez arrived at Madura from the Fishery Coast, to negotiate with the Nāyak about the affairs of the missionaries and to act as their agent at the court. He was received well by Kumāra Krishnappa Nāyak, the then ruler, and even permitted to build a church in the capital; he built also a free dispensary and hospital where every help was administered free to all alike. He held frequent religious disputations with the Brahmans of the place and had for some time with him Father Levanto who was sent to Madura in order to study Tamil. Guerreiro says that the Badagas greatly admired the holiness of Father Fernandez, and "specially his chastity," but he did "very little in the conversion of Hindus." The Father was friendly with the Nāyak; and this intimacy had reached even the ears of the King of Portugal.

V

Such was the position of the Catholic Church in Madura, according to Father Heras, S. J., when Father Roberto de Nobili was sent there in 1606. De Nobili was venerated as a Saint by such men as Borromeo, Bellarmino and Baronius. He reached Goa in September 1605, completed his studies in Theology in the College of Cochin and reached

Madurain order to relieve Father Fernandez and to learn the more correct language of the court. De Nobili was then 29 years of age; his master-mind "at once comprehended the difficulty of the situation and devised the means of overcoming it." "Fired with a noble zeal.....and emulous of the heroism of St. Paul, he resolved to dedicate his whole life to one object;" he analysed the causes of the failure of Father Fernandez and found that one of the main factors was the aversion of bulk of caste Hindus towards the Catholic priests who were looked upon as Paranguis, a class of people who lived unclean lives like the bulk of the *topazes* of the Portuguese. According to him, the word, *Parangui*, does not signify either Portuguese or European or Christian.....means only a vile class of people despicable to a degree—people without virtue and modesty.....incapable of science, divinity or religion." He realised that one of the mistakes of the priests was that "they not only failed to observe Indian customs, but by their example at least taught their converts not to respect them." He resolved "to become himself a Hindu in order to save Hindus", compared the idolatry of Madura to the idolatry of the old city of Rome and adopted the principle—"Si Romae vivis Romano vivito more" and began to live the life of a Hindu ascetic of the strictest and most respectable variety. He called himself a Roman *sanyasi* and astonished all his hearers and disciples by "the purity of his Tamil accent the profoundness of his oriental learning and the versatility of his intellect." Soon Brahmans, Rajas, courtiers and all flocked to his presbytery; while Dumbichchi Nayak, the chief of all the powerful Tottiya feudatories of the Madura ruler, was eager to become a disciple and was only prevented by the fear of his master's displeasure. Nobili's residence was a mud house covered with straw which gave him "more satisfaction than a rich palace"; and his food consisted of a small quantity of rice and some herbs and fruits; because, he said, "if these people did not see me following this penitential kind of life, they would not consider me fit to teach them the heavenly way." This food was prepared by Brahmans and taken only once daily. Nobili was extremely busy with the study of the languages of the country. After a hard period of assiduous application he learnt the Tamil language "which is difficult on account of its rich vocabulary and its syntax" and also "very fine, very copious and very elegant." He was not only able to preach in Tamil without the aid of an interpreter, but capable of expressing himself in its High dialect and interspersing his conversation with stories and passages from Indian authors. He applied himself also to the study of Telugu and Sanskrit and mastered them in a few years. We read from Father Heras, quoting from Caland, that there was "deep admiration for his learning and knowledge of Sanskrit, for not only the Sanskrit literature was known to him, but also the Veda, at least on of the *Sākhās*, the Yajurveda of the Taittriyas." He was surrounded by admiring

crowds; and after a time, he began to gather high class converts. It is said that the first Brahman who became a Christian was a teacher in the Jesuit School founded at Madura; he was first asked to translate into Telugu the Tamil *Catechism* written by Father Fernandez and was baptised after several talks that he had with Nobili. "The baptism of this fortunate teacher was the beginning of many others;" it was followed by the conversion of a noble youth who was called Alexis Naique and of two more Badagas (Telugus) and a brother of the teacher. On the advice of a Pandara, Nobili changed his *soutane* for the dress of a Brahman *sanyasi*,—"a long robe of yellowish cloth with a sort of rochet of the same colour thrown over the shoulders, a cap in the form of a turban on his head, and wooden slippers fixed on supports two inches high and fastened to each foot by a peg passing between the toes.....(he used) five strings, three gold and two silver ones, and a cross is suspended in the middle.....the three gold threads represent the Holy Trinity, and the two silver ones the body and the soul of the Adorable Humanity of Our Lord, while the cross in the middle represents the Passion and Death of the Saviour." After same time Nobili discarded the strings as he ascertained that a solitary ascetic need not wear the holy thread. By 1608 Nobili had baptised four prominent persons of Madura including Dandamūrti, the owner of the *agrahāra* where he lived; Kritināda an artisan of repute and Golor, brother of the chief porter of the Nayak's palace. He followed this up by the conversion of his own teacher of Sanskrit and Telugu. There were 71 converts made in the first period of Nobili's activity at Madura from 1607 to 1614. One of them preferred dismissal from the retinue of a cousin of the Nayak to going back to his former faith. The community did not expect or receive any help from the *Guru* who taught that by becoming a Christian an Indian did not lose his honour or his caste and the religion was no more the religion of the Portuguese than of any other nation. He is said to have claimed to preach a new Veda to the Hindus, having discovered the lost fourth Veda. A great amount of controversy has been waged over the question of the authorship of the book by Nobili himself. It has been attempted to be proved that the pseudo Veda, a copy of which was discovered in the Mission Library of Pondicherry was actually composed by Nobili himself; the evidence recently adduced would point to a French Jesuit, Father Calmette, was the author of this pseudo Ezur Veda.*

Numerous traditions are current about the supernatural powers of healing and divination possessed by Nobili. His system of preaching was

* *The Aravidu Dynasty* pp. 388 note 2; *The Journal of Indian History*; Vol. II; pp 127-157 and Caland: *Robert de Nobili and the Sanskrit Language* (*Acta Orientalia*, III, p 50) and the Notices of Nobili by Japp and Hull in *East and West*, III.

not approved by many of his own faith and by protestant missionaries; but his peculiarly valuable equipment and method of approach to the orthodox Hindu mind was valuable and deserved notice. "His broad ideas made him clearly distinguish between religious and social customs, between superstition and good manners, between faith and nationality." Nobili was suspended after by his European superiors, after about five years of work when his work bore more abundant fruit than he had been led to anticipate; and for ten years he was not permitted to resume his labours. The consequences of this hiatus in work have been perhaps exaggerated by writers. But Nobili boldly began a new attitude in the preachers of the Christian faith towards the Hindus; and he was the planter and first fertiliser of the tree of European learning in South India and zeal for acquiring knowledge of the literature and religion of the Hindus.

THE TERM ANDHRA AND EARLY REFERENCES THERETO

K. RAGHAVACHARYULU, M.A., B.L.

The term Āndhra is of hoary antiquity. In ancient literature references abound to the Āndhra people, their country and capital. The earliest reference is that in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* where the Āndhras have been referred to as the descendants of Sage Viśvāmitra, who having been cursed by him, lived on the borders of the Aryan Settlements with the Puṇḍras, Śābaras, Pulindas and Mūtibas.¹ Sir R. G. Bhandarkar is of opinion that the Pulindas and Śābaras were wild tribes living about the Vindhya and the two rivers Narmadā and Tapti² though according to the Cambridge Historian, their precise habitat is uncertain.

The epic *Rāmāyaṇa* the present form of which must be traced to the early centuries before the Christian era refers to the Āndhras as a tribe living in the South of Āryāvarta and associates them with Puṇḍras, Chōlas, Pāṇḍyas and Kēralas. The latter three kingdoms are too well known, and the Puṇḍras were a tribe in Eastern India. Cunningham would have the Puṇḍras around the city of the Pubna while some others identified it with Burdwan. A distinction is also sought to be drawn between Puṇḍra and Pauṇḍra which is unsatisfactory.⁴ We can understand the mention in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* of Non Aryan tribes like the Puṇḍras and Śābaras with the Āndhras as they were all living on the borders of the Aryan Settlements, but there is no reason why the Puṇḍras should be mentioned by Sugriva in his description of the Kingdoms of the South. Beginning with the famous Daṇḍakārnaya, the quest is directed through the Āndhra and other kingdoms to the tracts about the Sahyādri and Kāveri and thence to the Malaya and Tāmraparni. The Puṇḍras and their country in this connection seems to be a geographical anomaly unless we can find for them an abode in Central or Southern India.

The *Mahābhārata* (*Sabhāparvan*, ch. XXXI), according to one rescension mentions the Āndhras, with Puṇḍras, Draviḍas, Oḍras and

1. *Ait. Brah.*, 7-8-18

त एतेऽन्ध्राः पुण्ड्राश्चराः पुलिंदा मूतिव इत्युदन्त्या बहवो भवन्ति.

2 *Early History of Deccan*, (Collected Works Vol. III, pp 6-11.)

3 *Ramayana*, *Kishk.* Ch. 41-18.

तथैवान्ध्राश्च पुण्ड्राश्च चोलान्पाण्ड्यान् स केरलान्.

4 Dr. B. C. Law; *Ancient Indian Tribes*, Vol. II pp 15-19.

See also Nando Lal De's *Geographical Dictionary* p 154, 161.

Kalingas⁵. Could it be that there was a mere jumbling up of the various kingdoms which Sahadēva conquered without reference to strict geography? Or could it be that the Puṇḍras or a branch thereof migrated to Southern India from their abode in the east? The latter view is more plausible as the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* support each other. The texts have to be well settled before any comment is made thereon. The *Mahābhārata* couples the Āndhras and Kalingas together, and in a South Indian Rescension recently published by Prof. P. P. S. Sastri, the Āndhras are mentioned with Oḍras and Kalingas as tribes living near the Northern coast.⁶ We can thus safely assert that the Āndhras have been referred to as a South Indian tribe both in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*. The *Mahābhārata* (*Aranyaparvan*, Ch. 188) further mentions that the Andhra, Śaka, Pulinda, Yavana, Kāmbhōja, and Bāhlika Kings were not followers of the sacred Āryan *dharma*; and this is supported by similar references to them in the *Sūtras* of Bōdhāyana and the Institutes of Manu.

The works of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali next come in for our consideration. The *Sūtras* of Pāṇini refer to the terms Kōsala and Kalinga (iv—1—171, 178) and the Āryans of his time were not fully conversant with Dakṣiṇāpatha or Deccan. Pāṇini lived about 7th century B. C. Kātyāyana however refers to Pāṇḍyas, Kāmbhōjas and Chōlas and to the Māhishmat country while Patañjali (about B. C. 150) goes still further and mentions Kāncīpura and Kērala with Māhishmati and Vaidarbha. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar concludes, referring to the *Edicts* of Aśōka and the works of the Grammarians, that about a hundred years before Patañjali, 'the whole of the Southern peninsula up to Cape Comorin was in direct communication with the North'. (p. 18) But both Kātyāyana and Patañjali not to speak of Pāṇini are significantly silent about the Āndhras or their country.

The light thrown by classical writers and the Edicts of Aśōka on contemporaneous history is immense. Megāsthenes (300 B. C.) describes the Āndhras as a powerful nation living in the neighbourhood of Calingae, Modogalingae, Modubae (Mūtibas), and Ubrae (Śabaras). He

5. पौण्ड्राश्च द्रविडांश्चैव सहितांश्चोद् केरलैः

आन्ध्रां स्तालवनांश्चैव कलिङ्गान् उष्ट्रकर्णिकान्.

6. उत्तरं तीर मासाद्य सागरस्यो मिमालिनः

आन्ध्रां स्तालवना नोद्गान् कलिङ्गानाविकां स्था.

Mah. Bh. Sabhaparvan Ch. XXVII 83. 84 Madras edn.

⁷ *Bodhayana*, I-1; *Manu*, Ch. X-36, 48.

also mentions that from the mouths of Ganges, one can travel 625 miles along the coast and reach the Cape of Calingaon and the town of Danḍāgula. The former has been identified with the promontory of Coringa now an inland town and the latter with Dantapura, capital of Kalinga. Cunningham identifies Dantapura with Rājamahēndri but this is doubtful. Pliny⁸ mentions that the Andarae possessed numerous villages, thirty cities defended by walls and towers, and supplied its king with an army of one hundred thousand infantry, two thousand cavalry, and one thousand elephants. The Āndhra nation as such possessed a military force second only to that of Chandragupta Maurya. It is clear that whatever might be the political or social status of the Āndhras in the days of the Brāhmaṇas, as compared with that of the Āryans, they were a powerful nation with a wide territory and extensive fortifications in the Mauryan period. It has also been assumed by scholars that the descriptions of Megasthenes referred only to the independent powers of his time.

The Thirteenth Rock Edict of Aśōka couples the Āndhras with the Bhōja-Peṭenikas on the one hand and with the Pulindas on the other. From the enumeration of the various peoples in the Edict, it would appear that the Āndhras were 'border people' living in an outlying province of Aśōka's empire, like the Yavanas, Kāmbhōjas and others. A distinction is sought to be drawn by separating the word Pēṭenikas and interpreting it as meaning the people of Paithan, but this is rejected by some scholars.¹⁰ Prof. Rapson in the Cambridge History takes the former view. Adopting the suggestion of M. Senart, a geographical continuity is inferred in the enumeration of the various outlying provinces. The opinion of Dr. Burnell that there were no Telugu Kingdoms during the days of Aśōka and that the country was then inhabited by wild tribes is an error based on insufficient information and has been rightly discredited.

The dynasties of the Āndhras and Āndhra-bhṛityas are mentioned in the *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and other Puranas. The *Brahmāṇḍa* refers to the Āndhras along with the Konkanas and Kuntalas of the South. The genealogy of the Mauryas, Sungas, Kāpvas and the Āndhras given in the *Purāṇas* is accepted to a great extent by historians and utilized by them in the reconstruction of the Early History of India. The *Skānda Purāṇa* which is chronologically assigned to a later date mentions that the Āndhras were one of the five people residing south of the Vindhya but draws a

⁸ *Hist Nat* vi-22. Refer, Mc'orindle's *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*. p 38.

⁹ Bhandarkar's *Early History of Deccan* p 18.

¹⁰ *Aśōka* by D. R. Bhandarkar at p 32.

¹¹ *South Indian Palaeography*, p 15.

¹² *History of the Andhras*, by C. Virabhadrarao, Vol. I p 20.

distinction between the Āndhras and Trilingas. The later evidently is a modern distinction. One of the Sunga Kings is also named Andhaka or Odraka.

The Buddhist literature has also some references to the Āndhras and their country. In *Serivāṇija Jātaka* (*Jataka Stories* I—III) a city called Andhapura on the banks of the Telavāhā river is referred to. The river is now identified with River Tēl or Telingiri on the confines of the Central Provinces. The *Jātaka* stories (I—356) further mention a brahmin youth who completed his education in Takshaṣilā and went to the Āndhra country to gain practical experience. The *Vinaya Texts* (*Sacred Book of the East*, XVII—38) refer to a city called Śātakarnika in the *Madhya dēsa* and south of the city lay the *Dakṣiṇa Janapada*. The term is said to refer to the Śātakarnis though the name of such a town is not met with elsewhere. Could it be a reference to the city of Paiṭhan where the Śātakarnis ruled? There is one reference to Andhaka-vinda near Rajagriha and another to Andhavana near Srāvasti in *Mahāvagga* but these cannot be taken to be explicit references to the Andhra domination of Magadha as assumed by some scholars. Several Buddhist Texts refer also to the *Andhaka* Monks who were so named after the country to which they belonged.

The Early Tamil Literature of the *Sangam* period¹² does not help us as nowhere in it the Āndhras are referred to by name. There are very many references to *Vaḍugar*, *Vaḍuka dēsa* or *Vaḍugāvali*, meaning thereby the northerners or their country. There seems to have been no distinction between the Telugu and Canarese people in that period though by the time of *Silappadikāram* their existence was recognised.¹³ The reference to Śātakarnis in the expression *Nurruvar Kaṇṇar* in the above work is vague and doubtful and cannot be relied on.

Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvamśa* describes how Raghu vanquished the Vangas, Utkalas and Kalingas and proceeded south to the banks of the *Kavēri* but makes no mention of the Āndhras or their ruler. Whatever date we might assign to Kālidāsa, whether in the 1st century B.C. or 4th century A.D., it is inexplicable why the Āndhra country should not have been mentioned by name.* The earlier date would fall within the *Sāta-vāhana* period while the latter would be proximate to the date of the expedition of Samudra Gupta to the South; and the latter's pillar Inscription mentions Mahēndra of Kōsala, Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra, Mantarāja of Kūrāla, Mahēndra of Pishṭapura, Svāmidatta of Koṭṭura,

13. Refer V. R. R. Dikshitar's *Sources of Andhras History* in J.A.H.R.S. Vol. VIII, pp 107-20 and pp 112, 113.

* There may be political reasons for this deliberate omission. Kalidasa, would seem to be the court-poet of the Guptas, who were allies of the Vakatakas, Kadambas and the Āndhras (Vishnukundins.) Kalidasa would seem to have flourished in the 5th century A.D.

Damana of Ēraṇḍapalla, Viṣṇugōpa of Kānchī, Nīlaraja of Āvamukta, Hastivarmā of Vēngī, Ugrasēna of Pālakka and Kubēra of Dēvarāshṭra. The inscription makes no mention of the Āndhra King as such as there was no paramount ruler of the entire territory and there were only petty chieftains ruling over separate tracts thereof. It is now certain that the terms Ēraṇḍapalla and Dēvarāshṭra refer to the tracts of country about Chicacole, and Yellamanchili. The view of Dr. Jayaswal that there was a confederation of princes and that a battle was fought at Kurāla is more fanciful than historical. Any attempt in Jayaswal's line to find an order in the princes named in the Inscription would not lead to fruitful results.

Varāhamihira in his *Bṛihat-Samhitā* mentions the Āndhra country along with the Vidarbha, Vatsa and Chēdi countries. Vātsyāyana whose date is uncertain, the later limit being placed at 400 A.D., throws a flood of light on the social life of the period including that of the Āndhras¹⁴ and, mentions that a king named Kuntala Śātakarni unwittingly killed his wife with a *kartari* during an amorous sport. The author of the commentary *Jayamangala* of the 10th century comments on the word Āndhra and says that the country south of the Narmadā in the *Dakṣiṇāpatha* and east of the *Karnāṭa* country therein is the country of the Āndhras.

The *Daśa Kumāra Charita* of Daṇḍin (ch. vii) refers to an Andhranagara within a few days journey from Kalinga ruled by Jayasimha with a very big lake near to it. The book further mentions that the ruler of Kalinga became a joint ruler of Āndhra and Kalinga countries. The Bombay edition reads Āndhranagara instead of Andhranagara. The terms as we know, were used without distinction by later writers. The city Āndhranagara with a big lake in its neighbourhood points unmistakeably to the capital city of Vēngī, and the lake referred to is the Kollēru. Attempts have no doubt been made to locate the same further north near Warangal but it is ludicrous to think of Warangal or its confines in the 6th or 7th century A.D. when the capital city of Vēngī was enjoying its pristine glory. Vēngī was the capital of the Sālankāyanas and early Chālukyas and was only replaced later by Rājamahēndravaram about the 10th century A.D. The king Jayasimha referred to must have been Jayasimhavallabha I son of Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana of the Eastern Chālukyas (633—663 A.D.).

The light thrown by the *Travels* of Hiuen Tsang on the geography of India at about this time is illuminating. The pilgrim reached Orissa and from thence marching south-west through forests reached the countries of Konyōdha and Kalinga. From Kalinga, he went north-west

14. Vātsyāyana: *Kamasutra*, Ch. II-5-28; II-7-28.

and reached Southern Kōsala and passing south-east from it, he went to the Kingdom of Āndhra and described a large *Sanghārāma* by the side of its capital Ping-ki-lo, which is identified with Vēṅgi. Going south, he reached Dhanakataka or Mah=Āndhra and described the two *Sanghrāmas* of Purvasilā and Avarasilā to the east and west of the city. This description indicates that in the 7th century A. D. the Kingdoms of Āndhra and Dhanakataka were distinct with separate capital cities. It looks also as if, from the distances noted by Hiuen Tsang's disciple, that he was not referring to Vēṅgi which was by then the capital of the Eastern Chālukyas but only to Pishtapura, the former capital during the reign of Kubja Vishṇuwardhana. The matter requires however further elucidation.¹⁵

At about this time, Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, the Commentator of Jaimini's *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā Sūtras* refers to the *Āndhra-Drāviḍa Bhāṣha*, and critics have taken the term to mean the Vernaculars prevalent in the Āndhra and Drāviḍa countries and assumed that the division of Andhra into Telugu and Canarese must have taken place at a later period. Whatever might be the origin of Telugu and Canarese which is a debatable question, the view of Kumārila that there was an Andhra language prevalent in his time seems to be beyond dispute. This is supported by Hiuen Tsang who says there was a different language prevalent in the Andhra country, but the script was the same as in the North. A Jain work *Jina Vijaya* in referring to Kumārila says that he was an Āndhra, born in a village called Jayamangala 'situated in the border land of Utkala and Andhra countries'.¹⁶

Early Inscriptions mention the Āndhrapatha or Āndhramanḍala which was merely a portion of Dakṣiṇāpatha, the territory south of the Vindhya. The earliest inscription available is the Maidavolu Prākṛit Inscription¹⁷ of Śivaskandavarmā, about the 2nd century A. D. The grant was issued from Kāncīpura the capital, and bestows a village Viṇipara in the Āndhrapatha to two Brahmins and conveys the information to the King's governor at Dhanakataka. Some scholars have taken the view that Śivaskandavarmā was a contemporary of the later Śātavāhanas of the 2nd century A. D. This is the earliest inscription available to us which mentions the Andhrapatha. Early Tamil grants have always described the country as Vaḍugāvali and the Āndhras as Vaḍugar (Northerners). The Udayēndiram plates of Vikramāditya II.¹⁸ which by some is assumed to be spurious, and another Bāṇa grant of the fourth century¹⁹ mention the

country of the Andhras. The latter even goes to the extent of including the Kolar District of Mysore in the Andhramanḍala.

The references so far mentioned clearly indicate that the Andhras were a powerful nation ruling over a portion of the Deccan, south of the Vindhya ever since the Mauryan period or even earlier from the days of the *Brāhmaṇas*. Their continuity has been amply demonstrated till the 15th century A.D. The extent of their territory, the location of the capital and the various dynasties which ruled therein from time to time to time will be discussed in a separate paper.

The terms Andhra and Āndhra have been treated as synonymous and the former as the earlier of the two. It occurs in compounds like Andhrapatha, Andhranagara etc. and seems to have been derived from the root अन्ध - दृश्युपघाते. Consequently a suggestion is thrown out that the country south of the Vindhya which was impenetrable with forests was called the Andhra or Āndhra country and gave the people inhabiting the territory the appellation of the Āndhras. The *Sahasra-nāma Bhāṣya* of Ranga Ramānuja while commenting on the expression चाणूरान्ध्रनिषूदनः favours the derivation of the word from the root अन्ध. The patron god whose temple was built at Śrīkākulam on the banks of river Krishna was called Āndhra Vishṇu either because his worshippers were the Āndhras whose empire extended to the banks of river Krishna with capital at Dhanakataka or because a mythical personage of that name was said to be the progenitor of the Āndhra Kings. The latter view derives its support from a later Buddhist work the *Ārya Manjuśrī Mālā Kulpa*.²⁰ A derivation of the word from अं meaning war and ध्रः that which bears, signifying the prowess of the Āndhras in war has recently been advanced. This is based on the *Nānārtha-ratnamālā* अकारो ब्रह्मविष्ण्वीश कमठेष्वांगणे रणे but it is fanciful. The lexicons *Vāchaspatya* and *Śabdakalpadruma* and a text of Manu (X—36, 38) suggest to us another interpretation. The term Andhra accordingly means a hunter, one who lived by the slaughter of wild animals and dwelt outside the villages. It might be that the Central India of the *Brāhmaṇa* and *Sūtra* age was inhabited by people living mainly as hunters and, this might have given the country its name 'Andhra'. The low status given to the Āndhras in the *Brāhmaṇas* might have been due to this occupation of theirs.

15. *Life of Hiuen Tsang by Shaman Hwui Li*—S. Beal (1911), pp 136 and 137

16. आन्ध्रोत्कलानां संयोगे पवित्रे जयमंगले.

17 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI, p 85.

18 *Ep. Ind.* III. 76.

19 *Ind. Ant.* XV, p 175.

The Date of the Kambakaya Copper-plate Grant of Devendravarma.

Purātatvakōvida G. RAMADAS., B.A., M.R.A.S.

This set of plates was first published in the *Bhārati*, Vol. IV, part 2, (1929) by M. R. Ry Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma Garu of the *Āndhra Patrika* office. Then it was noticed in the *Epigraphical Report* for 1921-28 No. 9, App. A. but nothing like a commentary was given in Part II of it. In 1931 Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, M.A. of the Madras Museum edited it in the *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Vol. IV, pp. 27-39.

The latter two went in the wake of Mr. Sarma but do not seem to have given a thought of their own to it. Mr. Sarma did really devote a serious thought to the date as read by him and tried to verify the validity of it by trying to identify the overlord Dēvēndravarmā with the Kalinga sovereign reigning in Ś. S. 1103 and also to identify the donor, Udayāditya with any of the known rulers reigning at that period. At last, finding that his attempt became futile he had to doubt his reading saying, 'if the date be correct'. Thus the reading of the date by Mr. Sarma is still susceptible of correction. If the date of the grant were incorrect, the charter itself loses its validity and becomes a spurious one. A document, found underground in an out of the way place like Kambakāya and showing marks of corrosion of time cannot be spurious. Its form, the ring and the seal securing the two ends of the ring, the script used to record the grant, all prove the authenticity of the document. Then the mistake must lie in the reading of the date. Thus I was impressed when I first saw it published in the *Bhārati*; and ever since I tried to verify the reading.

The *facsimile* of the plates published in the *Bhārati* is much reduced in size and consequently, the letters have become small and indistinct. Hearing that the plates had been deposited in the Madras Museum, I applied to the Superintendent and he, kindly sent me two sets of impressions. I also obtained a loan of the impressions recorded in the office of the Government Epigraphist, Nilgiris. Then Mr. Ramachandran kindly sent me a reprint of his article in which was given the *facsimile* also. Equipped with four sets of impressions, I felt as if I had the original itself before me; for every curve or stroke or indent of the original is found impressed in each of these sets.

There are two more copper plate grants issued by the Kadamba rulers. The first is the Simhipura copper plate grant (*JAHS*, Vol. III Pts. 2,3,4) and the Mandasā copper plate grant (*JBORS* Vol. XVII

Pts. 2 & 3). Compared with these, the script of the Kambakāya grant showed likeness to that used in each of these. By arranging in a tabular form each letter of the script used in several of the charters issued by the Kalinga Ganga King it may be seen that the script of the Kambakāya Grant belongs to the period subsequent to that of Simhipura grant and prior to that of the Mandasā plates.

Then the *prāśasti* of the over lords which form the preamble of the charter is almost the same in all the three. The account of the donor in each is almost the same. The father's name of the overlord of the Kambakāya grant and of the Mandasā plates as well is not given though it is given in the Simhipura grant. The eulogy of the donor in each shows a progressive development of power, territory and authority, from one to the other.

The Simhipura grant tells us that the donor was Rāṇaka Dharmas khēdi, son of Rāṇaka Bhimakhēdi (who was) the son of Niyārṇava; that he was the lord of the Mahēndra and of the Pañchavishaya; and that he had obtained the overlordship by terrifying a host of enemies by the sound of many arrows. He was only a *Mandalesvara*; so were his father and grand-father. At the time of this grant, it may be observed, the Mahēndra was distinct from and un-included in Pañchavishaya. Mahēndra appears to have been subsequently acquired by the prowess of the lord of the Pañchavishaya. The Kambakāya grant tells us that the donor, Udayāditya, the son of Dharmakhēdi was a '*Mahāmaṇḍalika*' of the Pañchavishaya. It may be inferred from this that Mahēndra, which had been a distinct territory was merged into Pañchavishaya and its lord was raised to the dignity of a '*Mahāmaṇḍalika*'. The donor of the Mandasā plates was a Rāṇaka Dharmakhēdi, the son of Rāṇaka Bhāmakhēdi(?) He had terrified a host of enemies to the west of the mountains by the sound of his five-fold war drums and the sound of his arrows. Here is intimated the extension of the Pañchavishaya westward beyond the hills, of course the Mahendra hills. Consequently the donor is called '*Paramamāhēśvara*', a title assumed when a new conquest had been made. Thus the increase of territory and the consequent enhancement of power and authority from time to time can be seen in these charters. So the three sets prove to be in chronological order, which can also be seen from a study of the genealogies of the donors,

1. Simhipura plates.	2. Kambakāya plates.	3. Mandasā plates.
Niyārṇava	Dharmakhēdi	Bhāmakhēdi.
Bhimakhēdi	Udayāditya	Dharmakhēdi
Dharmakhēdi		

From 1 and 3 we see that the father of Dharmakhēdi was Bhīmakhēdi: (Bhāmakhēdi is only a misreading for Bhīmakhēdi.—The mistake

may be due to the malformation of the vowel sign). Niyārṇava is said to have been the father of the Bhīmakhēdi of the Simhapura plates. Niyārṇava, like Guṇārṇava and Dānārṇava, appears to be the personal name while Bhīmakhēdi and Dharmakhēdi and Udayaditya seem to be titles in the family of the Kadambas of Pañchavishaya as Anantavarmā and Dēvēndravarmā were in the Kalinga Ganga family. Such repetition of names for generations is still found in several Indian families, not only aristocratic but also common. So a Bhīmakhēdi's son was Dharmakhēdi; and Dharmakhēdi's son was Udayāditya, then Udayāditya's son was again a Dharmakhēdi. Construed in this light Udayāditya appears to have been the regal title of Niyārṇava.

Now coming to examine the words expressing the date of the Kambakāya Grant, it may be pointed out that the phrase denoting the era has been wrongly understood. It is said that the grant was made in '*Vijayarāja śakābda*'. This is understood to refer to the '*Śālivāhana śakābda*'. In the Mandasā plates, it is merely '*śakābda*' and so it is right to take it to mean the Śālivāhana era. But in the Kambakāya grant the expression is qualified by '*Vijayarājya*', which, with no scintillation of doubt, is an expression particularising the Ganga era. In almost all Indian calendars, the year to which the calendar pertains, is expressed in several eras, e.g. *Yudhiśṭhira śakābdāḥ* which means the era of Yudhiśṭhira; *Vikrama śakābdāḥ* means the era of Vikramārka; *Hūna śakābdāḥ* means the Christian era. Thus '*Vijayarājya śakābdāḥ*' means the Ganga era.

Then the expression mentioning the year was read as 'Sahasram-ēka-śata-tray-ādihikam'. In the plate, near and around what was read as स there is much corrosion. Yet the letter below स can be clearly identified. It is understood to be 'r'. When compared with other letters with which this 'r' is combined the difference can be seen c.f. र in प्रसाद (1.2) र in सकलालंकित (1.3) र in प्रथा (1.9) र in प्रकर (1.11). In all of them the 'r' sign began at the lower end of the line went up obliquely leftwards and stopped at a certain length. But here it does not do so; after it had reached some length it turned down and then horizontally towards the right. Just at the point where it curves down is a big indent made by time and it appears as a big dot in the impression. When reading it, that dot must be ignored; it is only then that the full form of the letter is seen. It looks like थ compared with similar letters in कुम्भखल (1.10) पुरस्थित and it appears to be more prone. Therefore what has been read as स is really थ consequently, the expression reads सहस्रमेकशत त्रयाधिकम् and means 5

(hasta)1 plus (śaka) 1 (śkam), hundreds increased by 3, i.e. (5 plus 1)=100 plus 3 or 603 This is of the Ganga era.

It has been, on several occasions, proved that the Ganga era commenced from Ś.S. 271. The date of the Kambakāya grant is 603 plus Ś.S. 271 or Ś.S. 874. The date of the Simhipura grant is Ś.S. 520 plus 271 or Ś.S. 771 and that of the Mandasā plates is Ś.S. 913. Therefore the time difference between Simhipura plates and the Kambakāya plates is 103 years. This is sufficiently long for Rānakas of six generations to come between the Dharmakhēdi of the Simhipura grant and the Udayāditya the donor of the Kambakāya grant. The time difference between the Kambakāya and the Mandasā grants is 39 years. During this period the Udayāditya of the former and the Bhīmakhēdi, the father of the donor of the latter, could have held sway one after another. Thus the genealogy of these Kadamba Kings, from Ś.S. 771 to Ś.S. 913 may be safely made out. All this discussion proves that the date of the Kambakaya grant is Ganga era 603 but not Śaka era 1103 as read before.

1. In all the provinces of India, counting by 'fours' or 'fives' is common. The latter is spoken of as 'hand' e.g. so many hands. In Telugu 'chētulu Oriya 'hatto'.

A Note on the Date of the Kambakaya Grant of Devendravarman.

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

Mr. Ramadas reads the passage containing the date as 'Sahas-thamēka-śata-tray=ādhika' and interprets it as yielding the year 603 of the Gānga era. The reading and the interpretation seem to be wholly untenable for several reasons. The word 'hasta' meaning 'hand' is to be written as 'hasta' and not as 'hastha'. The palaeography of the record is against the early date proposed by Mr. Ramadas. The characters resemble those of the Vizagapatam plates, dated Ś.S. 999, of Anantavarman Chōḍaganga (*I.A.*, XVIII, p. 162f.) Korṇi grant dated (*JAHS*, I, pp. 40-48) and Chicacole plates of Vajrahasta dated (*JAHS*, VIII, p. 171f.). There seems to be no justification for interpreting the phrase 'Vijaya-rājya-śakābda' as meaning the Gānga era. The three Kadamba grants, the Simhipura, Kambakāya and the Mandasā charters are dated each in their own peculiar manner. The Simhipura plates mention the "Kadamba-Ganga" era, the Kambakaya charter the "Viyarājya-śakābdāhā" and the Mandasā grant 'rājyē śakābda-nava-śaka-sapta-rasa-mitē'; thus there is no uniformity in mentioning the date. In none of these charters the Gānga era is mentioned.

Both the composer and the engraver of the Kambakaya grant knew very little Sanskrit; and the charter bristles with innuerable mistakes. Moreover, the plate which contains the date portion is much corroded. The passage has been read as "sahasram-ēka-śata-tray=ādhika. So far as the later half of the passage goes, the scribe seems to have incised one letter and then scored it off and then superimposed some other letters. Whatever it might be the words 'śata-tray=ādhika' seem doubtless to be corrupt and may be correctly restored to 'staryādhika' in as much as the ignorant scribe seems to have been unable to understand what was in the mind of the composer. The passage thus restored reads "sahasram-ēka-stra-yadhika (saṁvatsarē*), "1000 years increased by 3," i.e. Ś.S. 1003. The year corresponds to 1081-2 A. D. This date for the grant makes Dēvēndravarman a contemporary and possibly a rival of the infant king Anantavarman-Chōḍaganga who was the rightful heir to the throne of Kalinga, who had a long reign of about 70 years and whose accession took place in 1078 A. D., roughly three years before the date of the Kambakāya grant. The Dākshārāma inscription of the General Pallavarāja, a vassal of Velanāṇṭi Rajendra Chōḍa I, dated in the 33rd year of Kulōtunga Chola I (i.e. 1103 A. D.) refers to a Dēvēndravarman of Kalinga who was destroyed by him. (No. 1209 *S.I.I.*, IV., line 10) This date is quite proximate to the date that has been proposed above. The Dēvēndravarman mentioned in this inscription may possibly have been identical with the Dēvēndravarman of the Kambakāya grant.

POLIPADU GRANT OF KRISHNA-DEVĀ-RAYA.

Dr. P. SREENIVASACHARI, M.A., Ph.D. (LOND)

This grant consists of 3 plates, each measuring 10½" by 7". The plates are in the form of an ornamental segment at the top with a circular hole in the middle roughly an inch in diameter. Consequently the actual writing on these plates covers an area of only 8" by 7". The edges of the plates are suitably thickened to preserve the writing from wear and tear. The plates are fastened to a ring which was cut by the time it came into my hands. No seal is attached to the ring.

SCRIPT AND LANGUAGE:—The script is *Nandināgarī*, which is rather common in Vijayanagara grants. The engraver seems to have been very careless, since there are heaps of mistakes in the writing. The letters *sa* and *śa* have been confused throughout, and the *rāpha*, *anusvāra*, and the *visarga* are absent in many places. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, but the engraver seems to have been ignorant of that language. It is evidently on account of this that we have got such mistakes as *visrāya* for *viprāya* (1.62), *sūnavē* for *sūrayē* (1.63), and *snigdaiḥ* for *snigdhaiḥ* (1.73), and a few others.

PRASASTI:—The *prasasti* consisting, roughly, of 25 *ślokas*, is practically the same as that found in the Hampe inscription and others. Verse 2 of our grant is not found in the Hampe inscription, but it is the usual conventional verse found in Vijayanagara grants. Verses 7, 8, 10, 11 and 12, of the Hampe inscription are not found in our grant. The first two among these describe the valour and capacity of Īśvara-nāyaka, grand-father of Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya, while the rest expatiate on the heroic qualities and achievements of Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya's father Narasa-nāyaka.

SUBJECT MATTER OF THE GRANT—The inscription records the grant of a village called Polipāḍu, by Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya, on the holy occasion of *Makara-sankramāna*, in the presence of Lord Viṣṇupākṣa, on the banks of the Tungabhadra. The donee was a certain Candramauḷi, son of Errama-rāja, of the Gautama *gotra* and Yajur-veda. Candramauḷi was well versed in the Veda and all the sciences. He is also stated to be modest and of excellent character. The composer of this grant was Mallanācārya, son of Viranācārya.

DATE:—The record is dated in Śaka 1432, *Pramoda*, *Pushya* *bahula* *trayodaśī*, *Jyēṣṭhā* *nakṣatra*, Saturday, on the holy occasion of *Makara-sankramāna*. This date corresponds accurately to Saturday, the 28th of December, A. D. 1510. *Trayodaśī* on the day began 3 *ghaṭikās* after sunrise, while the *nakṣatra* *Jyēṣṭhā*, lasted for 31 *ghaṭikās* till after sunset. Therefore, all the details given, namely the *tithi*, *vāra*, and *nakṣatra*, work out satisfactorily.

LOCALITIES MENTIONED IN THE GRANT:—Polipāḍu, the village granted, is said to be in the *rājya* of Candragiri, but the *śīma* to which it belonged is badly engraved and hence not clear. The engraver seems to have made a mistake originally, and tried to rectify it later on by over-writing. We can only trace the letters *Kalmihasthi* in a vague sort of way. There was no such *śīma* in the Vijayanagara kingdom, and the nearest approach to that name is Kālahasti. The identification of the villages mentioned in this grant proves that the *śīma* must have been Kālahasti.

Four villages are mentioned as situated on the four boundaries of Polipāḍu. In the words of the inscription Polipāḍu was situated "to the east of the village of Veṇḍōḍu, to the south of Pōtuguṇṭa, to the west of Parra, and to the north of Saguṭōr. All these villages together with Polipāḍu are in the region where the modern Venkatagiri division and the Gūḍur taluk of the Nellore district meet. Polipāḍu and Veṇḍōḍu in our grant are the same as the modern villages of those names in the south-western region of the Gūḍur taluk; and the village of Pōtuguṇṭa is the modern Pōtuguṇṭa in the Gūḍur taluk, now grouped with Vōḍūru, its *majara* village, and referred to as Pōtuguṇṭa-Vōḍūru in the Government Diglott Register. Saguṭōr is identical with the modern Saguṭūr in the north-eastern part of the Venkatagiri taluk. While Parra is the modern Pedaparre in Gūḍur taluk, about four furlongs from Polipāḍu and referred to as Pedapariya at the Railway Station near by. Veṇḍōḍu is about two miles away from Polipāḍu, while Pōtuguṇṭa and Saguṭūr are about one mile and four furlongs away respectively from Polipāḍu. All these villages are not thus seen to be far from one another and naturally form the boundaries of the village of Polipāḍu. Since the various directions given in the grant tally accurately with reference to these villages and since the names are almost unchanged we may take this identification to be correct.

Since all these villages are stated to be in the *rājya* of Candragiri, the question arises as to how far this kingdom extended in this direction, and what was the boundary between this *rājya* and the *rājya* of Udayagiri. Even by the time of Dēvarāya II, the kingdom of Candragiri seems to have extended as far as Lingampāḍu, in the Pōlur taluk of the Nellore district. This region was evidently called the *śīma* of Pōlūr, as seen from a couple of inscriptions dated A. D. 1602 and 1647 respectively.¹ An inscription of the very first year of Acyuta² dated A. D. 1530, includes under the *rājya* of Candragiri even the village of Vākāḍu, in the Gūḍur taluk. Another inscription refers to Utsūr in Rāpūr taluk as situated in this kingdom,³ but since this inscription is dated in A. D. 1647 it may not be very reliable as evidence of the territorial divisions of Vijayanagara at the commencement of Kṛṣṇa-dēva's reign.

1. Butterworth and Venugopal Chetty; *Nellore Inscriptions*, C. P. Nos. 6 & 7.

2. Rangacharya; *Topographical List of Incrns.* Nel. 259.

3. *Ibid* Nel. 647; C. P. No. 7 of B & V; *NI*.

Let us now see how far the *rājya* of Udayagiri extended in the south. It is clear from inscriptions that all the region as far south as the river Pennar was included in this kingdom. Although the Prabhāgiri-paṭnam inscription dated A. D. 1602,⁴ seems to extend this boundary farther south, all the inscriptions available so far (possibly with the exception of just one or two), refer only to the territory north of the Pennar as situated in the *rājya* of Udayagiri. So it seems pretty clear that the Pennar was the virtual boundary of this kingdom in the south. Udayagiri was one of the most important fortresses in the Vijayanagara kingdom. So it is not improbable that, at times, the governor in charge of this kingdom had an increase of power as well as territory, and thus came to exercise his authority farther south than the Pennar—even as far as the river Svarṇamukhī. We know definitely however that Paḍa-nāḍu was in the *rājya* of Candragiri, and never in the *rājya* of Udayagiri. Since the modern Pōlūr taluk formed a *śīma* of this Paḍa-nāḍu, it is clear that the *rājya* of Udayagiri never extended farther south than the Svarṇamukhī.

The eastern part of the *rājya* of Candragiri, therefore, seems to have been divided into 2 *śīmas*, namely the *śīma* of Kālahasti and the *śīma* of Pōrūr. Rāpūr and Veṇkatagiri are the names of two *śīmas* which we come across in inscriptions. But the later term (i.e. Venkatagiri *śīma*) occurs in inscriptions much later than the time of Kṛṣṇa-dēva rāya's accession. As for Rāpūr *śīma*, it must have been situated much farther north than the villages mentioned in our grant, and we cannot include them under that *śīma*. Nor can we include them under Pōrūr *śīma*, for that division was quite close to the coast and did not extend as far inland in the north as these villages. It seems pretty certain therefore that all this region, forming the basin of the river Kollēru was under the *śīma* of Kālahasti.

TENURE:—The inscription records that the 'excellent' village of Polipāḍu was endowed with constant paddy fields, wells, tanks, marshy grounds (river-banks?), trees and 'different kinds of fruits for enjoyment.' Such a village was granted as a *sarva-mānya* (i. e. free from all taxes) in the proper ceremonious manner, along with some *dakṣiṇā*. It was further specified that this grant was *ekabhogya* and that it included *niḍhi*, *niḥṣēpa*, *pāṣāṇa*, and the other eight different sources of enjoyment, besides several others not included under that category. The donee and his descendants had the right to enjoy this village with all these privileges, or to make a gift of it, or to pledge it, or even to sell it.

