

Journal of the Andhra
Historical Research
Society

937- July - October

VOL. - II, Parts 1 to 2

XI

A

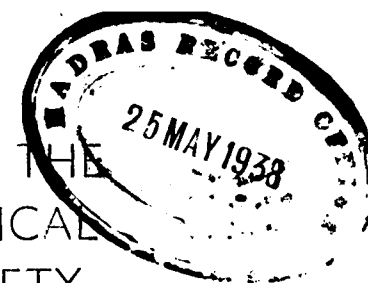
V216 m, N26

N28.11

94311.

9708

JOURNAL OF THE
ANDHRA HISTORICAL
RESEARCH SOCIETY.



Vol. XI. 1937 JULY & OCTOBER Parts 1 & 2

441

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE EASTERN KADAMBAS OF KALINGA.*

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

A. *Sources of History:*

In writing my *History of the Eastern Gangas*,¹ I came across a line of feudatory rulers called the *Kadambas* who ruled over a part of Kalinga Empire. Since Kadamba families ruled in Belgaum and Dharwar Districts and also in Vijayanti or Banavasi, they may be called the Western Kadambas like the Western Gangas of Mysore and these Kadambas of Kalinga who were the feudatories of the Eastern Gangas may be termed the Eastern Kadambas. They are mentioned in their own Copper-plate Grants and in those of the Eastern Ganga Kings and some of their coins have recently been found.² They are also mentioned in the later Oriya literature and there are still several families living in the Ganjam and Cuttack divisions of Kalinga and in C. P. that bear the name³.

B. *Origin and Abode:*

These Eastern Kadambas like the Eastern Gangas originally belonged to the Gangetic Valley from where they migrated into Kalinga country in the early centuries of the Christian era. Another branch penetrated into Mysore and Konkan. Some scholars stated that the Eastern Gangas settled in Kalinga coming from Gangavadi in the South, and the E. Kadambas also settled there coming from the S.W. of S. India. But this is opposed to facts. It was pointed out from the Mysore West Ganga Inscriptions that the Eastern Gangas separated from the

* A Paper read before the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference held at Mysore in December 1935.

1. Published partly in *J.A.H.R.S.* Vols. V to VIII.

2. *J.A.H.R.S.* Vol. V pp. 249-250.

3. *Kalingadesa Charitra* pp. 389-392; *J.A.H.R.S.* Vol. III p. 178. & Vol. VIII

K2

main branch in the North (Gangetic Valley) and migrated into Kalinga and settled there long before the successors of the main branch founded Gangavathi in Mysore. Similarly, it must be believed that the E. Kadambas settled in Kalinga coming from the North. It is stated⁴ that they ruled over a part of Magadha and then migrated into Kalinga and founded there places named after them and some even left for South India. It is wellknown that Ganga and Kadamba families are still living in parts of Ganjam District and Orissa.

The Kalinga Kadambas were worshippers of Siva. The Kadamba tree is sacred to Siva. Hence probably they were called after it. They have the sign of fish on their coins and on the seals of their copper-plate charters. There is a line of kings called the Matsyas of Oddadi whose inscriptions bearing the figure of fish are found in abundance in the Simhachalam Temple (Vizag District) and it is believed that they are the descendants of the E. Kadambas. The Kadambas probably belonged to the Matsya country whose capital Viratnagar figures prominently in *Mahābhārata*.

C. *The Eastern Kadambas and the Western Kadambas Compared and Contrasted :*

The family God of W. Kadambas was called *Jayanti-Madhukēśwara*. Their original country was called *Palasige* or *Halasige*. They are said to have lived in *Khetahara* or *Khed* Taluq of Ratnagiri. They also lived in a part of Mysore called *Vaijayanti* or *Banavasi* and were related to the *W. Gangas*. Now, in Kalinganagara or Mukhalingam (Ganjam Dt.) there is a God still worshipped under the name of Jayanti-Madhukēśwara or Gokarṇēśwara who is the family God of the Raja of Parlakimidi who is said to be a descendant of the E. Ganga Line. A *Gokarṇēśwara* was seated on Mt. Mahendra when the E. Gangas first came into Kalinga and was worshipped by them. Later, at Mukhalingam or Kalinganagaram, Madhukēśwara was installed. He is also termed Jayantēśwara or Gokarṇēśwara in the stone inscriptions still found there. It would appear that the later Kings of E. Ganga line worshipped the old God Gokarṇēśwara under the name of Madhukēśwara or Madhukalinga, from which the place was called Madhukalingam or Mukhalingam, at the instance of the E. Kadambas who were employed as vassals under both the Early and Later Ganga Kings and who were said to be closely related to them in the several C. P. Charters. Thus, like the W. Kadambas of Banavasi or Vaijayantipura who were subject to the W. Gangas, the Eastern Kadambas of Jayantipura in Mahēndrabhōgavishaya (Mandasa in Ganjam Dt.) ruled subject to the control of the E. Ganga Kings. Again, like the Khētapura or Khed Kadambas of Ratnagiri, the E. Kadambas have the suffix *Khedi* e. g. Nagakhedi, Dharmakhedi etc., Again,

like the place names in the South, we get in Kalinga places like Palaas Parlapura, Tekkali, Jayantipura, Vanavasi and Kadambaguda etc. Also, it would appear that the Early Kadambas were all Saivites. But, while the Southern or Western Branch became Jain, the Northern or Eastern branch stuck to the original Saivite creed established in Kalinga. The Kings of both the dynasties took part in civilising their countries and in introducing Vedic learning and culture into their own countries by making generous grants of lands and villages to learned Brahmins and to their own Gods. Finally, both the dynasties were divided into two or more separately ruling branches.

There are, however, the following points of contrast:

(1) The W. Kadambas have the lion crest on the seals of their charters and monkey-banner on their flags. The Eastern Kadambas have the fish emblem on the seals of their C. P. charters and also on their coins.

(2) The W. Kadambas were *Jains* while the E. Kadambas were *Saivites*.

(3) The W. Kadambas rose to greater political heights than the E. Kadambas who always remained subordinate to the E. Gangas even when they proclaimed an Era of their own which is called *Ganga-Kadamba Era*.

D. *Their History:*

The Vizag plates⁵ of Dēvēndravarma (E. Ganga king) state that the king bestowed some villages in the District of Dēvadamana on God Dharmēśwara at the instance of his *maternal uncle Dharma-Khedi*. The king installed the *linga* form of Dharmēśwara which is probably named after his uncle Dharma-Khedi and it was usual to name Gods after the rulers, e. g. Bhimeswara, Rajeswara, Ganapeswara etc. The ending of the name Khedi is peculiar and suggests Kadamba connection as will be shown presently. The plates belong to G. E. 251 or A. D. 750. *The Madras Museum Plates⁶ of Indravarma* which are believed by Buhler to belong to the 9th century A.D. state that the king who was *probably* a Ganga King, granted the village of Amerasinga in Jalamvora vishaya (Urlam in Ganjam Dt.) to a Brahmin Scholar and the name of the *ajnapiti* or executor of the Grant is Sri Naga-Khedi. It would appear that the charter was written by the great Door-keeper Ādityavarma and by the Great Vassal or Viceroy Sri Naga-khedi. This latter prince was again a Kadamba and he occupied a powerful position. Several grades of officials are mentioned in this charter, showing that the administration was highly organised.

5. I. A., Vol., XV111, p. 145. foot note.

6. J. A. H. R. S. Vol. 111, pp. 183—188.

4. Andhra-Karnata Jainism by Dr. B. Seshagiri Rao pp. 65-67.

441

From these two C. P. Charters, we learn that Kadamba chiefs were related to the E. Ganga kings and occupied high administrative posts and took active part in giving donations to Saivite Gods and Vedic Scholars. Their names, unlike those of their Sovereigns the E. Ganga kings who were called "Lords of all Kalinga," end with the appellation of *Khedi* which is the usual title of the E. Kadamba princes. We learn this from certain inscriptions of the time of Vajrahasta V (A. D. 1037—1069) called Tri kalinga-adhipati and also from the C. P. Charters of the E. Kadamba princes. In fact, the history of this reign and the administrative machinery of the times are known to us chiefly from these sources.

Four E. Kadamba C.P. Charters throw much useful light on this reign of Vajrahasta V; namely, (1) *The Simhapura* plates of Dharmakedi (J.A.H.R.S. Vol. III, pp. 171—180) which were discovered in Santa Bommali near Tekkali and which are dated in 520 of Ganga-Kadamba Era. Since the Kadambas were closely related to the Gangas and since they were subordinate to them being their viceroys and commanders and since they expressly called their Era the *Ganga-Kadamba Era*, it must be considered that the Ganga-Kadamba year 520 is the same as the Ganga year 520.

Again, since the Ganga year 526 relates to Madhukamarnava's reign, it is probable that the Ganga-Kadamba year 520 also relates to the same reign. If we now look at the contents of the grant of Dharmakhedī, we get good support for this view. Dharmakhedī, the son of Bhamakhedī and grand-son of Niyarnava, who lived in *Jayantapura* and who had the titles of *Panchavishaya-Mandaleswara*, *Mahendrādhipati* and *Mahāmandaleswara*, granted, in the presence of his *Amātyas* and *Panchapatras* and the *Pradhans* and *Janapadas* of *Rashtrakutavishaya*, to 300 Brahmins, the village of *Dharmapura* in *Mahendrabhogavishaya* in the Ganga-Kadamba year 520, during the reign of *The Illustrious Devendravarma, Son of the Illustrious Anantavarma* of the pure family of the Gangas, who lived in *Kalinganagara*, who was devoted to Gokarnaswami of Mahendragiri and who had the titles of *Parameswara*, *Paramabhattaraka* and *Sakala-kalingādhiraja*. Now, this Devendravarma, son of Anantavarma was already identified by me⁷ with Madhukamarnava, son of Aniyankabhima Vajrahasta alias Anantavarma, because in the Later Ganga Genealogy, from the 29th to the 36th king, we get alternately the names of Anantavarma and Devendravarma. So, Madhukamarnava who actually issued a grant in the Ganga year 526 must be regarded as having had the title of Devendravarma and as being the Over-lord of Dharmakhedī who made this grant in the G. K. Era 520

7. Vide *Kalingadesa Charitra*, edited by me, p. 532.

From this Kadamba grant, we learn that, in the times of Dēvēndravarma and his successor Anantavarma Vajrahasta V, the government was highly organised. The Empire was divided into *Mahāmandalas* or Great Provinces, *Mandalas* or provinces, *Vishayas* or districts, *Bhogas* or taluks and *Grāmas* or villages. There were officers of different ranks to rule over these territorial limits and the hierarchy of officials mentioned in the several grants with their duties clearly shows that the Ganga Empire was already large and powerful.

The *Amātyas* or Ministers, the *Panchapatras* or the Five Great Chiefs, the *Pradhāns* or Chief Ministers, and the *Janapadas* or village Communities played a less powerful part than the *Mahāmandalēswaras* or Great Provincial Lords and *Panchavishaya Mandalēswaras* or Governors of five Districts. The Kadamba Princes who used an Era of their own, synchronising with that of their overlords, were the great provincial viceroys who employed under them lesser officials. Their capital was *Jayantapura* in Mahēndra Bhōga Vishaya or the modern Mandasa Zamin-dari in the Ganjam District. The Gānga kings similarly employed as Commanders and Governors their close relatives the *Vaidumbas*, the *Pallavas* and the *Chōḍas*.⁸ Officers like *Mahāpratihara* or the great Door-keeper, *Rahasyādhikāri* or the king's private Secretary, *Ajnapti* or Executor of royal grants, *Sāsanaādhikāri* or Official in charge of royal rescripts, *Mahāsandhivigrahika* or the great Secretary for war and peace, *Purohita* or the king's Spiritual adviser and other Court and Temple officers, all remind us of the state of similar organisation in N. India under Harsha.

2. Another Kadamba C. P. Grant of the time of Vajrahasta V which belongs to Daraparaja resembles the one noted above and gives the same titles to the Ganga Overlords. (Vide Ep. Ind. Vol. III, p. 221) It expressly refers to the reign of Vajrahasta and states that, in that reign, Daraparaja, son of Chōla Kāmadirāja and Lord of Panchavishaya and Jewel of the Ganga family granted the village of Hossandi to Kāmadirāja, son of Erayamaraja of the Nagar Saluki family at the time of marrying his daughter to him. The executor of this grant was Ugrakhedī, a Kadamba prince and the writer was the great foreign Secretary Drōṇāchārya.

3. Along with the Chikkalavalasa C.P. Grant of Anantavarma Vajrahasta, a certain Devendravarma's Kambakaya C. P Grant was also discovered (Vide Bharati for November 1927 pp. 115—130). It contains on its seal, like the other C.P. Grants of the E. Kadamba kings, a crescent at the top, a fish in the middle and an elephant goad at the bottom. It states that, while Devendravarma, having his capital at Kalinganagara,

8. Vide the C. P. grant dated S. 967 of Vajrahasta V. in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI, pp. 147—153.

was living in Dantapura, the grant of Revenija village was made to two Brahmin Nayaks by his great provincial governor, the Kadamba chief Udayaditya, son of Dharmakhedi. Since the date of the grant was given as Ś, 1103, Devendravarma mentioned in it should be identified with Anantavarma Chodaganga's son, Raja Raja II. But that king does not possess the title Devendravarma and so the date of the Grant is doubtful.

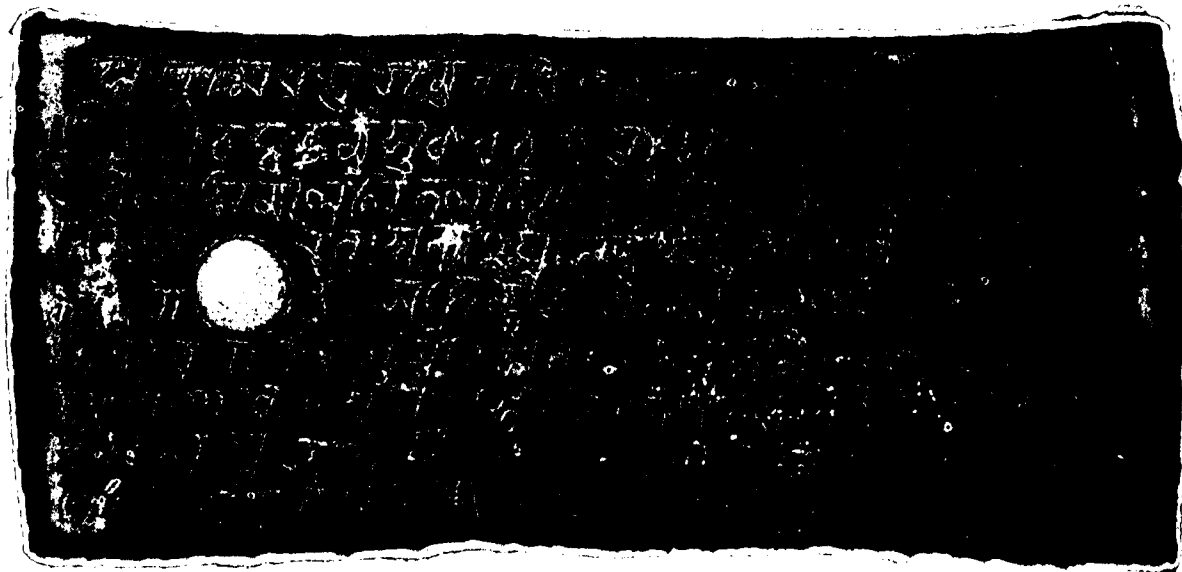
4. A very important C. P. Grant of Dharmakhedi, son of Bhamakhedi has recently been published and it belongs to Ś. 976 (J. B. O. R. S. Vol XVII. Pp 175-188). It is stated in that grant that, in the 15th regnal year of Anantavarma Vajrahastadeva, his great provincial governor and jewel of Kadamba family, by name, Dharmakhedi, son of Bhamakhedi granted to a certain Ujanaka the *Madipatharakhanda* in Mahendrabboga *Vishaya*. It is already known to us from the Simhapura plates of Dharmakhedi, dated in the G. K. Era 520, that he was the son of Bhamakhedi, and there is no doubt that the Dharmakhedi of this grant is the same as that of the Simhapura plates. Evidently, he lived in the reigns of both Madhukārnava and his successor Anantavarma Vajrahasta V.

The C. P. Charters of the E. Kadamba Princes show that the mountain passes in the E. Ghats (Mahendra Hill) were strongly guarded by them. They were the Palatine Earls whom the Ganga Emperors trusted with such high command and position owing to close matrimonial ties existing between them and also owing to the powerful forces led by the Kadamba Princes. It is again with the help of their C. P. Charters that we learn that a Ganga-Kadamba Era existed in Kalinga and we have proved how it is to be identified with the Ganga Era. But for the discovery of their C. P. Charters dated G. K. Era 520 and Saka Era 971, the initial year of the E. Ganga rule would never have been known to us. We now know that the Eastern Gangas like the Eastern Kadambas spread into Kalinga in very early times and established their rule there till the middle of the 15th century introducing Brahmanic religion and Vedic culture into all parts of it. Very little was known to scholars about these Dynasties till the writer of this article studied several inscriptions and published their accounts in *J. A. H. R. S.* and in his work *Kalingadīśa Charitra*. Just as Mysore History deals with W. Gangas and W. Kadambas, Kalinga History has to deal with these new Dynasties that bear the same name.

PONDURU PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA II

(To accompany the articles published in *JAHS*, Vol. IX Part 3, pp. 23—30 and Vol. XI pp. 7—12)

First Plate, Second Side.



Second Plate, First Side



PONDURU COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF VAJRAHASTADEVA

(Dated G. E. 700)

G. RAMADAS, B.A.

This set of plates was first edited in the Journal of the Andhra Historical Research society, Rajahmundry, Vol. IX, part 3, pp. 23 ff. by Mr. M. Narasimham who had the set in his possession. His article was found to be defective in some places and his reading of the text was wrong. To verify his reading of the text, the facsimile of plates did not accompany his article. His speculation to indentify the donor, Vajrahastadeva, clearly showed that his reading of the date might have been wrong. It is for the purpose of verifying the date and other things connected with it, I longed to examine the original in person. At last, Mr. B. V. Krishnarao, the Hony. Secretary, sent me an impression of the grant. It is defective in certain places but is clear in the important parts of the charter. I now re-edit the grant as I found it to offer a strong evidence with regard to the Ganga era.

Leaving aside the usual and time-honoured method of pointing out the peculiarities of Orthography, I directly proceed to discuss the points that settle the time of the grant. The first point that the scholars of Kalinga History do not fail to see, on reading the charter, is that the expressions in the first part of the introduction bear resemblance to those of the grant of the Kalinga Kings of more ancient times. I give below a comparative study of such expressions, so that the readers may realize the truth of my statement.

Chicacole plates of Anantavarmadeva's Son, Madhukāmārṇava dated G. E. 526,

J. B. & O. R. S., Vol. XVIII,
Parts III & IV pp. 292 ff.

1.2. *prasidha-sidha-tāpasādhyāsita*
kandarōdaradari mahēndracalāmalaka

1.3. *nakagiri*.....

Ponduru plates of Vajrahastadeva under review.

J.A.H.R.S. Vol. IX, Part III,
pp. 23 ff.

1.4. *prasiddha-siddha tānēkava-*
sādhyāsita

1.5. *kandarōdara mahendra-*
calāmala kanakasikhara

The descriptions of the Mahendra hill seem to have been adapted from the Kalinga grant of 526th year of the Ganga era. But the praise of the Royal residence seems to have been copied from Simhipura Copper-plate grant of Kadamba King Dharmakhedi (*J.A.H.R.S.* Vol. III parts 2, 3 and 4 pp. 176 ff.) which belongs to the same period as the Chicacole Plates.

(A) *Simhipura* Copper-plates.(B) *Pondur* Plates.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. i <i>Amarapurānukārīṇa Sarvavyah</i> | 1. <i>Amarapurānukārīṇa Sar-</i> |
| <i>Sukharamanīya</i> | <i>vartu = sukharamanīyā =</i> |
| 2. t <i>Sudhādhavala prāsāda mālā</i> | 2. t <i>dvijayava = dvabhana.....</i> |
| <i>birata lalita lāsyat durdanda pa</i> | <i>vāla prāsādamālā = dāvirata va</i> |
| 3. <i>ṇḍita Sakalālamkṛita Sri-kalinga</i> | 3. <i>ra vilāsini lalita lāsyāt = ddur-</i> |
| <i>nagarādhi Vāsakā</i> | <i>danda Pandita Kulālamkṛita Sri-</i> |
| | <i>Dantipurāt.</i> |

(C) *Mandasa* Plates of Anantavarṃmadeva, Śaka 913 J. B. & O. R. S. Vol. XVII Parts II & III P P 184 ff.

1. *Amarapurānukārīṇa Sarvāsa Sukharamanīyāt Sudhādhava*
2. *la prāsāda - mālā Viratallālita - llāsyāt - ddurdanda - Paṇḍita Saka-*
lālamkṛi
3. *ta Sri-Kalinganagarādhi-Vāsakāt.*

It may be observed here that the same phraseology as is employed to describe the royal residence of Kalinganagara in A and C is adopted to picture the royal residence of Dantipura in B. The Kalinganagara must have been identical with Dantipura. Both must have been different names for one and the same city.

As the description of Kalinganagara as given in A and C is copied in B, the latter document must be subsequent to the grant C. Since this grant C is dated Śaka 913, the grant under review must belong to an year later than that saka year.

The donor of the Ponduru grant was a Vajrahastadeva, the son of a Kāmārnava who had ruled over the whole of Kalinga.

The genealogy supplied by the Narasipatam and other grants of Vajrahasta II mention that Vajrahasta II alias Aniyāṇkabhīma was the son of Kāmārnava I and that Vajrahasta III was the son of Kāmārnava II. One of these Vajrahastas must be identified with the Vajrahastadeva of the present grant who was also the son of a Kāmārnava. Vajrahasta II alias Aniyāṇkabhīma immediately succeeded his father. The language in the grants of the rulers that succeeded their fathers immediately, clearly indicates such succession.

Sṛīmad-Ananta brahma mahārāja Suta Sṛīmad-Devendra brahma
(*Simhipura plates, J.A.H.R.S. Vol. III parts 2, 3 and 4. p.179, l.11*)
Mahārāja Sri-Rajēndravarma sūnuh Sri-Anantavarma-dēvah.
(*E.I. Vol. III No. 3. p. 19. ll. 12 and 13*)

But the language employed in the Ponduru grant indicates that there was a long time which elapsed between the death of the father of Kāmārnavadēva and the succession of his son Vajrahastadeva to the throne. (l. 5 *Abhūt tadanantareṇā*). Consequently this Vajrahastadēva is to be identified with Vajrahasta III who ascended the throne twenty-two years after the death of his father Kāmārnava II.

Then the question may be advanced as to why the Pondūru grant does not mention the titles '*Trikalingādhipati*' and '*Anantavarma*', the two titles specially given in all the known charters of Vajrahastadēva III. Though these titles are not given in those very expressions, yet the greatness implied in those words is found expressed in so many words in the grant. *Anantavarma* was a title assumed by such of the Kalinga Kings as had made themselves more prominent either by the exhibition of greater prowess or by acquiring greater dominion by conquest. ततः कोलाहलः । स एवानन्तवर्मा भवत् (J. A. S. B. 1896. p. 237). It has been shown in my article on Trikalīṅga Country (J. B. & O. R. S. Vol. XIV part IV pp. 539 ff.) that Trikalīṅga was the name of the highlands to the west of the Mahēndra hills, and that Vajrahastadēva III assumed that title after he had conquered it. The expressions employed in praise of the donor, Vajrahastadēva are quite different from those used to intimate the greatness of his father. Kamārṇavadēva had his feet brightened by the rays shed from the gems set on the diadems on the heads of *Sāmāntas*; while Vajrahastadēva's feet are made to shine by the lustre of the gems set on the crowns on the heads of *rulers of kingdoms*. (l. 9-11 & 15-17: bhūpāla-mauli). Was not Karṇadēva, the *Kalachuri king* who was the *Trikalingādhipati* till A.D. 1042, made to bow to Vajrahastadēva III of *Kalīṅga* and surrender that title? (ibid). The donor of the present grant is said to have worshipped the *Sun-God* (l. 17 मारुतः) and to have ruled over a country that extended to the *Ganges* (l. 18). He must have worshipped the sun-god at Konārka and subdued the kingdoms surrounding it, just as Kāmārṇava I, the founder of the dynasty to which this Vajrahastadēva belonged, first worshipped the god *Gōkarṇa* and then conquered the *Kalīṅga* country. In conquering and subduing the coastal plain including *Kongoda*, *Utkal*, *Balasore* and *Midnapore* and the highlands to the west of these, he must have made many crowned heads bow down to his feet; and he thus became the lord of the whole country which was bounded by the Ganges. He was the best of the *Maharajas* of the family of *Ganges* (l. 19). He is said to have acquired the valour of Indra *Amararāja* (l. 20). This idea is elaborated in '*Yō divaḥ palānlām-ātibhīṣhaṇam aśanim śastry-ābhijaghāna*' (l. A. June 1889 p. 163. ll. 24-25) and in '*Nanāmatah kēvalam-artthatāpi sa Vajrahastas-Trikalīṅga-nāthah | yo Vajri-hastād-apatham prithivyām Vajram patai-vārayitum samarthah*'

Then *paleography* also furnishes an evidence to identify the donor of the present grant. Comparing the form of every letter and syllable of our grant with each of the letters and syllables of each of the other *Kalīṅga* grants known till now, it is found out that the letters of the Pondūru grant bear closer resemblance to the characters of the copper-plate grants of Narasipatam (E. I. Vol. IX) Naḍagām (E. I. Vol. IV) Madras Museum (E. I. Vol. IX) and Chikkālivalasa and Boḍḍapāḍu

(*Bhārati* Vol. II part 2 and Vol. III part 5 respectively). The form of each letter and its structure resemble those of the letters of the Narasipatam grant.

Another peculiarity presented by the document under review is the mention of the *week-day* which is not found in any of the grants issued prior to the time of Vajrahastadēva III. It is an innovation first made in the grants of this *Kalinga* ruler and has been invariably found mentioned in the charters issued by the *kings* that come after him. This adds another reason to identify the donor of the Pondūru plates with him of the Narasipatam grant.

Now we may safely proceed to examine the date as given in the charter. Of course the year of the grant is given in the Ganga era (ll. 55ff. *Gaṅga = Vams'a pravardhamāna Vijayarājya Samvatsarāḥ*). The previous editor misunderstood the *numerical* figure in the *hundred's* place by its semblance to the Telugu figure 1 and by the unqualified word '*Śata*' and supposed the date of the grant to be 100 of the *Ganga era*. When '*aṅkānāpi*' (even in figures) is said we must take the *numerical* figures to be more reliable. The scribe might have, either by mistake or by negligence, omitted to write the word qualifying '*śata*' so that it might indicate the same number as was given by the *numerals*. In revising the written matter, he might have thought it unnecessary to insert it since the correct year was given in the *numerical figures*. Whatever it might be, the figure in the *hundred's* place is similar to the figure in the *unit's* place of the number giving the *Śaka year* of the Narasipatam grant (*E IVol. XI*). The latter was read as 7. In all the ancient inscriptions the figure 7 is given more or less in this shape. (*I.H.Q.* Vol. III No. 1 pp. 107 & 120). Therefore the year is 700 of the *Ganga era*. The last part of line 5 and the first half of line 6 read '*śa-ḍa māsa dina 5 ādityavārā*'. Therefore the date of the grant is G. E 700, Bhadrapada (6th month from Chaitra) sudha 5 Sunday.

According to my calculation the *Gānga era* of Kalinga began from *Śaka* year 271 or A. D. 349. So the date of the grant expressed in *Śaka era* resolves itself to *Śaka* 971, Bhadrapada Śu 5 Sunday which exactly corresponds to A. D. 1049 August 6, which was a Sunday.

I now give my reading of the charter and show where in the previous editor differed. Such differences and any corrections that have to be made in the text are given in the foot notes.

TEXT

First plate, Second side.

१ स्वस्त्य मपरपुरानुकारिणः सर्वर्तु सुखरमणीया-

- 2 द्विजयवद्वभन¹ सुधाधवलप्रासादमाला दविरित² व-
- 3 रविलासिनी ललितलास्या दुर्दण्ड³पण्डितकुलालंकृत श्री-
- 4 दन्तिपुरवासकात् प्रसिद्धसिद्धतानेक वसा⁴ध्यासित-
- 5 कन्दरोदर⁵ महेन्द्र⁶चलामल कनकशिखर प्रतिष्ठत-
- 6 स्य सचराचरगुरोः सकलभुवननिर्माणैकसूत्रधार-
- 7 स्य शशांकचूडामणे भगवतो गोकर्णस्वामिनश्चरण-
- 8 कमलयुगल प्रणामाधिगत⁷ सकलकलिकलं-
- 9 को[८]नेकाहवसंक्षोभजनित जयशब्दप्रतापावनत-

Second plate, First side.

- 10 समस्तसामन्तचक्रचूडामणी प्रभामंजरीपुंजरंजित-
- 11 वर चरणकमलयुगल(:) संकलकलिंगाधिपति(:) गंगामल-
- 12 कुलतिलक(:*) महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर(१*) मातापितृपा-
- 13 दानुध्याता⁸ नयविनयदयादानदाक्षिण्य शौर्यौदार्य-
- 14 सत्यत्यागादिगुणसंपदाधारभूत(:*) श्रीकामार्णवदे-
- 15 वः अभूत् (1) तदनन्तरेण तस्य सूनु(:) विपुल विक्रमोन्नत्य⁹-

1. The previous reader read it is द्दहन, but what was read as ह has no down ward stroke on the left and below it. So I read it as द्दभन but neither reading makes any sense. I think it must be द्दहनि which means in the day time.

2. Read दविरित

3. Read देर्दण्ड

4. वसा this word does not appear in the Chinese plates and it is not found in Sanskrit dictionaries. Perhaps it is the Oriya word 'basa' which mean 'Settlement'.

5. This was read as कन्दरीदर. It is clearly as read here.

6. Read महेन्द्राचल

7. Read द्विगत

8. Read ध्यातो

9. It was read विक्रमोन्नता but it is clearly विक्रमोन्नत्य. It should be विक्रमोन्नता.

- 16 नेक भूपालमौलि मणिमरीची रंजित पादपद्मयु-
 17 गल(:*) विमलचित्त्वार्चित भगवन्मार्तण्डवरचरणकमल¹⁰-
 18 युगल(:*) सुरसरिदाशेषदिग्मुखव्यापि¹¹ प्रताप(:*) सुरस-
 19 सरित्कुलामल सकलमहाराजतिलक(:*) मम¹²-

Second plate, Second side.

- 20 र राज मिव वीर्यमूर्जित(:*) श्रीमद्वज्रहस्तदेव(:*) रंदुमहविषये

From L.21 to L.54 are omitted as the lines contain the names of donees and the object of the gift; the boundaries and the imprecatory verses, which matter is not so very useful for our purpose and which have been dealt with by the previous editor.

First plate, first side.

- L.54 * * * * । तस्य गंगान्वयवंश प्रवर्धये^{*}
 56 मान विजयराज्यसंवत्सर शत ७००¹³ अंकेनापि॥ *¹⁴ षडमास¹⁵
 56 दिन ५¹⁶ आदित्यवारे लिखितं * *¹⁷ अप्यन संधिविप्राहिना उक्ती
 57 र्णतिमर्कशालि पद्मशालिना¹⁸ इति ॥

10. The whole line 17 was omitted in the original reading.

11. Read व्यापिनः 12. It was read as मक when it is clearly as read here.

13. This was read as १०० अंकेनापि.

14. There appears to be a figure here but it is not clear in the impression. The previous writer read आषाढ which I cannot make out.