The real value of the village granted will not be apparent until we know definitely what were the eight different kinds of sources referred

4. B & V; *NI*, Atmakur, 53.

to above. Similar statements occur in many other inscriptions, and from some of them we come to know that the various sources of enjoyment referred to are the following:—

- (1) *Nidhi* (a treasure or a hoard, i.e. a natural hoard such as a mine).
- (2) *Nikṣēpa* (a treasure hidden or stored up by some one).
- (3) *Akṣiṇa* (permanent or lasting benefits).⁵
- (4) *Āgāmi* (future or impending benefits).
- (5) *Sañcita* (benefits already stored up, as for example the additional fertility due to the land being left fallow for some time).
- (6) *Jala* (water). (7) *Turu* (trees). (8) *Pāṣāna* (stones).⁶

These different sources of enjoyment together with *siddha* and *sādhya* which refer to utilities ready for enjoyment immediately, and utilities to be created in the future, were expressly mentioned in our grant as belonging to the donee.

5. *Akṣiṇa* literally means 'undiminished' complete, lasting, permanent, and not perishing or failing. It obviously refers to the permanent benefits from the land as contrasted with temporary ones like *nikṣēpa* or *taru*. Monier-Williams differentiates between this term and another word *akṣiṇī* (feminine gender), which he defines vaguely as 'one of the eight conditions or privileges attached to landed property.' But it is not clear how Dr. Appadorai arrives at the meaning 'that which may accrue.'

6. Dr. Appadorai gives a slightly different list which is as follows:—*Nidhi*, *nikṣēpa*, *jala*, *pāṣāna*, *akṣiṇī*, *āgāmi*, *siddha*, *sādhya*, which may be translated deposits of buried treasure, water, stones, the *akṣiṇī* that that which may accrue, that which has been made property (?) that which may be made property (?) and augmentation." (Vide Dr. Appadorai; *Economic Conditions in Southern India*, vol. I, p. 160). Dr. Appadorai has not been able to differentiate between *nidhi* and *nikṣēpa*. The first refers to natural hoards such as mines, and the second to treasure hoards deposited by some human being. Again *akṣiṇī* does not refer to 'that which may accrue' (vide fn. 11 *Op.cit.*)

Dr. Appadorai's list is defective in excluding *taru*, and *sañcita*. The first of these two items often unforms an important item in the gift of a village, for a good number of tamarind trees, for example, must be quite valuable economically. The second term is already explained above. In the place of these two terms Dr. Appadorai includes *siddha* and *sādhya* and translates them in an indefinite and doubtful way. *Siddha* literally means 'accomplished, effected, or ready,' while *sādhya* means 'to be accomplished or to be done.' In the former category may be included for example the paddy fields ready for harvest or ripened coconuts, ready to be plucked and etc., while the latter may refer to the utilities yet to be created in the future. The terms *akṣiṇa* and *āgāmi* on the one hand, and *siddha* and *sādhya* on the other overlap in their meaning since an item of *akṣiṇa* may be *siddha*, and *āgāmi* may be in the nature of *sādhya*. So the list I have given above seems to be a more accurate one. This idea is confirmed by our inscription, which mentions *siddha* and *sādhya* separately as not included under the group of *aṣṭa-bhoga*.

The gift was *eka-bhōgya*, a term which is explained by Dr. Appadorai as "a plot of land granted to a single Brāhmaṇa for his sole enjoyment and having on it his house and the houses of his dependents and farmers." On another page he slightly enlarges the meaning of this term and states "*ekabhōga*, *ekabhōgya* and *ekabhōgya-grāma* denote grants made to individuals." This wider meaning is based on the evidence of instances like that of Holakere "where Timma Bhaṭṭa divided the granted land into 32 portions, reserved 16 for himself and bestowed the remainder on the others." But Dr. Appadorai is not clear whether in all such cases "the sub-donees were allowed full rights over the land or the rights of ownership were in part reserved by the second donor."⁷

There are many instances of a village granted by the king to a Brāhmaṇa in the *aṣṭa-bhoga* tenure, being divided by the donee and shared with several other Brāhmaṇas. But in all such cases it is simply stated that the Brāhmaṇa granted a specified number of divisions, of land to each sub-donee, without mentioning the nature of the tenure of this sub-grant. It is not specified in such cases that these sub-donees could enjoy the *nidhi* and the other eight different kinds of produce from the piece of land they obtained. It may be argued from this that the sub-donees had only the right of cultivating and enjoying the produce thus obtained, and that proprietorship of land including *nidhi* and *nikṣēpa* and other things lay with the principal donee.

Two factors make such a view improbable. In the first place we have inscriptions recording grants or sale of land in the *aṣṭabhōga* tenure made by some Brāhmaṇas to other Brāhmaṇas in which it is clearly stated that the land granted was originally obtained as grant from the king. Secondly it is extremely probable that inscriptions recording that a village granted by the king was at once divided by the donee between others, would have specified that the proprietary rights (including *nidhi* and other things) did not go to the sub-donee along with the land, if indeed such was not the case. Let us take a case in which a certain king granted a village in *aṣṭa-bhoga* tenure to a certain Brāhmaṇa who in turn divided it between other Brāhmaṇas even before taking possession of the village. If really this Brāhmaṇa's (i.e. the principal donee's) grant to his friends was different in nature to the king's grant to himself—which is also registered in the same inscription—it would have been so specified. In the absence of a specific mention of it therefore, we have to conclude that the form of the tenure of both the grants (the king's and the principal donee's) is the same, that is, the *aṣṭa-bhōga* form of tenure only. The difference evidently lay only in the amount of land obtained, the principal donee getting more than the others in most cases. It was a convenient arrangement by which the king could avoid dealing with a number of Brāhmaṇas, especially since all the other Brāhmaṇas were in

7. Appadorai; *Economic Conditions in Southern India*, vol. 1, p. 159.

all likelihood the disciples, relatives, or friends of the principal donee. The fact that the same inscription registers the king's grant to the principal donee, and the principal donee's grant of portions of the same land to others, suggests that probably it was all pre-arranged.

It is clear from the above that *eka-bhōga* does not imply that only one person could enjoy the village granted. Such an explanation would be meaningless; because in the absence of primogeniture any such village will automatically cease to be *eka-bhōga* when the donee dies and his sons inherit the property. Nor can we imagine a donee going directly against the king's wishes if by using the term *eka-bhōga* the king intended that only one man should enjoy the village. The term is evidently used in contra-distinction to joint tenure. There are specific instances where the produce of lands was to be shared with a temple or to be used partly for some specific purpose. No such restrictions are laid down in the present grant and the donee could enjoy all the produce without having to share it with any person or institution; and if he sold this village or gave it away, the second donee in turn enjoyed it solely by himself, and had no sort of obligation towards any one in connection with his ownership or enjoyment.

Since the rights and privileges of the donee are referred to so elaborately and so explicitly in this grant, it is necessary to examine the form of tenure under which this village was granted, and find out exactly what sort of relations existed between the king and the owners of land in those days. In other words, who had the right of private property in the land in the Vijayanagara times, the king or the peasants?

Before we go any further, it is essential to make sure as to what we mean by 'private property in land.' When we say, for example, that His Majesty the King-Emperor is the owner of all land in India and that consequently Land Revenue is not exactly a Tax but Rent, we mean that the peasants have only the right of cultivating and enjoying the produce of the land. Even the biggest land-holder is entitled only to the produce, a part of which he has to pay to the king as Land Revenue. If a zamindar discovered a mine in his fields or found a treasure-trove he cannot legally lay hands on it, since it rightly belongs to the Emperor who is the real owner of the land. When the Emperor or his government makes a gift of some land for services rendered or for any other cause, or even sells it, he parts only with the rights of cultivating and enjoying such produce, and nothing more. For a really great service a greater amount of land may be given, but the nature of the transaction remains the same. The Government retains all the rights over *nidhi*, *nikṣepa* and other things; and so we can rightly conclude that the Emperor is at present the real owner of all land, while the peasants are merely land-holders.

Let us see if the same holds good of the Vijayanagara times. The present record shows clearly that the king made a gift of all possible rights over the land to the donee—a thing which is quite impossible at the present day. Since this form of transaction—the *aṣṭa-bhōga* tenure is by no means uncommon, it is evident at the very outset that there were in Vijayanagara, a considerable number of villages and lands over which the king had absolutely no rights of a practical nature. The problem whether or not the king had a theoretical right of ownership on these lands is not of any real importance, because it is absurd to think of land apart from the utilities inherent in it. No doubt there are passages in Ancient Texts on Political Theory which seem to suggest that the king had some sort of abstract right over all land in the kingdom. It is even possible that under stress of circumstances some kings laid hands on such absolute gifts, but they were more eager to justify it on grounds of *āpad-dharma* and the king's divine origin (*daiv-āṁsa*), than on grounds of any legal right of the king over the land, inherent in the system of Tenure.

The present grant relates to a gift to a Brāhmaṇa. Gifts to and other transactions with Brāhmaṇas and temples were on a different footing altogether, from the ordinary transactions. We have no means of coming to any definite conclusion as yet, as to what the relations were between an ordinary peasant and the king in this sphere. The evidence at our disposal is insufficient to assert that the king—or the peasant for that matter—was the real owner of land.

Nevertheless this problem has been discussed many a time before, although no definite conclusion has been arrived at so far. Not long ago the Todhunter Committee examined this problem at of great length and after collecting evidence from a great many sources such as experienced administrators, authorities on law and owners of land, came to the conclusion that according to the Hindu view, the king was the real owner of all land. The land taxes therefore, are more in the nature of a share of the produce of the land rather than taxes imposed by the sovereign as part of a definite system of taxing all possible sources. This conclusion was however based not so much on the inscriptional evidence of Hindu administrative institutions, as on the ancient Hindu texts of Political Theory, and the commentaries on them. This literary evidence has been examined and discussed at great length by many scholars, but unfortunately this branch of evidence gives much scope for conflicting views and is inconclusive. Inscriptions are therefore the only reliable source of evidence to help us to come to any decision, although this source has not received the same attention from Economists and Scholars.

However, a few scholars have expressed themselves more or less definitely on this important question. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal holds the

opinion that the peasant and not the king was the real owner of the land. Dr. Appadorai is inclined to the same view. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya however, who has made an elaborate study of the Vijayanagara inscriptions,⁸ controverts this view, and argues that the king was the owner of all land in the sense of having "private property" in the soil and that the people and, even highly placed officials like governors and generals were only entitled to enjoy the produce of the soil. He explains away the absence of the mention of the king in records of the sale of land and other such transactions as of no imperative significance, and suggests that "even in grants containing no reference to the royal sanction it was understood to be implicit."⁹ But he also points out two inscriptions dated A. D. 1545 which go against this view, and imply that in one part of the country at least common people had certain rights which in his opinion were exclusive royal prerogatives.

Leaving aside the evidence of these two 'exceptional' cases, we can show that the evidence of even the vast majority of Vijayanagara inscriptions do not support such a definite view about the king's property right in land. Dr. Venkataramanayya's contention is based on two points. (1) "The imperial government exercised the right of surveying the lands frequently, and assessing taxes afresh. . . . If the imperial government of Vijayanagara exercised the rights of resurvey and resettlement, it was because the Rāya was the owner of all land in the empire, and others held it of him under some kind of tenure."¹⁰ (2) "When taxation became very oppressive the ryots frequently abandoned their homes and farms and migrated to foreign parts. . . . The abandonment of their homes and fields by the ryots indicates that they had no proprietary rights in the land. If they had any right, the emperor could not have legally enhanced the land tax as he liked, and ryots would never have abandoned their homes and farms in the way in which they did."¹¹

If we consider carefully, neither of these two arguments help us to assert definitely that the king owned the land in our sense. Assuming hypothetically that the peasant and not the king had 'private property in the soil,' we can still explain the royal right of re-survey and re-settlement as well as the desertion of their farms by the peasants, and thus prove that Dr. Venkataramanayya's contention does not stand.

Let us take the House Tax for example. Suppose a person lets out a number of houses and lives on their rent after paying off their House Tax. If the demand for houses in that locality increases, or for

some other reason, the same houses now fetch more income, the Government loses no time in enhancing the House Tax. Often we find such an enhancement even in the absence of any perceptible rise in the income. An extension of the building or even some slight additions to the houses usually leads to a re-examination and re-assessment of the House Tax. But we cannot argue from this simple proposition that the owner has no real ownership of the House property and is only entitled to enjoy the income. Land taxes are not different in nature to the House Taxes.¹²

Let us now turn to the second point, namely the desertion of their homes and farms by the ryots. Dr. Venkataramanayya himself points out that under Vijayanagara rule there were many taxes besides the land tax. It is not possible therefore to prove that the incidence of only the land tax was responsible for the emigration of the ryots. Migration of ryots ensues as a result of the incidence of not one particularly heavy tax, or even of the total money burden of the System of Taxation as a whole, but only of *the total real burden of the entire System of Taxation*.¹³ When the total real burden of the System of Taxation as a whole is not very great on account of light indirect taxes, even if the money burden of one particular tax is specially heavy in its incidence on the ryot, migration does not ensue. Conversely then, it is possible that when the *total real burden* on the ryot of the entire tax system is very great, through a number of indirect taxes, such as taxes on commodities etc., and local levies of various kinds, migration might ensue even if the land tax is not very high. In such cases the ignorant ryot may attribute all his difficulties to the incidence of only the land tax—the direct money burden of only this tax being apparent to him—although his difficulties are due mainly if not solely to the other less apparent items in the Tax System. Thus migration cannot be explained in all cases to be due only to the enhancement of Land Tax and its oppressive incidence on people. Even admitting for argument's sake that it was only the land tax that led them to migrate we cannot prove the lack of proprietary right by the mere fact of migration. Immoveable property like land and houses cannot be transferred from place to place, and when life becomes very oppressive and mass migration of the cultivators takes place, there

12. We are not concerned here as to who levies the House Tax, and how it is spent. A few differences between the two are apparent; but still the analogy between these two is complete when we remember that the former is used for road-making, for allowances to the city fathers, etc., while the Land Tax is spent in maintaining an army for defending the country, for maintaining the pomp and splendour of the royal court and for several other things.

13. It is different in the case of a capitalist, where the total money burden might serve as a motive to migrate, e.g. the instance of Mr. Slingsby's migration to the Isle of Man after the Great War.

8, N. Venkataramanayya; *Studies in the Hist. of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara* pp. 164-167.

9. *Ibid* p. 165

10, *Ibid* p. 167. 11. *Ibid* p. 166 f.

is no question of selling the proprietary rights or for that matter even the right of enjoying the produce which they own according to Dr. Venkataramanayya. The one thing for them to do under such circumstances would be to desert them (lands, houses and everything that they cannot carry away with them), and go away to a different part of the country. Such a desertion cannot prove the lack of proprietary rights in the soil for them any more than it proves the absence of their right to cultivate them and enjoy their produce. It is the same whether they deserted their land or their houses, for it is not possible to suggest for example that the king owned their houses as well, because they deserted them.

The question of legality or otherwise of an enhancement of the land tax is partly answered in our discussion of the first point. 'Legal' is a peculiar term when applied to the actions of the king, since the king is the fountain of the law according to the *śāstras*, or *smṛtis* and the actual practice. Whether the king enhances the taxes on marriages, or the Land taxes, or any other taxes, it is the same from the point of view of legality. They are legal in a sense, and are based on the right of the king to levy taxes as the ruler of the country.

It may be argued that since the king granted all the privileges mentioned in the inscriptions he must have possessed them all to start with. But such an argument does not show that the king had any rights over land which was actually in possession of some one. The land or village granted might have been his own, at any rate there is nothing to show that he wrenched it from any rightful owner. It is possible that it was one of the Crown lands, or it might have escheated to him for some offence against the State, in which case he is as much the owner of that particular piece of land as any other Brāhmaṇa or temple. We have no instances which can prove unambiguously that the king had some proprietary right over land which was enjoyed by an ordinary peasant (not brāhmaṇas or temples, for these had exceptional privileges) with a sound claim on it. We have instances of a king depriving a peasant of his land, but they only prove that the king had sovereign

14. A doubt may arise as to what happened to the person or persons who owned the land in the village before it was granted to Candramauli, by Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya. It is not necessary however, to assume that all the land in this village was owned by somebody other than the king, and that the king dispossessed them of it and then granted it to Candramauli. It might have been land confiscated to the state for non-payment of revenue, or treason, or some other cause; or it might have been property of the crown; or it might even have been land unoccupied though cultivable. Even if the lands had been in the hands of a private individual or a village community, it might have been purchased by the state and made over to the donee (vide 327 of 1926, 303 of 1917, 165 of 1925, and 485 of 1925).

rights over his subjects and their possessions (which often consisted only of land), and not that the king had any proprietary rights over the land.

The main reason for the controversial nature of this problem is due to the failure on the part of the early writers to carry this discussion on strictly scientific lines of economics. We all know the futile attempts of early thinkers to differentiate services and commodities in terms of economics, forgetting that utilities are the only point that matter, from the point of view of economics, whether in commodities or in services. In the same way, when we refer to a piece of land, or a house, or a chair, economically we refer only to their utilities, and not their material structure. Value is dependent only on utilities in their relation to the enjoyers of these utilities. If the same amount of wood that is in the form of a chair is in the form of a log, or a tree in the forest, it has very much less utility and hence there is no scope for a tax on it, or even for its individual ownership. If the material constituents of a house for example, are in their original form of earth and lime, it is the same. In a similar way, a piece of land has some significance only from the point of view of the utilities in it; and the tax on that land is based only on its utilities and not on its material structure or anything else apart from the utilities. It is only on the basis of the difference in utilities that there is a higher tax on wet land than on dry land. When therefore, the peasant enjoys and has the right to enjoy all the utilities of a piece of land (including treasure-trove, mines, and etc.), there is no question of the king having any further proprietary rights in that piece of land. Since economically land implies only its utilities, it is inconceivable to regard the king as the owner of something quite apart from all its utilities.

If however we insist on maintaining that there is a distinction between the abstract and the practical aspects of these proprietary rights over land, the king's right turns out to be purely 'metaphysical' in nature devoid of all practical significance. Mr. Moreland does not admit that the political philosophers of Ancient India had not arrived at the stage of postulating an abstract idea of ownership as apart from the practical right of possession. We may not agree with Moreland in this, but it seems pretty evident that the common people at least could not have understood any such abstract right of the king over their land. They knew that the king had great rights over them as sovereign. He was divine in origin, and his position invested him with absolute powers over their person and property, which mostly consisted of land. He could therefore do anything he liked so long as he did not exceed the limits of *dharma*. But apart from this they could not have been aware of any special rights of the king over their land-rights of an abstract nature not conflicting with their own absolute practical rights on the land.

It is clear from the above that the donee of our grant had all the rights over the village granted, and that the king had no ownership of any sort on the land in this village. It is possible that he might levy some taxes even on this village. That would be quite in consonance with his legitimate royal prerogatives and duties, but it does not prove in any way his proprietary rights therein. If however he exceeded these limitations and tried for example to resume the lands, his actions would amount to tyranny and a violation of *dharma* and he would incur all the sins referred to at the end of the inscription.

THE DONOR:—The donor of the present grant is the famous king Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya of Vijayanagara; and this is one of the earliest grants that he issued after he came to the throne. Since his period of rule is ordinarily reckoned from Śaka 1431, corresponding to the cyclic year Śukla, this inscription which is dated in Pramōda must be attributed to the second year of his reign. But there are two inscriptions of Vīra-Narasimha in this period,¹⁵ one of them dated in this very year, and the other about three years later in the cyclic year Śrīmukha. The question then arises as to whether Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya had come to the throne of Vijayanagara by the time of this grant, and if so, how long before that date and why there are inscriptions of Vīra-Narasimha available even after the date.

THE DATE OF KRISHNA-DEVA-RAYA'S ACCESSION:—Sewell gives the date of Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya's accession as A. D. 1509 on the basis of his Hampe inscription. But as he himself points out the Śaka and the cyclic years mentioned in this inscription do not agree, and the cyclic year is assumed to be correct on other considerations. Unfortunately, however, there are a number of inscriptions of Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya before this date, which has led some people to argue that the date given in the Hampe inscription does not refer to the coronation but to the first anniversary of the coronation.

Anyhow the coronation of Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya must have taken place before the 23rd or the 24th January A. D. 1510, which is the date of the Hampe inscription, assuming the cyclic year to be correct. Even if the Śaka year is preferred the coronation must have taken place still earlier, and therefore the above date represents the later limit of margin for the date of coronation.

If we now examine the Vijayanagara inscriptions of A. D. 1510,¹⁶ we find there are many inscriptions of Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya dated in this year, although there is not a single reliable inscription of Vīra-Narasimha of this date. Even his doubtful inscriptions are only two in number, one of which is from Basrur in the Coondapur taluk, of the South Kanara

15. *Vide* below p. 133

16. *Vide* List of Inscriptions on p. 135.

district, and the other from Kankanahalli, in the Kanchanahalli taluk of Bangalore district.

The first is dated in Śaka 1(4)03, Pramōdūta, Vaiśākha Śu. 7, but the Śaka and the cyclic years do not agree. If the Śaka year is correct the inscription corresponds to the cyclic year Plava, A. D. 1481. Since Vīra-Narasimha had not come to the throne by that time we cannot say in whose name this inscription was issued. But since the Department of Epigraphy is not definite about the date and has enclosed the second figure in brackets, we may reject the Śaka year and base our calculations on the cyclic year. The date would then correspond to the 15th of April A. D. 1510. The second inscription gives absolutely no details except the name of the cyclic year, Śrīmukha, and hence we cannot verify the date.

It is not unusual to find 2 or 3 inscriptions issued in the king's name even after his death. When a king happens to die before he can register a grant he has made, or before he has had time to carry out his wishes it is not surprising if his legitimate successor carries out these things in the late king's name. The Basrur inscription does not even record such a royal decree. It is a private record registering the gift of land and money by the people of the village for the worship of a local deity; and on the evidence of this single inscription mentioning Vīra-Narasimha we cannot draw any definite conclusion. Sometimes when the succession is in dispute and the successor does not command the obedience of one and all in the country, or even when two rival candidates exercise authority in different parts of the country at the same time, the people at large are in a fix and therefore continue to carry on their transactions in the name of the late king till peace and order is restored in the country. So the mere existence of a couple of inscriptions of a king is not by any means a conclusive proof of his existence and rule, in the face of other weighty evidence that the king died before the date of the two inscriptions. We can definitely assert that Vīra-Narasimha had passed away before the date of the Hampe inscription, and that Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya was already on the throne of Vijayanagara.

On the other hand it is not possible to suggest that the coronation of Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya took place very much earlier than January 23rd or 24th of A. D. 1510. If we argue for example that the year mentioned in the Hampe inscription, (i.e. the cyclic year) refers to the first anniversary and not to the coronation itself, we will then have to assign the coronation to the 4th of February, A. D. 1509, a date when Vīra-Narasimha was still alive as testified to by a number of inscriptions dated in that year. For the same reason we have also to reject the Śaka year of that inscription as incorrect. Besides, the Hampe inscription clearly

17. *Epigraphical Report*, 421 B of 1928.

states that the gifts enumerated here were made on the occasion of coronation of Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya, and leaves no room for doubt or indefiniteness.

This view is confirmed by the evidence of a manuscript in the Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, called *Rāja-kāla-nirṇaya*, which gives us a few interesting and important details as regards the history of Vijayanagara. This work gives us the number of years that each king ruled, and assigns 20 years of reign to Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya. Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma has proved beyond question¹⁸ that Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya must have died before the 11th of the bright fortnight of the month of Māgha, in the cyclic year Virōdhi, on the triple basis of the Yālpī inscription, the date of the capture of Mudgal and Raichur by Ismā'īl Ādil Shāh after the death of Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya, and the date of the coronation of Acyuta-rāya. So calculating backwards for 20 years from this date, we arrive at the 11th of the bright fortnight of the month of Māgha, in the cyclic year Śukla, as the date on or about which Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya's reign began. This agrees very well with the date of this Hampe inscription. But if we reject the cyclic year of this Hampe inscription in favour of the Śaka year, or if we argue that the date refers to the anniversary of the coronation, it will go against this evidence of *Rāja-kāla-nirṇaya*.

Dr. N. Venkataramanayya recently brought to light another interesting historical manuscript called "Vijayanagarada Sāmrājyavū." The passage in this work referring to Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya's coronation is as follows:—"On the day of Śrī Jayanti (Lord Kṛṣṇa's birth-day), in the month of Āvaṇi of the year Śukla, (corresponding to the) Śaka year..... Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya arrived at Vijayanagara having been coronated." As Dr. Venkataramanayya rightly points out this date does not refer to the coronation itself but to his entry for the first time into the city of Vijayanagara, after coronation.²⁰ It follows therefore that the coronation ceremony was already over. Anyhow there is an interval of more than 5 months between this date and the date of the Hampe inscription although both of them presume to give the date of Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya's coronation. Of course the Hampe inscription is the more reliable of the two, since it is a record engraved in the capital itself under the express orders of the King during his coronation ceremony registering his own gifts, while the above manuscript is the report of the *aṭṭavanam* officers of Venkaṭa I, written nearly a century (95 years to be precise), after the accession of Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya.

Yet it is not possible to reject the evidence of this manuscript, and in my opinion it is possible to reconcile the evidence of both, and suggest that both of them are correct. According to the manuscript,

Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya's coronation did not take place in the city of Vijayanagara but somewhere outside, and only after his coronation did he enter the city on an auspicious day. Such a course of events is quite probable as seen from the trend of events in the beginning of Acyuta-rāya's reign. Acyuta's coronation took place first in Tirupati and then in Kālahasti; and only after this double coronation and establishment of his sovereignty that he entered the capital city of Vijayanagara and ascend the throne after a final and real coronation. That is why there is a considerable interval between his real coronation at Vijayanagara and his acquisition of the kingdom after the death of Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya.

It is not improbable that events took a similar turn in the beginning of even Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya's reign. If this surmise is correct then it follows that there was an interval between the real final coronation of Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya and his acquisition of the kingdom after the death of Vīra-Narasimha. We knew definitely from the Hampe inscription, that Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya's coronation took place on or immediately before the 14th of the bright fortnight, in the month of Māgha, of the cyclic year Śukla. When did he then acquire the kingdom, and how long was the interval between his acquisition of the kingdom and his coronation? These are some of the main points that crop up for discussion.

A careful scrutiny of the inscriptions of that period helps us to decide these questions. The following list of inscriptions of the year A. D. 1509 shows clearly when the inscriptions of Vīra-Narasimha came to an end, and when those of Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya began.

Date in Christian era.	Locality of inscription.	King,	Reference.
(1) Jan. 15, A.D. 1509.	Cellur, Kālahasti Taluk, Chittor Dt.	Vīra-Narasimha	419 of 1925
(2) Do.	Aragal, Attur Taluk, Salem Dt.	Do.	408 of 1913
(3) April 5.	Tekal, Malur.	Do.	EC X MI 6
(4) April 17.	Conjeevaram, Chingalpat Dt.	Do.	601 of 1919
(5) May 4.	Tadpatri, Anantapur Dt.	Do.	342 of 1892
(6) Do.	Dyāvanasamudram, Bangalore Dt.	Acyuta-rāya	EC IX BN 58
(7) July 21 or 22	Vikravandī, Villupuram Tk., South Arcot Dt.	Vīra-Narasimha	289 of 1915
(8) Do. 26.	Gulya, Alur Tk., Bellary Dt.	Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya	703 of 1919
(9) September 23	Devikapuram, Arni Tk. N. Arcot Dt.	Do.	372 of 1912
(10) December 13	Beluguppa, Kalyandrug Tk., Anantapur	Do.	27 of 1928

18. *Telugu Encyclopaedia*, vol. 2, p. 326, fn. 5.

19. *Bharati* 1929, part 11, p. 621.

The first five inscriptions in the list clearly prove that Vīra-Narasimha was ruling the kingdom till at least the 4th of May A. D. 1509. Numbers 6 and 7 are doubtful inscriptions of Acyuta and Vīra-Narasimha respectively. The rest, belong to Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya, and since the earliest of them (i.e. No. 8) is dated July 26 A. D. 1509, we may conclude definitely that Kṛṣṇa dēva-rāya was already exercising authority by the time of this inscription. It is in the interval between May 4, and July 26, of A. D. 1509 (which are the dates of the last inscription of Vīra-Narasimha and the first inscription of Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya respectively), that we have to assign the date of the death of Vīra-Narasimha and transference of the kingdom to the power of Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya.

There is an interval of nearly 2 months and 20 days between these two dates. Sewell tried to reduce this interval to 4 or 5 days only, and suggested accordingly that the 21st or the 22nd of July was the last date of Vīra-Narasimha on the basis of the Vikravandi inscription. (No. 7 of our list). But there is a great deal of difference between this inscription and the other more reliable inscriptions of Vīra-Narasimha, leading one to doubt whether this is after all a genuine inscription of Vīra-Narasimha.

In the first place the *birudas* assigned to the Vīra-Narasimha of this inscription are all the *birudas* of the Sāluva rulers and not the usual Tuluva *birudas* of Vīra-Narasimha. Although this king assumed the *birudas* of the Sāluvas in the beginning of his reign, just to hide the fact of his usurpation and carry the confidence of the people with him, he discarded them later on, and hence we cannot explain why at the fag end of his reign he should have again assumed the *birudas* of the Sāluvas. The strange thing about the Vikravandi inscription is the name of the king's father, which is given as "Kaṭṭāri Sāluva Bhujabala-dēva-mahārāya." Vīra-Narasimha's father Narasā Nāyaka is never referred to in this manner, not even as Bhujabala-rāya. The term Bhujabala-rāya is associated with only two persons, namely Immaḍi-Narasimha, the Sāluva ruler, and Vīra-Narasimha, the Tuluva ruler. So the king mentioned in this inscription must be the son of either of these two persons. In any cases it is clear that the inscription does not belong to Vīra-Narasimha.

Perhaps this inscription was issued soon after Vīra-Narasimha's death, before Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya's authority was universally acknowledged. The donor was a high officer—a Mahā-maṇḍalēśvara—Pottia-dēva by name. It is possible that the ideas of this dignitary of the state could not fall in line with those of the somewhat autocratic Timmarusu, and he set about issuing inscriptions in the name of either some Sāluva heir to the throne still living, or the son of Vīra-Narasimha, whom Timmarusu deprived of his throne. The latter view is more probable,

since we do not know that Immaḍi-Narasimha left an heir and that he was living about that date, although we know definitely that Vīra-Narasimha had a son at the time of his death, and that Vīra-Narasimha tried to ensure his succession to the throne. It is not improbable therefore that this Mahā-maṇḍalēśvara who could give away a whole village as a gift, espoused the cause of his late sovereign's son, when he found that Timmarusu was not faithful to him.

This view gains support from Dyāvnaśamudram inscription (Bangalore district), the sixth inscription in our list. It is somewhat damaged and therefore ignored by the editor in the translation. But it clearly states that 'Acyuta-rāya-mahārāyaru was ruling the kingdom of earth' (Acyuta-rāya-mahārāyaru prituṇvīrājyam gēyutiralu). The inscription is dated in Śaka 1431, Vairākha, Śu. Paurṇami. If the Śaka year is reckoned to be the expired year and not the current one it corresponds to the 24th of April, A. D. 1510, but if current, to the 4th of May, A. D. 1509. Since the cyclic year is damaged and the week-day and the *nakṣatra* is not given, it is not possible to decide as to which is the more correct. But we know that by the 24th of April, A. D. 1510 Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya was firmly established on the throne of Vijayanagara, and interned Vīra-Narasimha's son and his own brothers including Acyuta-rāya. So it is nearer the truth to treat the Śaka year as current.

Thus we see from the Dyāvnaśamudram and Vikravandi inscription that Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya did not come to the throne unopposed, though the opposition was not at all formidable, thanks to the genius of Timmarusu. The account of Nuniz fully confirms this opinion.²¹ Nuniz states that although "the kingdom ought perhaps to belong to his brother Crisna-rao," Vīra-Narasimha attempted to secure the succession of his own son who was yet a boy. He could not succeed in this but his attempt created obstacles in the path of Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya to the throne. That Vīra-Narasimha's attempts were no more justifiable than those of Timmarusu, is evident from Nuniz's explicit mention on two occasions (once in Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya's own words) that Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya had a right to the throne. Otherwise it is impossible to understand why Vīra-Narasimha treated his brother well during his rule (unlike Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya himself in his time), and attempted to blind him just before his own death, distrustful of his own loyal minister. If his own son had every right to the throne and Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya had none, and if his sole fear was a revolution or some illegal and unconstitutional *coup-de-etat*, he would have put an end to Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya or at least imprisoned him during his life time. His desire to spare Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya's life but make him unfit to rule by blinding him just before his own death suggests that he was

21. *Telugu Encyclopaedia*, vol. 2, p. 328.

22. Sewell, *Forgotten Empire*, p. 21 f.

afraid of putting an end to his life, lest it should recoil on his own plans by inciting too much of opposition. Such a fear is explicable if Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya had some legal right to the throne and Vīra-Narasimha was trying to override his claims; but not if Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya's claims were based solely on age and capacity. We thus see from the evidence of inscriptions and of Nuniz that Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya's succession was by no means so simple and smooth-sailing as it appears at the outset.

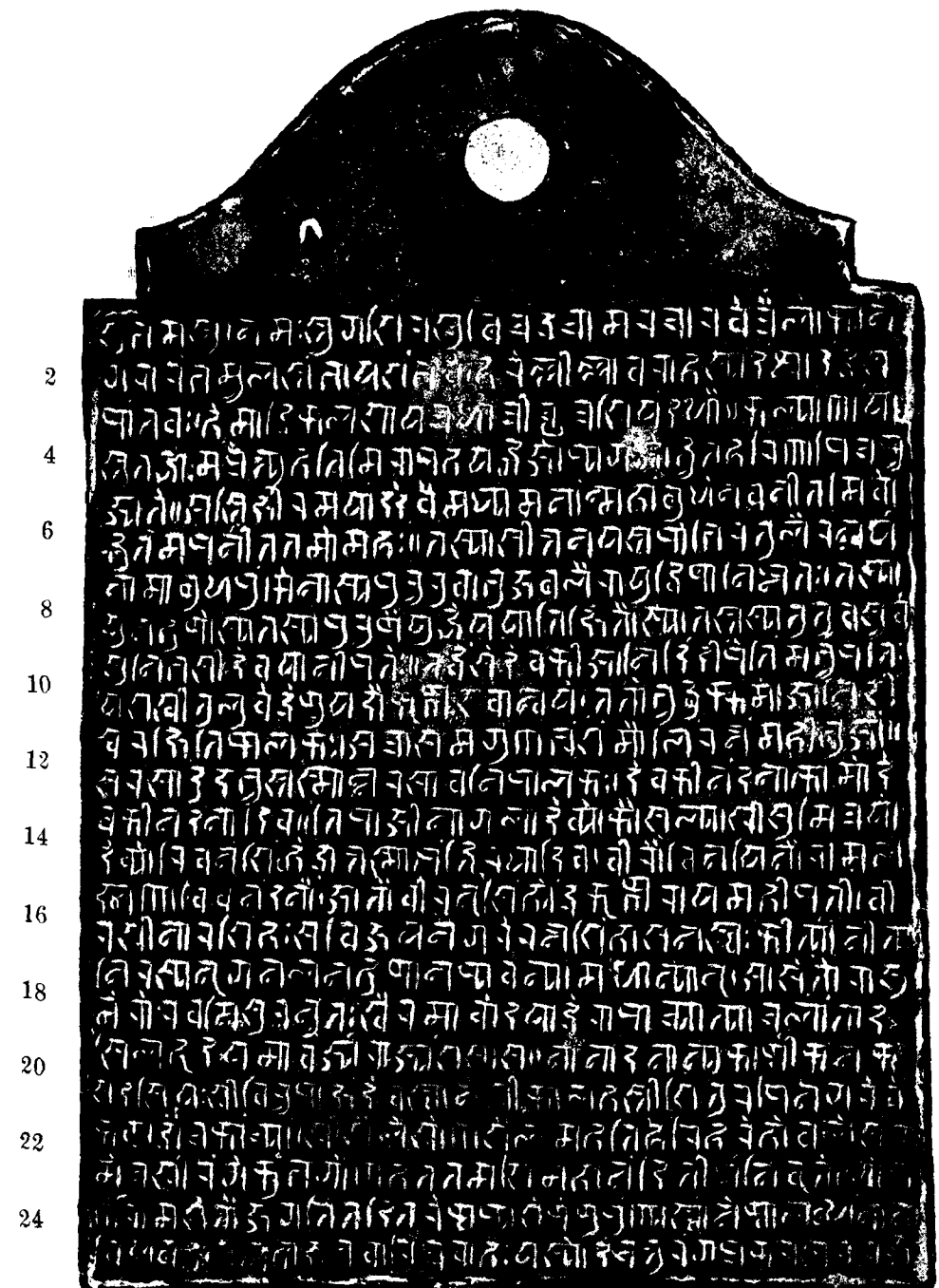
In conclusion one small point needs an explanation. Acyuta-rāya's inscription is dated on the same day as Vīra-Narasimha's Tadpatri record; and so this might appear to be a serious discrepancy if we assume that the succession disputes must have started only after Vīra-Narasimha's death. But such an assumption is by no means justifiable when we note that Vīra-Narasimha died of some illness—perhaps of a prolonged nature—and that it is not unusual for all kinds of rumours to arise when the sovereign is on death-bed, especially in the interior and the outlying parts of the kingdom, far away from the capital.

The following points emerge from the above discussion. 1. Vīra-Narasima died on or immediately after the 8th of May, A. D. 1509. 2. Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya's authority was not universally acknowledged at first, but in two or three months (that is before the 26th of July, A. D. 1509, he had succeeded fairly well in strengthening his position and had begun to exercise authority and carry on transactions in his own name. 3. Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya's real coronation must have taken place on or perhaps immediately before the 23rd or 24th of January, A. D. 1510.

23. We may note here one or two interesting traditional accounts of Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya's accession to the throne. Dhūrjati says in his Kṛṣṇa-rāya-vijayamu that Kṛṣṇa-rāya's father, Narasa Nāyaka, crowned him during his own life time in preference to his eldest son Vīra-Narasimha. Mr. G. Srirmamurti gives this traditional story with all its picturesque details. It seems that Narasa Nāyaka sent for his sons just before death and asked them to take away his signet ring. Each of them tried in vain to extract it from his swollen finger; but Kṛṣṇa-rāya split his father's finger with his sword and thus secured it for himself. The father is said to have admired Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya for this act of martial spirit and decided on him as his successor. It is needless to take up seriously any discussion of these legends. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar and R. Sarasvati opine that *Rāyavācakamu*, on which Dhūrjati's work is partly based and which is more reliable, repeats the same story. But a careful scrutiny of this work as published by Mr. Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu reveals no trace of this tradition. The manuscript is evidently damaged in the beginning, and the account commences only with the actual coronation of Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya. The inclusion of Vīra-Narasimha in the list of Kṛṣṇa-dēva-rāya's predecessors on the throne definitely proves that *Rāyavācakamu* could not have repeated the above traditional story, denying the rule of Vīra-Narasimha.

POLIPĀDU GRANT OF KṚṢṆADĒVARĀYA.

First plate; Second side.



Second plate; First side.

TEXT*

First Plate, Second Side.

- शुभमस्तु [1*] नमः(ः) स्तुंग शिरश्चुंवि चंद्रचामरचारवे [1*] त्रैलोक्यन-
 2 गगारंभमूलस्तंभाय शंभवे । [11*] हरेर्लला(ला)वराहस्य दंष्ट्रादंडस(स्स)
 पात(तु)वः [1*] हेमाद्रिकलशा यत्र धात्री छत्रश्रियं दधौ¹ ॥ [2] कल्याणाया
 4 स्तु तद्धाम प्रत्यु(त्यु)हतिमिरापहं । यद्रजोप्यगजोद्धूतं हरिणापि च पू-
 ज्यते ॥ [3*] अस्ति क्षीरमयादेवै र्मध्यमानान्महांबुधेः² [1*] नवनीतमिवो
 6 दूतमपनीततमो महः ॥ [8*] तस्यासीत्तनयस्तपोभिरतुलैरन्वर्थ-
 नामा बुधः[3*] पुं(पु)प्येनास्य पुरुह(र)वा भुजबलैरायुद्धिषा³ निघ्नतः । तस्या
 8 युर्नहुषोस्य तस्य पुरुषै(षो) युद्धे ययाति[3*] क्षितौ ख्यातस्तस्य तु तूर्वसू(सु)र्व
 सुनिभः[3*] श्रीदेवयानीपतेः ॥ [5*] तद्वंसे(शे) देवकीजानिर्दिदीपे तिमभूपतिः [1*]
 10 यशश्ची(स्त्री) तुलुवेन्द्रेषु यदौ⁴ कृष्णइवान्वये । [6*] ततो भूद्वुकमाजानि[3*] ई-
 श्वरक्षितिपालकः । अत्रासमगुणभ्रंशं मौलिरत्नं महीभुजां ॥ [7*]
 12 सरसदुदभूस्त(त्त)स्मा न्नरसावनिपालकः । देवकीनंदनात्कामो दे-
 वकीनंदनादिव ॥ [8*] तिपा(प्या)जीनागलादेव्यो[3] कौसल्या श्रीसुमित्रयो[3*]
 14 देव्योरिव नृसिंहं द्रात्तस्मात्पंक्तिरथादिव ॥ [9*] वीरौ विनयिनौ रामल-
 क्ष्मणाविव नंदनौ । जातौ वीरनृसिंहेंद्र कृष्णरायमहीपती ॥ [10*] वी-
 16 रश्रीनारसिंहः स विजयनगर रत्नसिंहासनस्थः कीर्त्या नीत्या
 निरस्यनृ(न्तृ)गनलनहुषानप्यवन्यामथान्यान् । आसेतोरासु
 18 मेरोरवमि(नि)सुरनुतः स्वैरमाचोदयाद्रे रापाच्यात्या⁵ चलांता द
 खिलहृदयमावर्ज्यराज्यं शशास ॥ [11*] नानादनान्यकर्षी(ति*) कनक
 20 सदसियः श्रीविरूपाक्षदेवस्थाने श्रीकालहस्तिशितुरपि नगरे वै-
 कटाद्रौ च कांच्यां । श्रीशैले शोणशैले महति हरिहरेऽहोबले संग
 22 मे च श्रीरंगे कुंभगोणे हततमसि महानंदितर्थि(र्थे)निवृत्तौ ॥ [12*] गोक-
 र्णे रामरे(से)तौ जगति तदितरेष्वप्यशेषेषु पुण्यस्थानेष्वालब्ध⁶ नाना
 24 विधबहुलमहादानवारिप्रवाहैः [1*] यस्योद च तुरंगप्रकरखुर रज-
 शु(दशु)ष्यदंबोधि(धि)ममक्षमाभृप(त्प)क्षालिदोद्यत्तरकुलिशधरोत्कंठिता

*From the original plates.