15. By carefully comparing with other letters in the charter I found it reads षडमास.

16. This figure was not taken cognizance of by the previous editor.

17. These two letters are indistinct in my copy.

18. This was read as खानीजुना which I could not see in my copy.

WHO WERE THE ŚĀTAVĀHANAS ?

BY O. C. GANGOLY

Notwithstanding the many contributions made by various scholars¹ to the solution of the problem whether the Śātavāhanas kings belonged to the Āndhra race, the problem still awaits a decisive solution. I am not aware if any new materials or data have cropped up to help the solution.

Pandit V. Prabhakara Sastri's able defence, translated in the pages of this Journal (*J. A. H. R. S.* Vol. IV, p. 25) has not met all the crucial points raised by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar whose conclusions have been supported by Mr. T. N. Subramanian. That the Śātavāhanas for a time ruled over the Āndhra-dēśa is not disputed by any scholar. The only question which is demanding a satisfactory answer is whether the Śātavāhanas were the Āndhras. The weight of the evidence tends to establish that they did not come originally from the Āndhra dēśa, if by that expression is meant the tract of the country bounded by the rivers Krishna and the Godavari,—the usually accepted limit of the tract occupied by the Āndhras. If Pandit Prabhākara Sastri's identification of Mulaka (Muliki)-nāḍu with Āndhra dēśa is correct, Siriṭana (Sriṭhāna) must be a mountain or place outside the Āndhra dēśa, as there would be no object in mentioning it separately—unless it added to the extension of the area ruled by Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śrī Pulumāyi.

One concession has been made in the course of the discussion which brings about a change of our ideas about the direction of the expansion of Śātavāhana powers. Hitherto it had been tacitly accepted that the Śātavāhanas, being Āndhras, had their powers gradually stretched across the Deccan, from *East* to *West* from the Vengi-nāḍu² to the Western Ghats. In the course of the discussion of the problem, it appears to be now recognised that the centre of gravity of Śātavāhana powers shifted from the *West* to the *East*. It is unfortunate that no evidence is forth-coming to establish the identity of any important monuments (stūpas, caves, inscriptions or coins)³ in the

1 V. S. Sukthankar: 'The House of the Śātavāhanas' *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute*. Vol. I, 1919, pp. 21-42. T. N. Subramanian. *Q. J. M. Society* Vol. XIII, 591 ff. V. S. Sukthankar: 'The Śātavāhanas' *Jou. Bom. Br. R. A. S.*, April 1925, p. 16. Pandit V. Prabhakara Sastri: 'Śātavāhanas, were they Andhras?' *J. A. H. R. S.* Vol. IV, July-October 1929, pp. 25-32.

2 Does the learned writer mean Kamma-nāḍu or Karma-rāṣṭra lying on the southern bank of the Krishna? *Id.*

3 It is quite possible that further investigations like those of Mr. Bhavaraju Venkata Krishnarao (*J. A. H. R. S.* Vol. III, pts. 2, 3 and 4), on the lines suggested by Professor G. Jouveau-Dubreuil (*Buddhist Antiquities in the East Godavari District*, *J. A. H. R. S.* Vol. V, pp. 151-54), may bring forth new monumental evidence.

eastern centre, *during the time* when the Śātavāhanas were covering the Western centres profusely with numerous monuments attesting their activity in spheres of political and cultural influences.

Pandit Prabhakara Sastri appears to rebuke those scholars who hesitate to accept the uncorroborated testimony of the Purāṇas on the identity of the Śātavāhanas with the Andhras. While it is the accepted canon of Indian historians not to accept the testimony of the Purāṇas unless it is corroborated by other evidence, in this case the testimony of all the Purāṇas is not identical. Some of the Purāṇas describe the Śātavāhanas as Andhrabhṛtyas which is an appellation which suggests a differentiation from the Āndhras, and a relationship akin to the Nāyakas with the Vijayangara kings (to offer a late analogy). The Āndhrabhṛtyas *may* not be, and as some scholars suggest, *cannot* be, identical with the Āndhras.

I do not pretend to offer a decisive solution on the problem. But I beg to put forward a new piece of evidence for the consideration of scholars.

It appears that in some group of literature a distinction is suggested between the Āndhras and the Śātavāhanas.

It is not known to scholars (who should be better informed) that various tribes and clans or ethnic groups inhabiting the Indian continent during the early periods, have contributed to the growth and development of Indian Music. Many of these groups and tribes have each contributed, at least one melody (rāga or rāginī) to the great pantheon of the Indian rāga-system. It appears that the Āndhras have contributed one melody which is recognised in the musical literature as Āndhrī, which is a *bhāṣā* (rāginī) of the major rāga, *Mālava pancama*. In the Musical text *Bṛhad-deśī* Matañga-muni cites the view of Śārdūla an earlier authority by whom six rāginīs (bhāṣās) are assigned to this rāga, — one of which is called Āndhrī:

*Vibhāvini tu Paurāṇi Vāgavanti tu pañcamā
Andhrī Gāndhārikā caiva sat
syur-Mālava-pancama Bṛhad-Deśī*

(Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. XCIV, p. 136)

Thereafter Āndhrī rāginī is described and its note formation and pattern (Svara-rūpa) is indicated in a verse, and the formula of notation:

*Madhyamāṁśa pancamāntu bhāvanātha Dhruvesaja |
Andhrī tu viśrutā lokē vyādha dustesu (?) gīyate ||* (Ibid, p. 137)

The second line is corrupt and the sense is not quite clear. But it seems to suggest that originally Āndhrī was a kind of hunting melody. Various other clans and tribes or cultural units such as Mālvas and Drāvidas have each contributed a particular melody to Indian musical system. If Śātavāhanas are different from the Āndhras, culturally, or racially if not politically, one could expect the Śātavāhanas to have contributed a melody associated with their name. This is exactly what we find in the same text of Bṛhat-Deśī. The Śātavāhanas appear to have contributed a new melody named after them as Śātavāhinī and the description and the notation of this melody are given by Matañga:

Rṣabhāṁśa dhaivatānta vijñeya Śātavāhinī |

Parasparam tu drśyantē madhyamar-ṣabha-sangatau || (Ibid, p. 118)

I do not wish to stress or exaggerate the implication of this piece of evidence but two distinct melodies contributed by the Āndhras and the Śātavāhanas appear to suggest that the two names stand for two distinct cultural or ethnic groups independent of each other. The vicissitudes of political fortunes might have brought them together on identical political arena. The Śātavāhanas may have been the vassals of the Āndhra kings at one stage or they may have been the overlords of the Āndhras at some other stage. But they appear to represent two different cultural entities. The literary data bearing on the problem has not been sufficiently exploited and investigated. I hope this insignificant note may incite competent Āndhra scholars to bring forth new materials from literary sources, which will help us to answer the query "Who were the Śātavāhanas?"

RAMACHANDI, THE PROMINENT GODDESS OF TEKKALI ESTATE.

SRI SRI SRI

LAKSHMINARAYNA HARISCHANDANA JAGADEB RAJAH BAHADUR

Puratatwavisārada, Vidyāvāchaspati, Rajah Saheb of Tekkali.

North-east of Tekkali, at a distance of three miles, there is a temple containing the idol of a goddess one and a half yard high. The temple does not seem to be the original place of the goddess, as at the top of its gate there is a mouse made of stone, evidently, a signal that the temple was built for the worship of god Gaṇapati. This inference is further supported by the fact that the idol of Gaṇapati is seen lying neglected outside the temple. The goddess who has usurped the place of Gaṇapati was the guardian deity of the Rajahs of Tekkali who used to offer their prayers to her with all pomp and ceremony in days gone by. At present the goddess is known to the people of the locality as Sandamma. But this name is only a corrupt form of the more correct and original name Chaṇḍī, a name generally given to the goddess Durga or Kālī. The goddess holds a battle axe in her right hand, to punish the evil doers; As such she was known in olden days as *Kuṭhāra Chaṇḍī*, "Chaṇḍī with the Axe." From an inscription referred to below the same goddess bears also the name of Rāmachandī. Thus Rāmachandī, Kuṭhāra-chandī, Chaṇḍīamma. Chaṇḍīamma and Sandamma are the different names of one and the same Goddess now worshipped in the dilapidated temple of Gaṇapati near Tekkali.

The date of installation of the Goddess seems to be the later part of the eleventh century of the Christian era. In the copper plate grant of Syllada, review in the Madras Epigraphical Reports as *C. P.* No. 6 of 1919, the name of this goddess appears. According to the inscription king Anantavarma-Chōḍagangadēva granted to an inhabitant of Talagām the lands of the village of Sellada in *S. 1066* (1084-85 A.D.) with the object that the grantee should worship the goddess Chaṇḍī regularly. In the same grant, mention has been made of a streamlet flowing at a distance of three miles from Sellada. The two villages mentioned in the grant as well as the brook referred to therein are still in existence in the Tekkali Estate. They are still known as Syllada and Talagam and the brook is called Sandamma Gaḍḍa, apparently after the goddess. Ever since the date of the grant, the grantee and his descendants have been regularly offering their worship to the goddess. There seems to be no doubt that the goddess for whose regular worship the village of Sellada was granted by Anantavarma-Chōḍagangadēva is the same one who is now being worshipped in the temple of Sandamma.

Another inscription of the same goddess and belonging to the same century has been discovered in a cave on the hillock by the side of a tank situated at a distance of two miles from the temple. The tank is known as Sitaghai. The cave contains two inscriptions, one outside and the other in the interior. The two inscriptions are dated *S. 1012* or 1090 A.D. and are written in the Sanskrit language and Dēvanāgarī characters. The inscription runs thus:—

- 1 ओं श्रीदेवेन्द्रवर्म
- 2 स्य राज्ये सन्यासितीर्थे
- 3 विजयपुर्या पद्मचन्द्रस्य प्रतिष्ठा
- 4 ज्येष्ठमासि कृष्णपञ्चमी सम्बत्सरे २३.
- 5 शकाब्द १०१२ ॥

*Translation:—*In the reign of the glorious king Dēvēndravarmā, Padmachandra a vassal chief of Vijayapura has installed at *Sanyasi-tirtha* on the 5th day of New moon *tīthi* Jyēshṭha in the 23rd year of reign, S. S. 1012.

The inscription in the interior runs thus:—

1. रामचण्डी
2. प्रतिष्ठा
3. पद्मचन्द्रस्य

"Padmachandra installed Rāmachandī" Most probably Rāmachandī of this place and the Kuṭharachandī of the Sandamma temple are one and the same goddess belonging to the same century. Perhaps Rāmachandī was subsequently taken out of the cave known as the *Sanyasi-tirtha* and placed inside the temple of Gaṇapati who had to vacate his pedestal to give place to his Mother.

Who is this Padmachandra? He calls himself the vassal of Dēvēndravarmā and the ruler of Vijayapura. Perhaps the present Bijapilli which is two miles from this cave corresponds to the Vijayapura of the inscription. *Sanyasi-tirtha* may be inferred to be the huge tank nearby. Padmachandra was probably the founder of the big tank *Sita-ghai*; perhaps he called it after his mother or wife.

Rāmachand continued to be the guardian deity of the Tekkali Rājahs until the beginning of the reign of the Kadamba dynasty. But the Kadamba rulers transferred their residence to a fort which they had built near the hills lying to the west of Tekkali. That fort was known as Chintāmaṇi-gadh. This Chintāmaṇi-gadh was far away from the temple of Rāmachandī. So a custom grew up at Chintāmaṇi: as it was not possible to directly worship the Goddess her glass bangles and her

kunkuma "vermillion" came to be worshipped; these two articles representing the Goddess were kept near one of the gates of the fortress. That gate therefore was called *Mula Durga Dvāra* i.e. the gate of the original Durga, another name of Rāmachandī. Even now at the place where the remains of the Chintāmaṇi fort are found, there is a place known as Dura mula (a changed form of Mula Durga) where the custom of worshipping the *kunkuma* and bangles of the Goddess still continues. It is from this place that leaves of the Bilva tree are plucked for ceremonial worship of the Goddess by the Rajahs of Tekkali.

Near the temple of Sandamma there were many other temples which are now all in ruins. Stones from these ruined edifices were taken away to build the present *Rādhākānta* temple at Tekkali. One of the pillars found near the spot contains a stone inscription. The stone was brought from the Sandamma's temple. The inscription is written in the Oriya language but in Devanagari characters. It is as follows:—

- 1 ओं वीरश्री गजपति गउ
- 2 देवदर प्रतापकिंकरादे
- 3 स्वर्णदेवमहाराजाङ्क
- 4 र विजे राजे
- 5 स्त ९ अङ्के श्रीवि
- 6 जयाष्टमी * * *

"The glorious and powerful Maharaja Gajapati Svarṇa Deva, King of Gauda, conquered the kingdom in his 9th regnal year (*Vijayāṣṭamī* era) on the *Vijayāṣṭamī* day.

This day of Vijayāṣṭamī is the sacred day of Goddess Vijaya or Durga. Mahārāja Svarṇa Dēva was the ruler of Parlakimidi from 1520—1550 A. D. Rāmachandī temple and its surroundings must have been very important and in good condition to attract Svarṇa Deva to get his conquest inscribed on a stone pillar belonging to this temple. The temple would appear therefore to have been in a flourishing condition down to the close of the 16th century A. D.

THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE VICTORIOUS GĀNGA ERA*

B. V. KRISHNA RAO, B.A., B.L.

The commencement of the victorious Gāṅga Era has been a baffling problem to our scholars. Several of them, notably the late Dr. J. F. Fleet, Mr. G. Ramadas, Mr. R. Subba Rao and others have during past endeavoured to determine the starting-point of the Gāṅga Era and to adjust the Gāṅga chronology, but none of them have been able so far to put forward any satisfactory results. Dr. Fleet abandoned the study of the problem of the Gāṅga Era in utter despair as the synchronism furnished by the Gōdāvari grant of Prthivīmūla and the identification of Indrabhaṭṭāraka lord of the southern or south-western region mentioned therein, with the king Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the Eastern Chālukyan dynasty were found to be utterly incompatible with the dates obtained by the conversion of the astronomical details recorded in the early Eastern Gāṅga grants discovered in his time.¹ Mr. G. Ramadas on the other hand obsessed by certain pre conceived notions and without any regard for the chronology of the contemporary dynasties of the Deccan and leading political events has propounded a date which has brought in more confusion than ever.² His initial year (349 A.D.) of the Gāṅga era cannot therefore be regarded as a satisfactory result. Mr. R. Subba Rao who claims to have made a critical study of the history of Eastern Gāṅgas of Kalings fixes the starting-point of the Gāṅga Era sometime between 492 and 496;³ but his theory lacks precision and completeness. It does not also stand to any astronomical test by the recorded details in the charters of the dynasty which yield to conversion into the dates of the Christian era. Mr. Sōmasēkhara Sarma on the contrary has not formulated any scheme of his own but has chosen to criticise and reject Mr. R. Subba Rao's theory of the synchronism afforded by the Gōdāvari grant of Prthivīmūla as the basis of discussion for determining the commencement of the Gāṅga era.⁴

Since Dr. Fleet wrote about the Gāṅga Era roughly fifty years ago much new material had come to light; and as it does not seem to have been properly handled till now, the problem of the Gāṅga era has not been satisfactorily settled. An attempt will now be made to fix the

*Paper submitted to the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference, Mysore, 1935.

1. I. A. Vol. VI, p. 121f. See also I. A. Vol. XIII, p. 128f.

2. J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XVIII, p. 272—295.

3. J.A.H.R.S. Vol. V, pp. 267—276.

J.A.H.R.S. Vol. V. pp. 171—186.

starting-point of the Gāṅga era by studying all the available material afresh.