1. Read दधौ

2. The anusvara over ना is superfluous

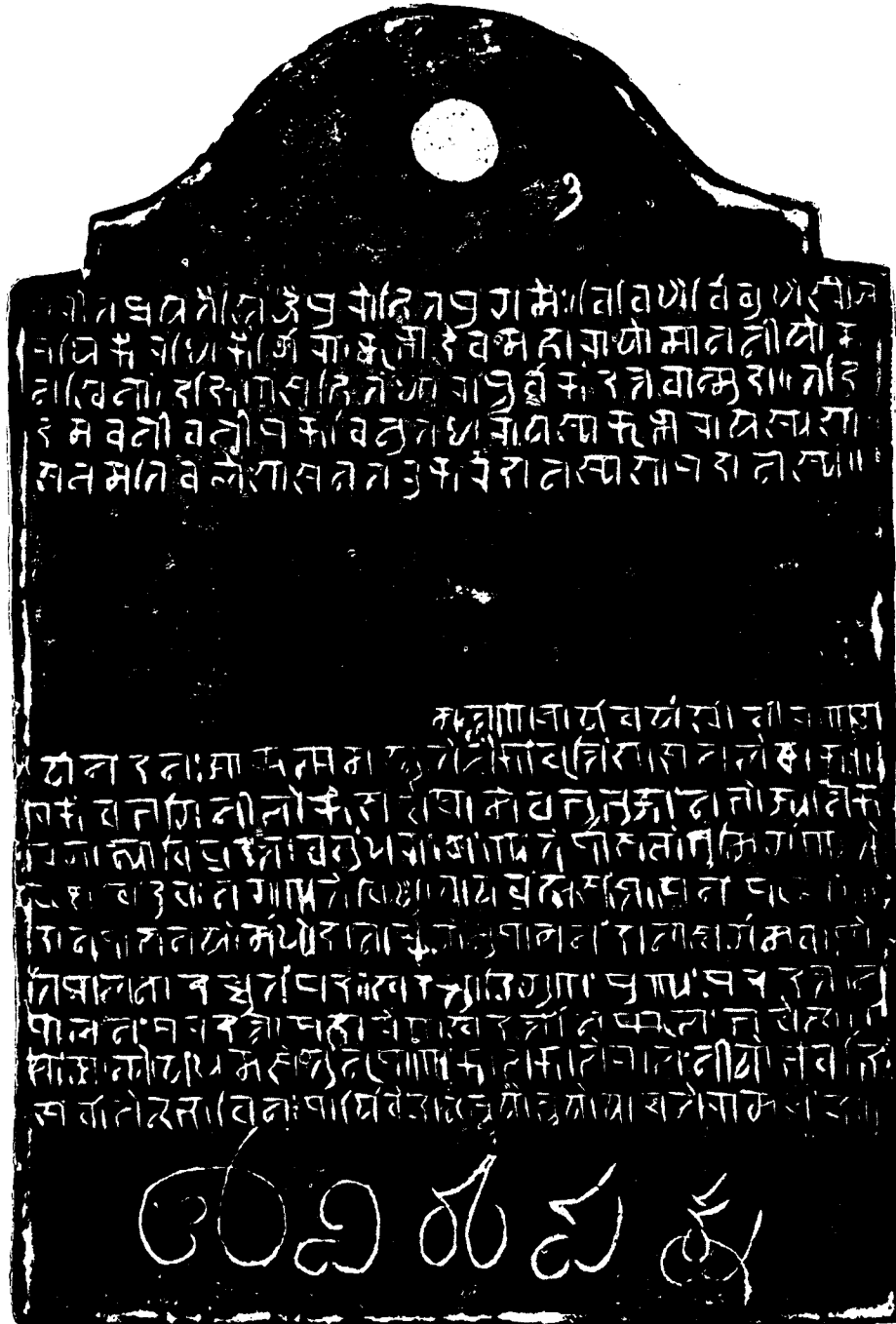
3. Read द्विषां

4. Read तुलुवेन्द्रेषु यादौ

5. ,, पाश्चात्या

6. ,, रब्ध

Third plate; First side.



Second Plate: Second Side.

- 43 स्तोषकृतार्थिष(षु) यो रणचंडः [॥ २१*] राजाधिराज इत्युक्तो यो राजप
रमेश्वरः । मूरायरगंडा(डां)कः पररायभयंकरः [॥ २२*] हिंदूराय
50 सुरत्ताणो दुष्टसा(शा)दूलमर्दनः । गजौघगंडभेहंड इत्यादि
विरुदान्वितः [॥ २३*] आलोक्य महाराज जा(ज)य जीवेति वादितिः (भिः) ।
52 अंगबंगकलि(लिं)गाद्यै राजभिः परिशेष्यते [॥ २४*] स्तुत्यौदार्यसुधी²¹
भिः स विजयनगरे रत्नसिंहासनस्थः क्षमापालान् कृष्णराय
54 क्षितिपतिरधरा(री)कृत्य नीत्या(त्या)नृगादीन् । आपूवाद्²² रथास्तक्षिति
धरकटकादाच हेमाचलं(लां)तादासेतो राधि(र्थि)सार्थाः(ः) श्रीयमिह
56 बहलीकृत्य कीर्त्तिन्वितं(त)न्व[न*] ॥ [२५*] शालिवाहननिर्णीते शकाब्दे
श(स)चतुशतैः²³ द्वावींशता च शं(सं)युक्तै शं(स्सं)ख्याते दशभिस(दश)तैः[. *] ॥ [२६*]
58 प्रमोद(ः)वत्सरे पुण्यनाशे(से) मकरसंक्रमे । कृष्णपक्षे त्रयोदा
स्यां ज्येष्ठर्क्ष(र्क्षे) मंदवासु(स)रे [॥ २७*] तुंगभद्रापगातीरे स्त्री(श्री)विरूपा
60 क्षशं(स)निधौ(ः)²⁴ । वरगोतमगोत्राय याजुषाय यस(श)श्चिने [॥ २८*] सू
क्ता²⁵ येरं(रा)रामराजस्य सूनवे श्रुतिसो(शो)भिने । विद्याविनयचा
62 रिह हृदाय गुरवे धिया [॥ २९*] सर्वशास्त्रविदे चंद्रमौलिविस्त(प्रा)य
सूनवे²⁶ । चंद्रगिर्याखराज्यस्तं कल्महाक्षि²⁷सीमगं [॥ ३०*] वै
64 दोडुप्रामतः प्राच्यं पोटुगुंटाच्च दक्षिणं । पश्चिमं पर्वत
आपि सगुटोरोरयोत्तरं [॥ ३१*] अन्नमागा प्रथं ज्ञातं भक्त्या
66 त्मानान् महीसुरैः²⁸ । कृष्णरायपुरं च (चे)ति प्रतिनामापशो
भितं [॥ ३२*] ग्रामं मनोहर²⁹ पोलिपाटिनामानं(न) मुत्तमं [॥ *] सर्वमान्य
68 चतुस्सीमासयुतं च समंततः [॥ ३३*] सर्वदा सर्वसस्याद्यं सि
द्धसाध्यादिसंयुतं । निधिनिक्षेपपाषाणाद्यष्ट भोगै र

21. Read दार्यसुधीभिः

23. Read सचतुशतैः

22. .. अपूर्वादे

24. .. सन्निधौ

25. The meaning of this word is not clear. Probably the word 'Sakta' has to be read as 'sūtraya'. The scribe apparently omitted the sūtra of the donee. (Ed.)

26. Read सूर्य

27. Read गिर्याखराज्यस्तं कल्महाक्षि

28. The meaning of this line is not clear.

29. The scribe wrote हरं first and then wrote on it afterwords इयं

- 70 थेतरे: । [१३४*] विविधैश्च फलैर्युक्तं एकभोग्यं सभूरुहं । [१*] वापी
कूपतटाकैश्च कच्छेनापि समन्वितं ॥ [३५*] पुत्रपौत्रादिभिर्भोग्यं
72 क्रमादाचंद्रतारकं । दानस्य दमनस्यापि विक्रयस्यपिचोर्चितं ॥ [३६*]

Third Plate: First Side.

- परीतप्रयतै स्निहैः (ग्धैः) पुरोहितपु (रो*) गमैः । विविधैर्विबुधैश्चैत³⁰
74 पथिकैरधिकैर्गिरा । [१३७*] कृष्णदेवमहारायो माननीयो म
नस्विनां । दक्षिणा(ण)सहितं धारापूर्वकं दत्तवान्मुदा ॥ [३८*] तदि
76 दमवनीवनोपकविनुतघरा यस्य कृष्णरायस्य [१*] शा
सनमतिबले³¹ शासनतरुकरदानस्य सापदानस्य ॥ [६९*]
78 मल्लणाचार्यवर्य श्रीवीरणाचा
र्यनंदनः [१*] आकल्पमश्नुतेतैकां वृत्तिं शासनलेखकः ॥ [४०*]
80 एकैव भगिनी लोके सर्वेषामेव भूभुजां [१*] न भोज्या न क
रमाह्या विप्रदत्ता वसुंधरा । [४१*] गं(ग)ण्यते पासवो भूमि गंण्यते
81 वृष्टिर्विदवः [१*] न गण्यते विधाताय ब्रह्मसंस्थापनफलः³² ॥ [४२*]
दापालनयोर्मध्ये दानाच्छ्रोनुपालनं [१*] दाना(न्*) स्वर्गमाप्नो
84 ति पालनादच्युतं³³ पदं ॥ [४३*] स्वदत्ता द्विगुणां पुण्यं परदत्तानु
पालनं [१*] परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तां निष्फलं भवेत् ॥ [४४*]
86 सामान्योयां धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां कालेकाले पालनीयो भवद्भिः [१*]
सर्वनेन्द³⁴ भाविनः पार्दिवेद्रान् भूयोभूयो याचते रामचंद्रः ॥ [४५*]

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

80. Read विबुधैश्चैत
81. " मतिबल
84. Read सर्वानेतान्

82. Read संस्थापनाफलं
83. " दच्युतं

Dhavalapeta Copper-Plate Grant of Umavarman.

MANDA NARASIMHAM.

These plates three in number, strung together by a copper ring, bearing the royal seal, were discovered by a cultivator of Dhavalapēṭa, situated about twelve miles from Chicacole in Vizagapatam district. The ring was cut by me when the set was brought for my examination. The third plate was broken and melted down under the impression that the metal was gold. The other two plates contain writing, one plate on both the sides and the other on one side only; and each side has four lines of writing on it. The seal, oval in shape, is $3\frac{1}{4}$ " by $2\frac{1}{4}$ "; and has six lines of writing thereon. But the letters are much worn out and therefore could not be read. The plates on which the present inscription is engraved are very thin, and their rims are not raised. The edges of the plates are here and there worn out on account of rust, but the writing is in a fair state of preservation.

The writing on the plates is in 'Brāhmī' script and, closely resembles that of the Tirlingi plate of an unknown king published in this Journal.¹ The language employed in this inscription is Sanskrit, and the entire grant that is now preserved is in prose. Out of sixteen lines into which the inscription presumably runs, only twelve lines are available to us on account of the third plate having been irretrievably lost.

The subjoined grant was issued from "Nagara". This place has been identified with Mukhalingam near Parlakimedi in Ganjam district, (Orissa). Mahārāja Umavarman constituted the village of Kottūra into an *agrahāra* and bestowed it upon the Brāhmaṇa householder Śrillāsavāmin, of the Vatsa gōtra, a student of Chamḍōga school. The donee is stated to have been a co-student of the king

The donor of this grant, Umavarman, calls himself *Māhārāja*. He does not however mention the names of his father and grand-father. His family name and the part of the country over which he reigned are not known to us from this record. Three copper plate grants of this king have so far been brought to light, and this grant is the third. One grant of this king is published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol XII;

1. Above vol. III. p. 54. But it is more appropriate to compare the script of this grant with the characters of the Kōmarti plates of Chandavarman. (E.I. IV p. 142 and plate) and the Bṛihat-proshṭha grant of Umavarman (E.I. XII, p. 41 and plate. Ed.)

and the second in the same journal, vol. XIII.2 The first two grants were issued from Sirhnapura.

Text. 3

First plate; Second side.

1. Om⁴ (| *) Svasti Su-Nagarāt parama-daivata bappabhattāraka-pā-
2. dānudhyātō Srirāmaharaj-Ōmavarmā (| *) Mahēndra-bhōga Kottū-
3. ra grāmē sarva samanvāgatan kuṭumbinas-samājñāpa—
4. yati (| *) Astyēsha-grāmē = smābhir = ātma(naḥ) puṇy = āyur-yaśō-
- bhivṛddha—

Second plate; first side.

5. yē Vatsya-sagotrāya Chandōga-sabrahmachārīṇē Brāhma-
6. ṇa S'rillasvāmīṇē a-sahasrāmśu-(śaśi)6 tāraka praṭishṭha-
7. m = agrahāram kṛtvā sarva kara-parihāraiś-cha parihṛtya
8. sampradattas saha(pāṭha)7 kēna (| *) tad-ēvaṁ viditya yushmābhiḥ

Second plate; Second side.

9. purvōchita maryādās yō = pasthānaṁ kartavyaṁ (| *) ā chchhātra-
10. kechid utpadyantē meya hiranyādi tatsarvam-u-
11. pāṇīyaṁ (| *) bhaviṣyataś-cha rājñe vijñāpayati (| *) dharmākrama-
12. ṇa-mānōmanyatūma yōgād-āvāpta mahim = anu śasana 9

2. The statement and the reference are both incorrect. Only one grant of this king is hitherto known and, that is the Brihat-proshṭha grant, *E. I. XII.* pp. 4—6. Ed.

3. From the original plates in my possession.

4. This is represented by a symbol.

5. Read 'S'rīman-mahārāja'.

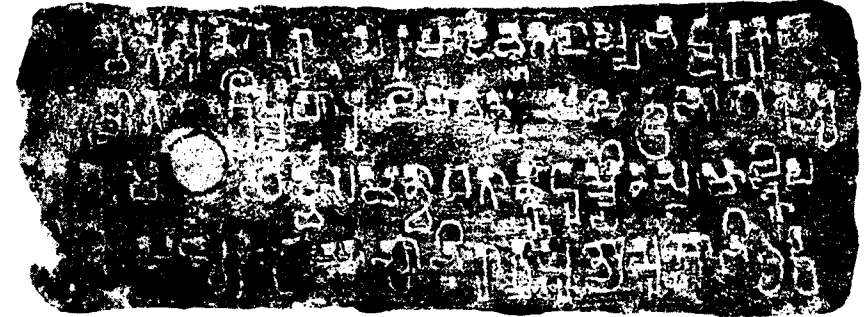
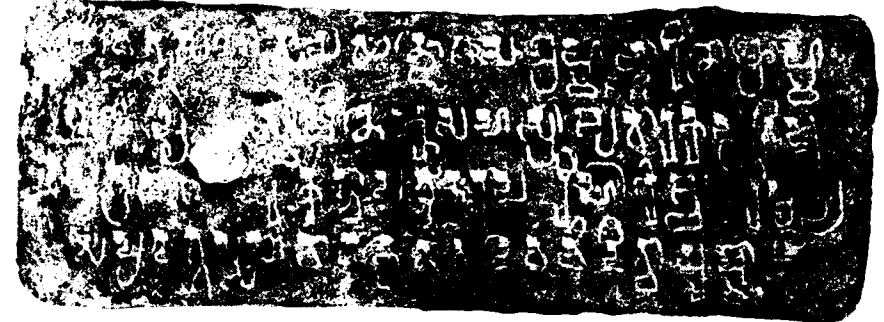
6. The word 'śaśi' was omitted in the first instance but later on inserted above the *lipi* in revision.

7. The word 'pāṭha' is not quite clear. The letters are much worn out by rust.

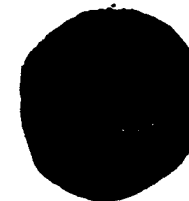
8. 'rya' is omitted after 'ma' in the first instance but later on inserted above.

9. The inscription is incomplete. Ed.

DHAVALAPĒṬA COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF UMAVARMAN

Plate 1 — Second Side.*Plate 2 — First Side.**Plate 2 — Second Side*

Scale, 50.



*A rare coin of the Śātavāhana
king Apilaka.*

(Obverse — Original size — From a photograph)

GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE WESTERN GANGAS

(From *Mārasimha* to *Rakkasa Gaṅga* II.)

M. GOVIND PAI.

From the Kallahalli Stone inscription¹ dated Ś.S. 933 Sādharaṇa *saṃvatsara* i.e. 1011—12 A. C. and the 27th year of the reign of Mummadi Chōla, he would seem to have ascended the throne in 985 A. C; and from two Hebbani pillar inscriptions,² one of which is dated in his 16th year, i.e. 1000-1 A. C., Mummadi Chōla is known to be a title of Kājarāja Chōla, i.e. Rājarāja Rājakēsarivarma. In the Uttanur stone inscription³ of the 19th year of Rājarāja Rājakēsarivarma, i.e. 1003—4 A.C. he is said to have conquered with his heroic and victorious army Gaṅga-pāḍi or Gaṅgavāḍi i.e. the Gaṅga kingdom, and Noḷambavāḍi or Noḷambavāḍi i.e. the Noḷamba kingdom as well as several others. The Chōla conquest of the Gaṅga kingdom must have been therefore effected in or by the year 1004 A. C. Though thus this event took place in the reign of the Chōla king Rājarāja, the conquest itself was not a personal achievement of that king but that of his son, who on his accession to the Chōla throne was known as Parakēsarivarma Rājendra Chōla, as is manifest from the significant title he bears, Gaṅge-goṇḍa Rājendra Chōla-dēva in the Kannaḍa,⁴ and *Gaṅgai-koṇḍa Śōla* in the Tamil⁵ inscriptions, his full title as given in some of them⁶ being Pūrva-dēśamūḥ Gaṅgaiyūḥ (or Gaṅgeyūḥ) Kaḍāramūḥ goṇḍa (or koṇḍa) i.e. he who took the Eastern country, Gaṅga kingdom and Kaḍāram, Rājendra Chōla was therefore evidently in command of his father's army when it took the Gaṅga capital Talakāḍ and overthrew the Gaṅga power in or before 1004 A. C.

The Humcha stone inscription⁷ in Kannaḍa, dated Thursday the 2nd lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Jyēshṭha in the Pingala *Samvatsara* Ś. S. 999 i.e. Thursday the 27th April 1077 A. C. records the consecration of a Jaina temple, the Paṁchakūṭa Basadi (lines 65—6; 80) or the Paṁcha Basadi (ll. 62-3; 69) erected by the princess Chatṭala-dēvi as well as her sister Kaṁchala dēvi *alias* Vira-mahādēvi's sons (ll. 51—2) Nanni Śāntara and his brothers Oḍḍamarasa *alias* Oḍḍuga and Barma-dēva (ll. 61—62), of whom Govindara-dēva (l. 55) or Goggiga (l. 51) *alias* Nanni Śāntara was then the actual ruler (l. 60) in succession to his elder brother Taila or Tailapa (ll. 51, 53) *alias* Bhujabala Śāntara (l. 54) under the suzerain the Western Chālukya emperor Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI (ll. 2—3). The Śāntara capital was at Pomburcha

1. *Epigraphica Carnatica* (E. C.) X Ct. 118.

2. *Ibid.* Mb. 190.

3. *Ibid.* Kl. 111.

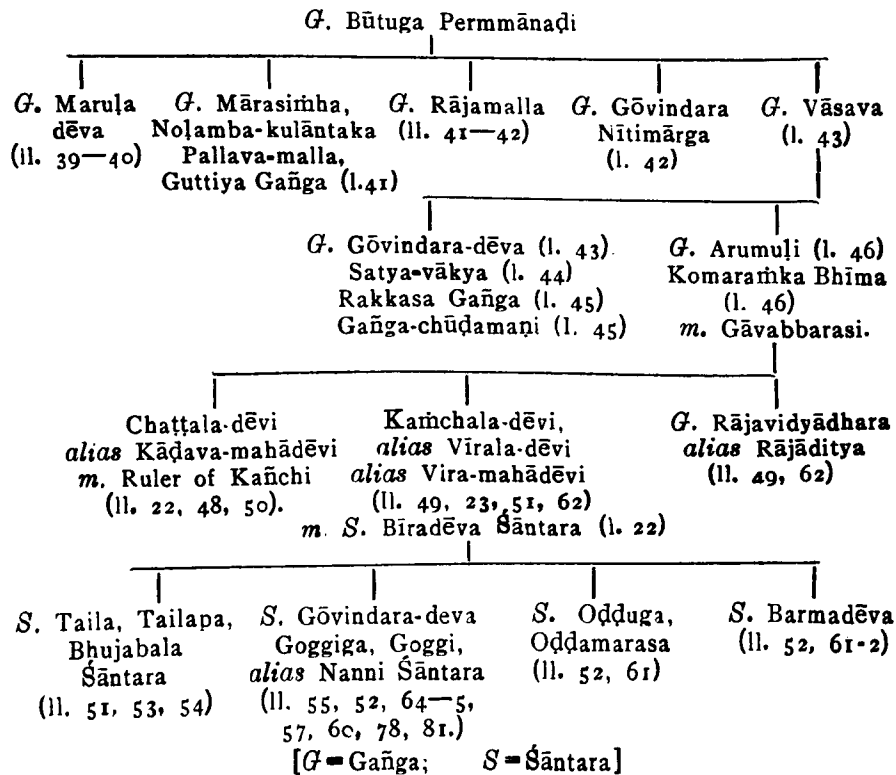
7. E. C. VIII Nr. 85.

2. *Ibid.* Mb. 208 & 209.

4. *Ibid.* Ct. 153; Sp. 17.

6. *Ibid.* Kl. 111, 149 b; Ct. 47; CB, 13.

(l. 62) i.e. Humcha, and as stated in a pillar inscription⁸ in the said Pañcha Basadi, the country ruled over by Nanni Śāntara was known as Śāntaḷige Thousand (ll. 46–8), which corresponds generally with the present Tirthahalli taluk and neighbouring parts in the Mysore State.⁹ The Humcha stone (Nr. 35), which gives a long and detailed genealogy of the Western Gaṅgas, states that Chaṭṭala-dēvi, who was the actual erector of the Basadi (ll. 65–6) and therefore the principal benefactor, was the eldest daughter of Arumuli-dēva (ll. 48–9), younger brother of Gaṅga Govindara, better known by his title or personal epithet Rakkasa Gaṅga (ll. 43, 45, 50, 63, 77), and her nephews the other benefactors Nanni Śāntara and his brothers, were therefore the grand-nephews of her uncle Rakkasa Gaṅga. It is thus not improbable that she must have been sufficiently well acquainted with the pedigree and the family history of the Gaṅgas from her father as well as her uncle so that the accuracy of the following last steps of the Gaṅga genealogy from at least their Grand-father onwards as recorded in her inscription need hardly be doubted.



8. *Ibid* Nr. 36.

9. *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions* (MC I) pp. 138–9.

The Pañcha Basadi erected as a *paroksha vinaya*, which means an act of reverence to those that have passed beyond light, i.e. a memorial to the dead, was dedicated as such to the memory of Arumuli-dēva, his wife Gāvabbarasi, their daughter Virala-dēvi *alias* Kañchala-dēvi and their son Rājāditya *alias* Rājavidyādhara (Nr. 35, l. 62), who were respectively the father, mother, sister and brother of Chaṭṭala-dēvi, and accordingly the grandfather, grandmother, mother and mother's brother of the rest of the benefactors Nanni Śāntara and his brothers. From the undated pillar inscription (Nr. 36) in the said Basadi, of the reign of Nanni Śāntara's younger brother Oḍḍuga, who succeeded Nanni Śāntara with the throne-name Vikrama Śāntara (ll. 58–62, 151), it is known that their eldest brother Bhujabala Śāntara was also present (l. 85) when the foundation stone of the Basadi was laid. Now one of the Kanpur stone inscriptions¹⁰ is dated on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the full-moon day of Mārgaśīra in Ś. S. 984 Śōbhakṛitu *samvatsara* i.e. Monday the 18th November 1062 A. C. (on which night there was a lunar eclipse), in the reign of Bīra Śāntara, the father of these Śāntara brothers Bhujabala and others. According to a mural inscription in Chandraprabha Basadi,¹¹ his eldest son Bhujabala Śāntara was ruling over Śāntaḷige 1000 in Ś. S. 987 Viśvāvasu *samvatsara* i.e. 1066–67 A. C., while according to a second pillar inscription in the Pañcha Basadi¹² Oḍḍuga *alias* Vikrama Śāntara was the ruler of Śāntaḷige 1000 in S. S. 1009, Prabhava *Samvatsara* i.e. 1087–83 A. C. It thus appears that the eldest of these Śāntara brothers, Bhujabala Śāntara, who succeeded his father Bīra Śāntara between 1062 and 1067 A. C. died between the foundation and the inauguration ceremonies of the Pañcha Basadi and was succeeded by his next brother Nanni Śāntara, who with his younger brothers and his aunt Chaṭṭala-dēvi performed its inauguration in 1077 A. C., and Nanni Śāntara himself died after its consecration and was succeeded by his next brother Oḍḍuga *alias* Vikrama Śāntara, who was on his brothers' throne in 1087 A. C. Some or several years therefore must have passed between the foundation and the consecration of the Pañcha Basadi, and as the foundation stone would not evidently be laid until after the death of all the dedicatees, it is not improbable that all of them had been dead

10. E. C. VII SK. 63.

11. E. C. VIII Nr. 59. The date details of this inscription, Monday the 5th lunar day of Māgha on the occasion of the northern solstice in Ś. S. 987 Viśvāvasu *Samvatsara*, regularly correspond to Monday the 22nd January 1067, except that this day was the day of Kumbha Samkramana and not of Makara Samkramana which is more or less exclusively known as the Uttarayana Samkramana, the northern (or winter) solstice. Thus this record is slightly irregular in date, though no doubt Kumbha Samkramana also falls in Uttarayana. (The calculation of the equivalents of the date is incorrect. Ed.)

12. *Ibid* Nr. 40.

before the accession of Bhujabala Śāntara i.e. between c. 1050 and 1060 A. C.

Although the four Śāntara brothers are expressly stated to be the sons of of Kañchala *alias* Virala-dēvi, the younger sister of Chaṭṭala dēvi, in different inscriptions in the Pañcha Basadi—Nagar 35 (ll. 51-2) 36 (ll. 30-36), 37 (ll. 26-31), 40 (ll. 16-29) —all of them, whether one by one or all together, have been elsewhere in the same inscriptions—Nagar 35 (ll. 64-6), 36 (ll. 74-5, 80), 37 (ll. 41, 49-50), 40 (ll. 29-32)—described also as the sons of Chaṭṭala-dēvi herself. Similarly Chaṭṭala-dēvi who has been expressly stated to be a daughter of Rakkasa Gaṅga's younger brother Arumuḷi-dēva in Nagar 35 (ll. 48-9), is described at another place in it (ll. 63-4), as well as in the other inscriptions—Nagar 36 (ll. 75-81), 37 (ll. 41-6), 39 (ll. 16-19), 40 (l. 31)—as the daughter of Rakkasa Gaṅga himself. In both the cases it is no doubt on account of the deep affection that existed between the respective parties, as well as the high regard which in either case the youngers had for their elders, that the aunt and her nephews have been called mother and sons, and the uncle and his niece as father and daughter. If then Rakkasa Gaṅga had been yet alive when the Pañcha Basadi was inaugurated in 1077 A. C., there is hardly any doubt that his name would have led all the rest of the dedicators; and if on the other hand he had died between or after the dedicatees and before the foundation or consecration of the Basadi, his name as that of the eldest and the most venerable of the dedicatees, would certainly have led all theirs. But neither however is the case. Besides while Rakkasa Gaṅga is stated to have performed the marriage of his eldest niece Chaṭṭala-dēvi (Nagar 35. l. 50.) nothing of the sort has been said with regard to his other niece Kañchala-dēvi, the mother of the Śāntara brothers. She was therefore married presumably after the death of her uncle. Rakkasa Gaṅga would thus seem to have died between or before c. 1030-40 A. C.

CHRONOLOGY.

Śrāvaṇbelgoḷa 59¹³ gives an elaborate account of the achievements of Mārasimha. It states that he was known as Satyavākya Koṅguṇivarmma Dharmamahārājādhirāja; he conquered¹⁴ the Gūrjara king during the northern *digvijaya* (world-conquest) of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Kṛishṇa III; he broke the pride of Alla, who is known as a powerful opponent of Kṛishṇa III; he dispersed the bands of the wild

13. E. C. II SB. 59 and Introduction (pp. 44-45)

14. The word used in this connection in the text of SB. 59 has been read as *vidita* (l. 8) and the passage accordingly translated as 'became known as [the king of Gūrjara] (*Gurjaradhiraja*) by his conquest of the northern region for Kṛishṇa-rāja' (Translations p. 11); but as Mārasimha is nowhere known as *Gūrjarādhirāja*, the word in question is evidently a misreading or miswriting instead of *vijita*, 'conquered', and that is how I take and render it here.

tribes known as Kirātas, living besides the Vindhya forests; he performed the anointment of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra IV;¹⁵ he captured the possessions of the ruler of Banavāsi; he received obeisance from the rulers of the Mātura family; he destroyed the Noḷamba kings in war so that he came to be known by the distinctive title Noḷamba kulāntaka, 'death to the Noḷamba family'; he took the hill-fort of Uccañgi; he killed the Śabara leader Naraga; he made the Chēra, Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Pallava kings bow down before him etc., etc. It also gives his several titles such as Gaṅga-chūḍamaṇi, Chaladuttaranga, Noḷamba-kulāntaka etc, and rounds off with the statement that Mārasimha who was a staunch Jaina by faith and had erected Basadis at various places, relinquished the throne for a year (l. 109) and retiring to Baṁkāpura he accomplished *samādhi* and died in the presence of his *guru*, the famous Jaina ascetic Ajitasēna. This epigraph was no doubt engraved soon or sometime after the death of Mārasimha. It is not dated.

There are several records of the time of Mārasimha:—

(1) An inscription in the temple of Uḍachavva at Hirēhandigōḷ,¹⁶ dated Ś. S. 893 *Prāmōda samvatsara* i. e., 970-71 A. C., mentions Mārasimha Permādi as the ruler Purigere 300 and Belvcla 300 under the Rāshtrakūṭa king Nityavarsha Koṭṭiga-dēva; and from other sources¹⁷ we know that when Mārasimha's father Būtuga married the daughter of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha Baddega or Vaddiga, the latter gave him as dowry these provinces as well as Kisukād 70 and Bāgenād 70, and also that later on Būtuga was further rewarded with Banavāsi 12000 province by his brother-in-law Kṛishṇa III the son and successor of Baddega.

(2) A *vīra-kal* at Masagana-halli¹⁸ is dated Ś. S. 893 *Prajāpati samvatsara* i. e., 971-72 A.C. in the reign of Satyavākya Koṅguṇivarmma Dharmma mahārājādhirāja Koḷāla puravarēśvara (lord of the city of Kuvalāla i.e. Kōlār) Nandagiri-nāḥa (lord of Nandagiri or Nandigiri i.e. the Nandi hill in Kōlār District) Chaladuttaraṅga Noḷamba-kulāntaka Permmānaḍi; and the last two titles, especially the last of them Noḷamba-kulāntaka, is as is well known, a specific title of Mārasimha.

15. Indra IV was the son's son of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III and the daughter's son of Gaṅga Būtuga and therefore the sister's son of Mārasimha, who made serious attempts though unsuccessful between 973-74 A. C. to recover for him the Rāshtrakūṭa throne which Western Chālukya king Ahayamalla Tailapa had seized from Rāshtrakūṭa king Kakka II. Indra thus never sat on the throne, and he died in 982 A.C. (S.B. 133; Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties* pp. 424-25)

16. Suppt. to the Ann. Rep. [on South Ind. Epigraphy 1927 (S.A.R.S.I.E.) No. 149 (p. 12)]

17. M. C. I. pp. 45-46; Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties* pp. 418-19.

18. E. C. V. On. 262.

(3) On another *vīra-kal* at Mādālagere¹⁹ the name of the king Mārasīṅha i. e. Mārasimha, is coupled with the same set of titles as in the above stone. This *vīra-kal* is dated Tuesday the 10th day of the bright half of Māgha under the constellation Mṛi(gaśiras) in Ś. S. 892 Pramōdūta *saṃvatsara*, which works out correctly for Tuesday the 10th January 971 A. C., corresponding not however to *daśami*, the 10th lunar day, as stated in the epigraph, but to the next day *ekādaśī* the 11th lunar day. There is thus a slight irregularity in its date details.

(4) Yet another *vīra-kal* at Neralige²⁰ in Arsikere tāluk is dated Ś. S. 894 Prajāpati *saṃvatsara* i. e. 971—72 A. C. in the reign of Mārasīṅha Satyavākya Perummāṇaḍi who has the same set of titles as that appear on the two other stones.

(5) The Mēlāgni stone inscription,²¹ dated in the month Āshāḍha of Ś. S. 896 Bhāva *saṃvatsara* i. e. June 23 to July 22 of 974 A. C., mentions the death of Mārasimha as but a recent event—*Mārasīṅha Permaḍi atitanāḍan-embudam kēḷdu*, 'hearing that Mārasimha Permaḍi was dead.' We have just seen that a year before his death he abdicated the throne and proceeded to Baṁkāpura where he accomplished *saṁādhi* in the presence of Ajitasēna. His last regnal year then would be 973 A. C. and he may have died in May or June 974 A. C. within a month or two at most before the date of the Mēlāgni stone record.

(6) Therefore the Āṅgīra(sa) *saṃvatsara*, which in the Āsandi *vīra-kal*²² is said to be the 11th year of the reign of Satyavākya Permmaṇaḍi, who has also been next mentioned in it is Mārasīṅha Permmaṇaḍi, could be no other than Ś. S. 894 Āṅgīrasa i. e., 972—73 A. C. Mārasimha would thus seem to have ascended the throne in 962 A. C. and, as he abdicated in 973 A. C., his regnal period would be 962—973 A. C.

(7) Evidently therefore the Gaṅga ruler Satyavākya Koṅguṇivarma Permmaṇaḍi mentioned as ruling over Gaṅgavāḍi 96000, Purigere 300, Beḷvola 300 and Kisukāḍu 70 under the Rāshtrakūṭa king Nityavarsha Koṭṭiga dēva in the slab set up in the Nāgārjuna temple at Nāgāri,²³ dated Friday the full-moon day of Mārgaśīra, when there was a lunar eclipse, in Ś. S. 891 Śukla *saṃvatsara* i. e. 26 November 969 A. C. (on which night there was a lunar eclipse), could be none else than this Gaṅga Mārasimha, who as the ruler of the provinces Purigere 300 etc., bestowed on his father by the Rāshtrakūṭa kings Baddega as well as Kṛishṇa III, acknowledged the Rāshtrakūṭa suzerainty. The Gaṅga kingdom thus extended beyond Mysore when those provinces Purigere 300 and others were included in it.

19. *Ibid* Cn. 267 (Transliterations p. 531)

20. Mysore Archaeological Report 1910—11 (p. 34)

21. E.C.X.M.B. 84.

22. *SARSIE* No. 21 (n. 2)

23. E. C. VI, Kd. 147.

Next in point of time is the inscription²⁴ Coorg No. 4, dated Ś. S. 899 Īśvara *saṃvatsara* i. e. 977—78 A. C. It introduces us to the Gaṅga king Satyavākya Koṅguṇivarma Dharmma mahārājādhirāja Koḷāḷi-puravarēśvara Nandagiri-nātha Rājamalla Permmaṇaḍi, who is no doubt Mārasimha's younger brother Rājamalla (Nagar 35, ll. 41—2). Rājamalla here has the same title Satyavākya as his elder brother and immediate predecessor Mārasimha had, and there is thus at least an instance of two successive Gaṅgas having the same title so that it can no longer be maintained that the titles Satyavākya and Nītimārga were borne alternately by the later Gaṅga kings.

One of the earliest prose works in Kannaḍa, the *Chāvunḍarāya Purāṇa*, which was begun by its author Chāvunḍarāya or Chāmunḍarāya when he was a minister under Nolamba-kulāntaka i. e. Mārasimha (p. 5) was finished by him (p. iii) in Ś. S. 900 Īśvara *saṃvatsara* on Monday the 8th lunar day of the bright fortnight of Phālguna under the constellation Rōhīṇī i. e. Monday the 12th February 978 A. C. evidently during the reign of the next king Rājamalla. It is the same Chāmunḍarāya who installed the colossal image of the Jāma demi-god Bāhubali *alias* Gommaṭa at Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa, when he was the minister of Rāchmalla i. e. Rājamalla, as is evident from the Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa inscriptions²⁵ 234 and 345, and the date of this installation is the 13th March 981 A. C. as I have said elsewhere.²⁶

An undated stone inscription at Maḍivāḷa²⁷ mentions a (Kuva)-lālapuṇa-paramēśvara Rakkasa Gaṅga Rāchamalla, who is undoubtedly a Gaṅga king, as well as a Puḷiga who was ruling Nolambavāḍi 32000 under that Rāchamalla. Now the personal name of Rājamalla's nephew i. e. his brother Vāsava's son, Rakkasa Gaṅga, as stated in Nagar 35 (l. 43), was Gōvindara, and not Rāchamalla, nor was Rāchamalla one of his several titles, as again is evident from the same epigraph (ll. 43—5). There is thus hardly any doubt that the Rāchamalla of the Maḍivāḷa stone is no other than Satyavākya Rājamalla of Coorg No. 4, who would thus seem to have also borne the additional title Rakkasa Gaṅga. It is by this title alone that this king has been mentioned in the *Chhandōmbudhi* (verse 27), a Kannaḍa work on metrics by the poet Nāgavarma I,²⁸ who seems to have been patronised by this king as well as his minister Chāmunḍarāya. In Nagar 35 (ll. 41—2) this Rājamalla is described as an eminent poet equal to the great Saṁskṛit poets Vālmiki, Vyāsa, Kālidāsa and others, but so far however we possess no poems of Rājamalla whether in Saṁskṛit or Kannaḍa.

24. E. C. I.

26. *Karnataka Historical Review* I.

28. *Karnataka Sahitya Parishat Patrika* (XX pp. 29—46)

25. E. C. II,

27. *E. C. X*, Sp. 59.

Coorg No. 4 also mentions a Rakkasa as the ruler of a province on the banks of the Beddore (big river) which has been identified with river Dēḍḍa-hole (big river) in Coorg.²⁹ He has been described there as *Annana Baṇṭa* which means the trusted servant or the hero of (his) elder brother. Though he has not been characterised as (Rakkasa) Gaṅga, it is fairly certain that the word *Anna* elder brother, in that epithet refers to the actual sing Rājamalla mentioned in the inscription, and the bearer of the epithet is thus a younger brother of Rājamalla. As however Gōvindara the very next brother of Rājamalla was known as Nītimārga (Nagar 35, l. 42), and nowhere as Rakkasa Gaṅga, it is evidently their youngest brother Vāsava who is the Rakkasa of this epigraph.

In 973 A.C. the Western Chālukya king Āhavamalla Tailapa conquered Kakka II and overthrowing the Rāshtrakūṭa power, made himself master of their empire. Thereupon the Gaṅgas who had for sometime till then acknowledged the suzerainty of the Rāshtrakūṭas, became independent, though at the same time they must have lost their sway over those provinces which Būtuga had received from the Rāshtrakūṭas.

The next Gaṅga name met with in the inscriptions is that of Nītimārga Koṅḡuṇi varmma Dharmma mahārājādhirāja Kovaḷāḷa-puravarēśvara Nandagiri nātha Permmāṇaḍi in Chāmarājanagar No. 10 of Ś. S. 921 Vikāri *saṃvatsara*³⁰ i. e. 999—1000 A.C. This Nītimārga is no doubt the younger brother of Rājamalla and was also his immediate successor. This inscription also mentions a certain feudatory ruler born of the Noḷamba family and ornament to the Pallava family (l. 8). Now the Noḷambas are known to have claimed to be Pallavas³¹ and ever since Mārasimha subdued the Noḷambas and earned therewith the distinctive title Noḷamba-kulāntaka, "death to the Noḷamba family," they had been subordinate to the Gaṅgas.

A *vīra-kal* Hirēbāsūr,³² dated in the reign of Nītimārga Koṅḡuṇi varmma Dharmma-mahārājādhirāja Kovaḷāḷa-puravarēśvara Nandagiri-nātha Permmāṇaḍi, mentions also a Noḷamba—(ma)hādēva i. e. Noḷamba king, of Asandi. The titles of the Gaṅga king here which are identical with those in the above epigraph, as well as the mention of the Noḷamba ruler as also in the other, make it certain that the Nītimārga of this inscription is the same as the Nītimārga of the aforesaid record. Consequently the aksharas *ombai* (nine) will have to be read in the space now defaced in the date portion (l. 3) before the next letters *nāra ippatteraḍaneyā* (hundred and twenty second), when its date would be

²⁹ MCI p. 47

³¹ MCI pp. 55—58.

³⁰ E. C. IV Ch 10.

³² E. C. VI Kd. 141.

S. S. 922 i. e. 1000—1 A. C. and the inscription would duly allot itself to his reign.³³

The *Sīge vīra-kal*³⁴ is dated Sunday the 2nd lunar day of the dark fortnight of Phālguṇa in the 17th year of the reign of Nītimārga Koṅḡuṇi varmma Dharmma-mahārājādhirāja Kuvaḷāḷa-puravarēśvara Nandagiri-nātha Permmāṇaḍi. The titles here also are exactly the same as those in both the above inscriptions and the name Noḷamba also occurs in it (l. 10), so that this inscription likewise belongs to the reign of the same Nītimārga. The details of this *vīra-kal* work out correctly for five different dates in the Christian era, between 973 A. C. when Mārasimha abdicated and, 1004 A.C. by when the Gaṅga power was overthrown, viz., (1) 16th February 979 A.C., (2) 4th March 983 A.C., (3) 21st February 986 A.C., (4) 19th February 995 A.C., and (5) 21st February 1003 A.C. but none of these, except only the last, could fall in the 17th regnal year of Nītimārga in as much as his brother Rājamalla was on the Gaṅga throne when the Gommaṭa colossus was installed at Śrāvaṇabelgola in March 981 A. C. The exact date of the *Sīge vīra-kal* is therefore no other than Sunday, the 21st February 1003 A.C., and as the year 1002—3 A. C. would then be the 17th regnal year of Nītimārga, he must have succeeded Rājamalla in 986 A.C. The regnal period of Rājamalla is accordingly 973—986 A.C.

With the *Sīge* inscription we are near upon the final overthrow of the Gaṅgas by the Chōḷas, which must have therefore taken place soon after its date, February 1003 A.C., either in the reign of Nītimārga himself or in that of his immediate successor.

In a significant Kannaḍa verse (l. 49) in the Huṇḍa stone (Nagar 35) we are told that when a son (Rājavidyādhara) was born to Arumuḷi-dēva, his elder brother Rakkasa Gaṅga considered that the diadem of the kingdom then came to his hand and he brought (the child) to his palace with great jubilation. The *prima facie* conclusion is that, Rakkasa Gaṅga was issueless and it is confirmed by the fact that elsewhere in this inscriptiyn (l. 46; his younger brother Arumuḷi-dēva is designated Komaraṇka Bhīma where *Komara* (Skt. *Kumāra*) is the well-known epithet which was usually borne by the crown princes. The most important words in the above verse are (1) the dative singular of the reflexive pronoun, *tanage*, meaning 'to oneself', and (2) the verb *kai-sār*, 'meaning 'to come to hand', and both of them together mean 'to come to one's own hand'. The verse thus cannot mean that with the birth of that

³³ Without assigning any reasons Mr. Rice takes this year as S. S. 822 i.e. 900—801 A. C. and refers this inscription to the reign of an earlier Nītimārga, but then he has had to admit 'Nothing certain can be made out of the mention of Noḷamba' in it, (E.C. VI. Introduction p. 8.)