The limits within which the starting-point of the *Victorious Gāṅga Era* lay, have got to be fixed at the very outset. They are very happily furnished by certain facts mentioned in the charters of the Gāṅga dynasty itself and by a synchronism recorded in an early contemporary record. 'The victorious era of the prosperous Gāṅga lineage' is mentioned in the copper-plate charters of the dynasty even as late as the eleventh century. And the internal evidence that is forthcoming from such of those documents enables us to determine precisely the period wherein lay the beginning of the "Victorious Gāṅga Era." The clue for the discovery of that period lies imbedded in the Gāṅga-Kadamba history of Kalinga. There are a number of records which establish the Gāṅga-Kadamba alliance from the earliest times. This historical fact supplies us the basis for the examination of the problem of the starting-point of the Gāṅga era. The earliest of such records is the Vizagapatam copper-plate grant of Anantavarman's son Dēvēndravarma (II) dated in 254th year of the (Gāṅga) era.⁵ It refers to a nobleman Dharmakhēdi who is referred to as the maternal uncle of the reigning king Dēvēndravarma. The next record is the Simhipura copper-plate grant of the Kadamba chieftain Dharmakhēdi II (?) dated in the year 520 of the augmenting victorious era of the Gāṅga and Kadamba families: "*Gāṅga-Kadamba vamsa pravardhamāna vijaya-rājya pañcha-sata-vimsottarā*"⁶ It was issued in the reign of the Gāṅga king Dēvēndravarma (V) son of Anantavarmadēva (III). The record gives the ancestry of the donor Dharmakhēdi up to three generations above, in the Kadamba family as follows:—

Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rāṇaka Śrī Niyārṇava
 „ „ Śrī Bhāma (Bhīma) (?)
 „ „ Śrī Dharmakhēdi (the donor)

The inscription states that the *Mahēndrādhipati*, Rāṇaka Śrī Dharmakhēdi, granted the village of Dharmapura in the district of Mahēndra-bhōga, which was apparently under his rulership, to two brothers as an *agrahāra* in the Gāṅga-Kadamba year 520, during the reign of Dēvēndra-brahma or Dēvēndravarmā and evidently under the latter's sanction or approval. The relationship between Dēvēndravarma (V) and his Kadamba feudatory Dharmakhēdi is not specified in the record but it is probable that both the princes were related to each other by ties of blood as in the previous case, because the grant is dated in the victorious era of the

5. J.A. Vol. XVIII, p. 143f, text line 27. The record does not specifically mention the term *Gāṅga* but from the context we have to construe it as such.
 6. J.A.H.R.S. Vol. III, p. 171f, text line 27.

Gāṅga and Kadamba families. The third record is the Chicacole plates of Anantavarman's son Madhukāmārṇava, dated in the year 526 of the Gāṅga era.⁷ This inscription does not mention any Kadamba prince but its importance lies in the fact that the donor of this charter Madhukāmārṇava is also described as the son of Anantavarmadēva like Dēvēndravarma (V) of the preceding record. Consequently it seems probable that Madhukāmārṇava was a younger brother and, the successor of Dēvēndravarma (V) of the year 520 of the Gāṅga-Kadamba era. The pedigree of the Eastern Gāṅga kings found in the charters of Vajrahasta III surnamed Anantavarman, (1038-1069 A. D.) dated in the years S.S. 967,⁸ S.S. 979,⁹ and S.S. 984.¹⁰ shows that Madhukāmārṇava of the Gāṅga year 526 was the younger step-brother of Guṇḍama *alias* Dēvēndravarma who reigned for a short period of three years and who was the immediate predecessor of Vajrahasta III. The fourth record, known as the Parlākimeḍi plates of Vajrahasta III, mentions another Kadamba chieftain by name Ugrakhēdi, the ornament of the Kadamba lineage, who was born in the Niḍusanti family.¹¹ The charter is not dated but it obviously belongs to the period of Vajrahasta III. There is a fifth record, the Mandasa copper-plate grant of Anantavarman, dated in the Śaka year 976 (*Śakābdā-ṇava-sata-sapta-rasa mītā*), which mentions another Kadamba chieftain, Rāṇaka Śrī Dharmakhēdi son of Rāṇaka Śrī Bhāmakhēdi, the governor of the Pañchapātra-*vishaya* and Mahendra bhōga districts.¹² The name Anantavarman would appear to be the *abhiśhēkanāma*¹³ (name adopted at the time of coronation) of the great king Vajrahasta III, for the Śaka year 976 falls in the reign of this monarch. There is a sixth record on copper-plates of the reign of Dēvēndravarma which comes from Kambakāya, a village in Chicacole taluk of the Vizagapatam district.¹³ It mentions another chieftain, *Mahāmaṇḍalika* Udayāditya, son of *Mahāmaṇḍalika* Śrī Dharmakhēdi, the ornament of the Kadamba family. The record is dated in the Śaka year but a good deal of uncertainty attends on the interpretation of the passage which mentions the date. The record is in faulty Sanskrit and therefore the interpretation of the passage has been the subject of good deal of controversy. Mr. Somasekhara Sarma, who edited the record restores the faulty Sanskrit passage which runs as *Śakābdā sahasram-āka-*

7. J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XVIII, pp. 272ff; C. P. No. 5 of 1918—19.

8. E. I. Vol. XI, p. 147.

9. E. I. Vol. IV p. 183f.

10. E. I. Vol. IX p. 96f.

11. E. I. Vol. III, p. 223f.

12. J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XVII, pp. 175ff. (C.P. No. 12 of 1917-18)

13. It would appear that the Eastern Gāṅgas had alternatively adopted the name alternatively Anantavarman and Dēvēndravarma as their *abhiśhēka nāma* or coronation names like the Eastern Chalukyas who called themselves Vishnuvardhana and Vijayāditya in every alternate generation.

sata-trayādhika into correct Sanskrit as *Śakābda-sahasrāka sata-trayādhikā* and interprets it so as to yield the S. S. 1103.¹⁴ But the correct or proper restoration of the above passage seems to be *Śakābde sahasramēkas-trayādhikā* meaning in the Śaka year one thousand increased by three i.e. 1003 corresponding to 1081-82 A.D.¹⁵

All the above six records of the Eastern Gāṅga dynasty seem to establish clearly the following facts: Firstly, the Gāṅga and Kadamba families of Kalinga were closely related to each other by marital ties and other alliances. Secondly, their relationship was as old as the Gāṅga sovereignty or the establishment of the Gāṅga-Kadamba sovereignty in Kalinga. Thirdly, the Gāṅga era (*Gāṅga-vamśa-pravaraddhamāna vijayarājya samvatsara*) and the Gāṅga-Kadamba era (*Gāṅga-Kadamba vamśa-pravaraddhamāna vijayarājya samvatsara*) were one and the same. Fourthly, the Later Gāṅga dynasty or the Second Dynasty as the same is called, descended from or rather was a branch of the Earlier or the First Gāṅga dynasty. Fifthly, the Gāṅga-Kadamba year 520 and the Gāṅga year 526 fell some years before the Śaka Samvat 976, that is prior to the reign of Vajrahasta III, (1038—1069 A.D.) And sixthly, the Gāṅga era would consequently seem to have commenced somewhere either in the closing years of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century A.D.

Let us now turn to the synchronism of the contemporary charters of the Early Gāṅgas and test the result obtained above regarding the probable limits within which lay the starting-point of the Gāṅga era. The Gōdāvari grant of Rāja Prthivīmūla records by means of a figurative expression, a great political event of leading importance in respect of the early history of the Eastern Gāṅgas of Tri-Kalinga. It refers to a decisive battle that took place between Indrabhaṭṭāraka lord of the southern or south-western region i.e. Vēṅgi or more properly speaking Āndhradēśa and a confederacy of kings led by *Adhirāja* Indra ruler of the northern or north-eastern quarter, or Kalinga or Tri-Kalinga, in which the former was apparently defeated and killed. Prthivīmūla, lord of the victorious city of Kāṇḍālī a place which has not been till now satisfactorily identified, and son of *Mahārāja* Prabhākara was a vassal of *Adhirāja* Indra lord of the eastern or north-eastern quarter. He was evidently one of those kings who desired to overthrow Indrabhaṭṭāraka and therefore joined *Adhirāja* Indra and the formidable confederacy of hostile kings. Dr. Fleet, who published the charter, assigned the record on palaeographical grounds to the sixth century A. D. Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the southern or

south-eastern quarter has been identified correctly with Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the Vishnukūṇḍin dynasty of Andhra and *Adhirāja* Indra of the northern or north-eastern quarter with Mahārāja Indravarman the donor of the Jirjīngi plates, who belonged to the spotless Gāṅga family and who called himself 'lord of Tri-Kalinga.' According to the Vishnukūṇḍin chronology proposed by me elsewhere Indrabhaṭṭāraka's reign would fall roughly about 500—530 A. D. His opponent *Adhirāja* Indravarman of Tri-Kalinga, therefore, must be placed about the same period.

The Godavari grant of Prthivīmūla though not dated in any well known Śaka or any other era mentions, however, the date on which the charter was made. It was dated the 3rd day of Vaiśākha in the 25th year of the victorious rule of Prthivīmūla. The edict records the grant of a village named Chuyipāka, situated in the centre of four villages namely, Vileṇḍi, Renguṭa, Kāmpāru and Tukura, as an *agrahāra* to forty three families of brāhmaṇas who study the Atharva Vēda, "born in the families of the *Upādhyāyas* and belonging to many *gōtras*." The command was addressed to the inhabitants headed by the Rāshtrakūṭas dwelling in the Tālupāka-*viśhaya*. The grant was made at the behest of the overlord *Adhirāja* Indra who desired that his parents might thereby acquire religious merit. Apparently the charity was made after the fall of Indrabhaṭṭāraka at the hands of the confederacy of hostile kings that was led by *Adhirāja* Indra. For, the localities mentioned in the charter lay in the heart of the Vishnukūṇḍin dominions, and Prthivīmūla could not have made a grant of a village as an *agrahāra* without the sanction or approval of the sovereign Indrabhaṭṭāraka if he were then alive on that date. More than that, the record plainly refers to the overthrow of Indrabhaṭṭāraka. All these facts lead to the irresistible conclusion that the Gōdāvari grant of Prthivīmūla was issued shortly after the overthrow of Indrabhaṭṭāraka, which has been placed about 530 A. D. And this would indicate that Prthivīmūla and his overlord *Adhirāja* Indra of Kalinga survived Indrabhaṭṭāraka of Āndhradēśa.

The Jirjīngi plates of Indravarman who has been correctly identified with *Adhirāja* Indra of the Godavari grant of Prthivīmūla, take us one step further. The record was dated the 21st day of Vaiśākha in the 39th year of the prosperous era. The formal portion of the preamble of this record suggests plainly that *Mahārāja* Indravarman destroyed his foe, presumably Indrabhaṭṭāraka, after obtaining victories in several battles fought with four-tusked elephants (*Chaturddānta*). The occurrence of the epithet *anēka-chaturddānta samara samghaṭṭa vijayī* in all the three records, namely of Indrabhaṭṭāraka, Prthivīmūla and Indravarman, and the reference to the *Chaturddānta* elephant combats, strongly suggest that the three princes were more or less contemporaries. Since the reign of Indrabhaṭṭāraka is believed to have ended about 530 A.D. it is probable that the 39th year of the victorious era recorded

14. C.P. No 9 of 1927-28. *Bharati*, Vol. VII, 1927, Part V.

15. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. X, p. 116-119. Here Mr. G. Ramadas discusses the date and assumes that the passage yields the date S.S. 603. But see my view to the contrary which is also published in the same *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. X, p. 120. I regret I cannot follow the arguments of Mr. Ramadas Pantulu in his interpretation of the passage giving the date.

in the Jirjingi plates lay sometime after 530 A.D., and accordingly, the era must have commenced sometime during the closing years of the fifth century. Thus the result obtained by a discussion of the facts mentioned in the synchronism of the Gōdāvari grant of Prithivīmūla and the Jirjingi plates of Mahārāja Indravarman is in complete agreement with the limits arrived at after an examination of the later Eastern Gānga records.

We shall now proceed to examine the limits more closely with the help of such astronomical details and occurrences recorded in the charters of the family that yield to calculation and conversion into dates of the Christian era and determine the precise date of the commencement of the Gānga era. Dr. Fleet, while editing the Gānga grant of Indravarman II of the 91st year of the Gānga era¹⁶ expressed the hope that the eclipse of the moon of the full moon day of Mārgaśīra in the year 127 recorded in the charter dated the 15th day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra of the year 128 of the Gānga era coupled with the details of the date in the grant under review, that is the 30th day of Māgha in the year 91¹⁷ might very possibly yield hereafter the precise date for the commencement of the Gānga era. Now then, taking the last decade of the fifth century A.D. as the probable period in which the initial year of the Gānga era lay the eclipse of the moon of the full moon day of Mārgaśīra in the year 127 has to be looked for between 617 and 627 A.D. corresponding to the Śaka years 539 to 549 expired. During this period of ten years there occurred the following eclipses of the moon on the fullmoon *tithi* of Mārgaśīra.

Śaka Samvat 546 expired = 30th November 624 A. D.

Śaka Samvat 547 expired = 20th November 625 A. D.

Śaka Samvat 548 expired = 9th November 626 A. D.

And, therefore, for the present it may be assumed that the lunar eclipse of the fullmoon *tithi* of Mārgaśīra in the year 127 must be one of the three eclipses noted above.

The other date of leading importance is the 30th day of Māgha of the 91st year. This date is important because it is unusual, for the discovery of the month Māgha which had *thirty* solar days in the 91st year of the Gānga era which would be in suitable accordance with one of the eclipses of the fullmoon day of Mārgaśīra in the year 127 Gānga Samvat noted above will easily enable us to fix the starting-point of the Gānga era. Evidently in the Gānga era 91 there were thirty days in the month of Māgha and, therefore, it was an unusual occurrence. Taking now the limits for the commencement of the Gānga era as before and regard being had for the dates of three eclipses mentioned above, the 30th day

16 I. A. Vol. XIII, p. 119f.

17 I. A. Vol. XVI, p. 137f.

of Māgha in Gānga Samvat 91 has to be found between 581 and 591 A.D. corresponding to the current Śaka years 502 and 512 respectively. During this period in S. S. 510 alone, the month of Māgha had *thirty* solar days. In that year, the month Māgha was current from 23rd December 588 A. D. to the 22nd January 589 A. D. The Pausa *amānta* newmoon began and ended on the 23rd December at about 42 *ghaṭikas* after mean sunrise and Māgha *Śukla 1* commenced on the 24th December 588 A. D. And Māgha *bahula 30* (*amāvāsyā*) was current on the 22nd January 589 A. D. and ended about 15 *ghaṭikas* on that date after mean sunrise. Consequently there were *thirty* solar days in the luni-solar month Māgha in S. S. 510. Thus the Gānga samvat 91 would correspond to or more properly speaking coincide with 588—89 A. D.

If then the Śaka Samvat 510 expired coincided with the 91st year of the Gānga era approximately, the year 127 would fall in S. S. 546 expired; and in that year as we have noticed above there was an eclipse of the moon on the fullmoon day of Mārgaśīra. The equivalent of this date in the Christian era, as has been shown above, was the 30th November 624 A. D. The equivalent of these two leading dates thus computed correctly, it becomes somewhat easy to fix the initial year of the Gānga era in S. S. 419 expired corresponding to 497-98 A. D.* But it is now necessary to see if we can as precisely as possible determine the starting-point of the Gānga era in S. S. 419. We shall therefore attempt to examine this date by computing the equivalents of such eclipses and other astronomical occurrences that are mentioned in the Gānga charters that have been so far some to the notice of the epigraphist. Unfortunately for the historian these charters do not specify the months in which the eclipses recorded therein had occurred. The information that is at our disposal being therefore somewhat vague, our results have necessarily to be based upon reasonable surmises.

The earliest of such records which mentions an eclipse of the sun in an unspecified month is the Tekkali plates of Dānārṇava, son Indravarman III, dated in the year 154 Gānga era.¹⁸ Reckoning from S. S. 419 expired the 154th year Gānga era coincides with S. S. 573 corresponding to 651-52 A. D. During that year there was only a single eclipse of the sun that occurred on the newmoon day of Mārgaśīra, corresponding the 18th December, 651 A. D.