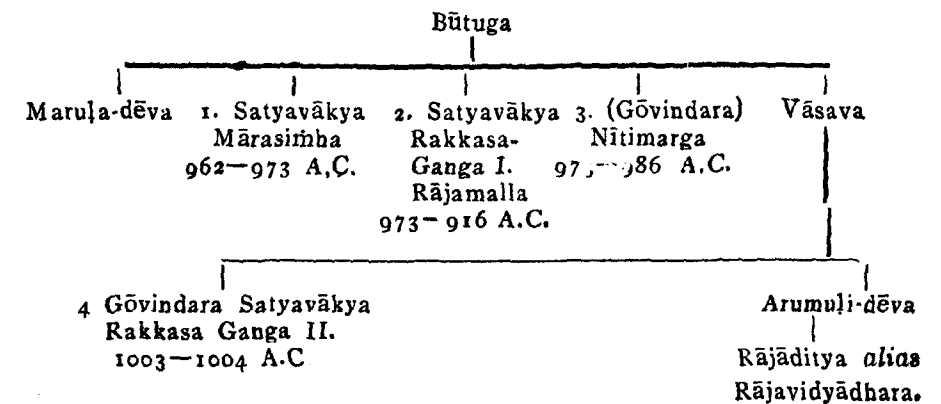
³⁴ E. C. V. Hn, 99.

child Rakkasa Gaṅga felt happy that his line would continue through that child for not only was his brother Arumuḷi dēva was then living and, Rakkasa Gaṅga knew well enough that the Gaṅga crown had passed from brother to brother during the reigns of at least his three uncles from Mārasimha to Nītimārga, but also in that case the significant words *tanage* and *kaī-sār*, which make it sufficiently clear that he regarded the crown as coming or having come to his own hand, would have to be totally ignored. The real purport of the passage is that, the Gaṅga power was overthrown either before Rakkasa Gaṅga ascended the throne or soon after his accession, so that when a male child was born to his brother, apparently the first male child in their family, Rakkasa Gaṅga hoped with joy that this nephew when he grew up, would bring back the lost crown of their family to Rakkasa Gaṅga himself, evidently because both Rakkasa Gaṅga and Arumuḷidēva must have already tried their best and failed to recover it.

Though as stated in the Huṁcha stone, Rakkasa Gaṅga's personal name was Gōvindara (l. 43), he seems to have been far better known by his title or personal epithet Rakkasa Gaṅga Permmāṇaḍi or merely Rakkasa Gaṅga, as can be easily made out from several references to him by that name in that inscription (ll. 50, 63, 77) as well as other in the Paṁcha Basadi, viz. Nagar 36 (l. 15), 37 (l. 41), 40 (l. 31). In the Saṁskrit verse in Nagar 39 (ll. 16—18) he has been called Rākshasa Gaṅga, which is the same as Rakkasa Gaṅga. It also mentions his other titles Gaṅga-Nārāyaṇa and Gaṅga Permmāṇaḍi, while the Huṁcha stone gives a long string of them (ll. 43—45), among which, are Rakkasa Gaṅga, Satyavākya, Gaṅga-Nārāyaṇa, Gaṅga-chūḍamaṇi and Vīra-mār-tiṇḍa. Of these the titles Satyavākya and Rakkasa Gaṅga seem to have been assumed by him evidently after his uncle Satyavākya Rājamalla, who was also known as Rakkasa Gaṅga Rāchamalla, as we have just seen, while the title Gaṅga-chūḍamaṇi would seem to have been assumed after his other uncle Mārasimha.³⁵ Such titles among the Gaṅgas were usually coupled with the names of the actual rulers and hardly with those of princes and even of crown princes; and of these again Satyavākya, which like the other Nītimārga, is a throne-name, and Permmāṇaḍi, which is apparently a title indicating supreme power,³⁶ are titles assumed evidently at the time of coronation and as such could not be borne by the uncrowned members of the royal family. There is thus hardly any doubt that Rakkasa Gaṅga was crowned king. Considering that in February 1003 A. C. his uncle Nītimārga was on the throne, as is evident from the *Sīge vira kal* and also, that soon thereafter the Gaṅga power was overthrown by the Chōlas, Rakkasa Gaṅga would readily seem to have ascended the

throne in succession to Nītimārga, who must have therefore died within a few weeks or months of the Sīge stone record. Vāsava, the younger brother of Nītimārga and the father of Rakkasa Gaṅga cannot have therefore ruled as king; evidently he must have predeceased his elder brother. And Rakkasa Gaṅga himself cannot have ruled for more than some months, or at most a year, as with the capture of the Gaṅga capital Talakād in 1004 A.C. the Gaṅga kingdom was once for all conquered and annexed by the Chōlas, perhaps in the very first year of his reign, and this is sufficiently corroborated by the fact that hardly any record of his reign has been met with so far. Rakkasa Gaṅga II, as he would be properly called in as much as his uncle Rājamalla also bore that name, was thus the last king of the original main line of the Western Gaṅgas, as neither his brother Arumuḷidēva nor the latter's son Rājavidyādhara ever sat on the Gaṅga throne. The Gaṅga power which had ruled Mysore and even beyond for nearly 750 years from C. 250 A.C., was thus brought to an end by the Chōla conquest and annexation of the Gaṅga kingdom in 1004 A. C.

The last steps in the Gaṅga genealogy with the regnal periods of the last four kings would then stand as follows :



³⁵ E. G. II S. E. 59 (ll. 31, 51, 74, 96, 98, 104)

³⁶ M.C.I. p 44.

ON THE TERM S'ATAVAHANA.

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M.A.

Attempts at the derivation and explanation of the name Śātavāhana as that of Śātakarṇi have been made by scholars from time to time, and still the real etymology is yet to be known. Sometimes the philologist gives much more fanciful derivation of these terms than that given in some of our own books which build up legendary halo round ancient names. I have tried elsewhere to explain the name Śātakarṇi. (see *Ind. Culture*, Vol. II) In this paper I wish to examine the equally important term Śātavāhana. At the outset we have to decide about the form of the expression. J. F. Fleet had dismissed the form Śātavāhana with the palatal sibilant as wrong assigning of course the reason that in Sanskrit texts the forms are distinctly Śātakarṇi with the dental ś as in inscriptions and Śātavāhana as in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*. (*JRAS*, 1916, pp. 816—17). But as against this we have to point out that Vātsyāyana, much earlier than Bāṇa, had used the palatal sibilant for these two names, and Dr. Fleet was not unaware of this. If we agree with the learned indologist that it is not possible that Vātsyāyana himself could have used the palatal sibilant in these two names we have to face another difficulty which arises from an unexpected quarter. In early Tamil literature we meet with the expression Śātavāhana, being a synonym of Śāttan, a god of the Pākhaṇḍa sect. And this form is certainly instructive. It is not altogether easy to discard the form Śātavāhana.

The term Śātavāhana occurring in Tamil literature is then interesting and, affords perhaps a tangible clue to attempt a correct explanation of the expression. The evidence of the fourteenth century work *Kalpaprādīpa* by Jinaprabhāsūri on the etymology of the term cannot be taken at its face value. Nor the evidence of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, explaining the term as one who rode on Sāta, a Yakṣa in the form of a lion, be declared wholly fanciful in the light of an independent examination based on Tamil literary works. Sāta with its variant Śātaka means *bhāta* (see *Tamil Lexicon*) and may represent the Yakṣa in the form of a lion, though elephant is commonly mentioned as the riding animal of Śāttan.

It has been generally accepted that the name Śātavāhana is the family-name. This statement is based, among others, on the Nasik cave Inscriptions (No. 22, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII, p. 93 and No. 2 *Ibid.* p. 60). It is also a settled fact that the Andhras of the Purāṇas belong to the Śātavāhana-Śātakarṇi group; and we have to take it that the Śātakarṇis

were a branch of the great Śātavāhana family. There is the unassailable proof of the *Kūmasūtra* when it mentions king Kuntala both as a Śātakarṇi and a Śātavāhana. We have further the authority of Hēmachandra who renders Hala as a synonym of Śātavāhana. (*Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, 712). These references show that the Andhras of the Purāṇas belong to a to a certain Śātavāhana family.

The next question is who was this Śātavāhana, celebrated so much in ancient literature, and from whom later kings wanted to connect their ancestry, for example, the Lōhāra dynasty mentioned in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataranginī*. Critically speaking, two explanations are alone possible. One is that Śātavāhana was a remote and perhaps a semi-historical ancestor of the early Andhras. He should have been the first ruler to start a new dynasty of kings, and having been invested with ideal glory, his descendants perpetuated his name by tacking his name to their own personal names. If this title of the Śātakarṇi kings were to be the family name preserving the memory of an illustrious person, his name could not have been Śātavāhana, but Śātakarṇi. For example, Rāma, the Ikṣvāku prince could not call himself Kakustha after a distinguished ancestor of his, but he could style himself Kākustha, to show that he belonged to the famous line or family in which Kakustha had the honour to belong. Unfortunately we do not meet with the form S'atavāhana in literature or epigraphy.

If it were to be contended that S'atavāhana is the proper form of the expression, then the other alternative explanation about the identification of the title seems to hang on the cult embraced by the S'atakarṇis. To venture a conjecture, the Śātakarṇi-Andhras were the followers of the S'atavāhana cult. Let us explain what this S'atavāhana cult means. In commenting on the term S'āttan, a god of the Pākhaṇḍa sect, in the Tamil classic *Silappadikāram*, Adiyārkkunallar makes it a synonym for S'atavāhana. Again, in the ancient Tamil lexicons *Divākaram*, and *Pingala nīkhaṇṭu*, S'atavāhana is given as another name of S'āttan. The *Divākaram* further makes the statement that there were as many as ninety-six heretical sects, with their respective doctrines and S'āttan was versed in them. From the context of the story given in the *Silappadikāram* where Śāttan is introduced, we have to infer that people even of the orthodox community frequented temples sacred to S'āttan and invoked the deity's aid to tide over their difficulties. Even to-day remnants of the S'āsta temples are seen in the boundary limits of the villages in South India and the belief is still with us that the votary gets his wish granted. Apparently the S'āttan cult (Sanskrit: S'āsta)* was indigenous to

* In Andhra there is a cult called *S'āta.badi* which is the means for invoking evil spirits to cause bodily harm to others. Ed.

South India, and with the impact of Sanskrit culture, the S'āsta cult came to be looked upon as heretical in character. Later on when the cult gained universal acceptance the Purāṇas dubbed this S'āsta as Hari-haraputra. Legend goes that he was the son born of S'iva when He embraced Mōhini (Viṣṇu in disguise). Whatever may be the later development of the S'āttan cult, in the age of the *Silappadikāram* (roughly second century A.D.) which was also the epoch of the imperial Andhras it was by no means an orthodox cult. We venture to conjecture that the S'ātakarṇi-Andhras were votaries of this cult, and adopted the name of the deity as their family title. This is perhaps why the *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa*¹ and *Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*² do not include the ancient Andhras among the orthodox tribes. It is however worthy of note that the S'ātakarṇi kings who held tolerant views on religion claimed to belong to higher castes or *varṇas*³ and engaged themselves in Vēdic sacrifices. This leads us on to reexamine an interesting chapter of early Andhra History, viz., the religion of the early Andhras. We reserve this for a future occasion.

1. vii, 18. Other tribes mentioned in this connection are Puṇḍras, Sabaras, Pulindas, and Mātibās.

2. XV, 26.

3. See *Nasik Cave Ins.* No. 2.

The Aesthetic Aspect of the Early Mediaeval Indian Seals.

HIRANANDA SASTRI, M.A., M.O.L., D.Litt.

The belief is usually held that early Indian coinage certainly decayed so decisively that not even one mediaeval coin deserves notice for its aesthetic merit. Numismatists would say that coinage in India began to deteriorate after the early Gupta period but revived during the Mughal rule. We do not find coins like those of the lyrist type which were issued during the reign of Samudragupta the great or of the horseman type which were struck in the time of Chandragupta II. It is admitted on all hands that these coins display numismatic skill of a very high order. Their design is ornate and the execution is excellent. The modelling of the King's figure and the delineation of the features are remarkably skilful and lifelike. To say that such issues are only "slavish imitations of the Indo-Greek or the Śaka coins" will be too parochial for serious considerations. Coins issued after Skandagupta do show deterioration in design and execution. But this does not mean that the *mudrās* also began to follow suit. On the other hand if the word is taken in the larger sense we shall have to admit that 'aesthetic merit' continued to exist in Indian *mudrās*. The word *mudrā* in Sanskrit is applied not only to the seals but also to coins. This is clearly shown by the seals or sealings excavated at Nālandā, some of the Indore coins and other testimonies. Legends like *Suchanḍādakīya-grāma-mudrāvam* are found on some of the clay seals dug out at Nālandā. The Indore silver coin of Yesvant Rao bears the following legend in Sanskrit:—

Obv. Śrī-Indraprastha-sthito rājā, Chakravartī bhūmaṇḍale |
Tat-prasādāt kṛitā mudrā, Lokē=smin vai virājate ||

Rev. Lakshmīkāntā pad-āmbhōja, bhramarāyita-chetasah
Yaśavantasya vikhyātā, mudraishā prithivī-talē ||

The word coin is derived from the Latin term *cuneus* which means a wedge-shaped die used for stamping money. The clay seals mentioned above are similarly struck from dies. On inspecting the seals which have been unearthed from several ancient sites in India it becomes evident that the art of striking *mudrās* did not deteriorate but continued to develop during the early mediaeval period in India. Take for example, the seals of Śarvavarmā Maukhari. One can confidently assert that they

will stand any test. The figures carved on them, human as well as animal are both spirited and realistic.¹ The figures of the *chandālas* and the bull engraved on them are wanting in nothing as far as their artistic execution is concerned. Several clay seals which have been excavated at Nālandā and which belong to the kings of Assam or of the Chandra dynasty will bear me out. In passing I might add that some of these seals also give legends in verse like the Gupta coins. These legends are written in a way which exhibits great caligraphic skill doing credit to the writer and the modeller. The testimony afforded by these seals will suffice to show that the art of making ornate and well executed dies indicative of aesthetic development of a high order did not deteriorate but continued to thrive in India even after the Gupta epoch to which the above mentioned seals belong.

¹ See Fleet *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III, plate XXX, and *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXI, plate A, A-1, as well as my note in the latter (p. 73).

Upalavada Copper-plate Grant of Ranaka Ramadeva of Tailapa Family.

SATYANARAYANA RAJAGURU

Some three years back a set of copper-plates was found under the earth while digging a field at the foot of a hill between the villages of Upalavaḍā and Bagasulā, about five miles to the north-east of the town Parlakimidi (18°-48' N, 84°-5' E) in the Ganjam District, (Orissa). In the month of November 1933 the plates were brought to me by the Mahant Śrī Dayāl Dās Bābāji of Bagasulā for decipherment.

The present set consists of three plates. On the first side of the first plate and the second side of the third plate nothing has been written. The first side of the third plate contains only four letters. The second side of the first plate and both sides of the second plate contain each six lines of subject matter.

Each plate measures 7" in length, 2.1" in width and 1/5" in thickness. The edges of the plates are raised into rims in order to protect the writing, and indeed the letters are quite clear and legible. At a distance of 1/4" from the edge of each plate there is a hole, half an inch in diameter, through which runs a copper ring. The ring holding the plates is 4" thick and 8" in circumference. Its diameter measures 2 1/4". The two ends of the ring are soldered into a circular seal which is 1 1/2" thick, 1 1/2" in diameter and 4 1/4" in circumference. There is a couchant bull standing in the centre of the seal, the height of which is 3/5". To the left side of the bull there lies an emblem of "ankuśa", one inch in length. A similar type of "ankuśa" is to be found in the copper-plate grants of the Gāṅga kings of Kalinga who are known as Gajapatis or "the lords of elephants". Each letter engraved in the grant measures 3/5" x 3/5" on the average.

The characters employed in this inscription may be called the "Oḍra-Kalinga-type".¹ Some scholars call this "Kāśmīri" or "Śāradā" type. But it will be more appropriate if it is called "Oḍra-Kalinga" type for its special significance of resembling the present Oriya characters. When the Kalinga script of the mediæval age that bears a slight resemblance to the present Telugu letters is called by the name of "Tel-Kalinga", then the script of the present inscription should appropriately be named "Oḍra-Kalinga" characters.

¹ *The Palaeography of India* by Gaurisankar Hirachand Ojha, p. 73-77.

The letters present a typical mixture of Oriya *lipi* e. g. kha, ga, ja, tha, na, dha, pa, sa, ha; and there is much similarity of the letters u, ka, da, na, ba, bha, ma, ya, la and sa. Two varieties of 'na', 'bha' and 'la' are to be seen in this inscription.

There are many examples of peculiar interchange of letters to be found in this inscription, of which the following are to be met with in many places:— (i) 'sa' is used for 'śa' and 'śa'. e. g., 'śabda' for 'śabda' (line 2), saurya for 'śaurya' (l. 3), 'vamsōdhabava' for 'vamsōdhabava' (l. 4), 'pravēsa' for 'pravēśā' (l. 7) 'sāsana' for 'śāsana' (l. 9 and 19), 'vamsa' for 'vamśa' (l. 9), 'bhavisyati' for 'bhaviṣyati' (l. 10), 'varsa' for 'varṣa' (l. 12), and 'disa' for 'diśa' (l. 16).

(ii) 'ja' is used for 'ya'. e. g., 'jo' for 'yō' (l. 13) and 'yāyatē' for 'jāyatē' (l. 14).

(iii) 'kha' is used for 'kṣa'. e. g., 'Rākhasa' for 'Rākṣasa' (l. 13), and 'brkha' for 'brkṣa' (l. 17).

(iv) 'ta' is used for 'tta'. e. g., 'data' for 'datta' (l. 11), 'Svadatam' and 'Paradatam' for 'Svadattam' and 'Paradattam' (l. 13) and 'U tara' for 'Uttara' (l. 15).

(v) 'na' is used for 'na'. e. g., 'Sandhi' for 'Sandhi' (lines 15 and 17).

Similar peculiar changes of letters are generally found in the modern Oriya language. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The grant is composed in prose except the two Ślokas quoted from 'Mānava Dharma Śāstra', at the end as is generally found in the grants of Kalinga and Orissa. The script used in this inscription is similar to the scripts found in the copper-plate-grants of Anantavarma Chōḍaganga Dēva who flourished in the 12th century A. D. So, on Palaeographical grounds, I put this grant between the 11th and 12th century A. D.

Text

First Plate; Second Side.

1. Ōm Svasti (| *) Chikhalisthitam || Paramamāhēśvara samadhigata paṇ-
2. cha mahāśābda mātā-pitr-pādānudhyātā satya-śaurya-dayā-
3. dāna-guṇa-sa(m)padādhārabbhūta- Ā g i d ē v ī vara-labdha-prasāda-1
4. T a i l a p a vamsōdhabava mahā vija(y)a rājya pravarddhamā-
5. na R ā ṇ a k a R a m a d ē v a pādah kuśalinah [||*] yāva(t) cha-
6. ndrārka-mēdinī-vartatē tāvat putra-pautra-sarhatatīnām.

1 Read : 'vara-prasāda-labdha' Ed.

UPALAVADĀ COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF RĀṆAKA RĀMADĒVA OF TAILAPA FAMILY.

Plate 1 — Second Side.

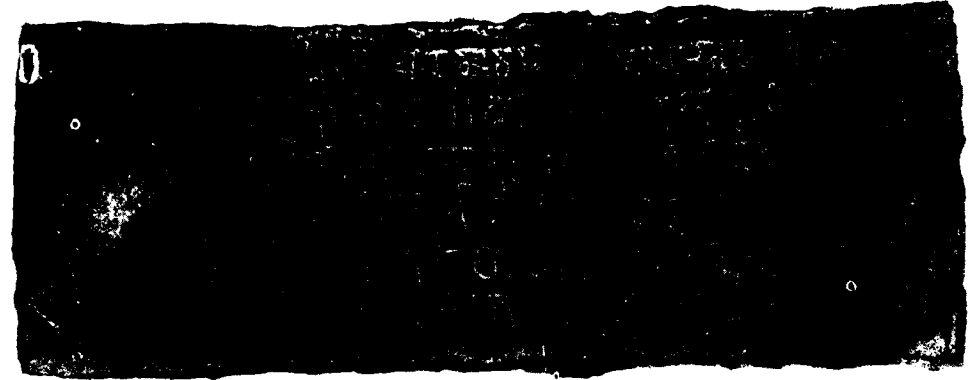
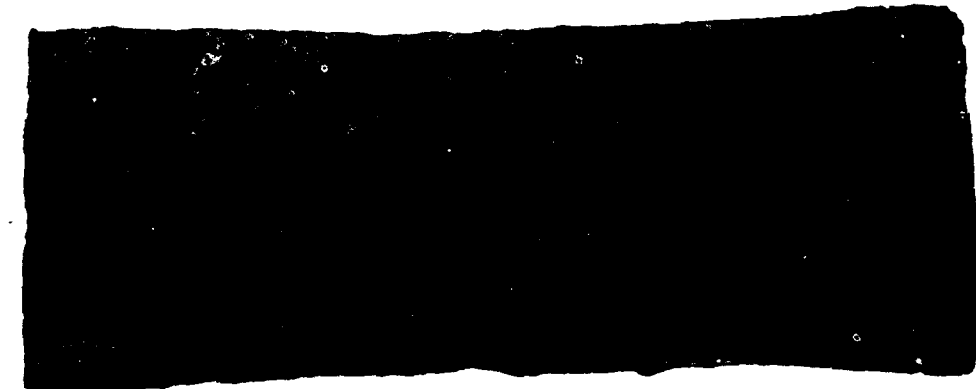


Plate 2 — First Side.



Plate 2 — Second Side



Scale .50.

Second Plate; First Side.

7. sajala-sthala-chatu(s)sim=āvachhina ² āchaṭa-bhaṭa-pravēsa(śa) R ē v a
 8. ṇ a Nāyakasya U p a l a v a ḍ ā grāmō=yam prasādakṛto ³ a-
 9. smābhi tāmbra sāsanaḥ (||) Asmin varṇasās-cha dikhiṇē (?)
 10. yē kēchita rājā bhavis(sh)yati tasya pādē la-
 11. gnō=ōham mama dat(t)am=ōpahārita Āgumēka pada
 12. m=ekam (||*) Yō harēta vasundharām divam ⁴ vars(sh)a sahasrām.

Second Plate; Second Side.

13. y(j)āyatē brahma rākhasa ⁵ [||*] Sva dat(t)ām para dat(t)ām vā jo(yō)
 harēta va-
 14. sundharā (||*)Shashṭhim=varsha sahasrāni narakē y(j)āyate ⁷ kṛ-
 15. mi(h) | Pūrva kōṇē Ulumvara gāchhi saṇ(n)dhi [||*] Ut(t)ara
 16. disa(śa) Palamśa sandhi [||*] paśchima kōṇa sīma bṛkha ⁸
 17. sandhi Dakshina(ṇa) kōṇa P ā c h a l i sandhi B a g a s u l ā pancha-
 18. titila nāsi sandhi [||] B h a u l a s u r m a kaṭēṇā likhita ¹⁰ tā.

Third Plate : First Side.

19. mv(b)ra S(śā)sanah [||].

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Rānaka Rāmadēva of the Tailapa family that has been glorified owing to the boon of the goddess of Āgidēvī, announced from Chikali, the grant of the village Upalavaḍā to one Rēvaṇa Nāyaka. This village is situated to the north of the village Bagasulā and to the west of Pāchali. The grant is written by Bhaulasurma.

Before discussing the question relating to the donor of the grant and the family to which he belonged, namely Tailapavamśa about which the present record seems to be the first, the question of identity of the places mentioned in the grant deserve our attention, as mostly they may throw some light on the family of the donor. There are four places mentioned in the grant. (1) Chikhali (capital town), (2) Upalavaḍā (3) Bagasulā and (4) Pāchali (a mountain). As the copper-plates are found at the foot of a hill between the villages of Bagasulā and Upalavaḍā, situated about five miles to the north-east of the town Parlakimedi, the villages mentioned in the grant may be easily identified with the

² Read : "chatussīmāvaohhinna."

⁴ Read : 'divya'.

⁶ Read : 'yō'.

⁸ Read : 'vṛkshasa'.

³ Read : 'prasādfkṛtō'

⁵ Read : 'Rākshasa'.

⁷ Read : 'jāyatē'.

⁹ Read : 'likhita'.

villages now known by the same names, the boundaries of the village of the grant exactly tallying with the boundaries of the modern Upalavaḍā village.

The mountain Pāchali may be identified with the modern Panchāli mountain on the northern boundary of the modern Parlakimedi Estate. Linked with the modern Pāchali mountain there is a range of hills known as Marakaḍā hills, in the midst of which we find the ruins of a hill-fort, situated in a beautiful valley where there flows a fountain, by the side of which is installed a Śiva linga, now worshipped by the Savaras of the place. One side of the mountain on which all these are lying, is just like a flight of steps making the ascent easy, while on the other side, it is very steep and difficult of ascent. At some distance from the hills there is a small village in which there is a stone statue of a "Pāika Kāi" with a dagger in one hand. All this shows that the place must have been an important one. Before attempting the identification of the town Chikhali from which this grant is made, I shall have to enter into the question of the name by which this part of the country was known in olden days.

In the 5th century A. D., there flourished a king named Viśākhavarmā of the *Māthara Dynasty* ruling over Kalinga. He made a grant of a village named Tapōyaka in Kōrāshōḍaka vishaya.¹¹ This grant is found in Kōrāshandā, a village situated only two miles from Upalavaḍā. About 3 miles to the east of Upalavaḍā, there is a village called Āḍava in which is found a copper-plate grant of Devendravarman of 184th year of the Gāṅga era, wherein the grant of a village Haḍuvaka of Pushpagiri Panchāli vishaya is mentioned.¹² This village can be no other than Āḍavā where the grant was found. In the same village of Āḍavā and in the same spot where the grant of Dēvēndravarmā was found, there is another copper-plate grant of Anantavarma of 204th year of the Gāṅga era which records the grant of the village of Tālathīrtha in Kōshṭṛkavarthinī. From this it will be clear that Āḍavā, a place three miles from Upalavaḍā is in Kōshṭṛkavarthinī, and from the grant of Dēvēndravarmā, it is clear that it lies in Pushpagiri-Panchāli vishaya also. Hence it can be inferred that Pushpagiri Panchāli vishaya is in Kōshṭṛkavarthinī.

In another grant of Dēvēndravarmā made in the year 183 of Gāṅga era, mention is made of three villages viz., (1) Sarauṭamva (2) Poppangika and (3) Kuruḍimbi, all situated in Kōshṭṛkavarthinī.¹³

¹¹ See J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XIV, Pt. II, pp. 282—84. [Mr. G. Ramadas who edits the grant again in the *Epigraphia Indica*, XXI, p. 23 f., does not read the name of Viśākhavarman's family as 'Māthara Dynasty'. Mr. Ramadas seems to be correct. Ed.]

¹² J.A.H.R.S., Vol. II, pp. 275—76.

¹³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 130—34.

To the south-west of the town Parlakimedi and about six miles from it there is a village called Saravakōṭa and, about a mile from it or five miles from the Parlakimedi town there are the villages of Poppangi and Kuruḍimbi. These have to be identified with the villages of the grant, not merely on the identity of names but on the fact that the boundaries mentioned in the grant are to be found around Poppangi. Hence this Poppangi of the grant cannot be the place Vappangi near Chicacole.

This, coupled with the other facts mentioned above, clearly shows that Kōshṭṛkavarthinī extended from Poppangi, about five miles to the south-west of Parlakimedi town, to Āḍavā, a place which is about 10 miles to the north-east of the same town.

And hence it is that, the villages of the present grant can safely be said to be in Kōshṭṛkavarthinī, and that Pushpagiri Panchāli-vishaya formed a part of it. It can also be said that Kōrāshōḍaka-vishaya also formed part of Kōshṭṛkavarthinī, since a grant of Indravarmā of the Gāṅga era 146,¹⁴ mentions a village named Tālamūla which can be identified with the present Tālapāṭiā, a village about two miles to the east of Upalavaḍā. These vishayas and the varthinī wherein they were parts, were ruled by the kings of the Gāṅga dynasty of Kalinga from the 7th or 8th century onwards.

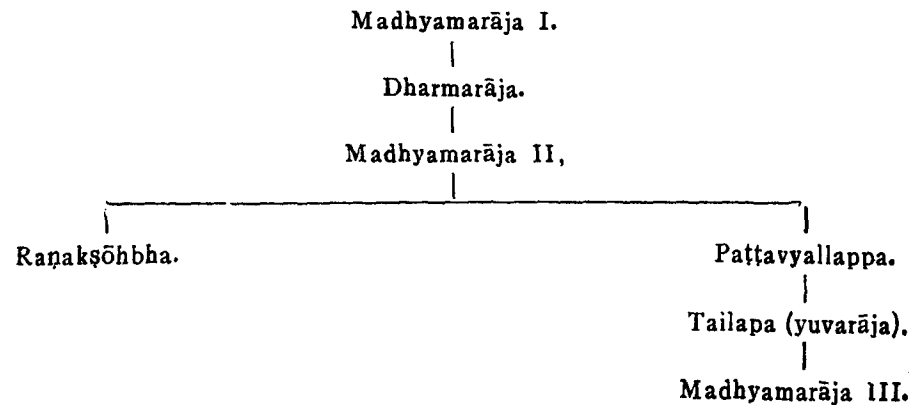
The only place that remains to be identified is the town Chikhali, the place from which the grant under discussion is issued. There is a copper-plate grant of Nandavarmā of the Gāṅga Era 221, mentioning Chikhali as a village in Pharēyabhukti.¹⁵ But nothing about the location of the village can be traced from it. There is another copper plate grant issued in the year 526 of the Gāṅga era by Madhukāmārava son of Anantavarmādeva.¹⁶ It was edited by Mr. G. Ramadas, and in that we find the following:—"Kalinga maṇḍala prativadhā *Trikhali-pāṇchālyāstasi Chinchali Pātyāpura* paramēśvara....." The italicised portion of this is said to be obscure by Mr. Ramadas. But a reference to the impression of the plates published along with his note, clearly shows that the reading of that portion is not correct. The correct reading is as follows:—"Kalinga maṇḍala prativadhā Chikhali Pāṇchālyā *stasti* Chikhali-pātnāpura paramēśvara....." Here also there is one point to be corrected. The italicised word "stasti" should be "stasta". With this small correction, which it is quite natural to allow, the portion gives the following meaning:—"The ruler of Chikhali pātnāpura situated in Chikhali Pāṇchāli fastened to (i.e.) adjoining Kalinga mandala.....".

The name Chikhali-pātnāpura is a peculiar one. It is not mere Chikhali or Chikhali-pātnā or Chikhali-pura. And there is one

¹⁵ J.A.H.R.S., Vol. II, pp. 185—189.

village known as Tikalipātnā, some 15 miles to the south-east of Upalavaḍā. This Tikalipātnā may be identified with Chikhali Pānchali, a nomenclature found in the country lying round about Upalavaḍā. It is therefore safe, I think, to identify the Chikhali of the grant with this Tikalipātnā instead of with any other place. No doubt a Chikhali is mentioned as being coupled with Tāmaracheruvu in Varāhavarthini; and was granted by Vajrahastadēva in Śaka 984 to some Brāhmana. 17 This Chikhali may be taken to be Chicacole or any other place lying in that part of the country. But the place in which the present grant is found is nearly 50 miles from Chicacole, and as far as is known there is nothing about Panchāli in Varāhavarthini, the part of the country in which Tāmaracheruvu and Chikhali are situated. Moreover it is stated that this Chikhali-pātnapura is in Chikhali Pānchali, a province adjoining Kalinga nāṇḍala. Therefore also it is safe to assume that Chikhali-pātnapura is the modern village Tikalipātnā, situated six miles to the north-east of modern Tikali or Raghunāthpura, and was for sometime the capital of the modern Tikali Zamindari. That "cha" and "ta" interchange can easily be seen from the words "Nāṭa" and "Nācha" (dance) in the present Oriya language.

Hence, there is no difficulty in Chikhali becoming Tikali. Having proceeded thus far with the identification of Chikhali-pātnapura of the copper-plate grant of Madhukāmārṇava, I now proceed to the identification of Chikhali of the grant under review. For this purpose a copper-plate grant of Madhyamarāja III found on the top of a temple at Tikali will be found very useful. 18 That copper-plate gives the following genealogy:—



17 Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 94.

18 J.B.O.R.S., Vol. IV, pp. 162—67.

The last Madhyamarāja of this genealogy, the donor of the grant, is the grandson of Paṭṭavyallaparāja about whom we find the following verse:—

"*Bhrātā tasya Na s u n d a parvataśirorātn = ārcchit = Ō d r a r = kshitan-
P a ṭ ṭ a v y a l l a p a r ā j a i t y = a n a n i p o j ā t a ḥ s a Ś a k r ṇ p a m a ḥ |
K o p ā t k ṛ ṣ ṭ a k ṛ p ā n a m ā t r a k a s a k h a ḥ s a m k h y ē v i j ṭ i t y a d v i ṣ a ḥ,
R ā j ā s v a m p u n a r = u t t a r ā m = g a t a m = a p i p r ā p ā m ā l a m i ṣ o y a s a ḥ ||*"

Paṭṭavyallaparāja, the brother of Raṇakṣōbha, became king in Ōdra dēśa where the peak of Nasunda Parvata is the crest jewel. He was like Indra and got back the fair name and fame which he lost previously.

That this Ōdra dēśa is adjoining Kimeḍi and Giḍrisingi (present Khidisingi) is known from the Dirghāsī inscription of Vanapati, dated Śaka 997 or A. D. 1075 19 The Ōdra dēśa of the above verse compared with the Ōdra dēśa of the inscription will tell us that the part of the country lying round modern Tikali may be taken to be the country in which Paṭṭavyallaparāja was crowned. The Nasunda parvata of the verse may be taken to be the hill near Nandavā forest in the modern Parlakimedi Estate very near the boundary between it and Tikali. This Nandavā forest is about three or four miles from Tikalipātnā. The Nandavā hills are full of natural beauties and connected with Mahēndra parvata by a range of hills called Durgā and Lāvanya gaḍa, that they are rightly called the crest-jewel of Ōdra Dēśa.

There is another verse in the Tikali copper-plate grant of Madhyamarāja III which runs as follows, and which shows that he succeeded to the throne of his grand-father:—

"*Pakṣa cchēṣa bhayāt = tu bhābhṛda purā vyāpāra labdhomataih,
gambhīrād = uru satya yōga mahitāl = labdhvā cha prthvīm tatah |
Tasya Śrī yuvarājā T a i l a p a nibhāt = apmrānta janmō = dayāt
bhūyo Madhyamarāja divya yasāsa bālye = abhavat bhūpatiḥ ||*"

Hence it may safely be said that Tailapa's father and Tailapa's son ruled in the part of the country which is round about Tikali pātna and it requires no further stretch of imagination to suppose that Tailapa's successors were ruling there only.

The donor of the present grant is Rānaka Rāmadēva; and he calls himself a scion of Tailapavamśa. This Tailapavamśa can therefore be no other than the family to which Tailapa's father and Tailapa's

19 Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, pp. 314—18.

son belonged. Though it is Śailōdbhava vamsa only, it might be known in Ōdra Dēśa and the surrounding countries as Tailapa vamsa, from the powers displayed by Tailapa, as can be seen from the expression "yuvarāja Tailapa nibhāt samprāpta janmōdayāt" in the second of the two verses quoted above. Tailapa, the ancestor of Rāṇaka Rāmadēva cannot therefore be supposed to belong to any other family, and the town Chikhali from which the grant is issued can be no other than the present Tīkalipāṭnā, five or six miles from modern Tīkali, and not any place so far as fifty miles away from the same as Chicacole. It must be remembered that Rāmadēva of the grant was a "Rāṇaka", and his kingdom was under the supremacy of the Kalinga kings under whom "Rāṇaka" was a title given to 'Pañcha vishayādhipati', as can be seen from the grants of the Kadamba kings 20. Hence it is clear, that (1) Rāṇaka Rāmadēva of this inscription can safely be said to have descended from Tailapa of the Śailōdbhava dynasty; and (2) that the places mentioned in the grant are in Kōshṭṛkavarthinī and also very near to the modern town of Parlakimedi and (3) that Chikhali from which the grant is issued may be identified with the modern Tīkalipāṭna, a place five miles from the town Tīkali.

The donee of the grant is one Revana Nāyaka, and the words used in the grant are "Rēvana Nāyaka prasādikṛtōyam". This clearly shows that the village was granted to Rēvana Nāyaka for some signal services rendered by him. The word 'Nāyaka' in the name indicates that the services may be of a military character. As the present grant is on palaeographical grounds put down to belong to the 11th or 12th century it may be probable that this Rēvana Nāyaka is the same as Rēvana Nāyaka mentioned in the Kāmbakāya grant of the Kadamba king Udayāditya, of Śaka 1103 or A. D. 1181, 21 as being the father of Nīyārṇava Nāyaka, the donee in the grant. From this we can take Revana to belong to the latter part of the 12th century A. D., and this would give tally with the assignment of the present grant to the 11th or 12th century from mere palaeographical considerations.

20 (1) J.A.H.R.S. Vol. III pt. 2, 3 & 4; pp. 171-80 and (2) "The Bharathi" (Telugu Journal of Madras) 7th Nov. 1927; pp. 115-30.

21 "The Bharati" 7th November, 1927 pp. 115-30.

THE CHOLA RAJARAJA I AND THE EASTERN CHALUKYA ALLIANCE.

Dewan Bahadur DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIVANGAR, M.A., PH.D., Etc.

[Mr. Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu in preferring a request to me to contribute an article to the Silver Jubilee Volume of the Journal of the Telugu Academy suggested, as a subject worthy of consideration the relations between the Chola Rajaraja and his contemporary Chalukya Saktivarman. Having chosen another subject for that contribution, it strikes me I could do no better than to contribute a note on that subject to a volume intended to do deserved honour to Mr. Ramayya Pantulu.]

The tenth century is the century of the formation of the Chola empire of South India which, in its best days, tended its authority not merely over the whole of the Madras Presidency and a considerable part of Ceylon, but also exercised a considerable amount of influence upon the East Indian Archipelago, particularly the kingdom of Śrī Vijaya in Sumatra and the territories next adjoining thereto. In the course of this history and, while the Chola kingdom was still struggling to find a permanent footing in the south, it had to deal with two large states across her northern border, of which the one was the Rāshtrakūṭa empire in the north-west. The other kingdom was the kingdom of the Eastern Chālukyas along the coast, which had already reached a stage of decline. The Chola-Chalukya relations, which we propose discussing in the note, is an incident in this inter-relation among the three states mentioned.

The Chola kingdom was a new foundation. At the commencement of the tenth century, it had been brought to a stage of formation as a block of territory taking within it the ancient Chola kingdom proper, the Tondamandalam, which was the Pallava territory proper, and Kongu, thus bringing the northern frontier of this new foundation into touch with the Rāshtrakūṭa empire on the one side through the Gangas, with the territory of the Bāṇas and the Telugu Cholas next adjoining towards the east of the Gangas, with the Nolamba and the Vaiḍumba kingdoms, and the Rāshtrakūṭas behind them along the north-west. The kingdom of the Eastern Chālukyas lay along the coast across the territory under the authority of the Telugu Cholas nearer the coast region. The Vaiḍumbas occupied the territory round the Cuddapah District in the immediate interior. The kingdom of the Pandyas lay to the south, and it had suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Cholas recently, and was

distracted by a civil war within, coupled with invasions from Ceylon. In the course of the struggle which lasted almost a whole generation, the Pandya kingdom had been badly weakened, and even Ceylon had become disorganised and distracted by a civil war commotion more or less consequent on these frequent wars. Having been subjected to frequent Pandyan invasions from the south, the Cholas had now the opportunity to retaliate upon them provided only they were in a position to do so. The opportunity was there and advantage could be taken of it by any Chola ruler who had the confidence and the means to prosecute an enterprise of that kind with success. The real danger in the enterprise of course is effective interference from Ceylon, and whoever took it upon himself to invade the Pandya kingdom among the Chola rulers must *ipso facto* be prepared to meet the possibility of Ceylon invasions as well. In the first years of the tenth century, the Chola throne happened to be occupied by a capable ruler Parāntaka who inherited from his father, a kingdom compacted and brought into order by his own efforts through a comparatively long reign. He could with confidence proceed against the Pandyas. His reign began in A.D. 907, and documents of his third and fourth years claim conquest of the Pandya country and sometimes couple Ceylon with it in a title which he assumed namely, the "Conqueror of Madura and Ceylon". In the course of his long reign which extended to 46 years at least, Parāntaka had to carry on at least two wars against the Pandyas and at least three against Ceylon. He succeeded ultimately in bringing the Pandya kingdom under his control, and could lay claim to having achieved considerable success against Ceylon, and make it no longer a profitable venture for the Ceylonese to come to the assistance of the Pandyas and interfere in the political affairs of South India.

The contemporary of Parāntaka on the Rāshtrakūṭa throne was an equally capable ruler, but his attention having been drawn to the north, he was engaged more or less in a war with the rising power of the Gūrjaras in which ultimately the Rāshtrakūṭa ruler Indra III achieved considerable success. But there followed soon afterwards a succession of weak rulers, who not merely neglected the northern frontier but let matters take their own course in the southern frontier as well, till we come to almost about A. D. 940, when the far longer part of Parāntaka's reign was over. This happened to be also a period when the Eastern Chālukyas had become a decaying power. Civil wars and disputed successions, the inevitable concomitants of dynastic decline, were much in evidence. Up to A.D. 940 therefore the Chola power was able to consolidate itself by not merely extending its power substantially through the Pandya country getting into an alliance with the Chēras, and beating back the Ceylonese into their own island on the southern

side, but, by a policy of judicious alliances and wars, even the northern frontier had been brought into quiet. Parāntaka managed to get into an alliance with the Gangas, reduce the Bāṇas to submission and keep even the Telugu Cholas and the Vaidumbas, for the moment, clear of habitual rivalry between the Gangas and Nōḷambas on the one side, the Vaidumbas and the Telugu Cholas on the other. Just the year before A.D. 940 there came to the throne of the Rāshtrakūṭas a capable and powerful ruler in the person of Krishna III, and his accession marks a turn in the affairs of these kingdoms. As a prince, Krishna is found to have been active in the north, and although he got into a marriage alliance with the rulers of Chēdi and Bundelkhand, he asserted the authority of the Rāshtrakūṭas to the extent of fixing his hold upon the fortress of Kālanjar and Chitrakūṭa belonging to the Chandēlas, thus making the newly rising power of the Chēdis and the Chandēlas, towards the south of the Gūrjaras, more or less dependent upon him. But these powers managed between themselves to reduce the Gūrjara activity on the southern frontier and make that frontier safe for these states which lay farther south of them. In the territory of Malva, which for some time since, had already been reduced to a position of a feudatory state to the Rāshtrakūṭa, there was rising a new dynasty which did not quite show its hand as yet and continued to be loyal. So with the Paramāras in Malva, the Chēdis and Chandēlas farther north, the Gūrjaras were held under control. Krishna could therefore turn his attention to affairs nearer home almost immediately after his accession to the throne. The first power to draw his attention would naturally be the power adjoining, which had been generally in alliance with the Rāshtrakūṭas, and were of sufficient importance to have entered into direct marriage alliance with the imperial Rāshtrakūṭas. Krishna followed the traditional policy of alliance with the Gangas, and, even before he came to the throne, his elder sister had been married to a Ganga prince by name Būtuga, and in consequence of this marriage, his territory was considerably added to, so that he became the forerunner of the southern viceroys of the later Chālukyas who ruled over the vast block of territory consisting of the whole tableland of Mysore and the districts adjoining on the northern side considerably into the Southern Mahratta country. Būtuga was erected into this important position of ruler of the great viceroyalty as the son-in-law of the reigning Rāshtrakūṭa. The Ganga alliance was therefore cemented very strongly, and that was the first nail driven into the security of the Cholas in the north, particularly as the Ganga ally of the Cholas Prithivīpati II died and, his territory was annexed by Būtuga. That done, Krishna could look forward to gradually extending his power towards the south either by conquest or by conciliation. The stimulus to this was provided by the fugitive Bāṇa rulers recently dispossessed of their possessions by

the Chola conquest of the Bāṇa kingdom. He combined the two; conciliated the nearer powers and carrying on war against the more distant ones. Comparatively early in his reign, he seems to have formed the project of driving a wedge into the newly compacted Chola kingdom by acquiring the territory of the Bāṇas, Perumbānapāḍi, which stretched across the basin of the Pālār and occupied the block of territory between the Chola country and Tonḍamaṇḍalam. This would be the most effective way of breaking the rising Chola power in the south. The alliance between the Gangas and the Rāshtrakūṭas was a great step in this direction, and its importance showed itself when the Gangas were able quietly to conquer the Nolambas and annex their territory to their own. So the Rāshtrakūṭa territory came into contact with that of the Cholas all along the Chola north-western frontier, and if only Krishna succeeded in gaining the Bāṇa territory, either by conquest or by effective alliance, the Chola power would be in great danger. Krishna III came to the throne in A. D. 939. With his accession and immediate action, the kingdom that was compacted at so much pains, and, after three or four great wars by Parāntaka, was in imminent danger on the northern side, and even inscriptions of the third year of Krishna claim conquest of "Kanchi and Tanjai" Conjeevaram and Tanjore. This would be about the year A.D. 941-42, and, for this year, the actual conquest of these two capitals of the Cholas could only be regarded as mere rhetoric. But there could be no doubt that Krishna achieved some successes in this reign in the course of his efforts to restore the Bāṇas under his influence, and these certainly justify the boast to some extent. Parāntaka was for the moment occupied in his southern wars, and that was what actually gave the opportunity to the Rāshtrakūṭas to make this advance. It did not seem likely that he would cease in his activities. War broke out consequently on the northern frontier some time about A.D. 941-45, and the Rāshtrakūṭa was able to achieve a number of small successes in the northernmost part of the Chola territory, which enabled him to push forward towards the south in a steady invasion. The crucial battle between the Chola and the Rāshtrakūṭa took place at Takkolam, very near Conjeevaram, where the Chola heir apparent Rājāditya opposed the Rāshtrakūṭa invasion, and lost his life in the effort in A.D. 949. It is this battle that gave the Rāshtrakūṭa Krishna the title to conquest of Kanchi. Thereafter gradually he was able to take advantage of the defeat, and push southwards. During the period of the decade following we find a number of epigraphical records referring themselves to Krishna III, the Rāshtrakūṭa, in the northern districts¹ of the Chola kingdom going down to the southern borders of South Arcot, thus giving us clear indication of the Rāshtrakūṭa hold in

1. *Ep. Collns.* 235, 267, 268, of 1902, and 16, 743 of 1905.

the northern part of the Chola kingdom, the Tonḍamaṇḍalam part of it. The Karhad plates² of Krishna III dated A. D. 959 describe, his being in Mēlapāḍi in the North Arcot District, distributing largesses among those who rendered valuable services to him. This indicates the zenith of Krishna's authority in what was the Chola territory and the next decade marks the reaction of Chola effort to recover from him the positions lost during this period. The last known year of Parāntaka is 47, which would correspond to A.D. 953-54. Probably he died soon after. He was succeeded in rapid succession by two of his sons, who were probably already assisting in the administration. His second son Gaṇḍarāditya, who probably was installed immediately after the death of Rājāditya at Takkolam, could not have had more than two or three years of reign at the outside, and that would mean perhaps a year or two after the death of Parāntaka. He was followed by a younger brother, who probably had charge of this northern frontier and the conduct of the wars against the Rāshtrakūṭas. A later inscription from the self-same Mēlapāḍi³ refers to the construction of a memorial to this ruler Arinjaya at a place called Āttūr most probably in the immediate vicinity.

Arinjaya's son, Sundarachola, must have come to the throne about the year A.D. 956. Whether he succeeded during the lifetime of the father, or whether he came to the throne only after his death, we cannot be quite certain about. But in either case, what Arinjaya was able to do, to dislodge the enemy from his hold of the Bāṇa territory, did not attain to complete success. All the time the Pandya trouble remained, and constituted the pre-occupation of the Cholas; this made it necessary for the Cholas to be Janus-faced, operating both on the northern and on the southern frontier, the sixteen or seventeen years of Sundarachola's reign being occupied with this work. They were not without other trouble at home. There was a rival claimant to the throne in the son of Gaṇḍarāditya who was an elder brother of Arinjaya. Sundarachola got over the difficulty by assuming authority himself, and satisfied the ambitions of his cousin by making him Yuvarāja and allaying, for the time being, the fears of the aspirant. They seem otherwise also to have taken steps for effective action on the northern frontier. This very Arinjaya married three wives, whose names are mentioned in the epigraphical records. Two of them are named Vimaṇ Kundavvai, Kundavvai,⁴ the daughter of Bhima, and Kodai-Pirāṭṭiyār,⁵ probably a Chēra princess from the first part of the name. He also married a Vaiḍumba princess by name Kalyāṇi, and his son who succeeded him on the throne, Parāntaka-Sundarachola was her son.

2. *Ep. Ind.* IV, p. 278.

4. *A.R.E.* 1921, I, 26.

3. *S.I.I.* III, 17.

5. K. N. Sastri's *Cholas* pp. 183-185.

Bhima, the father of Kundavvai, is taken to be the Chālukya Bhima of the Eastern Chālukyas. If that was so, it was likely he would be named. Probably this was another ruler in the immediate north of the Chola kingdom, particularly, as records of an Araiyan Ādittan Bhiman, that is, Araiyan Bhiman, son of Āditya. Araiyan being a mere title. We shall revert to this Bhīma later. It is sufficient to remark here that he was probably a Telugu Chola ruler who was brought into the Chola alliance, the political alliance being cemented by a marriage. Sundarachola's first war was against the Pandyas, assisted by the Ceylonese. Sundarachola succeeded and carried the war into Ceylon, as the general who led the expedition, Śirīa Vēlān by name, fell fighting in Ceylon⁶ in the third year of Sundarachola, that is, A.D. 959. This pre-occupation it is that made the Chola effort at regaining the northern districts from the Rāshtrakūṭas a slow and protected affair, as they were not able to throw the whole of their resources against the powerful Rāshtrakūṭas. This was probably not the last time that he had to fight against the Pandyas. His eldest son Āditya, otherwise called Karikāla, had charge of the Pandya war, and claimed to have achieved distinction against the Pandyas, and even met his death in his effort, although foul play seems to have had its own part in bringing about this catastrophe.⁷ This was about the end of the reign of Sundarachola. Būtuga, the stout-hearted Ganga ally of Krishna died soon after Parāntaka, but was succeeded by his son Mārasimha, who remained as stoutly loyal to his uncle Krishna as his father did. So the Rāshtrakūṭa hold on the northern frontier of the Cholas remained firm notwithstanding their efforts till Krishna died in A.D. 968, and was succeeded by two brothers in rapid succession till at last a nephew came to the throne in A.D. 972. The death of Krishna removed the strong hand, and opened the way for the Cholas achieving success in their efforts to regain lost territory. This was a great deal assisted by the calamities that befell the Rāshtrakūṭas in their own territory.

Rāshtrakūṭa foreign policy in the north, and Krishna's pre-occupation with the wars in the south, gradually made the feudatory Paramāras of Malva to attain to a position of importance. For some reason or other, they invaded the very capital of the Rāshtrakūṭas and sacked the town. Apparently the Rāshtrakūṭas were unequal to prevent this under the last ruler Karka II, a nephew of Krishna. This destructive attack opened the way for a revolution which was brought about by a Chālukya feudatory, claiming to be a scion of the old Chālukya family who overthrew the Rāshtrakūṭas and set himself up in their stead. This removed the Rāshtrakūṭa trouble so far as the Chola northern frontier was concerned.

6. 106 of 1896. *S.I.I.* V, 980.

7. 577 of 1920.

This course of Rāshtrakūṭa history and Krishna's advance into the south is necessary to understand the development of a Chola policy which ultimately brought the Eastern Chālukya dominions within the Chola system. We have seen that, in the early years of the tenth century, Rāshtrakūṭa attention was drawn towards the north. Indra's successful campaigns perhaps drew away his attention from the Eastern Chālukyas. The Eastern Chālukyas, it must be remembered, ever since Rāshtrakūṭa usurpation in the middle of the eighth century, pursued a policy of their own which, in periods proved to be one of definite hostility to the Rāshtrakūṭas. The Eastern Chālukya accounts have it that, in a period of twelve years, their hero Guṇaka Vijayaditya fought as many as 108 battles.⁸ Allowing for great exaggeration in the statements, it indicates a determination to fight to the death as it were, and in the effort, they have achieved considerable successes as they claim to have destroyed the very capital of the Rāshtrakūṭas, which had subsequently to be restored. A policy of hostility therefore seems quite clear, and does not require much further demonstration. In the period following, the relation between the one state and the other seems to have depended a good deal upon the pre-occupation of the really more powerful Rāshtrakūṭas. At the time, Rāshtrakūṭa embroilments with the Gūrjaras of the north were the probabler cause of the division. Indra's campaign therefore left the Eastern Chālukyas free. A somewhat prolonged peace had the natural, but unfortunate, effect of making the Chālukyas lose their vigour, and even indulge in wars and disputed successions. With A. D. 925 and the accession of a ruler by name Tādapa or Tālapa I, affairs in the Eastern Chālukya territory were going from bad to worse from rapid change of successions and even civil wars among the different claimants to the throne. In the condition of affairs of the Eastern Chālukyas, the accession of a powerful ruler like Krishna III, with a clear-cut policy before him of extending the Rāshtrakūṭa empire in the south, must have had its influence upon the Eastern Chālukyas as well. However much the separate incidents may seem more or less the outcome of the circumstances of the moment, a historical study, in the proper perspective, cannot altogether obscure the view that a policy, a definite policy, had been shaping itself in the mind of Krishna who carried it out in the course of the next quarter of a century to a high degree of accomplishment. The kingdoms were rising into importance in the north, those of the Chēdis and the Chandēlas. While yet his father was on the throne, Krishna apparently interested himself

8. *S.I.I.* I, E. Chālukya references thereunder. *Ind. Ant.* XIV 197 ff, *E.I.IX* 24. [This statement seems to be incorrect. It was Narēndra Mṛgarāja Vijayaditya II that claimed to have waged war against the Rāshtrakūṭas for 12 years and not Guṇaka Vijayaditya. *Ed.*]

in the rivalry between the two. He was able to capture the strong Chandēla fortresses of Kālanjar and Chitrakūṭa,⁹ we shall have to presume with the countenance, if not the alliance, of the rulers of Chēdi, as both Krishna and his father had married Chēdi princesses. The Paramāras of Malva were kept in hand, and therefore at the time of the accession of Krishna, the northern frontier was on a footing to cause him no anxiety whatever. By a judicious kind of a marriage alliance he secured the safety of the southern frontier as well both for defence, and even for the great offensive he had probably already contemplated against the Cholas. The marriage of the Rāshtrakūṭa princess with Būtuga, who had just murdered his predecessor and had succeeded to the throne of the Gangas, and the additions made to his government so as to provide him with a government in the south of great resources for war, is a clear indication that he was preparing for his southern adventure. He could not march south into the Chola territory leaving the flank of the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom exposed to possible attacks from the east. These attacks from the Chālukyas, from the previous history of the relations between the two, were certainly not a remote contingency. Just as the fugitive Bāṇa rulers, fleeing from the successful operations of the powerful Chola Parāntaka, found shelter under the Rāshtrakūṭas, so there were fugitives from the court of the strong ruler Amma II, when he had established himself in full authority in the Chālukya kingdom. That happened to be just about the time when Krishna had managed to launch himself into his southern campaign in full vigour. The son of a predecessor of Amma probably made an effort to forward his claims, as in fact he did clearly, and, being balked in his efforts, found shelter under the great Rāshtrakūṭa who would certainly help him when a suitable opportunity offered. The opportunity did offer itself in the course of years, and we have a record of the eleventh year¹⁰ of Amma when, through the operations of his rival supported by Krishna III, he had to evacuate the capital and flee for shelter into the distant Kalinga, part of which Amma had brought under his authority.¹¹ This statement in the Chālukya inscription is a clear indication that the Chālukya territory was far more safe on the northern frontier, and this clear fact that seems to our notice is but an indication of the many others that have not. Bādapa the rival seems to have certainly had very considerable support which would show itself openly only when a certain amount of success had been achieved. But since A.D. 950 when the Rāshtrakūṭa adventure into the south had

9. E. I. V, 190. E. I. XIX, 287. Also Altekar; Rāshtrakūṭas 113 ff.

10. E. I. XIX, 187 ff.

11. *Op. Cit.* This is the passage: ll. 22—28. "Sānus-tasya-Ammaṭjas-surapati-vibhavabaddhō dharitrim rakshan-ekādaśābdām jitaripum-aggamat Krishna-kōpāt-Kalingām" It is doubtful if the learned writer's interpretation is justifiable. *Ed.*

attained to great success, and Krishna was actually in the northern part of the Chola territory, and he could equally be active in the east, and send Amma into temporary exile, gives again a clear indication of the importance that Krishna attached to this section of work. Probably the return of Amma II to power resulted in an understanding between the two rulers. That would have made the whole northern frontier of the Cholas open to Rāshtrakūṭa attack in perfect safety. Taking the period soon after the battle of Takkolam, say A.D. 950, the position would be somewhat like this. The Ganga chieftain, Būtuga was just in an intoxication of power after the victory against the Chola heir-apparent, and, in the full enjoyment of a block of territory which constituted the southern, and even the palatine, viceroyalty of the Karnāṭaka empires, Rāshtrakūṭa as well as Chālukya. By his recent conquest which followed the battle of Takkolam, the bulk of the territory of Perumbānapāḍi had been annexed to it. A little before this time, Nōlambavādi had been conquered and annexed to the Ganga territory. Thus the territory and the power of the Gangas were extensive and great respectively. The death of Parāntaka just a few years after this left the Chola empire without a powerful enough guardian. So all the south appeared to lie at the feet of Krishna. Only he should be up and doing to take advantage of the situation thus created. Of course the Cholas were not going to surrender without a fight, and the feeble struggle that the immediate successors of Parāntaka put up, could but have comparatively little success. What is our point, however, is how the Cholas actually persisted in their efforts against the powerful enemy who had riveted his hold upon the Chola kingdom in such strength. The Pandya campaigns, Ceylon looming in the distance all the time, had not been brought to a definite end as yet, and was not to be till much later. The possibility of having to fight in the south was the first demand upon the Chola policy; but they could not carry on that fight safely and efficiently, unless they could make adequate provision, at least to maintain their reduced northern frontier such as it happened to be. After the conquest of the Bāṇa territory, at least a very considerable part of it, the only states with whom the Cholas could come to an agreement and make their support available to them — at least for defensive purposes — were at the time three. The Telugu Cholas of whose history we know comparatively little for this period, and the Vaidumbas who occupied the gap between this Chola territory and the Rāshtrakūṭa frontier. If that could be secured, then it would leave only the Bāṇa frontier open in the north, and efforts could be made to dislodge the enemy from that region. That this necessity of the position was realised by Parāntaka himself is clear from the marriage alliances, of which we have hints in the records of these Cholas. Parāntaka's youngest son had married apparently the daughter of a chieftain who

goes by the name Araiyan Ādittan Bhīman. Another, it might be a Chēra princess as already stated, and a third who was a Vaiḍumba princess, and this prince Arinjaya or Arikulakēsari, probably had charge of the northern war after the death of Rājāditya at Takkolam. It looks as if the Bhīma who is under reference is not the Bhīma of the Chālukyas, as Tamil records usually state it clearly that that was the case, Chālukya Bhīma or Telinga Bhīma being more or less expressions in reference to him. So long as Krishna was alive and the possibility of a Pandyan invasion was not quite remote, the Cholas could do but little except to remain on the defensive, and, when the Rāshtrakūṭa influence was well established in the court of the Eastern Chālukyas they could have done nothing in that direction, except of course to take note of it that, in regard to any future course of action on their part, the establishment of the correct relation between the Eastern Chālukyas and themselves would occupy an important place. When Krishna died and the Rāshtrakūṭa power was reduced to impotency by the Paramāra invasion and the sack of the capital, and by the subversion of the dynasty itself by the Chālukyas, the Cholas obtained the respite from the north-western frontier to make an effort to restore themselves to their own position. They would naturally therefore make the first bid to bring the Eastern Chālukyas into the circle of their friends and allies. The last quarter of the tenth century therefore was a period when the Cholas had to be much more active than usual, to bring their relations with the Pandyas to a mere settled condition and make their efforts in the central region to destroy the Rāshtrakūṭa hold upon the Bāṇa country, and gain back as much of their possessions in the north as they possibly could, leaving the Gangas aside for the moment. The Ganga Butuga died just about the time when Parāntaka died, and his successor remained loyal to Krishna during his lifetime. When the Chālukya revolution took place, the Gangas were deprived of the powerful Rāshtrakūṭa support because it was the Chālukya power that was ruling now instead, and their attitude towards the Gangas was doubtful. In this state of affairs, the Cholas were distinctly in a position of advantage to attend to the Eastern Chālukya affairs.

The year A.D. 972-3 marks the Chālukya revolution in the Rāshtrakūṭa empire. It also marks the end of Dānārṇava's reign, according to Eastern Chālukya records and the commencement of the so-called interregnum. In Chola history also it reaches a critical point; but a revolution similar either to that of the Rāshtrakūṭa, or of the Eastern Chālukya was avoided by the equanimity and statesmanlike attitude of the princely heir-apparent to the throne of the Cholas, Rājārāja. The period from the death of Parāntaka in A.D. 953-54 to A.D. 972-3 was a period in which the Chola power could hardly claim to be in as strong a position as it was under the great Parāntaka. His immediate

successor or two, during the next three or four years following Parāntaka's death, were comparatively feeble rulers. It is only when Parāntaka's successor, Sundarachola-Parāntaka II succeeded to the throne that there came into the Chola administration anything like the old vigour. Even so, Sundarachola's pre-occupations were with the Pandyas, and the northern frontier came in for comparatively less attention than the south. The decisive battle in which a victory against the Pandyas is claimed by Prince Āditya whose death soon followed brought matters to a decisive point on the Pandya side, and more attention could now be given to the northern frontier. At that time came in a succession dispute following the death of Sundarachola. Of Sundarachola's sons the eldest, the valiant Āditya, surnamed Karikāla, achieved distinction in the Pandyan wars of the south and died soon after perhaps by foul means as there is reason to suspect, owing to the machinations of the person who actually succeeded to the throne, Uttamachola, son of Gaṇḍarāditya. Personally speaking this prince ought to have succeeded to the throne of his father. But that did not come about. The father was probably followed by his younger brother, and he was followed by his own son Parāntaka II, Sundarachola. There is the possibility that, at the time of the accession of this last ruler, Uttamachola did put forward his claims, and he was made to stand aside because of the needs of the hour, and give place to a more proved general and administrator in the person of Sundarachola. The prince that stood aside for the father must be old enough, and, perhaps even strong enough, to put forward tenable claims to succeed him, at least, whether there was a previous explicit agreement or no. It seems therefore probable that there was some kind of an understanding. Uttamachola would therefore assert his claims. Āditya's achievement in the Pandya wars on behalf of his father would naturally put him forward as the most suitable successor to Sundarachola, and there is reason to suspect that he was cut out of the way, perhaps by assassination which must have been brought about, in the interest of Uttamachola. Whatever his personal responsibilities may be in regard to the matter, the question would therefore naturally arise whether the succession of Uttamachola to the Chola throne would be undisputed. Āditya II, Karikāla the distinguished son of Sundarachola, had a younger brother of sufficient age, and of undoubted capacity to advance his claims immediately on Āditya's death, and, if Sundarachola were yet alive, even on his deathbed, we may well believe it that he would naturally have preferred the son succeeding, although the possibility is not ruled out that he felt bound by the previous agreement to let Uttama succeed him in preference. Whether the agreement was actually due to the intercession of Sundarachola or no, the fact stands out that Rājārāja stood aside, and let Uttama succeed. The family relations

seem to have continued friendly as Uttama's mother continued under the protection of Rājarāja, even after he had succeeded to the throne, a respected royal personage who could indulge in making grants, such as royal personages were allowed to. Therefore the succession of Uttamachola was peaceful, not withstanding the discussions and arrangements they have made. If this could be accounted for only on the understanding that prince Rājarāja deliberately decided to stand aside as, under ordinary circumstances, he would have asserted his claims to the throne and was apparently in resources to do it effectively. The fact that he did not do it is the clearest possible indication that he wished deliberately to avoid what had actually taken place at the time in the two distant capitals of the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Eastern Chālukyas, namely that Rājarāja did not like to bring about the dynastic revolution in the Chola empire which had actually taken place in the Rāshtrakūṭa and even in the Eastern Chālukya kingdom. Rājarāja obviously enjoyed a certain amount of power and position, and perhaps was playing an active part also in the administration of the empire. The revolution that had actually been taking place in the Rāshtrakūṭa empire and in the kingdom of the Chālukyas left the northern frontier quiet. The Gangas were isolated from the Rāshtrakūṭas, the new power of the Western Chālukyas, not having had the time to think out and adopt a southern policy of their own. It is that that saved the Chola empire, and it is that that perhaps saved Uttamachola the ill repute of not having done enough to maintain the Chola kingdom. His actual rule extended over at least twelve years, and during this period the northern frontier of the Chola capital was more or less in peace by diplomatic arrangements with the minor powers, the major powers being out of action by their own respective revolutions. It must have been clear to Uttamachola and the administrators under him, among whom perhaps was Rājarāja, that the most redoubtable enemy to be provided for on the old Rāshtrakūṭa frontier was the Ganga power, and this happened at the time not to be in a position to prosecute, on their own responsibility, the vigorous policy followed by Būṭuga in the previous generation chiefly through his alliance with Krishna, the Rāshtrakūṭa. The object of being the advance along the north-west, the Chola power ought to make revision for the otherside remaining quiet. It therefore was the essential need of the situation that the Cholas should get into some kind of alliance with the Eastern Chālukyas, if that were possible, before they get into definite relations with the newly rising power of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi, that is, the Western Chālukyas. It does not require much prophetic vision or foresight, putting ourselves in the circumstances of A.D. 973, to see that the most dangerous frontier of the Cholas on the north-west could be brought under, and the Gangas could be conquered after the Chālukya revolution, if ever there was the

possibility for the Chola to do so. The project must have formed therefore early in the mind, if not of Uttamachola, at least of the coming aspirant, prince Rājarāja. As a matter of fact the moment that Rājarāja felt himself in a position to take vigorous action, the first objective of attack was Gangapāḍi, if the Cholas were not to be too late and see that the Gangas were again well backed by the power behind them, the newly rising Chālukyas.

That questions of policy were not altogether unknown to these Indian rulers is exhibited, in the clearest manner possible, by the attitude that the Rāshtrakūṭa Krishna adopted towards the Eastern Chālukyas. The tell-tale fact that, in the eleventh year of Krishna, he countenanced the efforts of Bādapa, a collateral aspirant to the Chālukya throne of Vengi to the extent of actively interfering and dispossessing Amma II, the actual ruler for the time. This took place in the year A. D. 956, when Krishna, after having achieved, even perhaps unlooked for successes in the south, was still occupied in the Chola country and had mastered possession at least of Perambānapāḍi, and a great deal more of the Chola empire on the northern side. In the midst of these pre-occupations that he should have interfered in the affairs of the Chālukyas, in the manner that he had actually done, would show that he set great value upon his influence prevailing in the Chālukya territory, at least to the extent of not having to provide for the defence of that frontier efficiently, so long as he was occupied in the south. When Krishna passed away and soon after him his empire, it was open to the Cholas to make an effort to secure the Chālukya alliance if it were possible. But that meant clear vision of the future and capacity to arrange matters satisfactorily to put forward with a policy of that kind. Circumstances were not propitious in the kingdom of the Eastern Chālukyas for a policy like that, and, perhaps even the administration of Uttamachola was not even clear-sighted enough to actively carry out the policy of the Eastern Chālukya alliance. The death of the strong ruler Amma II seems to have been the signal for unloosing the disturbing elements that had been worrying him throughout his reign, the more so after the Rāshtrakūṭa interference. There seems to have been a disputed succession. The Eastern Chālukya records are not quite certain about his elder brother succeeding him immediately after his death, although it seems likely that he had ruled for a short period. The disturbances seem to have been not the creation of the brother Dānārṇava, although that is not altogether impossible, since he was a half-brother, and his relatives figure prominently under the rule of Bādapa. It was Bādapa, with his friends, who intrigued through the assistance of the Rāshtrakūṭas before that, who perhaps found support elsewhere, and ultimately overturned the rule of Dānārṇava, and set himself upon the throne. This revolution in the Chālukya capital was not

altogether lost upon the Cholas, who apparently were not in a position to take any effective action at the time, and the usurper was allowed to go on, as well he might, as there was no chance of any interference from the Rāshtrakūṭa side owing to the Western Chālukya interference also. Thus the so-called period of interregnum in Eastern Chālukya history of course is a period of interregnum from the point of view of the legitimate successors of Amma, but there was some kind of a usurper ruler under Bādapa and possibly a brother of his by name, Tādapa.

That being the general position, it would be clear that the policy of the Chola administration could have been to so arrange matters on the northern frontier as ultimately to result in a Chālukya alliance, if the Chola empire is not to suffer what it did in the later years of the reign of the great Parāntaka himself and his immediate successors, namely, an invasion in strength from the north-west in which the Gangas would play a prominent part leading ultimately even to the dismemberment of the Chola empire. If that was to be avoided, the Ganga territory must be subdued and brought into the Chola system. That could not be done satisfactorily without an understanding with the Eastern Chālukyas. It must however be remembered that there were other minor powers between the Chola frontier proper and the Eastern Chalukya territory, of which at least two kingdoms are heard of about this period. The one is the kingdom of the Telugu Cholas, and the other the Vaiḍumbas. Simultaneously there came to be at the Chola court the fugitive sons of the late ruler Amma, and their presence must have exerted a considerable amount of influence.¹² We have already noticed that in the days of Parāntaka himself he managed to get into marriage alliances with the Vaiḍumbas for certain, and possibly even with the Telugu Cholas. One of the queens of Arinjaya, Rājarāja's grandfather having been the daughter of a Bhīma, and we have shown reason why he should not be regarded as the ruler of the Chālukyas and that probably he was a Telugu Chola ruler. Whether this was the Telugu Chola or no, the Vaiḍumba marriage at any rate, gives clear indication of a desire, to get into positive alliances with these northern powers. The occasion for interfering with the Eastern Chālukyas came along with the fugitives from the Chālukya court when the usurper gained the Chālukya throne with the assistance of the Eastern Gangas of Orissa, in the absence of Rāshtrakūṭa assistance. Having given asylum to prince Śaktivarman of the Eastern Chālukyas, it was open to the Cholas to adopt a policy of interference in Eastern Chālukya affairs to assist the legitimate successors of Amma to recover their own, and that would be done only if it was in

12. There is no evidence whatsoever of that Amma II having left any children, or the latter having sought asylum at the Chola court. *Ed.*

the interest of the Cholas to do it. It was certainly to the interest of the Cholas that they should have on the Chālukya throne, if possible one that would be well affected towards the Cholas, so that the Cholas might feel not only their immediate frontier in the north, but even the more powerful kingdom behind it was, if not positively in their interest, at least was well affected towards them. Therefore an Eastern Chālukya alliance became definitely an object of policy to be pursued by the Chola rulers. We know of nothing that took place in Uttamachola's reign that indicates this policy clearly. As soon as Rājarāja came to the throne, surely in this department as in every other, the vigour of the new ruler became clearly visible, and the pursuit of a clear policy also became apparent. Rājarāja succeeded peacefully apparently, though Uttamachola left behind him a son¹³ who occupied an important official position under Rājarāja later. But Rājarāja was allowed to succeed quietly and carry into effect the big projects that he had formed in his mind. An extract from the Pabhubarṇu plates¹⁴ of Śaktivarman contains the following passage:— "His youth shone like that of a lion when, in the Tamil battle (*Draṁiḷāhavē*) he took the formidable elephants (of the enemy). He performed the wonderful feat when, with his own hands, he killed the sharp and peerless hero sent (against him) by Coḍa-Bhīma. He dug up the wide-spread tree of Jaṭāchōḷa to its very roots the tree which rose aloft in its boughs (with the divisions of its army), which had its base spreading on the top of a mountain (had its feet adorned by the crowns of the heads of kings) and which was strong within." Here we see Śaktivarman in the court of the Chola ruler, acting in behalf of the Cholas, against the Telugu-Chola ruler, the Chola-Bhīma and rendering distinguished service. That the Bhīma referred to is not the Chālukya is quite clear, being called Chola Bhīma, and the reference that follows to Jaṭa Chola the founder of the Telugu Chola dynasty makes it certain. Distinguished service like that would have created, in the Chola ruler, interest in the affairs of Śaktivarman, if that interest had not already been assured as a result of Chola policy. Examples of foreign princes rendering such distinguished services are not wanting in South Indian History. The verse in the Tiruvāṅgadu plates¹⁵ corresponding to this namely, verse 82, which apparently refers to events connected with this war of Rājarāja has it "Since Rājarāja, an expert in war, of the same name as myself, has been killed by a powerful club, I shall, therefore, kill that Āndhra king called Bhīma though (he may be) faultless. So saying he (Arunmoḷivarman) killed him (Bhīma) with a mace." This translation is taken exception to by Professor Nilakanta Sastri, who

13. S. I, I. III, No. 49 A. R. E. 1904 Set. 20.

14. Journal of the Tel. Academy, II. 395 ff.; K. N. Sastri, *Colas*, p. 217.

15. S.I.I. II, iii.

would render the passage "As Rājarāja of my name and skilled in battle has been attacked by Bhīma with his army, so I shall attack the flawless Teulugu (arandhram-Āndhram) Bhīma by name (thinking) this wise, he attacked him with an army." The original verse 82 however reads as follows:—

*Dandēṇa Bhīmēṇa yudhi pravindō yad Rājarājāḥ nihito madākhayāḥ
Tad Bhīmanāmānam arandhramandhram hanmīti dandēṇa
jaghānatam sah*

Apart from the technicalities of interpretation, the passage makes it absolutely clear that a certain Bhīma killed a certain other ruler Rājarāja in whom Chola Rājarāja was interested. In retaliation Rājarāja killed that Bhīma in the same way that Bhīma killed Rājarāja. The point for the historian here is just this, who is this actual Bhīma. Of course, it would be natural to take him to be the Eastern Chālukya as he is called Andhra Bhīma in the term Āndhram- Arandhram. Of course, the term 'Arandhram-Āndhram' means that he was so well provided for defence that it would be difficult to find a point of attack with any possibility of success, the term *Arandhram* being used in the Arthaśāstraic sense of being free from the weaknesses to which states are liable, and which provide the opportunity for the enemy to take advantage of. That this is not the Eastern Chālukya Bhīma is clear. There was not a Bhīma at the time answering to the description in the passage. Then there must have been another person, his neighbour perhaps, with the name or title Rājarāja, possibly an ally of the Chola, or a person in whom the Cholas were interested. This Bhīma must have brought about the death of that ally of Rājarāja, and Rājarāja in retaliation attacked him and got him killed. Reading the other passage from the Pabhubaṭṭu plates already quoted, in the light of this the position became absolutely clear that the Bhīma under reference is the Telugu Chola Bhīma, who could certainly be described as Andhra from the point of view of the Tamilian Chola, and it was his attack, it may be on the Vaiṣṭumbas, their neighbours, or possibly even a Bāṇa chieftain, which gave the cause of offence to the Chola. Whoever he was, it is clear that he was one dependent upon Rājarāja, and possibly even derived authority from him, as it looks as though the title Rājarāja was conferred upon him by the Chola. These transactions must have taken place, from their character, after Rājarāja ascended the throne, that is, after A.D. 985. If Śaktivarman rendered yeoman service in this war in the immediate neighbourhood of the Chola kingdom, the Chola monarch in gratitude would help Śaktivarman to gain back his throne from those who had usurped it from the point of view of Śaktivarman. Therefore then, the historical position becomes clear that Śaktivarman as a fugitive in the Chola Court, rendered service which would certainly

be highly appreciated by the Chola, and obtained in return for the service, the reward that he sought of Chola, assistance to gain his patrimony. The Chola must therefore have assisted Śaktivarman to carry on his war against Bādapa, or, as it is just possible, his brother Tālapa. Whether it was the one or the other does not matter to the main question. Śaktivarman assisted by the Chola succeeded and placed himself upon the throne as a result of his campaign with the assistance of the Chola. The actual date of this success of Śaktivarman has not yet been determined definitely. There seems a possible difference of two or three years. It is the Chola records of Rājarāja of his fourteenth year that lay distinct claim to the conquest of Vengi. Of course, the conquest of Vengi like other conquests, the first achievement that Rājarāja gives himself, is the destruction of a fleet at Kāndaḷūr Śālai, and then follow his achievements in the nearer frontier, and then comes in this conquest of Vengi. Possibly his operations against Vengi direct and indirect, began somewhat earlier as records of his eleventh year seem to hint at it. But by his fourteenth year, it is clear from his records, that his activity, in the direction of the Eastern Chālukyas, was complete, and his nominee Śaktivarman was on the throne of the Eastern Chālukyas, which gives a title to Rājarāja to claim conquest of Vengi. If through his assistance a ruler friendly to him was placed upon the throne of the Vengi kingdom, one could easily concede the claim to conquest, even if it should be that it was not actually a military conquest.

The conquest did not end, and Rājarāja was not apparently satisfied with merely placing Śaktivarman on the throne, and being dependent upon his gratitude for continued peace there which he wanted very badly, for the operations against the Western Chālukyas, which must have clearly been formed in his mind. He proceeded further, and got Śaktivarman's brother Vimalāditya married to the Chola princess, Kundavvai, the daughter of Rājarāja. The placing of Śaktivarman on the throne with military assistance and the bringing about of a marriage alliance with his successor-presumptive, give certain indication of the pursuit of a policy, if the whole course of preceeding circumstances beginning with Parāntaka did not indicate the policy. One reads therefore with some little surprise in the following in Professor Nilakanta Sastri's *Cholas* :— Rājarāja's intercession in Vengi affairs was the direct and natural result of the political development of the early years of his reign, rather than of any diplomatic design to dissociate the Eastern Chālukya from their western cousins". The course of Chola history described above gives perhaps the clearest indication of the pursuit of a policy which resulted in the Eastern Chālukya alliance with a view to preventing the possibility of their joining the Western Chālukyas in alliance in the coming war, which must have already been clearly in

the mind of Rājārāja after the conquest of Gangapādi. The frontier could not stop there and must be carried further.

In regard to these transactions describing the period of Chālukya rule extending from the death of Amma II to that of Śaktivarman, certainly before A.D. 999, as an interregnum, Andhra scholars have been somewhat perturbed and seem rather concerned to deny the interregnum as almost an apocryphal, or even wrong description by other scholars who worked in the field. The term interregnum has not been invented by the scholars. It is the charters of Amma's legitimate successors that give to that period the name; at any rate, it is clearly so describable so long as there has been some irregularity in the succession, and, what is worse, it is an irregularity attended with a civil commotion, if not war, in which the legitimate descendants were turned out of their kingdoms, and scions of the family with no such legitimate claims had succeeded to the throne. If that is not to be described as an interregnum, it would be difficult to find what can appropriately be so described. It is not necessary for an interregnum that there should be confusion and anarchy, and it cannot be said, in this case, that there was no confusion, and possibly even anarchy, in the Eastern Chālukya dominions which would not accept the authority of the rulers for the time being. It is therefore a matter of small consequence to history whether it was so or no, and these scholars who call it an interregnum are thoroughly justified in calling it an interregnum on the authority of the records of Śaktivarman and his successors. Whatever be the appropriateness or otherwise of this designation, the claim that Chola documents make from the fourteenth year of Rājārāja onwards of the conquest of Vengi has a very substantial basis of fact to stand upon, and cannot with any chance of proof, be called into question.

GENEALOGY OF THE VISHNUKUNDINS

V. S. RAMACHANDRAMURTY, B.A., (Hons.)

As the genealogy of the Vishnukundins has not yet been settled satisfactorily an attempt is made in this paper to settle it. The genealogy of the Vishnukundins has been studied by scholars like Messrs. Kielhorn¹, Hultzsche, Sewell³, K. V. Lakshmana Rao⁴, M. S. Sarma⁵, R. Subba Rao⁶, B. V. Krishna Rao⁷, D. C. Sircar⁸, S. V. Venkateswara⁹, Dubrueil¹⁰, and Dr. K. R. Subrahmaniam¹¹. There are five inscriptions of these kings available so far. The first known inscription of the Vishnukundins is the Chikkulā Plates edited by Kielhorn in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV (p. 193 ff.). The next is the Rāmātīrtham Plates edited by Dr. Hultzsche in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XII. Then come two sets of copper-plate grants found at Īpūr in the Guntur District, which are edited by Dr. Hultzsche.¹² The last is the Telugu Academy or the Pulombūru Plates of Mahārāja Mādhavavarmā.¹³

All the above mentioned copper-plate grants give the pedigree of the Donors and, they are as follows:—

Ipur II set gives:

Mahārāja Mādhavavarmā I.

↓
Dēvavarmā,

↓
Mādhavavarmā II.

1. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV, p. 193 ff.
2. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XII, p. 183 ff. *Ibid* Vol. XVI, p. 334 ff. *Ibid* p. 337 ff.
3. *Hist. Ins. South Ind.* (1932) p. 404.
4. *Journal of the Department of Letters*; Calcutta University, Vol. XI, p. 131.
5. *Bharati* (Telugu monthly) Sept. 1930 and Feb. 1931 and *J.A.H.R.S.* Vol. V Part 3, p. 185.
6. *J.A.H.R.S.* Vol. VI, p. 17, ff.
7. "The Vishnukundians" in Telugu being a reprint of articles published in *Bharati*, 1934—35.
8. *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. XXVI p. 84 ff.
9. Silver Jubilee Number of the *Q. J. Mythic Society*.
10. *Anc. History of Deccan*.
11. *Buddhist Remains in Andhra and Andhra History* from 225—610 A.D.
12. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XVII. pp. 333—337. Also noticed in *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy* 1920, page 97.
13. *Jour. Dept. Let.* Vol. XI, p. 31. *Bharati*, Sept. 1930 and Feb. 1931. *J.A.H.R.S.* Vol. VI p. 19. Mr. D. C. Sircar edited them in *Jour. Dept. Let.* Vol. XXVI, p. 119, as he thought the readings of Mr. R. Subbarao in *J.A.H.R.S.* Vol. VI were not correct. But unfortunately some mistakes have crept into his readings as well.

Rāmatīrtham Plates give:

Mahārāja Mādhavavarmā.
 |
 Rāja Vikramēndravarmā.
 |
 Rāja Indravarmā.

Ipur I set gives:

Mahārāja Gōvindavarmā
 |
 Mahārāja Mādhavavarmā.
 |
 Mañchana Bhattāraka.

Chikkulḷa Plates give:

Mahārāja Mādhavavarmā.
 |
 Vikramēndra.
 |
 Mahārāja Indrabhattāraka
 (his eldest son)
 |
 Mahārāja Vikramēndra.

Pulombūru Plates give:

Śrī Vikramahēndra.
 |
 Vikramāśraya, Gōvindavarmā
 |
 Mahārāja Madhavavarmā, Janāśraya.

On a comparison of the titles given to kings in the Chikkulḷa Plates and Rāmatīrtham Plates, we can, with least doubt, identify Indrabhattāraka Mahārāja of the Chikkulḷa Plates with Rāja Indravarmā of the Rāmatīrtham Plates. This identification is tenable because, the names of the first two kings are one and the same. Even the change in the third name (i.e., Indravarmā to Indrabhattārakavarmā) is not a material one. The peculiar epithet '*Aneka chāturdanta samara (sata-sahasra) samghaṭṭa vijaya*' has been applied to Indrabhattārakavarmā in the Chikkulḷa plates and to Indravarmā in the Rāmatīrtham Plates. Rāja Vikramahēndravarmā is called '*ubhaya vamsātma-jālamkāra*' in the Rāmatīrtham Plates and '*Vishnukundi Vākāta vamsa dvayālamkṛita janmanah*' in the Chikkulḷa Plates. Now identifying the kings of the Chikkulḷa Plates with those of the Rāmatīrtham Plates, we get the following line of four kings, mentioned in the Chikkulḷa Plates:—

Mahārāja Mādhavavarmā
 |
 Vikramēndra.
 |
 Mahārāja Indrabhattāraka *alias* Indravarma
 |
 Mahārāja Vikramēndra.

Similarly identifying the kings of the Īpūr I set with those of the Pulombūru Plates, we find the epithets given to Mahārāja Mādhavavarmā in both of them are peculiarly similar. He was the son of

Mahārāja Vikramāśraya Gōvindavarmā. He was '*Hiranyagarbha prasūta*' and '*Trivaranagara bhavana gata parama yuvati jana viharana ratiḥ*' (Pulombūru Plates) and '*Trivaranagara bhavanagata yuvati nandanah*' (Īpur I set). So we can identify Mahārāja Mādhavavarmā of the Īpur I set with Janāśraya Mahārāja Mādhavavarmā of the Pulombūru Plates. Then we get the following line of kings:—

Śrī Vikramahēndra
 |
 Mahārāja Vikramāśraya Gōvindavarmā
 |
 Mahārāja Janāśraya Mādhavavarmā
 |
 Mañchannabhattāraka.

The Īpur I set gives the following line of kings:

Mahārāja Mādhavavarmā I.
 |
 Dēvavarmā
 |
 Mādhavavarmā II

Now we have three sets of kings from the available five inscriptions:—

Īpur II set gives:

Mahārāja Mādhavavarmā
 |
 Dēvavarmā
 |
 Mādhavavarmā

Rāmatīrtham and Chikkulḷa plates:

Mahārāja Mādhavavarmā
 |
 Mahārāja Vikramēndravarmā I
 |
 Mahārāja Indrabhattārakavarmā
 or Indravarmā, (eldest son)
 |
 Vikramēndra II.

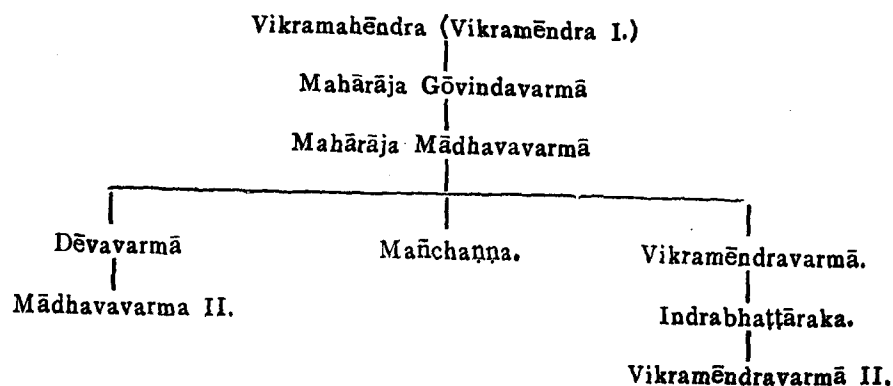
The Pulombūru plates and the Īpūr I set give:

Vikramahēndra II
 |
 Gōvindavarmā
 |
 Mādhavavarmā
 |
 Mañchanna.