The next record in the order of time is the Santabommāli plates of Nandavarman, dated in the year 221 Gānga era. The inscription records the grant made on the occasion of the eclipse of the sun in that year; and the edict was actually engrossed on copper-plates on the 5th *tithi* (*pañchami*) of Āshāḍha in the year 221 Gānga era.¹⁹ This eclipse of the sun in an unspecified month seems to offer the basis as well as the crucial test for determining the starting-point of the Gānga era.

18, E. I. Vol. XVII, p. 307f.

19 J.A.H.R.S. Vol. II, p. 185f.

Taking Ś.S. 419 expired as the initial year, the Gāṅga Saṁvat 221 would fall in S.S. 640 corresponding to 718-19 A.D. But there was no eclipse of the sun during that year Ś.S. 640. This would mean that the Gāṅga Saṁvat and the Śaka year were not identical or exactly coeval. Then it would follow from this as a corollary that the Gāṅga Saṁvat 1 must have commenced sometime during the Śaka year 419 and ended in the following next year Ś.S. 420. Accordingly, if the assumption that the Gāṅga era commenced in S.S. 419 expired but not necessarily on 1st *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *amānta* Chaitra is correct, then it means that the Gāṅga year began to be reckoned from some day in Ś.S. 419 expired, and that Gāṅga Saṁvat ended on some day which has still to be precisely determined in Ś.S. 420 expired. On the basis of this assumption we shall examine in order to see if there was an eclipse of the sun in the Gāṅga year 221 which commenced sometime in Ś.S. 640 and ended in Ś.S. 641, the exact limits remaining yet to be approximately to be fixed. In Ś.S. 641 there was an eclipse of the sun on the newmoon day of *amānta* Jyēshṭha corresponding to Tuesday, 23rd May 719 A.D. On the basis of the eclipse of the sun that occurred on the 23rd May 719 A.D., was the correct equivalent of the solar eclipse recorded in the Santabommāli plates, it may be reasonably assumed that Gāṅga Saṁvat 1 commenced in some month that followed the month Jyēshṭha in Ś.S. 419 possibly in Śrāvaṇa or Bhādrapada and ended accordingly in Śrāvaṇa or Bhādrapada in Ś.S. 420 A.D. Accordingly it would follow that the Gāṅga Saṁvat 221 fell sometime during the Śaka years 640-641 expired. The grant would therefore appear to have been made on the occasion of the eclipse of the sun on the newmoon day of Jyēshṭha in Ś.S. 641 corresponding to the 23rd May 719 A.D., towards the end or in the latter part of the Gāṅga Saṁvat 221; and the edict announcing it was engraved upon copper-plates on the 5th *tithi* (day) of *Adhika* Āshāḍha, five days after the eclipse of the sun and the donation. This would also indicate incidentally that Āshāḍha was not the last month of the Gāṅga Saṁvat. The equivalent of this date on which the edict was engraved, in the Christian era was the 28th May, 719 A.D.

The next record in the order of time is the Chicacole plates of Dēvēndravarman (II) son of Anantavarman I. The record registers a grant made on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun in an unspecified month as before. The record was engraved on copper-plates 'Gāṅgāya-vamśa-pravarddhamāna vijayarājya samvatsaram *eka-pañchāśat* "in the augmenting, prosperous 51st year of the victorious Gāṅga family." This inscription²⁰ is written in characters which are unmistakably later in form than those of the charters of Indravarman III dated in the Gāṅga Saṁvat 128,²¹ 137²² and 154²³; and belong to

²⁰ I. A. Vol. xiii, p. 273 f.
²² E. I. Vol. xiv, p. 362 f.

²¹ E. I. Vol. xiii p. 128 f.
²³ E. I. Vol. xviii, p. 307.

the same type as those of another Chicacole grant of Dēvēndravarman son of Anantavarman (I) dated in the Gāṅga Saṁvat 254.²⁴ For this reason I am inclined to construe the date of the charter under review as Gāṅga Saṁvat 251 instead of mere 51 as recorded in the grant. Moreover, not only palaeography but also the formal preamble of the record supplies internal evidence in support of the date, 251 G. E. Place forbids any elaborate discussion of this topic here. But suffice it to say now that the donor of this grant was Dēvēndravarman, son of Anantavarman, like the donor of the grant of the Gāṅga Saṁvat 254. Dr. Fleet, unable however, to explain this discrepancy, regarded year 51 of the present grant and similarly the doubtful 51st year of the Chicacole grant of Satyavarman son of Dēvēndravarman²⁵ as some conventional expression of the date which could not be properly interpreted. But there does not seem to be any such conventionality about the expression of the date. It is, therefore, likely on the contrary that the scribe who engrossed the edict on the copper-plates committed a palpable mistake by omitting the words like *Śata-dvayam*, "two hundred" before the expression *eka-pañchāśat*, for the numerical figures that usually follow the passage containing the date are not found in the present grant. And in a similar manner the writer of the Gāṅga grant of the time of Satyavarman son of Anantavarman of the doubtful year 51 G. E. would seem to have committed an obvious mistake by leaving out the term *tri* meaning three 'hundreds' before the word *śatānām* in the passage containing the charter. In my opinion the passage has to be read as *Gāṅgēyavamśa-samvatsara(tri*)śatānām-eka-pañchāśat*, "in the 351 year of the victorious era of the Gāṅga family". It is obvious that there could not be two records dated in the same year issued by two different sovereigns who were sons of different fathers and ruling over the same identical country and from the same capital Kalinganagara. And it is equally plain that the characters of the Chicacole grant of Dēvēndravarman are undoubtedly of an earlier type than those of the grants of Satyavarman: thus the two characters could not have been issued in one and the same year 51 of the Gāṅga era.

Moreover the year 51 in the record of Dēvēndravarman cannot be construed as a mistake for the year 151 of the Gāṅga era for the reason that there is the Gāṅga grant of Indravarman III son of Dānārṇava, dated in the Gāṅga Saṁvat 154 already referred to. Nor can this year 51 be looked upon as a mistake for the year 351 for another reason as it would then be extremely difficult to find a proper equivalent for the year 51 of the grant of Satyavarman son of Dēvēndravarman referred to above. In the scheme of the Gāṅga chronology adopted by me from a study of the Gāṅga characters there cannot be a place for a Dēvēndravarman son of Anantavarman between Rājēndravarman son of Ananta-

²⁴ I. A. Vol. xviii, p. 311.

²⁵ I. A. Vol. xiv, pp. 10-12.

varman of the Gāṅga Saṁvat 342²⁶ and Dēvēndravarman (IV) son of Rājēndravarman (II), the donor of the Chīḍavalasa grant of the Gāṅga Saṁvat 397.²⁷ In the same manner it is difficult to find a place for Satyavarman son of Dēvēndravarman (III) by assuming the year 51 of his record to be either 151 or 251 Gāṅga era between Indravarman III of the Gāṅga year and Dēvēndravarman (II) of the Gāṅga Saṁvat 154. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the Chicacole plates of Dēvēndravarman (II) son of Anantavatman (I) actually belong to the Gāṅga Saṁvat 251 corresponding to the Śaka Saṁvat 670-671 expired and not the year 51 which the inscription apparently mentions. Accordingly in Ś. S. 671 there was an eclipse of the sun on the newmoon day of *amānta* Chaitra corresponding to Sunday 25th March 749 A. D. And this would seem to be the proper date on which Dēvēndravarman II son of Anantavarman I made the charity recorded on the Chicacole plates.

The next record in point of chronological order is the Alamaṇḍa plates of Anantavarman II son of Rājēndravarman I dated in the Gāṅga Saṁvat 304²⁸ which mentions the grant of an *agrahāra* on the occasion of a solar eclipse in an unspecified month. The Gāṅga year 304 according to the hypothesis we have formulated above coincided with the Śaka years 723-724. There was an eclipse of the sun on the newmoon day of *amānta* Jyēshṭha in Ś.S. 723, corresponding to Tuesday, 15th June 801 A.D. But as has been pointed out above the eclipse cannot be accepted as the proper equivalent of the date of the edict as it apparently occurred in the preceding Gāṅga year 303 according to the assumption that the Gāṅga Saṁvat 1 ended in some month that came after Jyēshṭha in Ś.S. 420. There was also another eclipse of the sun on the newmoon *tithi* of the *amānta* Jyēshṭha in S.S. 724, the corresponding date in the Christian era being Saturday, 4th June 802 A.D. And accordingly this would seem to be the proper equivalent of the date on which the charity mentioned in the inscription was made.

The next record is the grant of Satyavarman son of Dēvēndravarman (III) dated in the Gāṅga Saṁvat 51 which refers to a solar eclipse in an unspecified month.²⁹ As the characters of this record closely resemble those of the charter of the Gāṅga Saṁvat 301, the Tekkali plates of Dēvēndravarman (III) of the year 310³⁰ G.E. and the Mandasa plates of Anantavarman (II) son of Rājēndravarman (I) dated in the 342 Gāṅga era³¹ it may be assumed that the year 51 G.E. of the record of Satyavarman might possibly be a mistake for the year 351 G. E. If this assumption is correct then it would follow that Satyavarman would seem

²⁶ JBORS Vol. XII, p. 101 f. Same as C. P. No. 13 of 1917-18.

²⁷ JAHRS Vol. II, pp. 146-64 with plate.

²⁸ E.I. Vol. III p. 17f.

²⁹ I.A. Vol. xiv pp. 10ff.

³⁰ E.I. Vol. XVIII p. 311.

³¹ JBORS. Vol. xii p. 101 f.

to be the successor of his paternal uncle Rājēndravarman (II) the donor of the grant dated in the Gāṅga Saṁvat 342. The Gāṅga year 351 fell in the Śaka years 770-771 expired, and within the limits we have tentatively set before ourselves, namely, Śrāvaṇa S.S. 770 and S'rāvaṇa S.S. 771 there was no solar eclipse which could properly be the equivalent of the one recorded in the inscription. But there was an eclipse of the sun of the newmoon *tithi* of *amānta* Jyēshṭha in Ś.S. 770 corresponding to Tuesday, 5th June 848 A.D. which would fall in the Gāṅga Saṁvat 350. If this eclipse was the probable equivalent of the date of the donation then it would appear that the grant was made in the preceding year and the edict announcing it was registered on copper-plates in the next following Gāṅga Saṁvat 351.

The next record for our consideration is the Chīḍavalasa copper-plate grant of Dēvēndravarman (IV) son of Rājēndravarman (II) dated in the Gāṅga Saṁvat 397, which refers to a solar eclipse in an unspecified month. The Gāṅga year 397 fell some time in the Śaka years 816-817; between the month Śrāvaṇa, Ś. S. 816 and Śrāvaṇa Ś. S. 817. During this period there was a solar eclipse on the newmoon day of Mārgaśīra S.S. 816, the corresponding date in the Christian era being Sunday, the 1st December 894 A. D. It is quite probable that this date was the proper equivalent of the eclipse mentioned in the Chīḍavalasa plates.

The assumption that the Gāṅga era was probably reckoned from an unknown *tithi* in the month that came after S'rāvaṇa, which still remains to be ascertained, in the Ś.S. 419, and that the Gāṅga Saṁvat 1 ended in some month in Ś. S. 420, seems to find sound support in the Santabommāli copper-plate grant of Indravarman II surnamed Raṇabhīta and Rajasimha.³² The record is dated on the 10th *tithi* of Jyēshṭha in the victorious Gāṅga Saṁvat 87. The inscription records the grant of two *halas* of land in the village of Haribhaṭa in the Krōṣṭukavartanivishaya and another *hala* of land that was separated from the village of Dantayavāṇu, to the God Śiva called Ramēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka, for the purpose of offering *bali* and *charu*, running a *satra* and for the repairs of the shrine, as a *dāvāgrahāra* and with the exemption from all burdens of taxation, for the increase of the religious merit of himself and of his parents. The charity was made on the request of the *bhōjaka* Talavaradēva. The occasion on which the grant was made is not specified in the inscription, but it is probable that it was made on the same day on which the edict was engraved on the copper-plates. The 10th *tithi* of Jyēshṭha which is presumably the 10th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Jyēshṭha is an important occasion for making pious donations for the increase of one's own religious merit. The importance of the *tithi* becomes therefore considerably enhanced if it occurs also in conjunction with

³² JAHRS Vol. iv, pp 21-24.

other astronomical details. It is the day of *Dasahara* 'the day of expiation of ten sins'. The Jyēshṭha *sukla* 10 falling a Wednesday or even Tuesday coupled with the *nakshatra* Hasta and *yoga* Vyatīpāta is called *Dasahara*. Accordingly if the Jyēshṭha *sukla* 10 mentioned in the Santabommāli plates was also the day of *Dasahara*, as presumably it appears to be, then it was undoubtedly the proper occasion for making the pious donation recorded in the inscription. Incidentally the date becomes important, for it may possibly yield its proper equivalent in Christian era as in the case of the date of Parlakimedi plates of the self-same monarch dated on the 30th day of Māgha in the year 91 of the Gāṅga era. The Gāṅga Samvat 87 would fall in the Śaka Samvat 506—507 expired; and the details of the date as the day of *Dasahara* yield their equivalent in the Christian era as Wednesday, the 24th May 584 A. D. On that date there was the *nakshatra* Hasta current in the morning till 6 *ghaṭikas* after sunrise. The *tithi* was Jyēshṭha *sukla* 10 and the *yoga* was Vyatīpāta and the week day was Wednesday as required to be the suspicious occasion for the *Dasahara*.

Thus from the foregoing discussion and examination of the astronomical details it may be reasonably assumed that the victorious Gāṅga era commenced in some month after Ashāḍha, roughly either about Śrāvaṇa or Bhādrapada in Ś. S. 419 and *the year 1 of the Victorious Gāṅga Era* ended about Śrāvaṇa or Bhādrapada in S.S. 420. It is impossible in the present state of our knowledge to fix the starting-point of the Gāṅga era more precisely than this. But tentatively we shall assume for two reasons that the starting point of the Gāṅga era was *Bhādrapada bahula trayōdaśī*, the thirteenth day of the dark fortnight of *Bhādrapada*, firstly that was the *yugādi* or the commencement of the Kali Yuga. The Gāṅga dynasty may possibly have chosen this date as the beginning of their victorious era synchronising the establishment of their sovereignty in Tri-Kalinga or Kalinga. The *yugādi* is preceded by the Bhādrapada *sukla* 12, celebrated as *Vāmana Jayanti*. It was thus the most important day for Orissa and ancient Kalinga. *Vāmanāvatār* or the incarnation of Vishṇu as Vāmana or dwarf is enshrined in the celebrated temple of Jagannath (Lord of the Universe) at Purī on the sea in Orissa. Accordingly if this supposition is accepted as probable the initial point of the Gāṅga era would be Bhādrapada *bahula* 13, S.S. 419 expired, corresponding to **Monday 11th August 497 A.D.**, and thus the first year of the Gāṅga era would end in 498 A.D.

GENEALOGY OF THE EASTERN GANGAS OF KALINGA.