So far all scholars (excepting the genealogy propounded by Dr. K. R. Subrahmaniam)¹⁴ who attempted at the construction of the Vishnukundin genealogy agree. But they differ in the arrangement of these three lines.

14. *Buddhist Remains in Andhra and the History of the Andhra etc.*

Messrs. Sewell, K. V. Lakshmanarao, R. Subbarao, M. Somasekhara Sarma, S. V. Venkateswara, B. V. Krishna Rao, identify Mādhavavarmā II of the Īpūr II set with Mahārāja Mādhavavarmā of the Rāmatīrtham and the Chikkuḷḷa Plates and identify Vikramēndravarmā II of the latter plates with Vikramahēndra of the Pulombūru Plates, and get a genealogy of nine generations for the Vishnukundins. But recently the view of the above scholars has been called into question by Dr. D. C. Sircar, of the Calcutta University. He says "when he remembers the fact that no other Vishnukundin king is as yet known to have performed even a single sacrifice of any kind except the one named Mādhavavarmā, and when we note further the unique numbers, eleven Aśvamēdhas and thousand Agnishtomas testified to by all the inscriptions there remains no doubt as regards the correctness of the identification of all Mādhavavarmā Aśvamēdhins as one and the same person."¹⁵ He further observes "It is highly improbable that two kings of the same name and dynasty and of the same period performed exactly equal numbers, eleven Aśvamēdhas and thousand Agnishtomas. We therefore think it perfectly justifiable to identify the king named Mādhavavarmā, who has been credited with the performance of eleven Aśvamēdhas and thousand Agnishtomas (Kratus) in all the different Vishnukundin Inscriptions." Hence his genealogy of the Vishnukundins is as follows:



A close study of the inscriptions reveal to us certain discrepancies in both these genealogies. Firstly the identification of Mādhavavarmā II of the Īpūr II set with Mādhavavarmā of the Rāmatīrtham and Chikkuḷḷa Plates is not tenable for the following reasons:—

- (1) Mādhavavarmā II never performed any Aśvamēdhas, while Mahārāja Mādhavavarmā of the Rāmatīrtham and Chikkuḷḷa Plates each performed eleven Aśvamēdhas and thousand Kratus.
- (2) Mādhavavarmā II calls himself "Trikuṭa Malayādhipati" while

15. *Jour. Dep. Let.* Vol. XXVI, p. 84 and, *I.H.Q.* Vol. IX, p. 273 ff.

16. *Op. Cit.* p. 86.

Mādhavavarmā of the Rāmatīrtham and Chikkuḷḷa Plates was not a "Trikuṭa Malayādhipati". (3) Mādhavavarmā II of the Īpūr II set was not a Mahārāja while Mādhavavarmā of the Rāmatīrtham and Chikkuḷḷa Plates was a Mahārāja.

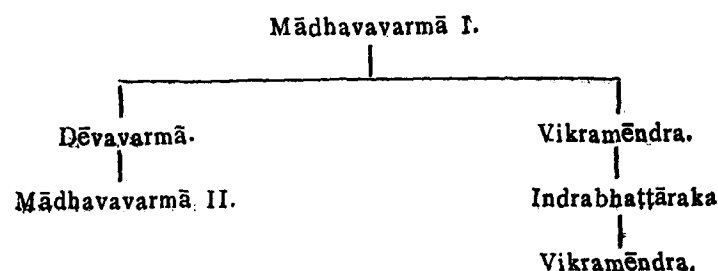
Mādhavavarmā I, grandfather of Mādhavavarmā II of the Īpūr II set was a Mahārāja and performed eleven Aśvamēdhas and thousand Agnishtomas and can be identified with Mādhavavarmā of the Rāmatīrtham and Chikkuḷḷa Plates. So the identification of Mādhavavarmā II of the Īpūr II set with the Mādhavavarmā of the Rāmatīrtham and Chikkuḷḷa Plates, as supposed by Messrs. K. V. Lakshmanarao, Sewell, M. Somasekharasarma, R. Subbarao, and B. V. Krishnarao, cannot stand to historical reasoning. Moreover this wrong identification leads them to guesses for the explanation of the epithet '*Bhrūhangakara vinirdhata samagra dāyādasya*' applied to Indrabhaṭṭāraka in the Chikkuḷḷa Plates, even when the whole picture is clear on a correct understanding of the Plates.

So I identify Mahārāja Mādhavavarmā I of the Īpūr II set with Mahārāja Mādhavavarmā of the Rāmatīrtham and Chikkuḷḷa Plates and credit him with the founding of the dynasty of the Vishnukundins with the help of Vākātakas by supplanting the Ananda gōtra kings of Kandarapura. He had two sons Dēvavarmā and Vikramēndravarmā, Dēvavarmā appears to have predeceased his father, and his son Mādhavavarmā II was appointed Viceroy of Trikuṭa-Malaya, which has been satisfactorily identified by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, with Kōṭappa Kōṇḍa, near Narasaraopēṭa.¹⁷ Vikramēndravarmā I must have ruled for a very short time and Mādhavavarmā I, appears to have ruled for a very long period. Mr. B. V. Krishnarao opines that Vikramēndravarmā I. never ruled. Thus we see that Dēvavarmā and Mādhavavarmā II formed a collateral line ruling over Trikuṭa Malaya, which was conquered from the Ananda gōtra kings, but were finally overthrown by Mahārāja Indrabhaṭṭārakavarmā of the main line as evidenced by the epithet "*Bhrūhangakara vinirdhata samagra dāyādasya*" applied to Indrabhaṭṭāraka in the Chikkuḷḷa Plates. This supplanting of the collateral line took place late in the life of Indrabhaṭṭāraka, i.e., subsequent to his issuing the Rāmatīrtham Plates, and prior to the accession of eldest son Vikramēndravarmā II. It was this feud with his collateral dynasty that gave an opportunity to the Eastern Gāṅga monarch Indravarmā of Gāṅga era 39, the donor of the Jirjingi Plates to interfere in the dynastic disputes of his contemporaries, the Vishnukundins, and finally defeat Indrabhaṭṭāraka and extend the Gāṅga Dominion up to the river Godavari.

17. *Bharati*, Sept. 1930, p. 414.

18. *J.A.H.R.S.* Vol. III, p. 49.

So far the genealogy stands as follows:



Now we have to see whether we can identify Mādhavavarmā of the Īpūr II set, Rāmatīrtham and Chikkulḷa Plates with Mādhavavarmā of the Īpūr I set and the Pulombūru Plates, as was done by Mr. D. C. Sircar¹⁹. A close study of the inscriptions shows us that the identification of Mādhavavarmā of the Pulombūru and Īpūr I set, with Mādhavavarmā of the other Plates is not warranted by facts. Mādhavavarmā of the Pulombūru and Īpūr I set has the following significant epithets which are conspicuously absent for Mādhavavarmā the Aśvamēdhin of the Īpūr II set, Rāmatīrtham and Chikkulḷa Plates.

- (1) *Trivaranagarabhavanagata parama yuvati jana viharana ratih.*
- (2) *Hiranyagarbhaprasātaḥ.*
- (3) The title of *Janāśraya*.
- (4) *Avasita vividha divyaḥ.*
- (5) The reference to qualities like *daya, dāna, māna, smṛiti* etc.

Even on palaeographical grounds we cannot identify the Mādhavavarmā of the Īpūr II set with Mādhavavarmā of the Īpūr I set, because it is agreed on all hands that the former is decidedly earlier by one century than the latter²⁰. So we cannot reasonably agree to identify Mādhavavarmā of the Īpūr I set with Mādhavavarmā I of the Īpūr II set. As the Pulombūru Plates are issued by Mādhavavarmā, son of Gōvindavarmā, the donor of the Īpūr I set, and as we further know that Mādhavavarmā of the Pulombūru Plates was a contemporary of Jayasimhavallabha I of the Eastern Chāḷukya dynasty, for his father,

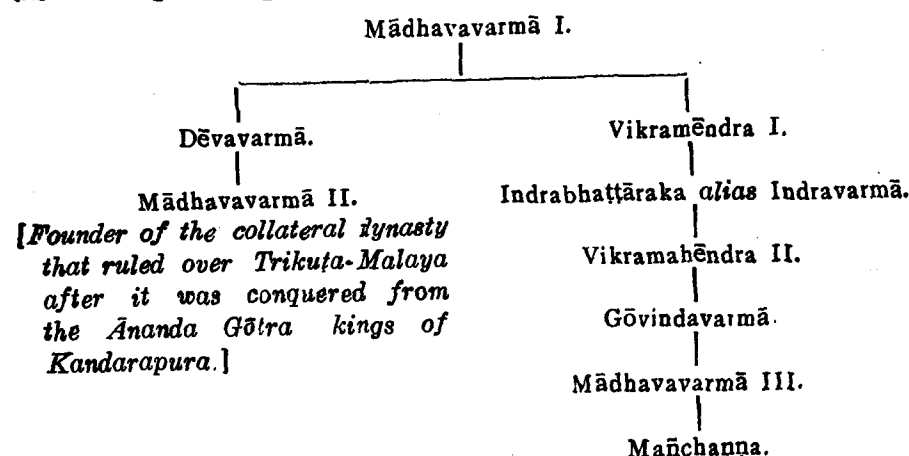
19. *I.H.Q.* VII. IX, p. 273 ff.

20. Mr. G. Venkobarao assigns Īpūr II set to a period "not later than the fifth century A.D. and Īpūr I set to sixth century A.D." *Annual Report of the South Indian Epigraphy, Madras, 1920*, p. 28. Dr. Hultzsch while editing the Īpūr Plates of Mādhavavarmā II, writes "As the alphabet of this inscription seems to be of an earlier type than that of the preceding one (Īpūr Plates I set, i.e., of Gōvindavarmā's son Mādhavavarmā) and as grandsons are frequently named after their grandfather, I consider it not impossible that Mādhavavarmā II. was the grand father of Gōvindavarmā's son Mādhavavarmā".

we cannot agree to identify him with Mādhavavarmā Aśvamēdhin of the Rāmatīrtham, Chikkulḷa²¹ and Īpūr II set.

So Mādhavavarmā I of Īpūr II set and Mādhavavarmā of the Rāmatīrtham and Chikkulḷa Plates are one and the same person, but he is different from Mādhavavarmā of Pulombūru and Īpūr I set for the above reasons. The assumption of Mr. D. C. Sircar that "it is highly improbable for two persons of the same name and dynasty to perform eleven Aśvamēdha sacrifices is, I believe, not a strong argument.

I entirely agree with that group of scholars in identifying Vikramēndravarmā of the Pulombūru Plates with Mahārāja Vikramēndra of the Chikkulḷa Plates for the following reasons. We know definitely that the donor of the Pulombūru Plates or his son was uprooted by the Eastern Chāḷukya monarch Jayasimhavallabha or his father Kubja Vishnūvardhana. So Mādhavavarmā of the Pulombūru Plates and Īpūr I set must be the last Vishnukundin king that ruled over Vēngī. If we accept the identification of Mr. D. C. Sircar that this Mādhavavarmā is the same as the Mādhavavarmā of the Īpūr II set, Rāmatīrtham and Chikkulḷa Plates, then we have to allow three more kings after this Mādhavavarmā ruling over Vēngī, which is not probable. So the identification of Vikramēndra of the Pulombūru Plates is not correct. Hence the following is the genealogical arrangement of the Vishnukundin kings.



21. I cannot agree with the suggestion of the Government Epigraphist for Madras and Dr. Hultzsch that the Īpūr I set may be assumed, on palaeographical grounds, to be earlier than the Rāmatīrtham and Chikkulḷa Plates. (*M.E.R.* 1920, page 98 and *Ep. Ind.* vol. XVII, p. 387) in view of the fact that it was Mādhavavarmā III or his son Manchanna that was uprooted by the father of Jayasimhavallabha. (Telugu Academy Plates of Mādhavavarmā, *Jour. Dept. Letters*, vol. XI, page 51).

* This paper was read before the Annual General Body Meeting of the A.H.R.S. on April 12, 1936. I am deeply indebted to my brother Mr. V. Apparao, B.A., B.L., for his valuable suggestions in preparing this paper.

Correspondence between the Hon'ble East India Company and the Kandregula Family in the 18th Century.*

(Concluded)

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

History Lecturer, Govt. Arts College,

Honorary Life Member, A.H.R. Society.

In this article, the translations of certain Cows and Sannads granted by the Nizam of Hyderabad and also a few letters that passed between the Company's officials at Masulipatam and Madras, regarding the Kandregula family affairs, are published. They throw interesting and new light on the Revenue administration of the Circar of Rajahmundry in the last quarter of the 18th Century. The petition of Venkatarayulu to the Chief of Masulipatam shows how the former, as a Mujumdar and Sur Seristadar of Rajahmundry Circar, became unpopular specially with the Rajah Jagapati Raju of Peddapur owing to the discourteous treatment given to him and also the heavy exactions and oppressions made in the exercise of his offices. (*Vide* letter No. 8). As a result of enquiry by the Company, the offices of Majumdar and Seristadar were abolished at the end of the year 1778. (*Vide* letter No. 9) However, by virtue of the long and faithful services rendered by Rajah Kandregula Jogi Jagannatha Rao Bahadur and also his brother Venkatarayulu, the said offices were restored and the emoluments were granted again to Venkatarayulu in 1781. (*Vide* letter No. 10) The Zamindars were accordingly instructed to put him in charge of the previous Rusooms and lands, but in vain. Special interest attaches to the sketch of regulation intended for entail system to be introduced into the ancient Zamindaries. (*Vide* letter No. 13).

CONDITION OF RAJAHMUNDY CIRCAR DURING THE PERIOD

1761—1793.

On the death of Salabatjang, the throne of Hyderabad passed into the hands of Mir Nizam Ali Khan, who ruled from 1761 to 1803, as the Subahdar of the Deccan. It was during his reign that the Hon'ble Company originally took for rent in 1766 the five Circars, namely, 1. Kondaveedu, (Guntur Dt.) 2. Ellore, (West Gadavari Dt.) 3. Kondapalli, (Kristna Dt.) 4. Rajahmundry, (East Godavari Dt.) 5. Chicacole, (Vizagapatam Dt.) through the negotiation of Kandregula Jogi

Pantulu. As a result, he was rewarded with the titles of "Rajah" and "Bahadur," which are still enjoyed by his descendants, and also the offices of *Mujumdar* or revenue collector and *Sur Sheristadar* or officer in charge of law and order, for the Circar of Rajahmundry. Moreover, he was also allowed to rent certain villages both by the Hon'ble Company and the Nizam as well as by the Zamindars. The Cows and Sannads granted by Nizam Ali Khan of Hyderabad in 1766 which are published below attest to the same. (*Vide* letters Nos. 1—5) These were confirmed by the Hon'ble Company which gradually stepped into the shoes of Nizam Ali Khan in the administration of the Circars. (*Vide* letters Nos. 6 and 7).

The condition of the Rajahmundry Circar—and this applies to other Circars as well—was most unsatisfactory during the whole period. From 1760 to 1797, Thimma Jagapati was the Maharaja of Peddapur. Vizaya Rama Raju II was the then ruler of Vizayanagaram. Both these were paying *Jumma* or Tribute (Fee which a feudatory should pay to the Suzerain) to the Nizam, but both were showing signs of revolt frequently. Peddapur Raja paid 1,14,283 Pagodas or *Karaku Varahas* (each was a gold coin worth Rs. 4).

After 1766, when the Company obtained right over Circars, the Tribute or Paiskush was raised to 1,27,987 and by the end of the century it was raised to 1,60,000 Varahas. Though the tribute was thus raised, the Zamindars were enabled to cut down their troops as the Company gave the help of their *Sibbandi* or troops in putting down the revolts of the minor-chiefs and in recovering the arrear rents due from them. Mahratta incursions were also put down and the Country enjoyed the benefits of peaceful trade and order.

The Company's officials, being ignorant of the Native dialects, entrusted the management of their affairs to their advisors, called *Dubashis* or Interpreters, and one such *dubashi* or *dubhashi* was Jogi Pantulu who was entertained by the Company in 1759 and who, by his long and faithful services in obtaining the Circars for rent from the Nizam to the Company, rose rapidly to a powerful position. From 1766—69, he was joint rentor of Rajahmundry circar and thus controlled the Zamindars. Hence his position was envied by the Zamindars and especially by the Rajah of Peddapur. The ostensible cause of enmity between Thimma Jagapati and Jogi Pantulu was as follows:—

Thimma Jagapati paid a visit to Jogi Pantulu and as the latter was busy offering prayers, the Rajah sat in the office-hall on the cushion on which Jogi Pantulu used to sit. This was not liked by Jogi Pantulu and hence the Rajah retired in anger and from that time conspired with other Zamindars to bring about the downfall of Jogi Pantulu. The letter of Venkatarayulu (No. 8, published here-under) mentions this as the chief

* I am indebted to Raja Kandregula Srinivasa Jagannadha Rao Bahadur of this place for permitting me to publish these family papers.

cause of the enmity. The real cause of enmity is also apparent. The great positions of power and help to which Jogi Pantulu and Venkata rayulu rose led to the rivalry. Evidently, the control exercised by the two brothers over the Zamindars and Renters was not liked particularly by the Peddapur Rajah. Till the advent of Lord Cornwallis' Reforms in 1793, such as, the Permanent Revenue Settlement, the separation and establishment of the offices of District Collector and District Judge and the organization of the Police, the Rajahmundry Circar may be said, along with other Circars, to have suffered much from want of Law and Order.

*The revenue administration of the Circars was previously done on a commercial basis. The profits on weaving and spinning and cloth-printing, sea-customs, revenues from salt, abkari and agricultural farms amounted to several lakhs. Col. Forde, who made a treaty with the Nizam after conquering the Circars by driving out the French in 1759, leased out the revenues for three years and, from 1762, the annual lease system was adopted but as the arrears began to increase, it was given up in 1765 in favour of the five years lease system. The renters were expected to pay up fully and to look to the welfare of the inhabitants (cultivators) of the farms. During this period, *there was dual control over Northern Circars* because the Nizam appointed the Nawabs to collect the revenues, while the Company also supervised by giving military help to the Nawabs. Hussain Ally Khan was appointed to govern the Circars but as he was weak, the zamindars to whom they were leased out resisted and paid little. There was anarchy in the country. So Hussain Ally made an alliance with the Madras Government with regard to revenue collection. When his authority ceased in 1762, owing to his dismissal by Nizam Ally Khan, the control of the English also ceased and the country witnessed worst anarchy. From 1764 to 1766, Hussein Ally Khan again held the office of the Naib (Governor) over the Circars and the Company's troops were again employed for revenue collection and the chief of Masulipatam was granted rights to collect revenues over certain Parganas in the Circars. At the end of 1765, the Company received *Sannads* from Emperor Shah Alum, as a result of the victory at Buxar in 1764, giving it the right to enjoy the revenues of the Circars. In 1766, the Company obtained the right of renting the Circars from Nizam Ally Khan through the clever negotiation of Kandregula Jogi Pantulu.

*The Company rented out the Rajahmundry circar at an annual rent of 3,83,500 Madras Pagodas to Hussein Ali and Jogi Pantulu jointly, and Ellore and Mustafanagar to Hussein Ali only at over 4 lakhs of Madras Pagodas per year. The zamindars were asked to recognise

* Vide *The Revenue Administration of the N.Circars* by Dr. Lanka Sundaram in J.A.H.R.S., Vol. VII.

the authority of these renters. Peddapur and Samalkot revolted but the Company's troops put them down.* The several forts in the circars were gradually destroyed and the number of native troops greatly reduced. The zamindar's right to levy transit duties was also abolished. The Company desired to control the Government and in 1769, the rentership of both Hussein and Jogi Pantulu was ended by the Company and the Circars were leased out separately to the highest bidder.

Jogi Pantulu and after his death his brother Venkatarayalu enjoyed the offices of Mazumdar and Sher Seristadar till their abolition finally in 1781. They also rented out several farms and enjoyed *Rusooms* and other gifts till their abolition in 1786. The Reforms of Lord Cornwallis in 1793 placed the Circars, along with other possessions of the Hon'ble company, on the road to peace and prosperity by ensuring law and order and by placing the revenue administration on an equitable and sure basis.

Letters.

1

Translation of Cowl Namah under the seal and the signature of the Nabob Cotubadowlah Hussan Ally Cawn Bahauder Juty Jam Jung, in favour of Kandrakul Jogee Jagannaut, the Majamodar and Serrishtadar of the Circar of Rajahmundree.

It has been determined that the sum of four thousand and one hundred and one (4101) pagodas, the half of which i. e., two thousand and fifty pagodas and eight annas shall be the fixed amount of the produce and customs to be collected from the villages of Chintaloor etc. (as per under-written list) in the Circar of Rajahmundry from the beginning of the year 1174 of *Fuslee*, and this cowl has been granted for the same. It is required that you pay this sum every year at the proper time and season, and to gather together the old and new inhabitants with their free consent and to strenuously exert yourself in promoting the cultivation and the increase of the Circar's property.

Consider this as sufficient cowl and act according thereto.

17 villages	...	...	...	4101 pagodas.
Mulkoor	...	...	...	Kauskoor
Murmalla	...	...	...	Nagalapully
Kaunjboor	...	...	...	Vemodam
Daugeer	...	...	...	Gonu- Mujaveram
Nullaweany	...	...	...	Polavaram
Doogdeer	...	...	...	Awarodee
Nagapully	...	...	...	Kungeram
Veelaskumgoram	...	...	...	Joolingaupet sawallah

Written the 10th shawall 1178 Hijiry. (1766 A.D.)

2

Translation of a Sannad under the seal and signature of the Nabob Ausuf Jau Nizam Ul-mulk Nizam Ud Dowlah Meer Nizam Ally Cawn Bahauder Putta Jung Sepah Salhar Eyaour Vauphaudar.

To the present and future Amildars, Deusmokees, Deuspanndees, Mujamoodars, Zemindars, Ryotts and Kulkurnees of the Circar of Rajahmundree in the Soubab of Furkindaboonyad Hyderabad; It is written:

At this time the head Sirrestadarship of the aforesaid circar together with one pagoda per cent for custom exclusive of the property and expenses of the Circar and in each village one Hutte of ground that is not included in the revenue, has been granted as a gift to Kounderkule Jogee Jagannaut, the Majamoodar of the said circar—you are required to consider him as the confirmed Siristadar and having put him in the *sirrista* ascertaining the value and produce of the several mahalls of the said circar, you are to consider his signature affixed to the papers of the Jamahbundee, the daily receipts, the Towanur (the general accounts) the Vausullant, the Jamahwrusullonkee etc. to be valid and to continue his customs and presents, that he may provide for the expenses of the subsistence of his progeny and be zealous in the business of the circar.

Written the 20th Shaban 1178 Hejiry. (1766 A. D.)

3

Translation of the general sannad, or Parvanah with the sign and seal of the Nabob Mustatab Molla Alcob Coorshad Estchar Rucnut Saltanat Eaur Vafadar Ashijah Nizam ul Mulk Nizam ud daulah Mir Nizam Ally Cawn Bahadar Fatta Jung Sepah Salar and seal of Samsamut, Dowla Hahader Dewany Padeshoy, dated the 13th Jelahezo moon and sixth year of Jeloos.

The order to Desmooks, Despondahs, Macuddamahs, Inhabitants and Conccoselies, of the Circar of Rajahmundry, Subay phereundee Bunyadeo.

I appointed the employment of Saristadary and Muzummary, of the said circar, to Condraigula Jogy Jaggannat fixing a *rusoom* for Q 1 Ht. of the produce, and a *catty* of ground in every village, as the particular thereof on the other side of this; therefore I order you, to let him have all the accounts, according to the right and custom, that, he might give it yearly to Circar books and you shall reckon him as a strongest Sirsirstadar and Muzumdar, for the said circar and pay him his right of fees &c gently and you are to observe that, according to the form of the books of Devany Duckan, none had sannad but Jogy Jeggannat.

Particulars of roosoom &c.

For the Employment of sirsirstadar Enam grounds. ... 15 candies

In the Parganah of Doommall* of Coccurlammody Ramachenderauze	12 candies
Do. of Vencattapettyrauze	5 "
In the Parganah of Coarcondah	5 "
In the Parganah of Pittapoor	37 "

Also one *candy* of ground of the said circar. *Roosoom*:- Q 1 Ht. of the produce. *Farm*:- Village named Calavacherla for 100 pagodos. Revenue of annum and the agreement of Jogy Jagannat for the saod far. wotj jos sea; was talem pf jo, and enter'd into my minute book.

For the employment of Muzummary Enam grounds:— One *candy* of ground in every village. One *Roosoom* Ht. of the produce.

4

Translation of a Sannad under the seal and the signature of the Nabob Ausuf Jau Nizam Ud Dowlah Bahauder, and the seal of Sumsaul Mulk, Sumsam ud Dowlah, Meer Abdilhy Cawn Bahauder Sumsam Jung dated 13th of Moon Zehige in the 6th year of His Majesty's Reign. (1766 A. D.).

To the Gomastahs of the Jaghierdars, and the *crorees* of the Purgannah of Domahall &c., in the circar of Rajahmundree in the Soubah of Furkindbbunyad, Know ye that thirty seven candeas of land, not included in the revenue, in the said purgannah &c., has, agreeable to the Zimin, been granted as a gift unto Kauhundreekul Jogee Jugunant, the Head Serristadar and Majamoodar of the said circar. It is required that the said land be measured out and enclosed and delivered over to him.

Written the 13th of the Moon Zehige in the 6th year of His Majesty's Reign. (1766 A. D.).

Contents of the Zimin or indorsement.

Thirty seven candeas of land (not included in the revenue) in the purgannah of Domahall &c., in the circar of Rajahmundree in the Soubah of Furkindaboonyad belonging to Kankerlamoree Ramchandrar &c., agreeable to the paper signed, the purport of which is written hereon in oblique lines, has been granted as a gift to Kauhindakul Jogee Jagannaut, the Head Serristadar and Majamoodar of the said circar.

Purport of the paper signed by the Nizam, "*grant a sanud*". The purport of the paper signed was determined on the 25th Shawall in the 5th year, the particulars are mentioned in the sanud for the Serristadarship and Majamoodarship of the circar of Rajamundree.

* Kota Ramachandrapur.

37 Villages.

From the purgannah of Domahall of the said circar, belonging to Kaukerlamoree Ramachunder. From the said purgannah belonging to Vancutputty Rauz, zemindar on the side of Mamutpooree &c.,

5

Translation of a Sannad under the seal and signature of the Nabob Ausuffau Nizamud Dowlah Bahaudar and the seal of Sumsomul Mulk Sumsam Ud Dowlah Meer Abdilhy Cawn Bahauder sumsam Jung, Dated the 13th of the Moonzihige in the 6th year of His Majesty's reign. (1766 A. D.).

To the gomastahs of the jaghiridars and the crorees of the purgaunah of Domahal on the side of Cotah in the circar of Rajahmundree in the Soubah of Furkinboonyad. Know ye that the village of *Culwacherla* in the aforesaid purgannah, for the yearly fixed sum of one hundred pagodas agreeable to the zamin has been granted to Kaundergul Jogee Jagannaut, the Head Suristadar and Masumodar of the said circar. It is required that the said village be put in his possession and that he shall pay the above stipulated sum every year.

Written the 13th of the moon Zehigi in the 6th Year of His Majesty's reign. (1766 A. D.).

Contents of the Zamin or indorsement.

The village of Kulvacherla in the purgannah of Domahall on the side of Cotah in the circar of Rajahmundree in the Soubah of Furkindboonyad agreeable to a proper signed—the purport of which is hereon written in oblique lines at the yearly fixed sum of one hundred pagodas has been granted in the name of Kaundergul Jogee Jagannaut the Head Suristadar and Masumoodar of the said Circar.

N. B: Purport of the paper signed by the Nizam.

Grant a sanud:—The purport of paper containing the signature was determined on the 25th Shawall in the 5th year, the particulars are mentioned in the Purvana for the head Suristadarship and Masumudarship of the Circar of Rajahmundree.

6

(6) Extract of a letter from the President & Governor etc, Council of Fort St. George to the Chief and Council of Masulipatam, dated 23rd June 1773:—

Upon inspecting the Soubah's grants of the offices of Sirsirstadar and Muzundar of the Rajahmundry Circar, we find in that for the Muzundary, the name of Vencataroyaloo, who is joined with his brother Jogey Puntaloo and Ramaju in this office by which we supposed it was the Soubah's intention that in case of the death of either of the brothers the other should succeed to and enjoy the benefit of his proportion of the grant. In this idea we think Vencatroylloo's title good and therefore

can have no objection to confirm it, but with respect to the office of Sursirustadary we don't find in the grant any mention of the heirs of Jogey Puntaloo and therefore Venkatroyloo can derive no claim from them to succeed his brother. However, we are inclined to show Vencatroylloo all the favour and encouragement in our power in consideration of the merit and services of his brother and of his own good character and upon this ground, we do consent to confer it upon him.

7

Ramapatnam,

26th June 1778.

VENCATROYLOO,

I wrote you yesterday about Dowa, and how the gentlemen have settled the farms of the Havelly. To-day I have better news to tell you, they have confirmed you in the Mirassy, because you were mentioned in the Soubah's sanned as well as your brother and they have also appointed you to the sursirustadary of Rajahmundry as entirely from the company's own appointment. This, I verily believe, was greatly owing to the very favourable account I wrote to the Governor and to the gentlemen of your brother and of yourself so that in everything you have to succeed to your brother; as I have done I shall take care of wording the titles in the sanned when I go to Madras and in the meantime I would have you send me a copy of those titles which the Soubah gave your brother both in Persian and English.

What can I say more,

(Sd.) HENRY BROOKE.

To,

91
CHARLES HOYER ESQ.,

8

Chief of Masulipatam & its dependencies,
The humble petition of Vencataroyloo, Interpreter to the
Hon'ble English East India Company at Masulipatam.

Your petitioner having been informed that in consequence of sundry complaints lately preferred by Rajah Jogoputty Rauze, Zemindar of Peddapore thro' his Vackeel at Madrass against him, your petitioner, to the Hon'ble the Governor and Council, the said Governor and Council have been pleased to testify their severe displeasure, at the conduct pursued by your petitioner towards the said Rajah and other Zemindars within the circars under the direction of Masulipatam; and that the cause of such displeasure is founded upon your petitioner having compelled by undue influence the Zamindaars to pay their visits to him in a manner humiliating and derogatory to their situations in life; your petitioner humbly hopes, he may be permitted to take this method of urging upon him that the Hon'ble Governor and Council at Madrass, a plain and faithful narrative of his case and which he humbly conceives to be the more immediately necessary, as he has not been yet called upon to reply in his own justification to any part of the complaints which may have been either made either by Rajah Jogoputty Rauze himself or by his Vackeel to the Hon'ble Board.

When Masulipatam was, in the year 1759, taken from the French, Mr. Andrews, then Chief of Vizagapatam, came here and took charge of this chiefship. He brought with him Caumajee Puntaloo, at that time the Company's interpreter at Vizagapatam and your petitioner's brother Joghee Puntaloo, who was then the company's head servant at Masula under Mr. Wescott. Mr. Andrews on his arrival here, committed the management of country affairs in these circars to Caumajee Puntaloo and Jogee Puntaloo jointly, who both received pay as the Company's head servants under this settlement. In 1765, when Mr. Alexander was the acting chief in the absence of Mr. Andrews, that gentleman took your petitioner's said brother Joghee Puntaloo upon an embassy with him to the Soubah's court, as some affairs of the Hon'ble company were committed to the management of your petitioner's said brother — During Mr. Fairfield's chiefship, the said Caumajee Puntaloo was still pointly entrusted with the management of country affairs; but Mr. Pybus who succeeded Mr. Fairfield entrusted them solely to the said Joghee Puntaloo, giving into Caumajee Puntaloo the superintendence of providing and sorting the Company's investment over the country merchants. In the year 1764, Mr. Pybus sent your petitioner's said brother, in consequence of orders from Madrass, to transact some affairs of the company with the Soubah at Hyderabad in which he had the good fortune to acquit himself to the approbation of his superiors and as a proof that the Soubah was not dissatisfied with his conduct. His Highness was pleased to confer upon him the title of *Rajah* Srinivass Row Jaggernaut *Bahaudher* (Jaggernaut being the name of his father) which said title and offices were confirmed by the Hon'ble Governor and Council at Madrass. From that time untill his decease, your petitioner's said brother continued to serve the Company with zeal and fidelity, in proof of which, and in justice to his memory, your petitioner begs leave to lay before you sundry original and otherwise authentick testimonials from his superiors.

Upon the death of your petitioner's said brother, your petitioner, by the recommendation of Mr. Brooke, then chief of this settlement, was by the Hon'ble Governor and Council, appointed successor to his brother in his late station in the Company's service and in the orders issued on this occasion to all the Zamindaars, it is expressly said, that they were to show the same respect to your petitioner and to regard him in all things in the same manner as Joghee Puntaloo. As heir to the late Joghee Puntaloo, your petitioner succeeded to the Masumdaary and in the year 1774, he was honored by the Soubah with a Serristadar sannad. Your petitioner has served the Hon'ble company without a single complaint to his knowledge having been made against him by any person under this Government either to the Hon'ble Governor and Council, to the Chief and Council or to the Chief of this settlement untill that lately made by Jogoputty Rauze thro' the means of his Vackeel at Madrass.

It would ill-become your petitioner to ask why Rajah Jogoputty Rauze should have so long defer'd a complaint upon a matter which he has treated as humiliating and ignominious; much less would it become to ask why he is the only Zemindaar of the many who are under the company's protection in these circars, who has made such complaints against him was it not that your petitioner perceives, by his and his Vackeel's bare assertions unsupported by proofs, or even your petitioner's being called upon to answer to any part of the charge or charges against him, he has unhappily incurred the displeasure of the Hon'ble Company to whom he has from his infancy been taught to look up as his only masters, guardians and protectors, and from whom alone he expects such favors as his conduct in the execution of his duty may merit, and to whom he and his family are ever most humbly devoted.

Rajah Jogaputty Rauze, in his answers to the question put to him by the Chief and Council of this settlement, to the best of your recollection, at one time says, that he presented, thro' his Vackeel a *Nazir* to your petitioner's late brother as a joint renter of the Circars, with Nabob Hussain Ally Cawn; at another time he says, he paid that respect to your petitioner's brother, because being a manager of country affairs, he was afraid, if he did not do so, of incurring the displeasure of the Chief and of the Government — and he also says, that he would not have permitted his Vackeel to present the *nazir*, if he had not been permitted to sit upon the *musnud* with your petitioner's said brother, which he says he always did. In this your petitioner conceives he is mistaken; he having heard that Rajah Jogoputty Rauze, never did sit upon the musund with his late brother, but on one occasion at Rajahmundry in the year 1769, when Mr. Wynch went up there to settle the Jummabundy, *this being the first settlement of a Jummabundy with the Zamindars*, the Circars having before been rented to the Nobob Hussain Ally Cawn and your petitioner's brother jointly; — and the reason your petitioner has heard assigned for his brother's permitting Rajah Jogoputty Rauze to sit upon musund with him that one time (for he was not then at Rajahmundry) was on account of his youth, and his being much esteemed by the said Joghee Puntaloo. But as he was the only Zemindaar who did so, the other principal Zemindaars seemed dissatisfied at the distinction; upon which your petitioner's brother never let any of the Zemindaars sit with him afterwards on the same musnad. Of this, the Hon'ble Governor and Council, may more fully be informed from the several principal Zemindaars now at this place as also of what has been the custom observed by them all on visiting your petitioner's late brother and himself, and they can also know if they have been compelled by any threats or other undue methods used by your petitioner, to perform the ceremony of the visit and the *nazir*, complained of by Rajah Jogeputty Rauze. Your petitioner therefore humbly prays that the

Hon'ble Governor and Council at Madrass, will be pleased to permit the zamindaars to be examined, as well in this respect, as on the general conduct of your petitioner towards them, since he has succeeded his brother in the service of the Hon'ble Company.

Further, Rajah Jogoputty Rauze also says in his answer to this Board, that he came to visit your petitioner at Rajahmundry in the first year of Mr. Whitehill's chiefship, but as that was the first visit of condolance to your petitioner upon the death of his brother, it was against the customs and law of the gentoos for him to receive *nazir*. Therefore as the ceremony of the *nazir* is only performed once between meeting and separation of persons, and that only on the first visit, Jogoputty Rauze's Vackeel did not that year give *nazir* to your petitioner. The second year, upon Jāgoputty Rauzu's Vackeel not presenting your petitioner with a *nazir* as the vackeels of all the other Zamindars had done, your petitioner sent him a message desiring to know why he refused to obey an order which he had secured from the chief, upon his your petitioner's appointment to the office enjoyed by his late brother directing all the Zemindaars to pay to the one, the same respect of honor that Rajah had paid to the other. Jogoputty Rauze replied that his late brother had seated him upon the musnud with him and therefore his Vackeel paid the *nazir* — and that if he your petitioner, would do the same his vackeel should also present him a *nazir*. He accordingly did so, and the Rajah was seated with him upon the musnud on your petitioner's assuring him that he only wished to follow his brother's example in every business with the Zemindaars. If therefore the brother of your petitioner always seated Jogoputty Rauze with him upon the musnud, your petitioner has broke his word to Jogoputty Rauze, and has used him ill in that affair. But as he alone has said so, without producing proof, your petitioner humbly hopes the Governor and Council will be pleased to permit both him and Rajah Jogoputty Rauze to call upon the other Zemindaars or other persons, to prove or disprove that. Last year when the Zemindaars assembled at Masulipatam on the business of the late Jammabundy, they all, except Rajah Jogoputty Rauze, paid their visits and their vackeels presented *nazir* to him your petitioner, as they had done to him and to his brother before.

9

Extract of a Letter to England dated 14th March 1779.

The third petition from Juggapati Rauze is of a very serious nature; indeed it accuses Venkatroyaloo of enormous oppressions in the exercise of his offices as Musumdar and Seristadar and mentions out of 35,000 pagodas collected by him from Rajahmundry Circar, no less a sum than 17,000 pagodas is contributed towards it by Jaggaputty Rauze under the auspicious names of meerassy customs.

The President, in a minute entered in consultation the 20th November, has spared no pains in procuring every satisfactory information upon so important a subject and has given such solid reasons for the propriety of abolishing the offices of Musmedar and Seristadar, subscribed to his sentiments from the amplest conviction that these offices afforded the means of oppression and that sums have been extorted from the Zemindars under pretence of this tax to a shameful amount. Were there no other proof in support of what we advance, the very confession alone of Vencatroylloo that he receives between 20 and 30,000 pagodas an annum in consequence of holding these offices, would we apprehend be sufficient but when we consider likewise the accounts of the Zemindars which make it a sum much more considerable we are persuaded you will admit with us the necessity of their abolition.

To compensate in some degree the seeming severity of this resolution, however necessary and proper and unwilling to deprive totally Vencatroyaloo of a Revenue his family have been in possession of for some years, we have agreed in consideration of his and his brother's services to the Company, that he shall in future receive from the Company's treasury the sum of ten thousand current pagodas a year to commence from the 25th September last, and that the several collections heretofore made by him from the different districts shall discontinue and cease from that period, that the lands and villages he had held under the sanction of the offices aforementioned or upon other pretences shall be immediately returned to the respective Zemindars and in proportion as each is eased of the encumbrance they have labored under shall make good to the Company the amount of the sums we have ordered to be paid yearly to Vencatroyaloo, and also the amount of the rents he paid to the Company for the villages which were under him and we hope this indulgence proceeding from the motives which we have already complained will not be deemed inconsistent with the the spirit of the original resolution as by abolishing the offices of musmedar and seristadar we have laid the axe to the root of an evil which would otherwise have spread to a very pernicious extent.

10

Extract of a letter from the President and Governor & Council of Fort Saint George, to the Chief and Council of Masulipatam, dated 19th February, 1781.

Urged by the repeated solicitations of Vencatroyaloo and by the apparent justness of the claims set forth in his different representations we have at length taken into our most serious consideration, the hardship under which the labours from being deprived of Sar Sheristadary and Muzumdary of the Rajahmundry Circar and from further information he has furnished us with, we are led to think, that the judgement passed by this Board, in the year 1778, when they annihilated those offices,

which had been established from a Sannad from Nizam, and confirmed by this Government has proved a more severe grievance upon him than was apprehended, and as we have not found any good consequence arise from the indulgence shown the Zemindars, by that measure, we have ultimately come to the resolution of *reinstating Venkatroylao in his former stations of Sar Sheristadary and Muzumdary of Rajahmundry Circar* and have granted him necessary Sannad and Cowl copies of which we now enclose you.

The long and faithful services of this man's family to the Company, entitle him to our particular favor and protection, we therefore desire you will on every occasion support him with your countenance and authority to reestablish that respect and influence which he, as well as his brother (Jogee Puntoloo) possessed among the Zamindars, when acting as Company's Interpreter, and that you will enjoin them to restore to him all the advantages he is authorised to claim with Nizam's Sannad, taking care at the same time not to give your sanction to any impropriety of conduct on his part.

You will observe that in his Cowle for the Merassy villages, his right of possession does not commence until 25th September next, and though we would have him be put in charge thereof in time to cultivate the same for ensuing season, yet still he will have lost the benefit of the rents of those lands for three years, viz., 1778, 1779 and 1780; consequently, according to the former agreement made with him there are three years' allowances being pagodas 30,000 due to him, which we expect you will immediately collect from the Zamindars as directed in our letter of the 11th December 1778, when we have consented, it shall be placed to his credit on account of the farms of Deevy and of the rent of the Charmahal country.

11

Extract of the 46th paragraph of the letter from the Hon'ble Court of Directors to the Governor in Council of Fort St. George, dated.

Yet we think it our indispensable duty to render every protection in our power to the parties who have so pointedly applied for it. We therefore direct that Juggapati be called upon for a clear and explicit account of his transactions which may in any degree related to the affairs of the family of the late Vencatroyaloo, and that you afford them such aid therein as may be agreeable to the general principles of justice and consistent with the laws of inheritance in that part of India.

12

Extract of a letter from the Hon'ble the President and Board of Revenue dated 24th July 1786.

The only proposal that you are induced to recommend, we perceive, is that of Jaggernaut Row, the Company's interpreter. The

responsibility of this man we believe to be unquestionable, but as the Company's system forbids that any person (natives as well as Europeans) employed in their service, should be farmers of their revenue, we are of opinion, that it would not be warrantable upon the principles they have laid down to accept of Jaggernautrow's proposals, and since none of the other tenders, are approved by you, we desire that you will issue fresh advertisements, for the lease of the farm and in the meantime keep it under your own management.

Upon this subject, we enclose a resolution that passed the Board the 24th July which we have transmitted to all the subordinacies and which we desire may be published at your settlement.

In regard to the farms which Jaggernautrow now holds, they are to be continued in his possession until the expiration of the present lease; but he must be informed that as long as he is employed in an office of such particular trust under the Company, no future proposals from him to rent farms can be received.

(A true extract.)

ALEXANDER WYNCHS.

13

Special remarks on the sketch of regulation intended for Entail system to be introduced into the Ancient Zamindaries.

1st. The conditions alluded to in the 3rd, 4th and 5th paragraphs being in a great degree prejudicial to the younger branches of the Zamindars, as they hitherto considered that section XIX, regulation II, A.D. 1802 and section XVI, regulation III of the said year were enacted by the Government, in a strict conformity, to the Hindoo law which, by no means, allow any preference to the head of the family, as he is in reality equal to other members, the same rules which are intended to be prescribed for the division of the personal family property may also be provided for the real property, restricting, however the participation to the usage of the country and family in order that the heads may not have it in their power to deprive the other members of their lawful right. The reasons adduced in the 3rd paragraph in support of the disqualification of women to inherit hereditary possessions in consequence of their weakness, seclusion and incapacity, are in some measure, well founded; but all these defections can be remedied either by causing the inheritance to be indiscriminately devolved on the interior or step younger brother of the persons dying without male issue or by authorizing the widows of the said deceased to adopt their next heirs or nearest relations with the knowledge of Government and to cause their estates to be managed under the regulation V, A. D. 1804, by such proper managers (until their adopted sons should arrive at maturity) as are competent to prevent the loss, inconvenience, confusion

and sometimes disturbances, which Government were pleased to observe would ensue in the country by female management.

2nd. Although Government entertains patriarchal benevolence for the preservation of the ancient Zamindaries to their posterity for ever and ever, in an entail tenure, yet from the tenor of that part of the 6th paragraph, where it gives meaning that in case of any Zamindary being sequestered by the failure of the Zamindar in payment of his permanent *peshcush*, such sequestration is not likely to be withdrawn (even after the payment of the arrears) "until the Zamindar or if he should be considered disqualified by the Government, one of the family may satisfy the Government of his ability to manage the zemindary beneficially to the rayets and to the Government....." and by what was mentioned at the conclusion of the said paragraph, saying that "when the individual holding the zemindary may fail in his engagements, duties, or allegiance, he will be considered to have forfeited his right to the zamindary and that his restoration or that of one of the family and the grant and the amount of the malik will depend entirely on the favor of the Government, and that in such cases the Government reserves to itself the power of altering the permanent *peshcush*, there is great reason for the zemindars to be apprehensive that not only there is no probability of their being easily restored to their estates, even in case they happen to fall in arrears, but that the permanent *jummas* of their talooks is also liable to be gradually increased by the word "altered" and under this consternation it will not be desirable by any of them to signify their consent in writing to resign the power of disposing of their zemindaries by sale, gift or otherwise, vested in them by the permanent sannads, as has been alluded to in the 7th paragraph, and the more so by what was mentioned in the 6th paragraph, viz., "the Government will, in all such cases, allow a suitable maintenance to the family" chargeable to the zemindary according to former usage where their conduct may be such as to merit such consideration.

3rd. Although the power intended to be delegated to zamindars in respect to conducting the business of police in their respective zamindaries is not only honourable to them, but also the only method to administer it more effectively, as alluded to in the 12th paragraph; yet the 13th paragraph having intimated that "the Rajah should be declared liable to fine and ultimately to the forfeiture of the zamindary for any misconduct", no zamindar would be inclined to undertake such management, unless he be declared liable only to a small fine in money and not to the forfeiture of his zemindary.

ANDHRA LITERATURE IN THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE.

TEKUMALLA ACHYUTA RAO, M.A., L.T.

1. *The Sangama Period:* The Hindu empire of the South with its capital at Vidyānagara or Vijayanagara on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra established by the joint efforts of the Āndhras and Karṇāṭakas became soon a bulwark against the aggression of the Muhammadans from the north. The Hindu empire became quickly the stronghold of all that was precious in the Hindu culture, arts and civilization. Quite naturally the kings of Vijayanagara even from the early period began to encourage Hindu learning and Hindu culture and art. Harihara I and his younger brother Bukkarāya who were the founders of the new kingdom were powerful kings. They belonged to what is known as Sangama dynasty, and Bukkarāya was the greatest king of his line. His empire extended from the sea on the east to the sea on the west and covered almost the entire peninsula. He was a Karṇāṭaka but he liberally patronised and encouraged the growth of the Kannaḍa and Āndhra cultures and, the revival of Sanskrit learning and Vedic culture. In fact Sanskrit and Vedic culture received the best care and protection under the brothers, Harihara and Bukkarāya and after.

During the reign of Harihara and Bukkarāya the chief Āndhra court-poet was Nāchana Sōmanātha, the author of the Telugu poem *Uttara-Harivamsamu*. The little that we know of the life of this celebrated poet is learnt not from his poem which is extant without the usual preface or *avatārikā*, but from a contemporary inscription which records the grant of a village on the banks of the Penna or Pinākinī in Nellore District to Sōmanātha, in appreciation of his poetic talent and profound scholarship by the emperor Bukkarāya. The inscription states among other things that Sōmanātha was born in the Bhāradvāja *gotra*, was a student of Yajurvēda and follower of the Āpastamba *sūtra* and learned in all the Vēdas and the eighteen Purāṇas. It is said that he was a poet in "eighteen languages". From the record it is not, however, clear whether the name 'Nāchana' was the family appellation or the name of the poet's father. If it was the family appellation it might be the name of a village as it generally happens in the Andhra country where people take their family name from their native village. There are two villages of the name 'Nāchana', one in Rajaputana and the other in Bundelkhand. Some years ago a correspondent in the *Hindu* pointed out the existence of a village named 'Nāchana' in Bundelkhand and proceeded to connect it with the Āndhra poet Nāchana Sōmanātha. But the enormous distance from Andhradesa and the different language

of that region are against such an inference. The people of Nellore claim the poet as belonging to their district. They base their claim on the fact that Sōmanātha refers to Tikkana Sōmayājī of Vikramasimhapura i.e., the modern Nellore, and his *Āndhra Mahābhāratamu* with utmost veneration in the colophon of his poem *Uttara Harivamsamu* and that the poem itself was dedicated to god Hariharanātha of Nellore in the same manner as Tikkana Sōmayājī dedicated his work. But I think this circumstance is too slender to support their claim. The poet was no doubt an Andhra, who on account of his previous association with the brothers Harihara and Bukkarāya at Ōrūngallu (Warangal) was induced to follow the fortunes of his royal patrons and settle at Vijayanagara and thus become their chief Andhra court-poet.

But the more interesting thing is the literary value of Sōmanātha's work. In the matter of appreciation of this unique poem there are two schools. One school of critics considers his style to be 'difficult', his poetic thought obscure and hence unnatural. It compares his work with that of his contemporary Yerrāpragaḍa who flourished at the court of the Redḍi kings of Addanki. According to this school Yerrāpragaḍa's *Harivamsamu* which is also a translation into Telugu from the original Sanskrit is much superior to that of Sōmanātha's poem in poetic art. The other school of critics to which I belong like the late Rao Bahadur K. Veeresalingam Pantulu considers that in Sōmanātha's poem there is the highest poetic expression that can be found in the whole range of the Āndhra literature. Sōmanātha is, however, a lover of paradox and some of his verses are thus difficult to understand. Secondly, he loves internal rhymes (*antya niyama*), particularly in descriptions, and thus give a touch of conventionalism to his style. Thirdly he is an artist who is self-conscious, who verges often on self-complacency. He is ostensibly a translator from Sanskrit but he is not really a translator. The freedom with which he either expands or condenses the events in the narrative or ignores the incidents of the original, indicates that he considers himself a free artist who is subject to his own individual judgment.

Bukkarāya was succeeded by his son Harihara II. After him came to the throne his son Vijayarāya and, he was succeeded by his son the great Dēvarāya II or Praudha Dēvarāya as he was also called. During the reign of Dēvarāya II the Sangama dynasty reached the zenith of glory. Dēvarāya I and his grandson Dēvarāya II were themselves great scholars and authors of repute and liberally patronised learning. During the reign of Dēvarāya II the great Āndhra poet Śrīnātha visited the court of Vijayanagara and was greatly honoured by the emperor. In a polemical contest with the Sanskrit poet-laureate Dinḍima Bhaṭṭāraka the Kavi-sārvabhauma, Śrīnātha Bhaṭṭa came out victorious and wrested the title of *Kavi Sārvabhauma* from his

opponent, for which the scholar-king Dēvarāya II literally bathed the poet in a shower (*svaṇa-snāna*) of gold coins (*dīnāras*) - with which the poet was weighed in the 'Pearl-Hall' (*mutyāla sāla*) - and presented him with choicest and costly gifts. Since Śrīnātha was the court-poet of the Redḍi kings of the north-eastern Āndhra country, of Konḍaviḍu and Rājamahēndravaram, we shall be content here to make a passing reference to it in this connection. But there were several great Āndhra poets who flourished during the reigns of these two Dēvarāyas—[Dēvarāya I (1404-1422 A.D.) and Dēvarāya II or Praudha Dēvarāya (1423-1447 A.D.)—in the Vijayanagara empire and who left behind immortal works of their poetic craft.

The earliest among them was Jakkana, the author of *Vikramārka-charitramu*, which was dedicated to Vennelakanṭi Siddhanna-Mantri, Minister of the Imperial Treasury of the Dēvarāyas. Jakkana was a Brahmin, and his ancestors came from Nellore District and they belonged to a cultured and learned family. Both Jakkana's father and grandfather were eminent Telugu poets. Jakkana was noted for his vast learning while his poetic genius was of a high order. His poem *Vikramārka-charitramu* is a narrative which describes the heroic chivalry and super-human exploits of the legendary prince Vikramārka. The exploits are mere legends and, are fanciful stories depicting super-human heroism, voluptuousness and extraordinary chivalry of the hero. The theme of the poem is therefore neither edifying nor wholesome. Jakkana's poetry has, however, wonderful ecstic glow of rare imagination which prevades throughout the poem.

Another poet of this epoch was Vinukonḍa Vallabharāya, who was a friend of the celebrated Śrīnātha Bhaṭṭa. Vallabharāya came of a noble Brahmana family of Mōpūr, a town in the Mulaka-nāḍu in the Kurnool District. His only work *Kriḍābhīrāmamu* is a poem which combines in itself the drama and the epic. It is a short piece and covers a single day's adventure, especially of the amorous type. *Kriḍābhīrāmamu* is unique in subject matter and style. It is a valuable historical document depicting in picturesque style the social life of the city of Ōrūngallu or Warangal, the capital of the Kākatiya kings during the early part of the fourteenth century. The society as depicted in the poem is full of zest and vivacity. The reference to the 'Chief Mistress Māchala Dēvi, of king Praṭāpa Rudra' in the poem seems to suggest that the poem relates to the hey-day of glory of Warangal prior to its fall at the hands of the Muhammadans. The poem deals with the adventures of two characters, Mañchana Śarma and his companion Tittibha Seṭṭi; The former is a gay lothario and the latter his confidant and purse-bearer. The scenes which they visited range from the heroic dances representing the stirring story of the heroes of Palnad to escapades of the lowest and voluptuous debauchery

The poem represents various types of picturesque scenes, from the sublimest tragedy of heroic life to the lowest comedy of a night debouche of Mañchana Śarma with a pretty bastard girl of debased Brahman extraction. In point of style and diction, the poem is an imitation of the high-flown periods of Śrīnātha; and so much so, there is a school of critics which ascribes the piece to Śrīnātha himself, the celebrated poet of the day.

The third poet of the period was Dagguballi Duggana, brother-in-law of the renowned Śrīnātha Kavi-sārvabhauma. Duggana was the author of several poems, but only one of them, *Nāsikēṭṭpākhyānamu* is now extant; and even that was discovered by an accident. Of this poem there is a single manuscript; and it should have been lost to the Āndhra literature had it not been for its careful and excellent preservation in the Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras. And its loss would have been equal to the loss of a *Paradise Lost* or a *Divina Comedia*. In the whole range of the Āndhra literature here is a poem which rises to the loftiest heights of romantic asceticism depicting a holy couple whose love is of the purest and most austere kind. The theme is sublime in conception and the poet rises equal to the occasion. Duggana's poetic art is of the highest class. He employs a style of subdued emotion and austere grace that appropriately blends the romance and asceticism of the hero and heroine. *Nāsikēṭṭpākhyānamu* is dedicated to Chandaluri Ganganna Mantri, the chief minister of Prince Basavarāja, the semi-independent ruler of Udayagiri Rājya, in Nellore District. Basavarāja's capital was Udayagiri; and he was probably a feudatory of the Gajapatis of Orissa in the beginning.

To Basavarāja another poem *Pañchatantram* by Dūbaguṇṭa Nārāyaṇa Kavi was also dedicated. Nārāyaṇa Kavi also flourished at the court of Udayagiri like Duggana. *Pañchatantram* is written in a lucid, chaste and unpretentious style; it is a free rendering of the famous Sanskrit poem. With Nārāyaṇa Kavi comes to an end practically the Saṃgama epoch of the Andhra literature in the Vijayanagara Empire. Prince Basavarāja of Udayagiri with his long and peaceful reign of nearly half a century is like a link between the Saṃgama epoch and its successor the Sāḷuva period.

The successors of Dēvarāja II were profligate and degenerate kings who allowed their empire to decay. The Bahmani Sultans on one side and the Gajapatis on the other harassed the empire, which was consequently under constant threat of imminent danger of being destroyed by the enemies. At that juncture Sāḷuva Narasiṃharāja, the commander-in-chief of the imperial forces came to the rescue, and with the consent and co-operation of other feudatory chieftains of the kingdom, he deposed the last of the Saṃgama dynasty, and usurped the throne in 1487 A.D.

He was the founder of the Sāḷuva line or the Second dynasty of Vijayanagara as it is also called.

II. *The Sāḷuva Dynasty or Epoch:* Sāḷuva Narasiṃharāja reigned from 1485 to 1493. He was a scholar and the reputed author of the Sanskrit poem *Rāmābhyudayam*. His life and achievements were described by Rājanātha Dīndīma, the court-poet, in *Sāḷuvābhyudayam* in Sanskrit. Narasiṃharāja was originally a subordinate chief stationed at Chandragiri as the ruler of the Chandragiri rājya in the empire. He rose to the rank of the most trusted commander of the imperial armies by the force of his prowess, ability and fidelity to the imperial throne. He was an Āndhra and when the Saṃgamas who were practically Karpātakas lost their hold in the empire, the Sāḷuvas, an Āndhra family led by Narasiṃharāja, the veteran general stepped into the breach and seized the imperial crown.

During the period of Narasiṃharāja lived the renowned poet Pillalamarri Pina Virabhadra, the poet-laureate of the Sāḷuvas at the Vijayanagara court. Pina Virabhadra was a prolific writer and a man of genius. Of his several poems only two are now extant. One of them *Jaimini Bhāratamu* was dedicated to his lord Narasiṃharāja and, the other was *Sṛṅgāra Śākuntalamu*, dedicated to a local chieftain of a village in the Nellore District. Virabhadra was a Brahmin and his ancestors came from a village which lay on the border between the Nellore and Guntur Districts. His elder brother would appear to have been in the military service of Narasiṃharāja and it was probable through his influence that he obtained the favour of the king and rose to eminence. Pina Virabhadra's earlier poem *Sṛṅgāra Śākuntalamu* is an adaptation of Kālidāsa's *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam* in the form of a *prabandha* in Telugu. It is written in a melodious and flowing style that reminds the reader often of the limpid harmonies of the Āndhra language. The second poem *Jaimini Bhāratamu* is a more literal translation of the Sanskrit epic *Jaimini Bhārata* or the *Bhārata* of Jaimini. Pina Virabhadra's *Jaimini Bhāratamu* contains only the *Aśvamedha-parvan* of the entire *Mahābhārata*; and even this *Aśvamedha-parvan* differs materially from the *Aśvamedha-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* of Vyāsa and Vaiśampāyana. The *Jaimini Bhāratamu* narrates the exploits of Arjuna and his brothers during the period of their wanderings about the country, following the sacrificial steed prior to the offering of the *Aśvamedha*. King Narasiṃharāja fancied himself to be an incarnation of the Pāṇḍava hero Arjuna, for which the poet would appear to have made himself responsible. Consequently Narasiṃharāja encouraged the translation of the epic into Telugu, which described the *dig vijaya* of Arjuna. But the most interesting thing about the poem is the marvellous diction. Pina Virabhadra's poem is written in a style which rushes like

a wild torrent, the language being always sweet and charming though here and there is a predominance of Sanskrit over Telugu. The mould of the metres and the dignified flow of the verses shows that the poet imitates the eloquent, picturesque and grandiose diction of Śrīnātha. Pina Virabhadra was a great scholar, but not comparable to the illustrious Śrīnātha who would appear to be his elder contemporary. Tradition tells that there was some sort of healthy rivalry between the two poets but there is no proof of that.

III. *The Tuluva Dynasty*: (1493—1540 A.D.) Narasimharāya died in 1493 A.D. leaving two sons of tender age to succeed him, whom he entrusted to the care of his trusted servant, Tuluva Narasa Nāyaka, the generalissimo of the Vijayanagara armies. Narasa Nāyaka who was originally a petty chieftain in the neighbourhood of Chandragiri rose to importance in the kingdom on account of his devotion to his master, and remarkable military achievements. He remained faithful to his charge, and though he held practically the full reins of the government in his hands, he remained contented with the position of 'regent' of the boy kings. The elder prince Immaḍi Narasimha or Narasimharāya II succeeded to the throne but soon after died in battle. The second son whose name is not mentioned anywhere seems to have died from natural causes though it is said by Nuniz that he was killed by an agent called Timmarasu under orders of the regent. Narasa Nāyaka for some reason or other did not ascend the throne but managed to secure the succession to his own children. On the death of Narasa Nāyaka his eldest son Vīra Narasimharāya succeeded to the crown, and with him began the Third Dynasty known as the Tuluva Dynasty of Vijayanagara.

During the reign of Tuluva Narasimharāya there flourished two Āndhra poets who wrote conjointly like Beumont and Fletcher in English literature and Tirupati Venkateswara Kavulu in modern times. The two poets were Nandi Mallanna and Ghaṇṭa Singaya or Singanna. They came from Guatur district and belonged to *Āruvāla-niyogi Brāhmaṇa* stock which gave the greatest number of poets to the Āndhra country. The poets were related to each other. Ghaṇṭa Singanna was the nephew of Nandi Mallanna, being his sister's son. The two poets translated *Prabodhachandrodāyam* of Krishnamisra into Telugu. While the Sanskrit work is a drama, the Telugu version is a free translation in the form of a *prabandha*, a type of *kāvya* peculiar to the Telugu literature in the Vijayanagar empire. For some unknown reason the celebrated Telugu poets of this period did not write plays nor did they translate dramas as dramas into Telugu but converted everything of poetic art into the form of a *prabandha* or epic. *Prabodhachandrodāyam* was dedicated to that illustrious patron of learning

Chandaluri Ganganna Mantri, the chief minister of Basavarāja, lord of Udayagi-rāja referred to above. How much the Andhras owe to this wise and accomplished brahman minister, the Maecenas of the day, can only be realised when we appreciate the estimable beauties of the two poems dedicated to him. *Prabodhachandrodāyam*, is a good classic. Just as Pina Virabhadra gave us in his translation the best romantic drama *Abhijñāna Śakuntalam* so these twin poets, uncle and nephew, gave in their beautiful translation the best philosophical or metaphysical play of the Sanskrit language. The beautiful dramatic allegory of Krishnamisra in Sanskrit was beautifully rendered into mellifluous Telugu by these two poets. *Prabodhachandrodāyam* is replete with genuine poetic feeling, grace and melody; and the poets have throughout adopted a natural, direct and unpedantic style. Barring Dagguballi Duggana, no other Andhra poet of the age showed such wonderful subtleties of rare poetic diction.

Varāhapurāṇam is the second work of these two poets. It is also a translation, from the Sanskrit Varāha Purana which deals with the story of the Boar-incarnation of the god Viṣṇu. It was dedicated to Tuluva Narasa Nāyaka, the founder of the Tuluva dynasty and the father of Vīra Narasimharāya and Krishnarāya. The poem is made a very interesting reading by the poets by the elaboration of episodes with commendable poetical skill. For instance the story of Durjaya and of the sage Dharmavyādha is so beautifully enlarged by the poets that it forms a small *prabandha* by itself.

Narasa Nāyaka died about 1505 A. D. and in that year his eldest son Vīra Narasimha succeeded to the throne. No Telugu poet or for that matter any poet in any language received patronage from this king. The king is believed by historians to have been preoccupied in the consolidation of his empire and power and had no time for the pursuit and encouragement of literature and arts. In 1509, he died and his younger step-brother Krishnadēvarāya succeeded him. Krishnarāya was the greatest sovereign that ever sat on the jewelled-throne of Vijayanagar. During his time the empire expanded in every direction and comprised the whole of the South India as far as the Cape Comorin. He wielded the pen and the sword with equal skill and strength. He was a poet in Sanskrit and Telugu as well, and he liberally patronised the fine arts. He was one of the most versatile geniuses that ever carved their names in the pages of history. During his reign the Andhra literature reached the zenith of glory. His period may be justly compared to the Elizabethan period of English literature, with this difference however, that whereas Elizabeth was neither a poet or scholar but a patroness of learning Krishnarāya was both a poet and scholar and a liberal patron of learning. Krishnarāya wrote one of our best Telugu poems. His *Āmuktamālyada* is an example of marvellous blending of vigour and cogency in style. As Krishnarāya was

a devout Vaishṇava he took up the theme of the marriage of the god Śrī Ranganātha (Viṣṇu) with the divine virgin Gōdā as the theme of his poem. The legend is elaborated by the Emperor-poet into a poem of six cantos with several interesting episodes all tending to the establishment of the superiority of the Vaishṇava faith. Though the *Amukta-mālyada* was written by the king in the midst of his arduous military campaigns, it is on a par with the performances of the greatest Āndhra poet of his court. Krishṇadēvarāya was in the habit of taking his retinue of poets and scholars and other literary men wherever he went so that even on the battle-field, and in the midst of a campaign, he would find time to take delight in the pursuit of his hobby of literature. Several Āndhra and Kārnāṭaka poets lived under his patronage and gratefully dedicated their works to him.

Allasāni Peddana the poet-laureate, was honoured most by the king as his friend and *guru* or preceptor. He was a brahmin of *Nandavarika Niyōgi* sect. Wherever he met the poet, the emperor would stop his riding elephant and offer him a lift and a seat by his side, an honour that was seldom enjoyed even by the most fortunate of poets in the world. Peddana wrote the beautiful poem *Manucharitram* which was dedicated to the emperor, Krishṇadēvarāya. The story of the poem was apparently selected by the king himself; and the poet was commissioned to write a *prabandha* as he was considered the greatest poet of the age. The king was certainly happy with the selection of the story and the choice of the poet as well, for even to this day *Manucharitram* has not been excelled by any other poem in the conflict of love with the sublimest moral pathos, leading up to the spiritual and the divine. The austere brāhman Pravara and the divine nymph Varūdhinī, the hero and the heroine of the piece, are house-hold words in the Āndhra country and, the theme of their love-conflict is a perennial source of sweet and elevated delectation. Allasāni Peddana was honoured by the emperor with the title, *Āndhrakavitāpitāmaha* 'the Grandsire of the Āndhra poetry' which he richly and rightly deserved. On the occasion of accepting the dedication, the emperor in person came down to lift the palanquin in which his poet-laureate was taken in procession in the capital. And with his own hand placed the jewelled "*Gaṇḍapendēra*" on the left leg of the poet as a mark of his deep veneration and of conferring the title as the greatest poet of the age. It was a rare and singular honour that was enjoyed by one of the greatest poets of Āndhra language. Peddana was in fact the creator of the Renaissance in Āndhra literature, the originator of what is called *parbandha*. His work gave a new and striking impetus to the creation and development of a new type of *kāvya* and his *Manucharitram* marks a new epoch in the history of the Āndhra language and literature, Krishṇadēvarāya also granted him innumerable villages and other rich presents which are

recorded in the inscriptions. Augustus could not have honoured and rewarded his Virgil more than did Krishṇadēvarāya his poet-laureate Peddana. The honour that was done to Peddana was in fact honour rendered to the Āndhra language by Krishṇadēvarāya. The emperor held Telugu to be the most sweet and charming of all the languages of the realm. (*Dēśa-bhāṣhalamdu Telugu lessa!*)

Peddana's peer at the court of Krishṇadēvarāya was Nandi Timmana, a brahman of the Āruvēla Niyōgi stock, otherwise known as Mukku Timmana. This poet was also greatly honoured by the Emperor. Some villages and certain royal privileges were granted by the Emperor to Timmana. Timmakavi wrote the poem *Pārijātāpaharaṇam* and dedicated it to Krishṇadēvarāya. *Pārijātāpaharaṇam* is considered to be a very sweet and charming poem. Critics are not wanting who compare *Pārijātāpaharaṇam* with *Manucharitram* and give the palm of excellence of sweetness and grace to Timmana's work. But it seems to me that the scholar-poet-king Krishṇadēvarāya was a better judge of the rare poetic genius of Peddana whom he marked out as the more gifted than the author of *Pārijātāpaharaṇam*. Timmana could only play on the soft pipe the tunes of tenderness and pathos but was unfit for the bass notes of furious passion or anguish in which Peddana excelled. In the hands of Peddana poetry is like the Indian lute or *vīṇa* that can produce alike the deep and the highset as well as the soft and the lowest tunes and articulate the full diapason of human emotions. Peddana was thus a greater master-hand in the poetic art. *Pārijātāpaharaṇam* treats of the fine legend of Śrī Kṛṣṇa bringing the celestial flower tree Pārijāta from Heaven to mollify his offended queen Satya-bhāma. The scenes in which anger of the queen and the attempts of her lord to soothe her ruffled heart are described in a form and manner which is for ever the sweetest poetry in Āndhra literature. Tenderness, grace, love, elegance and pathos permeate every syllable, word, and phrase and the whole piece is instilled with an atmosphere of subtle sweetness and charm, making a delightful and soft appeal to finest sentiments of love. The poet's style is admirably suited for the spirit of the poem. The language never loses its sweet note of cadence and the whole poem looks like a long lyric, tender in thought and sweet in expression.

A third poet of the court of Krishṇarāya was Mādayagāri Mallana, a Śaivite Brāhmin of Ayyanki in the Krishna district. He also used to follow the king in his campaigns and, it is on record that, he dedicated a poem to Krishṇadēvarāya. But that poem is not forthcoming yet. What has remained to us of his literary labours is a comparatively short poem *Rājāsēkharacharitramu* in three cantos which he dedicated to Nāḍendla Appayya, governor of Koṇḍaviḍu and a nephew of the great Sālūva Timmarasu, the Prime Minister of the Emperor. The story of this poem seems to be an invention of the poet. He treats

of the marriage of prince Rājasēkhara with the princess Kāntimati of the kingdom of Sindhu. The plot is of the conventional type of the *Āndhra prabandha* school; but what is particularly noteworthy about poem is the severe self-restraint which the poet observes in his development of the plot and also in his treatment of the sentiment of love. To add to this outstanding merit there is the all-prevading beauty of a finished style which flows on like a rippling brook, with sweet cadences of rises and falls. It is no wonder that this short poem has been appreciated by many critics as an exquisite piece of poetic art. Another poet of the imperial court who received great honour from Krishṇadēvarāya was Dhūrjaṭi, author of the poem *Kālahastīmāhātmyamu*. Dhūrjaṭi was a Brāhmin and as staunch a Śaiva as Krishṇadēva was a Vaishṇava; and yet it stands to the credit of this broad-minded and cultured king that differences in faith made no difference in his appreciation of worth. Though Dhūrjaṭi did not dedicate his poem to the emperor but only to his favourite deity, Śrī Kālahastīśvara residing in the town of Kālahasti on the banks of the Svarnamukhi, in Chittore district, yet Krishṇadēvarāya granted him villages and treated him with great respect. *Kālahastīmāhātmyamu* is a passionate song of a devotee bursting from the depth of his heart. Dhūrjaṭi also wrote in rapture and his poem is aglow with passion, devotion, piety, and love of the beauties of Nature. The poet's style is inclined more to Sanskritic diction than to the simple graces of native Telugu; and yet the poem is nowhere obscure in thought or difficult to understand.

Another poet of this period who stood out from the rest like a wild mountain peak was Sunkasāla Nṛsimha-kavi. He was a genius too proud, perhaps too vain, to own a master. His hand seems to be on every body and everybody's hand on him. A poet gifted with the highest powers had the misfortune of receiving no patronage from that unrivalled lover of poets, Krishṇadēva. The fault apparently lay in the poet and not in the illustrious patron of letters. His poem *Kavikarṇa rasāyanam*, (a significant name in itself showing his vanity) was dedicated to the god Śrī Ranganātha. In the poem he abused to his heart's content lords, kings, and everybody of any worth. The story of the poem is of king Māndhātā, a descendant of the illustrious Raghu, who married the princess Vimalāngi. The story is quite simple and short but the poet managed to stretch the poem into six cantos, chiefly by his long descriptions of various things as enjoined by the law-makers in Poetics. But his descriptions, unlike those of many of his contemporaries, are full of life and vigour as the result of shrewd and accurate observation and are, therefore, never a tiresome reading. Nṛsimhakavi swings from the extreme limit of sensualism on the one hand to the end of philosophism on the other.

Tāḷḷapāka China-Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha (*alias* Chinnana) is generally assigned to this period. I have not yet been able to get as yet any

reliable historical evidence of it. He is the author of two poems in *dvipada* or couplet metre. One is *Aṣṭamahishī-kalyāṇamu* or "the marriages of Śrī Kṛṣṇa with his eight queens". It appears to be on the whole a juvenile performance showing rich promise, but the other poem *Paramāyogivilāsamu* or "the history of the Vaishṇava Saints" is certainly of superior worth. The poet Chinnanna loved the *dvipada* metre just as Scott loved the heroic metre and exhibited his great poetical talent in making this single metrical form ring the various harmonies which the other poets succeeded in doing by adopting different metres. He dedicated his two poems to the god Śrī Venkatēśvara of Tirupati and His consort Alamēlu Manga of whom the poet and his fore-fathers were ardent devotees.

There are two more poets who flourished and wrote during the last years of Krishṇadēvarāya and survived into the next reign. Ayyala-āju Rāmabhadra was asked by Krishṇarāya to translate into Telugu the Sanskrit poem *Sakala kathā sara-sangrahamu* which he himself wrote in his youth, but he was not destined to live long to see the work of Rāmabhadra's translation. Rāmabhadra Kavi wrote another poem, *Rāmābhyudayamu* or the story of Rāma and dedicated it to the god Śrī Rāma in Vontimeṭṭa (Oṇtimeṭṭa) in Cuddapah district. This poet is fond of alliteration and *slēsha* or verbal jingles.

The second poet in the closing days of Krishṇadēva was Chintalapudi Yellana, a poet of talent and much industry. Only three of his many poems are available to us. The first of them *Rādhā-Mādhavam* was considered by Krishṇadēvarāya so beautiful that he dubbed the poet with the title of the poem itself, "Rādhā Mādhava Kavi". This poem shows the juvenile work of a poet of promise. His next poem *Tāraka-Brahmarājīyam* is a more mature performance and shows real poetic insight. But his best work is his last poem "*Vishṇu Māyā Nāṭakamu*" containing a series of tales showing the almightiness of Vishṇu. Yellana Kavi seems to forestall the art of Pingali Jūranārya. Yellana's second poem *Tāraka Brahmarājīyam* was written at the instance of Nanja Timmayya, a Minister of King Achyutadēvarāya (1530-1542) the successor of Krishṇadēvarāya.

IV *The Āravīḍu Dynasty or Epoch 1542-1565*:— Krishṇarāya died in 1530 and was succeeded by his younger step-brother Achyutadēvarāya, the elder son of Narasa Nāyaka his by third wife. This king was rather indolent and pleasure-loving. He died in 1542. His young son Venkatarāya then came to the throne. Salakam Timmayya, his maternal uncle acted as the Regent; but Ārviṭi Rāmarāya, the son-in-law of Krishṇarāya opposed him. A civil war began. Rāmarāya triumphed and Timmayya committed suicide. Sadāśivarāya, son of Rangarāya the fourth son of Narasa Nāyaka was set up as the emperor by Rāmarāya who became the Regent and the virtual king. With him began the fourth

dynasty named the Āravīḍu dynasty. Live the Tuḷuva family the Āravīḍu dynasty was an Andhra family of Kshatriyas.

Rāmarāya continued the policy of Krishṇadēvarāya and consolidated the empire. He was regent first and *defacto* emperor next and reigned from 1542 to 1565. In the decisive battle of Talikōṭa or Rakkasa Tagḍi (1565) Rāmarāya fell and the glory of Vijayanagar empire was overshadowed. Though the empire of Vijayanagar was shattered, yet the literary patronage became the fashion of the kings and their chiefs for a long time after.

In Rāmarāya's court, flourished the Andhra poet Bhaṭṭu murti⁴ a Kshatriya (*Bhaṭ-rāju*) of the heraldic class. He was a disciple of Allasāni Peddanna and, one of the greatest scholar-poets of Andhra literature. He was so much liked by the King that he became known by the title Rāmarāja-bhūṣhaṇa or 'the jewel of Rāmarāja's court'. He wrote three poems; and every one of them reveals his profound scholarship, but curiously enough none, his 'culture. Though he was called Rāmarāja-bhūṣhaṇa, no work was dedicated to his patron Rāmarāya. The first poem was *Narasa-bhāpāliyam* a work on poetics; it was dedicated to Rāmarāya's sister's son, Gobbūri Narasarāya. The second poem, *Harīschandra Nalōpākhyānamu* a '*dvayarthi kāvya*', in which each verse conveys two meanings, one relating to the epic hero Harīschandra and the other to the mythical king Nala, was dedicated to the god Śrī Rāma. But his third poem, the best of all his works, *Vasucharitramu* was dedicated to Emperor Tirumalarāya. So it must have been completed after the battle of Talikōṭa. *Vasucharitramu* is a work of rare genius, so much so that it had the singular good fortune of being translated into Sanskrit. The story deals with the marriage between king Vasu and Princess Girika, the daughter of the river Suktimati and the mountain Kōlāhala. This beautiful idyllic legend is narrated by the poet with marvellous skill and taste. Throughout this poem the chief *alamkāra* is *dhvani* or suggestion. This feature is a very rare phenomenon and can only be managed by a gifted scholar and poet. In English literature a similar thing was attempted by John Keats, in his *Endymion*.

A contemporary of Rāmarājabhūṣhaṇa sought the patronage of the feudatory chiefs of Nandyal who were the first cousins of Rāmarāya. He was Pingali Sūrana, of the Āruvēla Niyōgi brahmin sect belonging to the Guntur District. As the kingdom of Vijayanagar was no more, this young poet sought the patronage of petty kings who set up semi-independent states of their own. His first poem *Rāghava Pāṇḍaviyam* is the first *dvayarthi kāvya* in Andhra Literature and it was imitated by his rival Rāmarājabhūṣhaṇa in his *Harīschandra Nalōpākhyānamu*. This poem was dedicated to the chief of Ākuviḍu in the Kurnool district. His next poem, *Kaṭāpūrnodayamu* is a unique performance in the world of letters, the like of which is nowhere seen in any literature. The story

is entirely an invention of the poet and is composed by him in such an intricate manner that very often it is a puzzle to scholars. The poet managed to weave into the story several independent strands so that it is capable of more than one interpretation. There is a metaphysical interpretation of the story, an erotic and yet a historical one. Such triple or quadruple weaving is a literary marvel and this was done by the daring genius of Pingali Sūrana. His third poem, *Prabhāvatī-Pradyumnamu* is equally original because of its inter-weaving of the main plot with the sub-plots as in a drama. This poem was dedicated by him to his own father as a token of filial affection and gratitude. His art was quite original but his style was even more so. Therein he shook off the conventional shackles and emerged into a glory of his own. Colloquial ease and freedom are the dominant notes and yet how shrewdly and skilfully he weaves his subtle thoughts into terse and racy Telugu cannot be described in words. The Āndhra scholar alone can enjoy the literary feast.

Sūranārya seems to be the last of the giants of this period of Titans. Yet there was one more poet, Tenāli Rāmakrishṇa whom tradition associates with the court of Krishṇarāya. But it looks that this poet lived long after that renowned king. Rāmakrishṇa wrote the poem *Pāṇḍuranga Māhātmyamu* or the story of the god Pāṇḍuranga of Pandharpura. This is a great classic in Andhra literature, chiefly on account of the vehement flow of rapturous language, wave after wave, in endless succession. It is a very difficult poem to understand as the poet seems to have a fondness for obscure words, rarely used by poets and only to be found in dictionaries. However, the diction is kept up by him at white heat and the musical flow of language holds the reader under spell.

Other poets of less importance wrote poems chiefly of the *Prabandha* class which were imitations of this or that poet. The members of the royal families of Tuḷuva and Āravīḍu dynasties were many of them either poets themselves or patrons of poets. Consequently, even after the disruption of the Empire, Andhra literature flourished in their hands. It is not the purpose of this article to pursue the course of literary history in the petty kingdoms of Madura, Tanjore, Pudukkōṭa, Chandragiri, Nandyal and others into which the great Empire was split. So, I will only mention the names of celebrated poets, like Chēmākūra Venkanna, Timmakavi the author of *Paramayogivilāsam*, Rangaparāju the author *Sāmbopākhyānam* and king Raghunātha of Tanjore and many others too numerous to mention. I close this paper with a fervent prayer that my Andhra scholar brothers would devote their attention to the literary treasures left to us by the kings of Vijayanagar and their vassals of Nandyal, Tanjore and Madura in the richest period of their political glory and literary renaissance.

KAMMA COMMANDERS OF THE VIJAYANAGARA ARMIES.

K. ISWARA DUTT, B.A., (Cocanada.)

It was by accident that Mr. N. Venkata Rao of Vizianagaram, placed in my hands an old copy of *Sougandhikā-prasavāpaharaṇamu* a poem written in the Telugu *Dvīpada* metre, printed in 1868 A. D., at Madras, and incidentally informed me, that the introductory portion of the work deals with the famous Commanders of Rāvēla family, of which a casual mention has only been made by Kumāra Dhūrjaṭi in *Krishṇa-rāyavijayamu* depicting the victories of Śrī Krishṇadēvarāya.

The publishers of *Sougandhikā-prasavāpaharaṇamu* presumably on account of the ignorance of certain persons and places of historical importance, altered them in print as suited their 'fancy,' and made it extremely difficult to identify them. Fortunately the *Telugu Academy Library* at Cocanada possesses four manuscripts of the same work, and Mr. K. Suryarao, the Manager of the Telugu Academy, read for me the manuscripts and with his kind collaboration, I have made out a fairly correct version of the historical portion. As the historical portion is of interest to the historians of the Vijayanagar period of the South Indian History, and in particular to the Kamma Community to which the Rāvēla family of heroes belong, I published a comparatively lengthy article on these heroes in the *Journal of the Telugu Academy*² and now I want to do the same in English for the benefit of the English knowing scholars.

Now we have the fortune to liberate for the first time the historical personages from their hitherto literal imprisonment in verse. The poem was written by Ratnākaram Gōpala Kavi and dedicated to Rāvēlla Linga, belonging to the Kamma family, and of Velluṭṭa *gōtra*. This Linga was a contemporary of Aḷiya Rāmarāya and would appear to have taken part in the wars of the period, as it might be seen hereafter.

The poet described the achievements of the family as follows: Malla vanquished the armies of Kutub Shāh at Guḍipāḍu Fort and obtained many titles at the hand of the Rāya. His son Tippa fought with the Gajapatis. Tippa's son Pāpa defeated the Muhammadan armies at Kandanōlu (Kurnool) and captured that fort. Probably the incidents narrated by the poet may refer to the frequent wars between king Sāḷuva Narasingarāya and the Gajapatis on the one hand and, with the Aśvapatis on the other: and we have other Telugu Literary evidence to substantiate the above statements of the poet. Īśvara, the Tuḷuva General of the

Sāḷuva emperor defeated the Muhammadan cavalry of Bīḍar near Kandukūr, and perhaps the fight of Malla with the Aśvapatis near Guḍipāḍu may refer to the same engagement.³ We also know that the Sāḷuva monarch despatched his general Āravīṭi Rāmarāja (I)—the grandfather of his name-sake who is called Aḷiya Rāmarāya afterwards—against Kurnool, then part of the Estate of Yusuf Audil Savai, the Governor of Bijāpūr.⁴ The Kutub Shah mentioned by the poet was no other than Kūli Kutub-ul-Mulk who was a subordinate of the Bahamani Sultan and who afterwards declared independence and proclaimed himself as the Sultan of Golconḍa. The Vijayanagara rulers had to wage wars regularly against the Governors of Bijāpūr, Bīḍar, and Telingana (Golconḍa) at this time; and the poet evidently speaks the exploits of these Kamma Chiefs when he speaks of their masters on the respective battle-fields.⁵ The capture of Kurnool by Rāmarāja (I) is also described in *Vasucharitram*⁶, *Bāla-Bhāgavatamu*⁷, and *Rāmarājīyam*⁸.

Tippa, son of Pāpa is stated to have defeated many Pālayagārs and captured the fort of Āḍavani (Adoni) from the Sultan. This fact is also corroborated by the contemporary Telugu literature in *Vasucharitram*, and *Balabhogavatam*. His son Ayyappa is described as a jewel in the crown of Aḷiya Rāmarāya and bore the title of *Chenchūmala Chārakāra*. We do not hear much of Linga and Koṇḍa, the son and grandson respectively of Tippa, except that Koṇḍa is said to have been a great warrior, who fought many wars with the Deccanics and carried the day on every battlefield. Then coming to Linga (II), his son and the patron of the poet, we hear, that he was much admired by Vēnkaṭāḍri, brother of Rāmarāya, that he captured the fort of Adoni, and drove the enemies off Penugonḍa. It is quite evident, that this Linga (II) accompanied Rāmarāya in the wars to exterminate the enemies at home, and to expel the Muhammadan, who was entrenching himself within the Northern Frontiers of the Vijayanagar Empire. We surmise that Linga was one of the Chief Generals who commanded the Vijayanagar armies at that time. We know from *Vasucharitram*⁹ and *Rāmarājīyam*,¹⁰ that Rāmarāya captured the forts of Penugonḍa, Gaṇḍikōṭa, Kurnool and Adoni.

We also know of some other heroes of Rāvēla family who figured in the Nāyaka period of Vijayanagar History. One is Rāvēla Velikonḍa Venkaṭāḍri who was killed in battle by Maṭṭa Anantabhūpāla and Rāvēla Venka Bhūpāla who was defeated in the battle of Tōpur by Raghunātha-nāyaka.¹¹

3. *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 88.

4. *Kurnool District Manual* p. 24.

5. *Brigg's Ferishta*, Vol. II, pp. 544—549.

6. Canto 1, verse 29—30.

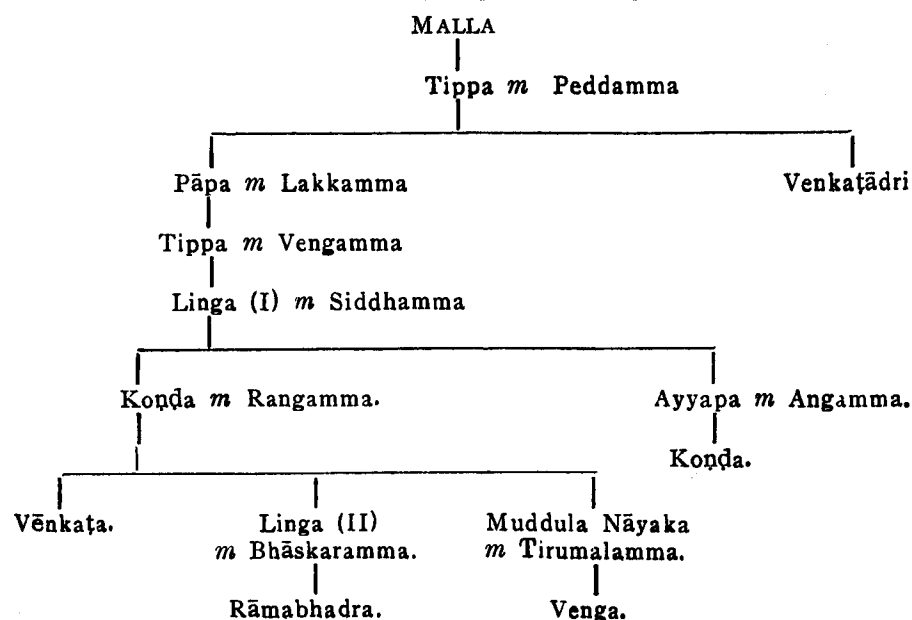
7. Pages 38—39. verse 209.