First Dynasty.*

1. Unknown founder Mitavarman, an inhabitant of Manalkuḍi; mentioned in the *Gōdāvari grant of Prthvīmūla*.¹
A.D. 497—510.
2. Adhirāja-Indra or Mahārāja Indravarman I; lord of Dantapura; *Trikalingādhipati*; *Jirjingi plates*² of the 39th year G.E. c 520—538 A.D.
3. Hastivarman surnamed *Rājasimha* and *Ranabhīta*; *Sakala-Kalingādhirāja*; lord of Kalinganagara; 79th and 80th years G.E.³ c 570—580. A.D.
4. Indravarman surnamed *Rājasimha* and *Sakala-Kalingādhirāja*; "overlord of the Entire Kalinga"; lord of Kalinganagara; 87th and 91st years G.E.⁴ c 580—590. A.D.
5. Indravarman III. 128th, 137th, 138th and 154th years G.E.⁶ c A.D. 620—655.
6. Dēvēndravarmān I. *Mahārājādhirāja*; 183rd, 184th and 193rd years G.E.⁷ c A.D. 675—695.
- 6a. Sāmantavarman I; *Usurper* (?) 185th year.⁸ c 680—685 A.D.
7. Anantavarmadēva I. 204th year G.E.⁹ c 700—715.
8. Nandavarman. 221st year G.E.¹⁰ c 715—720.
9. Dēvēndravarmān II. 251st and 254th years of the G.E.¹¹ c A.D. 720—35.
10. Rājēndravarmān I. c 750—760 A.D.
11. Anantavarmadēva II. 304th year¹² c A.D. 795—805.
12. Dēvēndravarmān III. 310th year¹³ c A.D. 805—815.
13. Rājēndravarmān II. 342nd year¹⁴ c A.D. 825—840.
14. Satyavarmadēva. 351st year¹⁵ c 845—850.
16. Dēvēndravarmān IV. *Mahārājādhirāja*; 397th year G.E.¹⁶ c A.D. 885—895.
15. Indravarmadēva; *Usurper* (?) *Donor of the Vishmagiri plates* (?)¹⁷ c 850—870 A.D.

* The reigns and succession of these kings are tentatively fixed.

1 J. Bom. Br. R.A.S., Vol. xvi, p 114f.

2 JAHRS Vol iii, p 46f.

3 E. I. Vol xvii, p 62f; E.I. Vol. xviii, p. 330f with plate.

4 E.I. Vol. iil, p. 127f; J.A.H.R.S. Vol. iv, pp. 21—24; I.A. xvi, p. 181f.

5 The relationship between Dānārṇava and Guṇārṇava on the one hand and their relationship to Indravarman II on the other hand is not specified in any record.

6 I.A. Vol. xliii, p. 128f; E.I. Vol. xiv, p. 262f; I.A. Vol. xliii, p. 123f; E.I. Vol. xviii, p. 307f.

7 Bharati, Feb. 1937, Vol. xiv, Part I, No. 2, pp 223ff with plate.

8 E.I. Vol. iil, p. 130f; JAHRS Vol ii, p 275f; E.I. Vol. xliii, p. 212f.

9 JAHRS Vol. ii, p. 272f; C.P. No. 8 of 1918—1919. (Undated)

10 JAHRS Vol ii, p 185f.

11 I.A. Vol. xlii, p. 273.

12 E.I. Vol. iil, p. 17f.

13 E.I. Vol. xviii, p 311f; E. C. Vol. ix, p 140f.

14 C.P. No. 13 of 1917—18; J.B.O.R.S. Vol. xii, p 101f.

15 I.A. Vol. xiv, p. 10—12.

16 JAHRS Vol. ii, p. 146f.

17 JAHRS Vol iii, p 183f with plate and E.I. Vol. xix, p 134f with plate.

Second Dynasty. (*)

Ātrēya-Gōtra

Gupamahārṇava

17. Vajrahasta I. 44 years. c. A.D. 895-939.

18. Guṇḍama I.
(3 years)
c. A.D. 939-942.19. Kāmārṇava I.
(35 years)
c. A.D. 942-977.20. Vinayāditya.
(3 years)
c. A.D. 977-980.

21. Anantavarmadēva III. *alias* Vajrahasta II.
surnamed *Āṇiyāṅkabhīma* the donor of the grant
dated in Gāṅga saṁ 500.¹ (35 years) c. A.D. 980-1014.
By first wife *By second wife*

22. Kāmārṇava II.
(14 year)
c. A.D. 1014-15.
m. Vinayamahā-
dēvi of the
*Vaidumba family.*23. Guṇḍama II.
alias Dēvēndra-
varman V. (3 years)
Donor of the
Simhipura grant of the
*year 520, G.K. Era.²*Trilōka-
sundari of
Vijayabāhu³
c. A.D. 1015-1016-19.24. Madhu-Kāmārṇava.
(19 years) *Donor of*
the grant of the
526th year of the
Gāṅga era.⁴
c. A.D. 1019-1038.25. Anantavarmadēva IV.
alias Vajrahasta III. Q. Anaṅgadēvi,
(Crowned on 9th April, A.D. 1038.)
c. A.D. 1038-1069.⁵26. Dēvēndravarman VI.
alias Rājarāja I. Q. Rājasundarī, d.
of Vīra Rājendra. *Donor of the*
grant dated in S. S. 998.⁶
(Crowned on May 20, A.D. 1077.)

Of a Collateral Branch
↑
27. a. Dēvēndravarman VII.
(*Donor of the Kambkāya*
grant dated in S.S. 1003.⁸
Usurper: circa A.D.
1077-1095.

28. Anantavarmadēva V. *alias* Chōḍaganga.
A.D. 1078-1142, or 1148 (?)
(Crowned on 17th February, A.D. 1078.⁷Sāmantavarman II.⁹
Date unknown.

* The above pedigree and chronological order are taken from the charters of Vajrahasta II (*E. I. IV, 183; E. I. IX, p 95f; Bharatī III; Pt 5, p 83f;*) Dēvēndravarman VI *alias* Rājarāja I (*C.P. No. 4 of 1918-19*) and Anantavarmadēva Chōḍagangadēva (*No 5 of 1913-19 JAHRS, I p 40f*) among others.

1 *JAHRS IX, Pt 3, pp 23ff*2 *Ibid III, p 171f*3 *E. I. XII, p 4 (Bṛhatprashṭha grant of Umavarman)*4 *C. P. No 5 of 1918-1919; JBORS XVIII, p 272f.*5 *C. P. No. 3 of 1918-19. The computation of the date of coronation of this king made by the Editor of the Nadagam plates (E. I. IV, p 183f) has been corrected from 3rd May, to 9th April 1038 A.D.) See A.R.E. 1918 p 81f.*6 *C.P. No. 4 of 1918-1919.*7 *I. A. XVIII, p 126f.*8 *C. P. No. 9 of 1925-26; see also Bharatī, IV, Pt 2 p 115f; see also S.J.I. IV, No. 1239 text line 10.*9 *E. I. XV, p 277f.*

AUTHORSHIP AND DATE OF THE MRCCHAKATIKA

A. D. PUSALKER, M.A, LL.B.

From the prologue to the *Mrcchakatika* we learn that the play is attributed to a regal author, a thing which is not of uncommon occurrence in Sanskrit literature. The *Ratnāvāṭī* and *Pryadarsikā* are similarly attributed to Śrīharṣa, and king Kulaśēkhara also is a well known dramatist. The point whether Śūdraka the king was the patron or the poet is immaterial to the chronology of the play. The prelude to the play refers to Śūdraka in terms of the remote past tense and describes him as well versed in the Vedic lore, mathematics, fine arts, *hastisikṣā* etc. His sight was restored through the favour of S'iva. He has performed an Aśvamēdha sacrifice, installed his son on the throne and finally consigned himself to fire after enjoying the full lease of a hundred years and ten days.

द्विदेन्द्रगति श्रकोरनेत्रः परिपूर्णैन्दुमुखः सुविग्रहश्च ।

द्विजमुख्यतमः कविर्बभूव प्रथितः शूद्रक इत्यगाधसत्त्वः ॥ ३॥

ऋग्वेदं सामवेदं गणितमथ कलां वैशिकीं हस्तिशिक्षां

ज्ञात्वा सर्वप्रसादाद् व्यपगततिमिरे चक्षुषी चोपलभ्य ।

राजानं वीक्ष्य पुत्रं परमसमुदयेनाश्वमेधेन चेष्ट्वा

लब्ध्वा चायुः शताब्दं दशदिनसहितं शूद्रकोऽभिः प्रविष्टः ॥ ४॥

समरव्यसनी प्रमादशून्यः ककुदो वेदविदां तपोधनश्च ।

परवारण बाहुयुद्धलुब्धः क्षितिपालः किल शूद्रको बभूव ॥ ५॥

No country or dynasty of the author is mentioned. The prologue no. doubt is a later edition, but it cannot be dismissed as unreliable on that score alone, as the writer might have based his statements on certain traditions current at his time. Vāmana (8th century) in his *Kāvya-lāṅkārasūtravṛtti* mentions Śūdraka and cites *yāsām balih* etc., (I. 9) and *dyūtam hi nāma puruṣasya* etc., from the *Mrcch*.¹ So the prologue may be trusted as to the authorship of the play. Further reason for associating Śūdraka with the *Mrcch* is the consistency with which all Manuscripts unanimously ascribe the work to S'ūdraka. Traditions about the authorship of a work are generally reliable. Thus the testimony of the prologue may be taken without challenge with regard to two statements, viz., that S'ūdraka or some one on his behalf

1 *Kavyalankarasutravṛtti*, pp 33, 60, 56. Nirnayasagara Edn.

was the author, that the work was the product of S'ūdraka's reign; and that S'ūdraka was a king.²

In order to ascertain the identity of S'ūdraka, we must look for all the available references to a king S'ūdraka in old Sanskrit works. There are to be found about two dozen king S'ūdrakas in mythology, literature and history, and some Oriental Scholars identify S'ūdraka with kings of different names. I have added some comments after referring to the original works.

Dr. Sylvain Lévi in his "Le Theatre Indien" refers to the the following works mentioning king S'ūdraka:

1. In the *Kādambarī* he is said to have ruled over Vidiśā

The *Kathā Saritsāgara* makes him rule over Śobhāvati i. e., the Karpātak or Kalinga. This mentions Dināra, and hence this S'ūdraka is later than first-second century A.D.

3. According to the fourth Vetāla Kathā as given in the *Brhmkathā Mañjarī*, S'ūdraka is stated to be the king of Vardhamāna.

4. A legend which is found in several places (Kathā S.S. 78. Vetāla, 4. and Hitōpadēśa, 3) represents him as saved from an imminent death by a Brahmin who gave his own life in order to assure to the king a life of hundred years.

5. *Harṣa Carita* briefly recalls the dexterous means which he made use of in order to get rid of his enemy Candrakētu, the prince of Cakōra.⁴

6. The *Daśakumāra Caritā* allude to the adventures of S'ūdraka in successive existences.

7. *Rāja-Taraṅginī* (III. 343) of Kalhaṇa mentions him as a type of firmness, a figure to be set beside Vikramāditya:

सन्यज्य विक्रमादित्यं सत्वोद्विक्तं च शूद्रकं ।

त्वां च भूपाल पर्याप्तं धैर्यमन्यत्र दुर्लभम् ॥

He is mentioned in connection with Pravarsena of Kashmere. Mr. Mehendale places this S'ūdraka in about 550—600 A.D. and provisionally assigns S'ūdraka, the author of the *Mṛcch* to the middle of the sixth century.⁵ He does not specifically ascribe the authorship of the *Mṛcch* to this S'ūdraka⁶

2 cf. Paranjape's Introduction to *Mṛcchakaṭika*, Bombay 1909, p. 2. According to Dr. Charpentier, this statement of the prologue about the authorship of the *Mṛcch* "ought certainly not to be disregarded without very weighty reasons." *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1923, p. 595f.

3 Vol. 1, pp 196—208ff.

4 p 270: Bombay Sanskrit Series Ed.

5 Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, p 374f.

6 op. cit., pp 367-74. Contra. *Mṛcchakaṭika*, Bom. 1919, Nerurkar's Intr. p 14.

8. The Purāṇas also know his name. A passage from the *Kumārikā Khanda* of the *Skanda Purāṇa* makes a great king S'ūdraka reign before Nandas in the year of Kali 3290 (189 A.D.), 710 years before Vikramāditya.⁷ The name of the first Āndhra king is variously given as Sindhuka (*Vāyu*), Śiśuka (*Matsya*), Śipraka (*Viṣṇu*), and Śūdra or Vṛṣala (*Bhāgavata*).⁸ So possibly the exact form of the name was not settled, the inscriptions knowing him as Simuka; but the name seems to have taken its origin from S'ūdraka, the great S'ūdra king. But the date of the *Skanda Purāṇa* (189 A.D.) does not agree with that assigned to the Āndhras by history, viz. 3rd century B.C.⁹ The discrepancy however can be explained on the ground that the compilers of the Purāṇas which date from 4th century A.D., were giving only traditional dates and accounts from memory.

9. Mr. C. V. Vaidya however on the same calculation as contained in the *Skanda Purāṇa* gives the date as 396 B.C.¹⁰ This S'ūdraka, according to Mr. Vaidya, "may still be the author of the *Mṛcch* which lays its plot at a time when Buddhist nuns were still unpopular, say a hundred years after Buddha¹¹". As nothing is known about this S'ūdraka, we cannot say whether he is the same as the founder of the Āndhras. "None of the Purāṇas", as observed by Mr. Vaidya "mention S'ūdraka among Kali Kings ruling Magadha before Nanda".¹²

10. A king S'ūdraka is mentioned in Rājaśekhara's verse:

तौ शूद्रक कथाकारौ रम्यौ रामिलसौमिलौ ।

काव्यं यथोद्वयोरासीर्धनारी नरोपमम् ॥

From this it appears that Rāmila and Sōmīla were his contemporaries and that they had jointly composed a legend of S'ūdraka. Thus from this period, according to Dr. Lévi, the personage of S'ūdraka had no reality, and belonged entirely to the fable. It is possible that this Sōmīla is the Somillaka mentioned by Kālidāsa in the prologue of his *Mālavikāgnimitra*.

Further references to S'ūdraka as given by Mr. Mehendale in the *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume* (pp. 367—374) are:

11. Kṣīrasvāmi in *Amara Kōśa Tīkā* (II. 8. 2) while enumerating the sovereigns mentions S'ūdraka along with Vikramāditya:

..... विक्रमादित्य साहसाङ्कः शकान्तकः ।

शूद्रकस्त्वग्निमित्रो वा हालः स्याच्छालिवाहनः ॥

7 Paranjape, *Mṛcch*, introduction, pp 2—4.

8 Pargiter: *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp 38, 71ff.

9 Rapson, *Camb. History of India*, Vol. 1, p 530 also n 1, 599, 698; Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th Edition, p 218. Contra, Bhandarkar, *Early Hist., Dekkan*, Bombay 1884, pp 25—27 (B.C. 73).

10 Proc. and Trans. of the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference, Baroda, pp 575—582ff.

11 op. cit., p 582.

12 op. cit., p 580.

12. In a commentary on Bhaṭṭhari's *Vākyapadīya* occurs the following:

श्लोकेऽपि राजपुरुष इत्युक्ते कस्य राज्ञः शुद्रकस्योति प्रभोत्तरयो राजपदार्थप्रविभग...etc.

13. In a commentary on Daṇḍi's *Kāvyaadarśa* (l. 15) named *Hṛdayaṅgama*, a Śūdraka is spoken of as *Sādāśrayam-Harṣa Śūdrakō-dathanādi satpuruṣa samāśrayam*.

14. Abul Fazal in his *Aine Akbari* mentions a Bengali Khatri king named Sadhrak who reigned for 93 years. But this statement has been rejected by Mr. Mehendale as 'unhistorical'.¹³

15. Vāmana in his *Kāvyaśālāṅkārasūtravṛtti* while dealing with Śleṣālaṅkāra says: *Śadrakādi raciteṣu prabāṇdheṣvasya bhūyān prapañcō dṛsyatē* and further Vāmana quotes two passages from *Mṛcch* one of which agrees more with the *Cārudatta*. No information is given about Śūdraka.

The other references given in various works are:

16. Kulaśekhara in the prologue to his *Tapatisāmvaranāḍī* refers respectfully to Śūdraka as an ancient dramatist:—*Śadraka-Kālidāsa-Harṣa-Daṇḍi-prabhūnām* possibly hinting thereby that Śūdraka was prior in date to Kālidāsa.

17. In the *Avanti Sundarī Kathā* and the *Avanti Sundarī Kathāsāra* of Daṇḍi edited from Madras by Mr. Kavi, there occurs the name of Śūdraka in the introductory stanzas in glorification of poets. The mention of poets according to the editor, appears to follow some strict chronological order. Subandhu comes first, next Guṇādhyā and Mūladēva, and then Śūdraka. The editor takes Śūdraka to be the king of Ujjain and a great poet. *Avanti Sundarī Kathā* gives some information about him:

शुद्रकेणा सकृजित्वा स्वच्छया खड्गधारया ।

जगद्भूयोऽभ्यवष्टभ्यं वाचा स्वचरितार्थया ॥

It is stated that Śūdraka was a Brahmin born in the Āśmaka country. The *Mṛcch* is taken to be an auto-biographical work (*vācā-svacaritārthayā*) and a revised version of the *Cārudatta* by the same author. Thus, according to the editor it contains some incidents from the life of Śūdraka; viz., Āryaka is the name of the poet himself and Cārudatta refers to his friend Bandhudatta who helped him in his difficulties. Svāti whom Śūdraka is said to have defeated has been identified from amongst a number of Āndhrabṛṭṭya kings holding the suffix, with a king who ruled about 56 B.C.¹⁴ Mr. Sarasvati guesses Vasantasānā to be

13 Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, p 373f.

14 Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, p 2.

15 Dakshina Bhāratī Series, No. 3, pp 6—9ff; also Sarasvati, in Quart. Journ. Myth. Soc., 12, p 277f.

Malayavati mentioned in Vātsyāyana's *Kāma Sūtra* and takes Kuntala Śātakarṇi Śātavāhana to be the original of S'akāra.¹⁶

18. In the *Caturbhāṇī* published from Patna, there appears a *Bhāna* by Śūdraka which is named *Padmaprabhṛtaka*. Messrs. Kavi and Śāstri in their introduction to that book (pp. i-iii) state the writer to be identical with the author of the *Mṛcch* and ascribe the *Bālacarita Avimāraka* and *Vatsarājacarita* to him. The editors further take Śūdraka to be Vikramāditya, the originator of the Vikrama era, and on the strength of the *Avantisundarikathā* and the *Avantisundarikāthāsāra* draw the conclusions stated above.

19. Dr. Keith mentions a very late tradition in the *Vīra Carita* and the younger Rājasekhara, which brings Śūdraka into connection with Śātavāhana or Śālivāhana, whose minister he was and from whom he obtained half his kingdom including Pratiṣṭhāna.¹⁷ Prof. Dhruva seems to identify the author of the *Mṛcch* with this Śūdraka.¹⁸

20. Pischel drew attention to Vāmana's *Kāvyaśālāṅkārasūtravṛtti* where Śūdraka is called Rājā Komaṭi.¹⁹ Dr. Hiranand Sastri mentions a South Indian tradition taking Śūdraka to be a Rājā Komaṭi, but it does not appear to him very trustworthy.²⁰ Dr. Charpentier refers to the tradition according to which 102 heads of families belonging to this caste sacrificed themselves in fire owing to their struggle with one Viṣṇuvardhana, whom Dr. Charpentier takes to be an Eastern Chāḷukya king.²¹ Nothing however is known about this Śūdraka.

21. Mr. Sankar takes Śūdraka to be Bhāsa and ascribes to him the authorship of the *Svapnavāsavadatta*, *Pratijñā*, *Abhiṣeka*, *Pañcarātra*, *Dātavākya*, *Bālacarita*, *Avimāraka*, *Padmaprabhṛtaka* and *Mṛcchakatika*.²² If Bhāsa be the author of all these works, it is not clear why only the *Mṛcch* and *Padmaprabhṛtaka* should be assigned to Śūdraka and the other works should remain anonymous. And again in some works Bhāsa and Śūdraka are distinctly mentioned side by side, thereby excluding the probability of their identity.²³ Further, in the view, of the Bhāsa problem that we take, we assign the *Cārudatta* to Bhāsa.

16 Quart. Journ. Myth., Soc., 12, pp 274—75ff—Bhāsa is taken to be the Court-poet of King Śūdraka-Vikramāditya.

17 Sanskrit Drama, p 129.

18 *Svapnānī Sundarī*, Ahmedabad, 1929, p 22 n 38.

19 cf. *JRAS*, 1923, p 597.

20 Mem. Arch. Survey of India, No. 28, p 28, n 8.

21 *JRAS*, 1923, pp 597—598.

22 Asutosh Memorial Volume, Patna, Part II, pp 54—64.

23 cf. *Nāṭyadarpana*, Gaekwad's Or. Series, No. 48, pp 48, 53, 84; *Dakshina Bhāratī Series*, No. 3, intr. pp 7, 9 (where verses relating to Śūdraka and Bhāsa are considered).

and on account of the essential difference between the *Cārudatta* and the *Mṛcch*, both cannot belong to the same period²⁴.

22. Dr. Sten Konow identifies Śūdaraka with an Ābhira king Śivadatta who was possibly connected with the downfall of the Āndhras and the inauguration of the Cēdi era;²⁵ but that does not appear to be sound. Dr. Konow's theory is based on that fact that Āryaka, the son of Gopāl, in whose favour Pālaka is said to have abdicated in the *Bṛhatkathā* is described in the *Mṛcch* as a herdsman (Gopāladāraka, son of a cowherd; *gō-pāla* from Gopāla); and Ābhira also means a herdsman. The parallel traits are not very striking and the arguments are of a very unsubstantial character²⁶.

23. Similarly some critics without identifying Śūdraka, place him in the second century A.D. on the ground that the expression *Rucarō rājā* in the *Mṛcch*. VIII. 34 refers to king Rudradāman of the Kṣatrapa dynasty who flourished in 130 A.D., and Śūdraka must have come after him. But the identification rests on a flimsy ground and is unreliable.

24. Pischel first ascribed the play to Bhāsa and later fathered it to Daṇḍin on the authority of Rājaśekhara *Trayo-Daṇḍi-prabandhāśca tripu-lōkēṣu viśrutāḥ* since only two works of Daṇḍin were known; and (i) one stanza viz: *limpatīva* etc. was common to the *Kāvya-darśa* (II. 226) and the *Mṛcch* (I. 34) and (ii) there were close resemblances between the society as depicted in the *Daśakumāracarita* and the *Mṛcch*.²⁷ But the verse *limpatīva* etc. originally belongs to Bhāsa and the similar state of society is not a definite criterion of common authorship. No one now seriously considers this theory and Dr. Peterson has ably controverted it.²⁸

25. Dr. Keith rejects as 'far-fetched' Lēvi's suggestion that the real author passed off the work to Śūdraka to give it a look of antiquity. But his reasons for calling Śūdraka 'Mythical' are not convincing.²⁹ Some of the statements in the prologue to which the learned Doctor takes objection, are clearly exaggerations and interpolations. But all the same the authorship of S'ūdraka stands established.

26. Mr. Soman in his learned introduction to the Marāṭhi translation of Bhāsa's plays has taken great pains to show that Śūdraka, the author of the *Mṛcch*, was Kṣudraka, the son of Prasenajit of Kosala (5th Century B. C.);³⁰ but such an antiquity for the play is highly

improbable, as in that case a very small margin remains between the *Cārudatta* and the *Mṛcch*, and as we have elsewhere shown at some length the essential differences in the two plays speak of a period of at least two centuries between them.³¹

27. Dr. V. G. Paranjape after a detailed consideration of the available data has come to the conclusion that Simuka or Śūdraka who was the founder of the Āndhrabhṛtya dynasty is the author of the *Mṛcch* and he places him in 73 B. C.³² Following other scholars we prefer to place Śūdraka Āndhrabhṛtya in the third century B. C. That he was a southerner entitles him the more to be the author of a drama which seems to have come from the South as the different Prakrits and other references would show.³³

Turning to the description of the author in the prologue once more, we find that Śūdraka the author of the *Mṛcch* was: *divijamukhyatama* "best amongst the twice born". The commentators take this to mean *kshatriyottama*. But it means 'best among the Brāhmaṇas, the caste par excellence,' especially as he is further described to be well versed in the four Vedas and at the head of the knowers of the Vedas. Dr. Charpentier infers from this that S'ūdraka may have been a Peshva to some king before becoming a ruler himself.³⁴ He lived long—10 days over 100 years, and entered fire after this. He enthroned his son before his death. He had performed an Aśvamēdha. He was a great poet. He recovered his eye-sight through the favour of S'iva, i.e. he was a S'avite. He knew all the Vedas, mathematics, astrology, fine arts, *hasti-sikṣā* etc., He was rich in penances, well versed in warfare, etc.

Now applying these tests to the 27 S'ūdrakas enumerated above, we find that about most of these persons we know practically nothing more than their names. S'ūdraka Vikramāditya mentioned by Mr. Kavi and others. Kṣudraka mentioned by Soman, and Simuka mentioned by Paranjape and others seem to be historical persons. As regards the first, in none of the legends of Vikramāditya is he credited with the authorship of the *Mṛcch*; with regard to Kṣudraka we have already indicated that internal evidence is against so early a date for the *Mṛcch*. So there remains only one claimant for the authorship of the *Mṛcch*, and we shall see whether the description in the prologue applies to this king.

There is a difference of opinion as to the caste of the Āndhras or Śātavāhanas, some scholars calling them Śūdras and others as

24 The problem has been dealt with at some length in my forth-coming book—"Bhāsa—A Study."

25 Das indische Drama, p. 57.

26 Keith: Sanskrit Drama, pp 129-130; Charpentier, JRAS, 1923, pp 606, 595.

27 Rudrata, pp 14f.

28 Dasakumaracarita, Part III, Preface, p 7, Bombay Sanskrit Series.

29 Sanskrit Drama, p 130f.

30 Poona, 1931. pp 92-134.

31 In my forth-coming work—"Bhāsa—A Study".

32 Mricchakatica, Bom. 1909. Introduction pp 1-8.

33 cf. Varandambuka (p 14); Khuntamodaka (p 85); Karnatakalahā (p 205); Sahya as the home of the Cāṇḍālas (p 317); several mleccha tribes in Southern India and peculiarities of the speech of a southerner (p 205). Reference to Paranjape's Edition.

34 JRAS, 1923, p 596.

Brāhmaṇas³⁵ Epigraphic evidence seems to point to their being Brāhmaṇas and the expression *dvijamukhyatama* in the prologue as stated above, I take to mean "best among the Brāhmaṇas". The history of the Śātavāhanas which is the family name known in the inscriptions and who are known by their tribal name Āndhras or Āndhrabhṛtyas in the Purāṇas, is shrouded in mystery and various conflicting opinions are current as to the dates and events of their period. I am inclined to look upon the Āndhras as hailing originally from Mahārāṣṭra, and the dynasty arose shortly after the Mauryas.³⁶ The kings performed various sacrifices including the Aśvamēdha, and were great patrons of learning.³⁷ As to the successor of Āndhra Śūdraka, as also about his long life losing and regaining eye-sight etc., we have no definite information. We may however, state that nothing can be shown about this Śūdraka that goes against the particulars in the prologue. It may be contended that Simuka could have got no time to compose dramas, as he was engaged in wars: but most probably the *Mrcch* is the work of some Court-poet of Śūdrakā, perhaps Rāmīla or Sōmīla or both. As the times were not peaceful, the poet took a ready-made drama to work upon. They found some political revolution, contemporary or earlier, cleverly incorporated into the original story and made additions that would appeal to the gallery. This supposition, as indicated earlier, explains to some extent the southern influence shown by the *Mrcch* as the Āndhras were southerners; and again the silence of Kālidāsa about Śūdraka though the latter preceded him is also explicable on the ground that Kālidāsa being proximate in time, may be taken to have known that the *Mrcch* was not an independent work, nor was it the composition of Śūdraka; and hence he paid tribute to Soumillaka or Kaviputra Soumillaka, while mentioning his forerunners in the field.

Thus Āndhra Śūdraka (3rd century B.C.) seems to be the author of the *Mrcchakaṭika*.

As for the date of the *Mrcch*, Bhāṣa's *Cārudatta* is the earlier limit. In spite of some dissenting voices, it seems now fairly established that the *Mrcch* is later than the *Cārudatta*, and I have elsewhere dealt with the problem where I have shown the authenticity and authorship of the thirteen Trivandrum plays, and placed Bhāṣa in the Mauryan epoch. I have also shown that the *Cārudatta* as we have it, is a fragment: that it had a sequel running on similar lines as we find in the *Mrcch*; and that the political incident has been added by the author of the *Mrcch*.³⁸ Thus the *Mrcch* is later than the 4th century B.C.

³⁵ Roy Chaudary, *Political History of Ancient India* 3rd Edn. p 280; Bakhale *Vividha-Jnana-Vistara*, 1927 p 98; Ketkar, *Pracina Maharashtra*, Poona 1935 pp 406-407.

³⁶ cf. Bakhale, op. cit. ; Ketkar, op. cit. p 401f.

³⁷ Ketkar op. cit. pp 406-407; Bhandarkar, *Early Hist. Dekkan*.

³⁸ In my forthcoming work—"Bhāṣa—A Study".

Coming to the later limit, Śūdraka and the *Mrcch* have been first referred to by Vāmana (8th Century A.D.) though some critics prefer to see a direct reference to the *Mrcch* in Dhanika's *Avalōka* (10th century A.D.)³⁹ The quotation in Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaḍarśa* (II. 226) of the well known verse *limpativa* etc. is clearly from Bhāsa. The absence of Śūdraka's name from the introductory verses to the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa (7th century A. D.) does not necessarily prove the priority of Bāṇa or the non-existence of the *Mrcch* in Bāṇa's time⁴⁰. As regards the relation of the *Mrcch* to Kālidāsa, most European scholars admit the priority of the *Mrcch*,⁴¹ and we have already indicated the possible reasons why Kālidāsa is silent as to Śūdraka. The Prakrits as used in the *Mrcch*, further, are older than those of the three plays of Kālidāsa.⁴² Thus Kālidāsa may be taken as the later limit, and we place Kālidāsa in the 1st century B.C. Hence the external evidence points in favour of the date, viz., 3rd—2nd century B.C., in which Āndhra Śūdraka, the author, flourished. The Southern origin of the play explains the absence of references to it by the Northern rhetoricians.

Later date has been assigned to the play on account of the use of the word Nāṇaka which, according to Weber, is derived from the coins of Kanerki (c 40 A.D.); but MaxMuller has refuted this theory.⁴³ The trial scene is said to be according to the precepts of the Law books of the sixth or seventh century A. D.; in this connection it may be pointed out that *Kauṭīliya Arthasāstra* and some older Smṛtis also give similar rules of procedure.

This internal evidence in favour of the antiquity of the *Mrcch* is overwhelming. The presence of many obscure words such as *pāyasa-piṇḍāraka*, *varaṇḍalambuka*, *kalyāvarta*, *śarīrasprṣṭikā*, *gallarka*, *svāta-kākiya*, *gōbrāhmaṇakāmyā* etc., which do not occur in the classics of Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, Daṇḍi or Bāṇa; the extensive use of the Prakrit dialects, which can be safely referred to the pre-Christian epoch; the Sanskrit in the play showing that it belonged to a period when Sanskrit was gradually ceasing to be a spoken language which it actually did after Patanjali; the social conditions referring to Brahmins following various trades and marrying women of the Śūdra caste, prevalence of slavery, the ordeals, the flourishing condition of Buddhism and the attitude of tolerance towards it etc.,⁴⁵—all these cumulatively confirm

³⁹ cf. reference to *Kavyalankarasutravritti* in an earlier footnote.

⁴⁰ cf. Mehendale, Bhand. Com. Vol., p 372; Charpentier, *JRAS*, 1923, p 599.

⁴¹ cf. Belvalkar, First Oriental Conference, Poona, 204: V. Smith, *Early Hist. Ind.*, 4th Edn. p 324, n.

⁴² Pathak, cited in Bhand. Com. Vol. p 368f; Paranjape, *Mrcch*, Bom. 1909, intr. pp 6—8ff.

⁴³ Max Muller, *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p 332f.

⁴⁴ Jolly, *Tagore Law Lectures*, 1883, p 68 sq.

⁴⁵ cf. Paranjape, *Mrcch*, intr. pp 4—9ff; Wilson, *Theatre of the Hindus*.

the date we have already assigned to Śūdraka, viz., third—second century B.C.