8. Canto 1, verse 44.

9. *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, pages 249 and 290.

10. Verses 278, 279.

A genealogy of the family as given by the poet is set forth below:



Though there is no epigraphical evidence of the Rāvela family described in the work under reference, yet we come across of the same family, perhaps of different branch, in the *Nellore Inscriptions*. They also belong to Velluṭṭa *gōtra* and they were the rulers of Udayagiri. Podili and Kochcherlakōṭa *Sīmas* (districts), and the subordinate Chiefe under the Vijayanagar Emperors of the period. The genealogy of these families is set forth as follows.¹²

- | | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|-------------------|
| (1) Rāvela Kontināyaka's
grand-son Tirumalayya. | (2) Rāvela Tippa's
grand-son Tippa | (3) Vengalappa |
| China Timma. | Tirumala | Rāvela Venkatappa |
| | | Vengalappa. |

Incidentally it may be mentioned, that the work belongs to the XVI century, and though the book was published so long ago as 1868 A. D., neither the poet, nor the work are known to the Telugu Scholars and much less, the historical importance which carries with it. The book should be re-edited with the manuscripts available in the Telugu Academy and the one in the ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS LIBRARY at Madras, which I have cited in my original Telugu article in the *Journal of the Telugu Academy*. I earnestly appeal to the rich Kamma patrons of letters to get the work edited and published, at an early date, as it contributes much to the wealth of historical material already available for the History of Vijayanagar.

12. Butterworth and Venugopala Chetti - *Nellore Inscriptions* D 85, G 82, 84, 112; N 33, p. 19.

A UNIQUE ANDHRA COIN ATTRIBUTED TO APILAKA.

On 6-12-34 this most interesting copper coin was recovered by me from the band of gold-dust washers who periodically visit Bālpūr. One of the gold-dust washers came across it while washing earth and sand for gold-dust, in the very bed of the Mahānadi.

I partly deciphered the legend upon it and on 10-12-34 wrote to Mr. K. N. Dikshit, M.A., then Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta about this discovery of over society. In compliance with his wishes as contained in his D.O. dated 17th December 1934 this coin along with some more silver and copper coins were forwarded to Mr. Dikshit on 21-12-34 for being exhibited at the annual meeting of the *Numismatic Society* which was to be held at Allahabad. But it could be exhibited at the *Exhibition* held in the *Hall* of the *Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1935, to which the coin was lent by Mr. Dikshit. A short notice on the coin under the heading "A new Āndhra Coin" appeared in the daily papers soon after the exhibition. Mr. Dikshit has since prepared a paper on it for the *Numismatic Supplement*. A portion from it is quoted below:—

"In the Purāṇic Lists of Āndhra Kings there occurs a name which with slight variants may be taken as Āpīlaka* with a reign-period of 12 years. Along with several other names of Āndhra kings, known from the almost unanimous testimony of the Purāṇas, but not yet been confirmed by archaeological evidence (e.g. Lāṅbōdara, Nemikṛishṇa, and Pravillasēna or Purindrasēna) this king has not yet been recognised as historical and but for the present find would have long remained so. The authenticity of the Puranic tradition is thus strikingly confirmed but it is nevertheless true that the actual order in which the kings ruled as given in the Purāṇas cannot be followed.

"In the present instance the place of Āpīlaka in the Purāṇas is almost immediately after Śātakarṇi, and thus comparatively early in the dynastic list. The present coin cannot, however, be ascribed to an early Āndhra ruler on numismatic grounds and must rather be classed with the eastern issues of later rulers like Śrī-Rudra and Śrī-Yajña Śātakarṇi and relegated to the end of the second century A.D.

"The elephant type of the coin of Āpīlaka is quite distinct from the other types depicting this *motif*. The early lead, potin and copper coins of Mālwa fabric, show the animal either standing or walking left or a small figure standing right."

*Rapson: *Catalogue of Andhra and W. Kshatrapa coins*, p. lxvi. The *Vayu Purana* calls the king *Apilava*, the *Matsya*. *Apilaka* and the *Vishnu Divilaka* while the *Brahmanda*, correctly states the name as *Apilaka*.

"The nearest approximation in style to the present elephant is the figure on the round lead coins of Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi issued in Āndhradēśa (Rapson's *Cat. Pl. VII*, 164) but in size, art and execution the present type is by far superior to the other. The other details such as the goad in front and the symbol above are also unique."

Legend and Symbol on the coin.

Obverse: Elephants tanding right. In front, elephant goad.
Legend around the edge of the coin above the elephant figure commencing IX. Rāño Siva siriś = Āpīlakasa.

Reverse: Blank.

Discussing the epithet "Śiva Śrī", Mr. Dikshit has come to the conclusion that 'Śiva Śrī Āpīlaka' was a scion of the Āndhra family, but had an independent principality in the north-eastern-most limit of the Āndhra Empire over which he ruled sometime at the end of the second or beginning of the third century A. D.

Mr. Dikshit has desired me to get the coin tested in order to find out whether it is pure copper or contains some alloy.

The hitherto known copper coins of the Āndhra dynasty are the rectangular Mālwa pieces based on the ancient Kārshāpaṇas, on which the symbols and other *motifs* are obliquely impressed. The coins of Āndhra kings found in the Chanda District (C.P.) are exclusively of potin or lead. Our present coin is of copper and its reverse is blank. Coins with blank reverse are not unknown in Mahākōśala (Chhattisgarh).

The elephant figure on the present coin has some resemblance in style to that on the lead coin of Śrī-Yajña Śātakarṇi issued in the Āndhra country (Rapson, *Cat. Pl. VII*, 164) but in size, art, and execution, over present type is rather superior to the other. The only copper coins of Āndhra dynasty are the rectangular Mālwa pieces on which the devices and other *motifs* are found impressed obliquely. The weight of the coin is 85 grains. This suggests a comparison only with Indo-Greek copper coins.

The legend on the present coin lacks in giving the full name of the king as is found on certain lead coins of Āndhradēśa (Rapson *Cat.* p. 29). "Rāño Vasiṭhiputasa Siva siriś-Śātakarṇi", is the legend found on many Āndhra coins. It indicates a ruler by the name Śiva Śrī Śātakarṇi with the metronymic *Vāsisṭhi-putra*. In our present coin this metronymic appellation is absent and the name Āpīlaka appears with the epithet 'Śivaśrī' along with the word 'rāño'. Our Society possesses one more copper coin of the size of the present coin with an elephant figure on one side but its other side contains an inscription. Both the sides have greatly suffered and it is impossible to decipher the writing on them.

NOTES

DR. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A., Ph.D., (Calcutta University).

I. *Acyutavikrama, king of the Colas.*

Buddhadatta, the celebrated author of the *Vinaya-vinicchaya*, is said to have flourished at Urāgapura (modern Uraiyūr near Tanjore) about the fifth century A. D. In the *nigamana* of that work, he says that he resided in the *vihāra* of Venhūdāsa (Viṣṇudāsa) at Bhūtamaṅgala-on-Kāveri in the Cōla-*raṭṭha*. His book is said to have been composed when the country was being ruled by king Accutacutavikkanta who was a *kaḷamba-kula-nandana*. The *Ṭikā* says that the *Cōla-rāja* Accutavikrama who was *kaḷamba-kula-vamsa-jāta* was ruling the Cōla-*raṭṭha*.¹

It has been suggested that king Acyutavikrama belonged to the family of the Kadambas (see *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I, pp. 71-74). The suggestion that the Cōla country was ruled by a Kadamba king about the fifth century, however, cannot be accepted without further evidence. The passage *kaḷamba-kula-nandana* which means "delight of the Kaḷamba, Kaḍamba or Kadamba family" may suggest that Acyutavikrama's mother belonged to the family of the Kadambas. In this connection, it is interesting to note that a Pallava king (*Pallava-rāja*) named Gopāladeva has been described in the Haldipur grant (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 173 ff.) as *Kaṭkaya vams odbhava* which has been taken to indicate that Pallava Gopāladeva was connected with the Kēkayas on his mother's side.²

1. Cf. Kāveri-jala-sampāta-paripāta mahitale
iddhe sabhaṅga-sampāne maṅgale bhūtamaṅgale
vihāre Venhūdāsaṁ dāsaṁ dāsaṁ dāsaṁ
pāśāda-janane ramme pāśāde vasatā mayā.

accutacūta vikkante kaḷamba kula-nandane
mahim samanūsānte ārāddho ca samāpito.

In the *nigamana* of the *Abhidhammavātara* and that of the *Buddhavamsa* commentary, Buddhadatta speaks of Kāveripattana where Viṣṇudāsa built his monastery. The *ṭika* says: *Kaḷamba-kula-vamsa-jāte accutavikkama-nāmnī Cōla-rājāni Cōla-*raṭṭham* samanūsāsamāne*.

2. Another instance of this kind is possibly to be found in the recently published Irda grant (*Ep. Ind. XXII*). King Rājyapāla of this record has been described as a *Kambhoja-vamsa-tilaka* and he has naturally been taken to have been a scion of the Kambhoja family. The record belongs to the Pāla period, and one would be inclined to identify King Rājyapāla and his queen Bhāgyādēvi with the Pāla king named Rājyapāla whose queen was also named Bhāgyādēvi. There was another prince named Rājyapāla, son of Dēvapāla, in the family of the Pālas. If then Rājyapāla of the Irda grant was actually a Pāla king, his epithet *Kambhoja-vamsa-tilaka* would suggest that he was connected with the Kambhoja family on his mother's side.

Acyutavikrama seems to have been a *biruda* of the Cōja king. It is difficult to identify this king with any name of the traditional list of Cōja rulers who flourished about the fifth century A. D.

II. Gupta-pūjā and a reference in the Chāndōgya Upaniṣat.

One of the five *tatvas* of the *tāntrikas* is the *maithuna*. Tantra texts like the *Kulārṇava-tantra* give an account of the *maithuna-tatva* in *śloka*s like the following :—

yōni-rūpā mahāmāyā liṅga-rūpō mahēśvaraḥ
 ...
 pāda-sparsaṁ bhavēt pādyaṁ arghyaṁ = ca mukta-keśake
 śrama jalē (?) mahēśāni bhavēd = ācamanīyakam
 cumbanē ca bhavēd = gandhaṁ puṣpaṁ = ca stana-mardanē
 āliṅganē dhūpa-dīpa-naivēdya-tambūlaṁ priyē.
 maithunē ca bhavēj = japaṁ vīrya-pāte visarjjanam.

So far as I know, the *Gupta-pūjā* has not yet been connected with any form of worship prevalent in ancient India, nor has the problem of its origin been solved. In the present note, I shall simply draw the attention of scholars to a reference in the *Chāndōgya Upaniṣat*.

In describing the Vāmadēvyā form of the Sām-ōpāsana, the *Chāndōgya* (II, 13, 1) says; *upamantrayate sa hinkāro; jñāpayate sa prastāvah; striyā saha śīte sa udgithah; prati strīm iete sa pratihārah; kalam gacchati ta = nidhanam; param gacchati tan = nidhanam = etad = Vāmadēvyam mithunē prōtam.*

The benefit derived from this form of the Sām-ōpāsana has been described in the following term:—*sa ya etad = vāmadēvyam mithunē prōtam veda, mithunēbhavati; mithunān = mithunāt prajāyate; sarvam = āyur = ēti; jyog = jīvati; mahān prajāyā paśubhir = bhavati, mahān kirtiyā; na kāñcana parihaṛet tad = vratam* (ibid., II, 23, 2).

We see that the Tantric *gupta-pūjā* has some sort of resemblance with the Upaniṣadic Vāmadēvyā Sām-ōpāsana. According to *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. I, *Chāndōgya* is an early *Upaniṣat* (p. 116) and the earlier *Upaniṣats* cannot be placed later than B. C. 550 (p. 112). It is therefore possible that the original idea that developed into the *gupta-pūjā* is as old as the sixth century B. C., if not earlier still. It is also possible that Tantric theories regarding *cakras* and *nāḍis* are also based on early Upaniṣadic traditions. See *ibid.*, VIII, 1, 1 & 6, 1; III, 17; V, 8, 2.

In connection with this religious view of *maithuna*, it is interesting to notice what psychologists say. "The relation of racial instinct to the religious was long ago suggested..... Modern research has confirmed this view and shown that in all ages and among all peoples, religion and the sexual impulse are related in some way." The exact

causal relations are not yet clear, but both instincts involve something of the same feeling of love, reverence and self-devotion to the object of one's love. (Edwin A. Krikpatrick, *Fundamentals of Child Study*, 1925, p. 142).

III. *Meaning of the word Anudhyāta* :—In Indian inscriptions, we very often come across passages like *tat-pād-anudhyāta*, *bappa-bhaṭṭā-raka-pād-anudhyāta*, etc. These expressions are generally translated into English as "meditating on the feet of....." Almost all the Kadamba grants refer to the family as *Mahāsena-mātrgaṇ-ānu-dhyāta* which is translated "meditating on Mahāsena and the Mothers."

The meaning of the verb *anu-dhyai* is not only "to meditate" but also "to favour." In my opinion, the second meaning should be applied to explain the above expressions. I would take the verb not in the active but in the passive sense and translate the above passages as "favoured by the feet of....."

A passage of the famous Taluguṇḍa inscription describing Mayūraśarman, the progenitor of the Kadambas, reads: "Ṣaḍānanaḥ yam abhiṣikṭavān anudhyāya senāpatiṁ mātābhīḥ saha". This passage has been taken by scholars to mean that Mayūraśarman was anointed by Ṣaḍānana and the Mothers after he meditated on the Sēnāpati, i. e., Ṣaḍānana. This interpretation is wrong; because the subject of the verb *anudhyāya* (after favouring) is *Ṣaḍānana*. The passage means to say that Mayūraśarman was favoured and anointed *senāpati*, i. e., general by *Ṣaḍānana* and the Mothers. The commonly found passage *mahāsena-mātrgaṇānu-dhyāta*³ means "favoured by Mahāsēna (*Ṣaḍānana*) and the Mothers", and is practically the same as *mahāsēna-mātrgaṇa-parirakṣita* found in some of the Kadamba records. The passage *tat-pād-anudhyāta* of some records is not essentially different from *tat-pāda-parigrhīta* of other records.

IV. *Some Hindu names in a Persian work* :—The only work that gives us some details of the princes of Sind from the seventh century down to the conquest of the country by the Arabs in 713 A. D. is the historical romance called *Chach-nāma*, *Ta'rikh-I-Hind wa Sind* or *Fath-nāma*.⁴ It is a Persian work composed at the time of Nasir-ud-Dīn Qubācha (613 A. H. = 1216 A. D.). From this work we know that the dynasty of the Brāhmaṇa Chach, a predecessor of Dahir who was defeated and killed by Muhammad bin Qāsim, was preceded by another dynasty to which belonged the kings, Dīwāji his son Sihras and the

3. That the verb in this passage is to be taken in the passive sense is also proved by the fact that some of the Kadamba grants read: *mahāsena mātrgaṇ-ānu-dhyāt-ābhishikṭa*. In this case, the verb *ābhishikṭa* (anointed), used in the passive sense, shows beyond doubt that the other verb *anudhyāta* (favoured) cannot be taken in the active sense to mean "meditating on..."

4. Translation by Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg, Karachi, 1900, see also H. O. Ray, *Dynastic History*, Vol. I, pp. 3-5.

latter's son Sāhasī.⁵ According to the account of the Muslim chroniclers, king Sāhasī (in the opinion of some Sāhasī II) was succeeded by his Brāhmaṇa minister Chach who married his widow and was a vigorous ruler. The story of the defeat and death of unfortunate Dahir is now known to all students of Indian history. But what are the Indian forms of these names, viz., Chach, Dahir, Dīwāji, Sihras and Sāhasī?

Chach of the Persian work is evidently the same as the name Cacca found in Indian inscriptions of the early mediaeval period. Attention in this connection may be drawn to the Dhanop stone inscription of Vikrama Saṃ 1063 (=1006 A. D.) of a king named Cacca who probably belonged to the family of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (*Ind. Ant.*, 1911, pp. 174-75). The name Cocca is also found in the family of the Paramāras of Vāgaḍa. The Panahera inscription of Vikrama saṃ 1116 (=1059 A. D.) states that Paramāra Dhanika was succeeded by his brother's son Cacca (=Kaṃka=Kakka?) (*A.S.I.*, 1916-17, pp. 19-20). Records like the Sundha hill inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 73 ff.) mention the famous Cahamāna king Cācigadeva also as Cāca which is evidently the same as Cacca. The famous Kinsariya stone inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 56-61) belongs to one Cacca who was a feudatory prince of the Dadhīcika or Dahīyaka clan.

Elsewhere I have suggested that Dāhir probably comes from Prakrit Dahirā (ya) = Sanskrit Dadhirāja. Dīwāji is evidently Sanskrit Dēvajit, and Sāhasī = Sanskrit Sāhasin. Sihras may possibly be = Prakrit Sīharāja = Sanskrit Sīmharāja. Elsewhere I tried to connect it with Prakrit Sīharāsi = Sanskrit Sīmharāsi.

5. See also *Ta'rikh-i Ma'sumi* (or *Ta'rikh-i Sind*) in Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I; the *Tuhfat ul-kiram* (A.H. 1181; *JASB.* Vol. XIV, 1845, pp. 78-79) however adds two other names, viz., Sihras II (Sahasi's son) and his son Sahasi II.

Archaeological Musuem for Andhradesa.

BY THE EDITOR.

Āndhradēśa was the centre of Buddhism in the Deccan and South India. Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa among others have yielded invaluable treasures of Buddhist art and sculptures. Most of the Amarāvati sculptures and finds from Bhāṭṭiprōlu and other places were taken away in the past by the Government of India, and were given away either to learned Buddhist Societies or deposited in other Provincial Museums. The sons of the soil are thus for ever deprived of the opportunities of seeing the ancient archaeological treasures which their motherland had yielded. They have either to journey long distances into distant provinces to see them or study them or altogether ignore and forget them. Thus the Andhras have been deprived of the source of inspiration and joy.

Āndhradēśa is a vast area and a rich field for Archaeological excavations. A third of this ancient land goes by the name Telingāna and is included in H. E. H. the Nizams Dominions. Fortunately for this areathere is a central Government Museum at Hyderabad. But the remaining area, comprising the coastal and central districts, is far more rich in antiquities and therefore a fruitful field for archaeological work. Like other linguistic areas in India like Bengal, Bīhar, Oudh, Rajaputana and the Punjab and others, Āndhradēśa has no provincial Musuem of its own. The Madras Presidency is too vast and varied a region to be called one linguistic area. It consists of several linguistic units. And therefore the Āndhras are always under constant fear of their country being explored, excavations made and archaeological treasures and finds carried away into distant parts of the country by the Government of India. This apprehension, it must be emphasised, is increasing day by day. It is likely that the Archaeological Department of the Government of India will commence excavating operations in the ensuing cold season and it is also likely that the finds will be carried away by the Department to other parts of India or Delhi. That means the Āndhras and Āndhradēśa are for ever not to see them again. It is therefore high time that the Andhra public opinion is roused to this, if we may be permitted to call so—impending calamity—to the Āndhras and efforts are made or directed to persuade the Government of India to establish a Central Museum for Āndhradēśa in a suitable place.

Prof. N. G. Ranga raised a question in the central Legislative Assembly in October last year and asked the Government to consider the advisibility of establishing a Central Museum for the Āndhra Country in

Bezwada and exhibit some of the important sculptural, architectural and historic monuments found in the various Āndhra districts. Sir Girjā Śankar Bājpai, Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, replied: "The Government of India are constructing a museum at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, in which the antiquities recovered in that neighbourhood could be exhibited. *The policy of the Government of India is to construct local Museums in proximity to sites from where important objects of archaeological interest are recovered in sufficient volume to justify them.* The establishment of archaeological museum on purely regional basis is not their policy."

Though the first part especially the italicised portion of the reply is very gratifying, it is unfortunate that the Government of India do not appreciate the importance or the needs of the vast region called Āndhradēśa but belittle the request for a Provincial or Central Museum for the Āndhra districts. We cannot more strongly emphasise the need for a Central Museum for Āndhradēśa than by reiterating Mr. N. G. Ranga's question and demand in this matter. The Āndhra country needs a museum and the Andhra Historical Research Society's work is chiefly directed to that purpose. The Government of India is aware that Provincial Museums in Calcutta, Rajshahi, Patna, Lucknow, Dacca, Agra, Delhi, Rajkot, Bombay and such other places are only Museums for the respective regions in which they are situated. If the antiquities of the Āndhra country are distributed in various centres, separated by long distances, it becomes very difficult for students and scholars to make long journeys and sojourns for purposes of study. Once more we reiterate the necessity for the establishment of a Central Museum for the Āndhra Country and hope that the Government of India will sympathetically reconsider their policy.

In this connection we wish to make a suggestion. Since the Government of India intend to construct a Museum at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, it is better to build that Museum at Bezwada which is not only the most central part in Āndhradēśa, but also easily accessible by the river to enable the Government to tranship the materials from the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley to Bezwada, by means of boats or floating rafts. While Nāgārjunikoṇḍa is far away in the interior and is not easily accessible and an inconvenient place to stop for some days for purposes of study, etc., Bezwada is most easily accessible being situated on the railway route between Madras and Calcutta. The city is rapidly rising in importance and is situated in the proximity to Nāgārjunikoṇḍa site.

NOTES OF THE QUARTERS.

THE 15th ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY RAJAHMUNDRY FOR THE YEAR 1935-36.

At the last annual General Body meeting held on 7-4-35, the following office-bearers were elected for the year under report:-
President.

M.R.Ry Rao Bahadur A. Rama Rao Pantulu garu, B.A., B.L.,
Vice President.

" N. Kameswara Rao garu, B.A., B.L.,
Treasurer.

" P. Kameswara Rao garu, B.A., B.L.,
Secretary.

" V. Appa Rao garu, B.A., B.L.,
Librarian and Curator.

" T. V. S. Rama Krishna Rao garu, B.A., B.L.,
Members of the Council.

" C. Atmaram garu, B.A., B.L.,

" T. Venkataratnam garu, M.A., L.T.,

" R. Subba Rao garu, M.A., L.T.,

" B. V. Krishna Rao garu, B.A., B.L.,

The number of active members at the beginning of the year was 122 and during the year 26 members resigned and 12 members were admitted. The number that is now on rolls is 108. The number of subscribers at the beginning of the year was 42. One subscriber, the University of Mysore, resigned during the year. As against this loss there is the gain of Benaras Hindu University, and the Inter-Collegiate Book Stores, Kolhapur, who joined as subscribers. The total number of subscribers at present is 43. It is regrettable to note that evidently owing to the present financial condition of the country membership is falling off for the last four years continuously, though the difference this year as compared with last is not so marked. It is earnestly hoped that an effort would be made to enrol new members and subscribers. All the colleges which are not already subscribers may be approached to become subscribers.

Patrons:—No new patrons were elected during the year, and no monies had been received during this year from the existing patrons. It is becoming difficult to collect the annual donations from these patrons by correspondence alone.

Journal:—During the course of the year parts I-IV of Volume IX have been printed and published. Parts I and II were published by the Editor Mr. V. Appa Rao. The total number of pages printed was about 215, which is somewhat less than the usual 250 or 260 pages.

During the present year the *Kakatiya Sanchika* was released for publication. Copies of the *sanchika* were sent for review to the *Hindu*, *Modern Review*, *Bharati*, *New Orissa*, *Golkonda Patrika*, *Andhra Sahitya Parishat Patrika*, and *Triveni*. Four copies were given to the Editor and the contributors were given one copy each. The Maharani Saheba of Gadwal was presented with 5 copies and a number of reprints of the article on Gadwal Samasthanam. The total number of *Sanchika*, that have been presented, sent for review and sold does not exceed 50 up till now.

Number of Meetings of the Managing council held and other activities:—Eight meetings of the Managing Council were held during the year to transact the business of the Society, such as passing of accounts, admitting of members, exchanges etc. Three meetings were adjourned for want of quorum. One resolution was passed by circulation. There was one public meeting held when Mr. U. Lakshminarayana of Guntur delivered an address on the History and the development of Telugu Literature, which was largely attended and much appreciated. The Society sent Messrs. R. Subba Rao M.A., L.T. and V. S. Ramachandra Murty B.A. (Hons) to the 8th All-India Oriental Conference held at Mysore as delegates. Both of them read papers at the Session and did valuable work on behalf of the Society. They also enlisted some members and consulted several scholars about the work of the Society. The Madras University applied for permission for reproduction of two inscriptions published in the Society's Journal, namely the *Malkapuram Inscription of Rudramba*, edited by Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu, B.A., B.L., and the *Rajahmundry Museum Plates of Annadevachoda* edited by Mr. V. Appa Rao, B.A., B.L., in their forthcoming book "Selections from Inscriptions" and permission was granted. Mr. C. Veerabhadra Rao applied for a loan of six blocks to be published in his fifth volume of the History of the Andhras and permission was granted on condition of acknowledging the loan on each of the plates. This help was acknowledged by Mr. C. Veerabhadra Rao in the said work. The Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, applied for impressions of the Jirjingi plates of Indravarman for his study and impressions were supplied to him, with the permission of the Managing Council. These clearly show the increasing usefulness of the Society to students and scholars interested in Indian Historical Research.

Library, Museum and Reading Room:—The Reading Room is located as usual in the T.S. Lodge, Olcott Gardens. There is a complaint from some of the members that its location at one corner of the town detracts from its usefulness to the general public. If the Society's financial condition is improved an effort will be made to move it out into the Town. The Library and the Reading Room were utilised well by many readers. The daily attendance on average was about 10. Other particulars regarding the Museum and Library are given in the report of the Librarian and Curator. Outside Madras city this is one of the useful Libraries for research work though much remains to be done in the way of supplementing back volumes of journals and purchasing old and valuable books on Indology now mostly out of print. This can be done only when the Society is in more affluent condition. The Government Library grant has not been received this year, owing to the mistake of not spending the amount granted during the proper time in the previous year. We are asked to refund a portion of the money granted. We are now corresponding with the authorities for extension of time, so as to cover the late vouchers produced. We hope it will end in our favour. The Society's thanks are due to the authorities of the T. S. Lodge, for allowing the location of the Library in their hall.

Sale of publications:—During the course of the year two complete sets of the journal and some miscellaneous parts of the Journal and 5 copies of *Kalingasanchika* 2 copies of *Raja Raja Sanchikas* and 4 copies of *Kakatiya Sanchikas* were sold. In order to facilitate sending up bills to subscribers and purchasers, bill-books were printed and utilised for purposes of proper auditing.

Finances:—As can be seen from the Treasurer's report, submitted herewith, the finances of the society are not as satisfactory as we expect. The reasons for the state of things are, the fall in membership, cessation of donations from patrons and the heavy expenditure on the publications of an unremunerative character. We hope that members will take more interest in the Society which is doing valuable work in Andhra History, by offering donations and enlisting members. Last year's debt to M.R. Ry N. Subba Rao Pantulu garu has not been fully cleared. The debt of Rs. 600 incurred during 1932-33 is not redeemed till now, and from that time we are not completely free from debt. During this year we borrowed only Rs. 76. Every effort was made to make the Society self sufficient though without much success.

Before this report is closed the Managing Council desires to record the services rendered to the Society by Mr. V. S. Ramachandra Murty B.A. (Hons).

ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJAHMUNDRY.

TREASURER'S STATEMENT

Income and Expenditure account for the year ending with 31 3-36.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN FOR THE YEAR 1935-36.

The report covers the period from 7-4-35 to 11-4-36. At the Annual General Body meeting held on 7-4-35, the present Librarian was elected and he took charge about 10-4-35.

Location :—The Library and the Reading Room are located in the Theosophical Lodge as in the previous year and the Society contributes Rs. 2 monthly towards the electric charges incurred by the T. S. Lodge.

Additions :—During the year there were about 35 additions including periodicals and books sent for review and books presented. Among the books received mention must be made of the publication of Oxford University, Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Library of India Office Vol. II Parts (1) and (2) *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XXII Parts 1 to 3; Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India No. 47 & 50; Annual Report of Archaeological Dept. 1929-30; *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* 1933-34; Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy for 1931-32 and Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for 1933. The Madras Government have been pleased to continue to send their publications of Records of Fort St. George & Fort St. David. 19 such volumes are received. 4 publications of the Gackwad's Oriental series were received.

- (1) Natya Sastra of Abhinavagupta.
- (2) Rajadharmakaustubha of Anantadeva,
- (3) Shabara-Bhasya, Vol. II.
- (4) Kavyamimamsa of Rajsekhara.

About 80 journals are on the exchange list and Muslim University Journal is an addition to the list during this year.

Reading Room :—The number of visitors to the Reading Room during the year under report is an average of 10 persons a day. There are no additions to the Museum either by way of coins or impressions of stone and copper-plate inscriptions.

It has been pointed out by the Deputy Inspector of schools, as an objection that a number of journals are not bound. About 52 volumes have now been given for binding. They include journals frequently consulted like J. B. & O.R.S., Bharati, Griha-Lakshmi which are torn off.

We are sorry to note that the Andhra Patrika Office has not this year sent us their Ugadi Sanchika, as exchange, even though we have sent reminders.

EXPENDITURE.		Rs.	A. P.
Printing	...	349	2-6
Binding	...	133	0-0
Postage and Railway freight	...	102	9-6
Blocks for Kakatiya Sanchika	...	18	14-0
Peon's salary	...	125	0-0
Lighting charges	...	24	0-0
Stationery	...	1	7-6
Bank charges	...	0	8-0
Miscellaneous	...	0	4-0
		754	13-6

INCOME.		Rs.	A. P.
Subscriptions and membership fees	...	349	9-0
Contribution from Rajahmundry Municipal Council	...	100	0-0
Interest from Savings Bank Account	...	0	1-9
Sales of publications (including back numbers of journal)	...	145	7-0
Deficit for the year (Balance Sheet)	...	159	11-9
Total		754	13-6

P. KAMESWARA RAO,
Honorary Treasurer,
12-4-36.

ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJAHMUNDRY.

Balance Sheet as on 31-3-1936.

LIABILITIES.		Rs. A. P.
Life Membership Fund		50 0 0
Loans outstanding:—		
Due to N. Subba Rao Pantulu Garu on promote executed by Mr. C. Atmaram	150 0 0	
Due to N. Kameswara Rao Garu on promote executed by Mr. M. Ramarao	50 0 0	
Advance made by the President	76 0 0	
		<u>276 0 0</u>
		<u>326 0 0</u>
ASSETS.		Rs. A. P.
Deficit as per last Balance Sheet as on 31-3-35	100 15 3	
Less Balance as per last Balance Sheet	<u>39 10 6</u>	
	61 4 9	
Add Life Membership Fund hitherto included in Income and now shown as separate fund	<u>50 0 0</u>	
	111 4 9	
Add deficit for Income and Expenditure as for the year ending with 31-3-36	<u>159 11 9</u>	
Total Deficit as on 31-3-36		271 0 6
Cash on hand		1 4 3
In Bank		50 11 3
Advance paid to Mr. M. Ramarao for postage and remaining to be accounted		<u>3 0 0</u>
Total		<u>326 0 0</u>

P. KAMESWARA RAO,
Honorary Treasurer,
12-4-36.

THE 16TH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJAHMUNDRY, FOR THE YEAR 1936-37.

Presented and Adopted at the Annual General Body Meeting
held on 3-4-1937. Read by the Honorary Secretary.

I have the honour to submit the following 16th Annual Report
of the working of the Society for the year 1936-37.

At the last Annual General Body Meeting held on 12-4-1936
the following Office-bearers for the year under report were elected.

President:

Rao Bahadur A. Rama Rao Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.

Vice-President:

Rao Saheb, Mahopadhyaya G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu Garu, B.A., K.H.G.

Hon. Secretary:

Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, B.A., B.L.

Hon. Treasurer:

Mr. P. Kameswara Rao, B.A., B.L.

Hon. Librarian & Curator:

Mr. Vaddadi Appa Rao, B.A., B.L.

Ordinary Members of the Managing Council:

Prof. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T.

Mr. N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu, B.A., B.L.,

Mr. Vaddadi Appa Rao, B.A., B.L.,

Mr. T. V. S. Ramakrishna Rao, B.A., B.L.

Members:—The number of members on the rolls of the Society
at the beginning of the year was 102 and, during the year the number
has risen to 125 and the increase is very satisfactory.

Subscribers:—The number of subscribers of the Journal at the
beginning of the year was 43; but out of this 3 have dropped out during
the year. They are (1) the Government Arts College, Rajahmundry (2)
Mrs. A. V. N. College, Vizagapatam, and (3) Maharaja's College,
Parlakimedi. But it is hoped that they will once more become
subscribers.

Patrons:—Almost all our patrons have dropped out one after another and this is indeed distressing. The Rajah Bahadur of Khallikote has informed us that he would make no more donation to the Society as he happened to belong to Orissa henceforth. Our Life patron for the last five years Rajah Sri Vairicherla Narayana Gajapati Raju Bahadur, Zamindar of Chemudu and Anapakapalli Estates has decided after sending the arrears of annual donation for 1935—36 and 1936—37, to discontinue to be a Patron. The only prince who has been evincing keen sympathy and genuine interest in the progress and welfare of the Society is Maharaja Sri Dr. Vikramadeo Varma Maharaju Garu, D. Litt. Maharaja of Jeypore (Orisa).

Honorary Life Members:—There are two Honorary Members elected for life, viz., Messrs Prof. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T. and Dr. C. Narayana Rao, M.A., L.T., P.H.D., for invaluable services rendered to the Society.

Honorary Presidents and Honorary Members of the Society:—No Honorary Presidents or Hon. Vice-Presidents were elected last year and only those who were elected three years ago continued to hold that dignity. They are (1) Rao Bahadur Sir A. Parasuram Patro Kt. B.A., B.L., Advocate, (2) Mr. Kasinadhuni Nageswara Rao Pantulu, M.L.A., and (3) Mr. Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu B.A., B.L. The Society owes its thanks to Dessodharaka Kasinadhuni Nageswara Rao Pantulu Garu for the great help he had readily given to the Society during the year. He agreed to put an advertisement, in the *Andhra patrika* on every alteranate day, of the Society's Telugu Publications and he did so for several months free of charge. There are two Honorary Corresponding Members of the Society elected last year: they are Mr. M. Somasekahara Sarma and Mr. Chilukuri Veerabhadra Rao.

Finances of the Society:—The year had been a critical one for the Society. Last year's liabilities have remained unredeemed and the Society felt a great need for money to carry on the work of the Society which had become impeded on that account. The Society owed a sum of Rs. 76/- to the President advanced by him from time to time. The debt of Rs. 150 due to Mr. N. Subba Rao Pantulu remains still unpaid. There was the outstanding liability of Rs. 186 due to the Printer on account of printing work done for Volume IX, Part 4. The Society owed a small balance of Rs. 25/- to the Sujanaranjani Printing Works. Above all these pressing debts, there was the demand of the Director of Public Instruction, Madras to refund a sum of Rs. 179—2—0 which was said to be the unspent balance according to the Rules regulating Government Library Grant and which had been overdue for more than two years. These pressing demands for money, at a time when the resources were much curtailed, greatly hampered the work of the Society. Fortunately at this juncture the Municipality sanctioned

the usual annual grant of Rs. 100 which was received in time. The Zamindar of Chemudu, one of our Patrons was pleased to send us the arrears of the yearly donation amounting to Rs. 200/- at a time when money was most needed. After a good deal of correspondence with the Director of Public Instruction, over the refund of the unspent balance, the Government were pleased, on the recommendation of the Director, to reduce the amount to be refunded to 57—8—0 from 179—2—0. Also Money was quickly raised by the sale of the *Kakatiya* and *Kalinga Samchikas* for meeting the demands of the Society.

Journal:—The Society should have, in the ordinary course of things, issued Volume X during last year (1935—36) and Volume XI in this year. But it was not possible owing to the financial difficulties. The management during the year 1935—36, not only incurred heavy liabilities but left a large outstanding debt for this year's Managing Council to redeem. To expedite the printing of the Journal, the Society had to take away its work from the Saraswati Power Press who delayed the work inordinately and entrust it to the Razan Electric Press after paying the dues of the former in full. In this connection, the timely loan given by Rajah Sri Kāndregula Srinivasa Jagannatha Rao Bahadur deserves mention and our Society's grateful thanks are due to him. He advanced the necessary money for settling accounts with the Saraswati Power Press and commencing the printing work in the Razan Electric Press. The Managing Council during the year redeemed a substantial portion of its debts.

Reddi Empire Day Celebration and Reddi Samchika:—For want of adequate response and funds the Society could not celebrate the *Reddi Empire Day* and publish the *Reddi Samchika*. It is the desire of the Society to celebrate the Day both at Rajahmahendravaram (Rajahmundry), and Kondavidu if possible. It is hoped that, in the coming year, as soon as the publication of the Journal is brought into line, attempts will be made to make the Reddi Empire Day Celebration a success like the previous celebrations.

The Research Library and Museum:—There have been some additions to the Library during the year, most of them being publications received either for purposes of review in the Journal or in exchange of the Society's publications. In this connection, the Society wishes to place on record its thankfulness to all the exchangers for having shown uniform courtesy and continued to send in their exchanges even though the Society's Journal lagged behind. It is hoped that in future, the Journal will appear regularly and cause no more disappointment. The Museum shared the prevailing slump in the matter of acquiring collections. The Library, Museum and Reading Room continue to be located in the Hall of the Theosophical Society, by the kind courtesy of its management. There have been several attempts during the year to

bring the Library into a suitable and convenient part of the town but in vain. The chief disadvantage is the situation of the Library at one end of the town. Add to it, it has not been attracting as many students and readers as possible. Also, the work of supervision by the Honorary staff is becoming increasingly difficult. The Society's Library and Museum have to be reorganised so as to make them as useful and attractive as possible. They are open to the public irrespective of caste, creed, community or sex. The Library is accumulated in a large measure by acquiring private collections and by exchanging the Society's Journal. The exchanges constitute the latest literature in historical and allied research and in that sense the Library has got a useful collection of very valuable and up-to-date publications and journals. The finances are too slender at present to enable the Society to purchase many more useful books which are the daily need of the research student in a mofussil station like ours. Some very rare and valuable collections of coins, copper-plates and other materials have been acquired for the Society's Museum. And efforts must be unsparingly made and directed towards enriching the same. It must be the duty of every patriotic Andhra to secure precious treasures for this Society, treasures collected from excavations and finds, and house them here. Since the year 1926 the Society has been petitioning to the local government to be pleased to make an annual grant from the provincial funds for the maintenance of the institution but in vain. We have petitioned to the local government quoting the instances where the provincial governments of Bihar, Bengal and United Provinces have been liberally providing for the maintenance of similar learned societies within their areas. It is understood that even in the new province of Orissa there is going to be a Research Society under the patronage of the provincial government. It is therefore hoped that our local government also would in future make some provision for the Society's maintenance. Add to this the Society had not been receiving the usual library grant from the government during the last three years.

We close the Report with an earnest appeal for funds to our Andhra countrymen. The majority of the Andhras seem to take it for granted that the Society provides itself in some mysterious way for its maintenance and needs. Actually it depends upon the subscriptions of its members, subscribers, annual grants, occasional donations from philanthropic gentlemen, the local Municipality and the Government. These resources are utterly inadequate to run it. The cause of the institution must be the care of the nation, and the care of the rich and the bountiful citizens of our motherland. The need for private benefactions and support from the generous and the rich is never more imperatively urgent than it is to-day.

ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJAHMUNDRY.

TREASURER'S STATEMENT

Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending with 31-3-1937.

EXPENDITURE.			Rs. A. P.
Printing and Paper	...	...	508—3—0
Binding	...	...	32—6—0
Postage and Railway freight	...	...	56—1—6
Lighting charges	...	...	24—0—0
Peon's salary	...	...	107—8—0
Travelling expenses for the Secretary	...	...	20—0—0
Stationery	...	...	2—3—0
To Hindu Samaj for Meeting charges	...	...	1—4—0
Refund of Govt. grant	...	...	57—8—0
Bank Commission	...	...	0—11—0
Surplus for the year carried to Balance Sheet	...	...	66—10—6
			<u>876—7—0</u>
INCOME.			Rs. A. P.
Subscriptions from Members	...	...	133—8—0
Subscriptions for the Journal (from institutions)	...	...	45—8—0
Donations :—			
By Mr. J. Sreeramamurty for Ramayya Pantulu			
Commemoration Volume		50—0—0	
Maharaja of Jeypore for do.		50—0—0	
Zamindar of Chemudu for two years 1935 and 1936		200—0—0	
Grant from Municipality, Rajahmundry		100—0—0	
Rao Bahadur A. Ramarao Pantulu Garu		10—0—0	
S. Azimulla Esq.		5—0—0	
N. Kameswararao Pantulu Garu		5—0—0	
A friend		1—0—0	
		<u>421—0—0</u>	
Sale of publications		276—7—0	
		<u>876—7—0</u>	
Total			<u>876—7—0</u>

P. KAMESWARA RAO,
Honorary Treasurer,
4-4-37.

ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJAHMUNDRY.

Balance Sheet as on 31-3-1937.

LIABILITIES.		Rs. A. P.
Life Membership Fund		50-0-0
Loans outstanding:—		
Due to N. Subba Rao Pantulu Garu on pronote executed by Mr. C. Atmaram, the then Secretary.	150-0-0	
Due to N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu Garu on pronote executed by Mr. M. Rama Rao, the then Secretary.	50-0-0	
Due to Raja Sri K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur Garu on pronote executed by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, Secretary.	75-0-0	
		<u>275-0-0</u>
		<u>325-0-0</u>
ASSETS.		Rs. A. P.
Total deficit up to 31-3-36 as per Balance Sheet	271-0-6	
Less surplus for the year ending with 31-3-37 from income and expenditure account	66-10-6	
Net deficit as on 31-3-37		204-6-0
Cash on hand		66-14-9
Cash in P. O. S. B. account		50-11-3
Advance paid to Mr. M. Rama Rao for postage remaining to be accounted		3-0-0
Total		<u>325-0-0</u>

P. KAMESWARA RAO,
Honorary Treasurer,
4-4-37.

LIST OF EXCHANGES

1. Aryan Path, 51 Esplanade Road, Bombay.
2. *Andhra Sahitya Parishat Patrika*, Cocanada.
3. *Archiv Orientalni*, Prague, Czechoslovakia.
4. Asia Major, Ballygunje, Calcutta.
5. *Bangiya Sahitya Parishat Patrika*, Calcutta.
6. *Bharati*, Madras.
7. Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, U. S. A.
8. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, Germany.
9. Educational Review, Mount Road, Madras.
10. *Epigraphia Indica*, Calcutta.
11. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, Calcutta.
12. Journal of the Academy of Philosophy and Religion, Poona.
13. *Griha Lakshmi*.
14. Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.
15. *Jaina Gazette*.
16. Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
17. Journal of the Anthropological Society, Bombay.
18. Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.
19. Journal of Indian History, Madras.
20. Journal of the Bombay Br. of the Royal Asiatic Society.
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