The political bye-plot in the *Mroch* which runs on parallel lines with the main story, has been added by Śūdraka to the *Cārudatta* as he got from Bhāsa. The revolution is not at all necessary for the development of the story; as the swapping of chariots could have been effected without bringing in Āryaka, and Cārudatta's innocence would have been proved without the intercession of Śarvalika, by the appearance of Vasantasēnā.⁴⁶ Only Śarvalika from the main love story is connected with the revolution; and it can be said that without the political upheaval he could not have got any chance to repay his obligations to Vasantasēnā.

There has been quite an amount of speculation as to the historicity of the revolution and the identities of Pālaka and Āryaka. Wilson stated long ago that the revolution was caused by the unpopularity of Pālaka through his sympathies with the Buddhists and contempt to Brahmin laws and customs. But the latter part of the statement lacks proof.⁴⁷ The theory of Windisch that it refers to the Kṛṣṇa story has rightly been discarded.⁴⁸ Sten Konow's reading the Ābhīra history therefrom is also inspired more by imagination than by historical facts.⁴⁹ D. R. Bhandarkar has proved the historicity of the revolution, and he takes Gopāla and Pālaka to be the sons of Pradyōta, and states that after Pradyōta's death, Pālaka the younger son succeeded him, and Āryaka, the son of Gopāla succeeded in usurping the throne.⁵⁰

The exact purpose why Śūdraka selected this particular revolution for interweaving the Cārudatta-Vasantasēnā love affair is not explainable for want of detailed history of the Āndhra period. It seems likely that such political revolutions were the order of the day in those troubled times and Śūdraka chose the revolution albeit with earlier names, in order that the general public may well appreciate it.

Thus the upshot of all the foregoing is to ascribe the authorship of the *Mroch* to Śūdraka, the founder of the Āndhras (or some of his Court-poets) and to place the work to the third—second century B.C.

46 cf. Charpentier, *JRAS*, 1923, pp 605—607.

47 Wilson, *Hindu Theatre*, Vol. 1, p 158, n. also Charpentier, *JRAS*, 1923, p 605f

48 cf. Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, p 132; Charpentier, *JRAS*, 1923, p 606.

49 Konow, *Ind. Drama*, p 57; also Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, pp 129—130 Charpentier, *JRAS*, 1923, p 606.

50 Carmichael *Lectures*, 1918, pp 64—65.

THE ANANDA-GOTRA KINGS OF KANDARAPURA*

V. S. RAMACHANDRA MURTY, B.A., (Hons.)

The Ānanda-gotra kings of Kandarapura were an important dynasty of kings of Southern India, who ruled over the area, which corresponds with the modern Guntur District, with their capital at Kandarapura, during the later half of the fourth, and the earlier half of the fifth centuries of the Christian era. So far as we are aware, there are only three inscriptions pertaining to this dynasty: two of them being issued by the kings of this dynasty, and the third and the most important one being issued by Satsabhāmalla, grandson of King Kandara, the founder of this dynasty. The first known copper-plate grant was edited by Dr. J. F. Fleet, in *Ind. Ant.*, IX, 102 ff, and is known as the Gōraṇṭla grant of Attivarman. The second copper-plate grant was that of Dāmōdaravarman and is edited by Dr. Hultzsch, in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, 327 ff.

Based on the above two copper-plate grants, a short but interesting note was published by Mr. D. C. Sircar of the Calcutta University.¹ The article though incomplete, is interesting because it has elaborately explained the suggestion of Dr. Hultzsch, that *Hiranyagarbha* might mean the second of the *Mahādānas* or "Great Gifts". Secondly, it also attempted to settle, whether Attivarman succeeded Dāmōdaravarman or otherwise. Whatever that may be it is unfortunate that Mr. D. C. Sircar failed to consult the most important inscription, which yields us much information, regarding the founder of the Ānanda-gotra kings of Kandarapura. It was first noticed by the Epigraphist for Madras Circle, in his *Annual Report* for the year 1900 page 4, as *A. R. No. 155 of 1899*, and was subsequently published in *South Indian Inscriptions*, VI as No. 594.

The above three inscriptions put together give us the names of three kings; 1. Kandara, 2. Dāmōdaravarman and 3. Attivarman. Of these kings, King Kandara appears to be the earliest one as the remaining two kings mention either King Kandara or the city Kandarapura, evidently founded by him after his own name. (*Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p 328.) Mr. D. C. Sircar is silent about the first monarch. He quotes the statement of Dr. Hultzsch regarding king Kandara, and discusses about the other two kings. Thus his note is incomplete especially when we are able to get much information about that monarch.

* This paper was sent to *The Indian Culture* Calcutta on 2-9-36 for favour of publication and was accepted, but has not been published till now.

1 *The Successors of the Satavahanas in the Eastern Deccan* Jour. Dept. Let. Calcutta University, XXVI, 1935.

KING KANDARA

We know the existence of King Kandara as a historical person from the inscription of his daughter's son king "Satsabhāmalla". Some very important problems are set before us by this inscription found in the Kapōtēśvara temple at Chēzerla, 15 miles west-north-west of Narasaraopeta, Guntur District. An interesting account of the Chēzerla Temple is given in the *An. Rep.* of the Archl. Dept., Southern Circle for the year 1917-18, and by the late Mr. R. Sewell in his *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I, Krishna District.

An extract from the Chēzerla epigraph is published at the end of this note as an appendix, for it is available only in Telugu in the *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI. A careful examination of the epigraph, *in situ*, would I believe yield more fruitful results.

Kandara, probably a subordinate of the Pallavas, must have carved out a small principality for himself, after the Pallavas have concentrated their attention on the conquest of Kanchi, by his own valour. The first achievement of King Kandara after coming to the throne appears to be the winning of a battle at Dhānyakaṭa as evidenced by the epithet "*sva śakti-sātita-sātrava-karivara-ghaṭa-samkaṭa-Dhānyakaṭa-rana-sapta-koṭi*". This word *sapta-koṭi* is rather difficult to interpret. It appears to be a war implement with seven 'edges'. It is quite possible to suppose from the above epithet that king Kandara captured Dhānyakaṭa from the governors of the Pallava king Vijaya Skandavarma who succeeded the Ikṣvaku.³ Dhānyakaṭa may be identified with the modern Amarāvati, 16 miles from Guntur on the river Krishna and is mentioned in the Maidavōlu plates² and in two Āndhra Inscriptions found at Amarāvati.³ See Luder's List, Nos. 1225 and 1271.

The title Prithvi Yuvarāja applied to king Kandara among his titles is an interesting one. This title which occurs mainly in the Eastern Chālukya grants of later times, is applied to king Kandara, in this inscription. Hence we can infer that this title was in use for a long time prior to the advent of the Eastern Chālukya Kings.

King Kandara belongs to the *gōtra* of Ānanda Maharshi. The endings of the names of the kings of this dynasty, though suggestive of a Kṣatriya origin; their *gōtra* proves that they were Śūdra kings, as their *gōtra* is not found in the *Pravara Kāṇḍa* of the *Dvijās*.

² Maidavōlu plates of Vijaya Skandavarma, *Ep. Ind.* VI, 84ff. Vijaya Skandavarma conquered Kanchi, according to Father Heras. That when he was concentrating his attention on Kanchi, his father must have been at Dhānyakaṭa, the probable capital of the Pallavas prior to their conquest of Kanchi, in Āndhra Dēśa, is very ably discussed by Father Heras in his "*Studies in Pallava History*," p 12, 15 and 79.

³ *J.A.H.R.S.*, V, 91-92.

Kandara in this inscription is described as "*samavagāḍh Āndhra sundarī chandanāncha nālkatakalōlā mālā purimōsha-parichaya kritāiparādha va pulya sit ētara Bennā-nātha*". This suggests river Krishna was one of the boundaries (Northern boundary) for his kingdom.

The importance of this epigraph is enhanced by the mention of the word 'Āndhra'. In only a few of the epigraphs until sixth century A. D. do we find the word Āndhra mentioned. I am aware of the word in only one of the Early Pallava grants besides this, i. e., The Maidavōlu Plates of Vijayaskandavarama.

This king Kandara was the Lord of Trikūṭa Parvata and Kandarapuravara⁴ and Kandara Janapada, as evidenced by the Chēzerla Epigraph which says that he was "*Trikūṭa parvatapati*, and, *Kandarapuravara Janapada-dvityādhipati*."⁵ This Trikūṭa-parvata is also mentioned in the Īpūr Plates⁶ of Mādhavavarman II, son of Dēvavarman, of the Vishnukundin family, and in it it is asserted that the Vishnukundins were the masters of the Trikūṭa-Malaya. It is probable that the Vishnukundins came to power after the Ānanda-gōtra kings of Kandarapura, for the *Trikūṭa-parvata* which was one of the important possessions of the Ānanda-gōtra kings was conquered by the founder of the Vishnukundin dynasty, Mādhavavarman I.⁷ This Trikūṭa has been identified by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, with Kōṭappakonḍa near Kāvūr, in the Narasaraopeta taluq of the Guntur District. This identification is based on the fact that the God on the hill at Kōṭappakonḍa is called in the inscriptions as *Trikōṭīśvara*. (*S.I.I.* Vol. IV, No. 915 ff.) In the Chēzerla inscription and the Īpūr Plates the hill is called *Trikūṭa-parvata* and Trikūṭa Malaya. Malaya means hill. The argument implied is that the God on the Trikūṭa-parvata, is named after it as Trikōṭīśvara.

Though the argument appears to be plausible, there is a little objection which should be answered. If the God is named after the hill Trikūṭa, he should have been called *Trikūṭīśvara*. But in all the inscriptions he is called *Trikōṭīśvara*. The present name of the hill is Kōṭappakonḍa. In the inscriptions the place where God Trikōṭīśvara dwelt was called Kāvūr. So the identification of *Trikūṭa-Parvata* requires still further research. But the proximity of the place to the Vishnukundin and Ānanda *gōtra* territories points to the possibility of the above place being the same as Trikūṭa.

That the Śālanākāyanas succeeded the Ānanda-gōtra kings is a gratuitous supposition, and is not borne out by facts.⁸ The Śālanākāyana

⁴ Kandarapura cannot possibly be identified. The identification of Kandara Janapada will be discussed in my article on the "Extent of the Ānanda *gōtra* Domains" which is going to be shortly published.

⁵ *S.I.I.* Vol. VI, No. 594.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XVII.

⁷ *J.A.H.R.S.* Vol. X, p. 187ff.

⁸ *The Successors of the Satavahanas etc.*, Jour. Dep. Let. Cal. University XXVI, ff.

dominions never extended beyond the southern boundary of the river Krishna. All their inscriptions give us to understand that they were the lords of only two *Vishayas*, viz., Kudrāhāra and Vēngi. A close study of the place names mentioned in their inscriptions clearly indicate that the Śālikāyana territory never extended beyond the Krishna. As observed by Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao, "Their principality consisted of two *vishayas*, Vengi and Kudrāhāra. Of these Vengi was identical with the taluqs of Ellore, Ernagudem, and Bhimavaram and Gudrahara included the taluqs of Avanigadda (Divi), Bandar, Kaikalur and Gudivada."⁹ From the inscription of Satsabhāmalla and the Gōraṇṭla Plates of Attivarman we can infer that the river Krishna formed a boundary for the Ananda-gotra Kings.

The royal emblem of these kings is Gōlāngūla. King Kandara is described as *Golāngula Vijaya Kṛtana*. 'Golāngula is a kind of monkey with dark body, red cheeks, and a tail like that of a cow.' (Apte. *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* 414.) Fleet remarked while writing about the figure on the seal of the Gōraṇṭla Plates, as follows: "The emblem on it (seal) is probably the figure of some God sitting cross-legged on an altar, but it is anything but clear, even in the original."¹⁰ Dr. Hultzsch observed that "the seal is much worn and it seems to bear in relief the figure of a seated bull facing the proper right."¹¹ But now we can definitely assert that the figure on the seal is that of a *Gōlāngula*.

King Kandara had a daughter by name *Avanītalāntavati* Mahādevi. She appears to be the Mahādevi or the first and important consort of a mighty prince. It is most unfortunate that we are not informed about name and the dynasty to which that prince belonged. The name of his son is also lost to us. I believe that the word Satsabhāmalla is a title.

The Superintendent for Epigraphy in his Annual Report for the year 1927, who also edited the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. VI, comments on this inscription found at Chēzerla as follows:—

"In particular it may be noted that the restoration of the much effaced Chēzerla epigraph No. 595 has revealed the fact that the Pallava King Mahēndravikrama, who is there also called by his titles *Avanībhājana* and *Vēgavattisanādha* had a feudatory in the grandson of king Kandara of Ananda-gotra family, through his daughter."

Here we must note that the above remark of Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer seems to be unwarranted, by facts. The inscription bearing No. 594 (A. R. No. 155 of 1899) belongs to Satsabhāmalla,

grandson of King Kandara. In it we do not find the name of Mahēndravikrama or any of his titles. The inscription No. 595 (A. R. No. 155-A of 1899) is inscribed on the back of the same slab, and belongs to Mahēndravikrama and in it the titles *Avanībhājana* and *Vēgavattisanādha*, appear. If the above inference that Satsabhāmalla was the feudatory of Mahēndravikrama, is only based on the fact that both the inscriptions are engraved on the same slab, it is highly untenable. At the most No. 595 can only prove, that Mahēndravikrama, as has been suggested by some (G. Jouveau-Dubreuil: *The Pallavas* p. 35) must have been related to the Vishnukūṇḍins, and that he might have visited the Chēzerla temple some time during their time. I could not find the title Satsabhāmalla applied to Mahēndravikrama in any of his inscriptions. If he had it, it only shows that Mahēndravikrama was related to the Ananda-gotrās on his mother's side. So it is not possible to suppose that King Satsabhāmalla was a feudatory of Mahēndravikrama. It may prove their contemporaneity.¹² The style of the two inscriptions is different. One of them is dedicated to the god Piṇḍīśvara, and the other to Kapōtēśvara.¹³ So I beg to differ with the above conclusion of Mr. Subrahmanya Iyer.

The next problem that besets us is who succeeded king Kandara. According to Dr. Hultzsch, "the characters of the Gōraṇṭla inscriptions are more developed than those of the Maṭṭēpād plates, which is besides partly written in Prakrit." Consequently Dāmōdaravarman must have been one of the predecessors of Attivarman. (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XVII, 328) Mr. D. C. Sircar, disputes the above theory of Dr. Hultzsch and observes that Attivarman was the predecessor of Dāmōdaravarman, on the following grounds:—

1. "The palaeography of the Gōraṇṭla and the Maṭṭēpād plates suggests that the rule of King Attivarman and that of King Dāmōdaravarman were not separated by a great interval."
2. "As regards the first point, viz., the characters of the Gōraṇṭla inscription are more developed, I must say, when two epigraphs belong to the same period it is extremely difficult to determine as to which of them is earlier."
3. "Since the handwritings of two different scribes of even the same age may be quite dissimilar, I do not think it quite

12. Rev. Heras writes "Nobody may refuse to accept that Simhavishnu and his ancestors and also Mahēndravarma I, when young were inhabiting in Andhra Desa, and that on many occasions must have seen the Krishna valley." *Studies in Pallava History*, p. 79.

13. There are more than 78 shrines at Chēzerla and Kapoteswara is the diety of the main temple. Piṇḍīśvara must have been one of the minor but an important diety.

9. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. V, p. 29.

10. *Ind. Ant.* IX, p. 102, f.

11. *Ep. Ind.* XVIII, 327, f.

impossible that the difference in time between the execution of the Maṭṭēpād and that of the Gōrantla grant is short and that Dāmōdaravarman was a successor of Attivarman."

4. "As regards the second point, viz., that the Maṭṭēpād grant is partly written in Prakrit; (the statement of Dr. Hultzschi) I am (Mr. Sircar is) afraid is a misrepresentation. Names like Attivarman, Kumārajja, &c., only prove that both these grants were issued in a time when the replacement of Prakrit by Sanskrit in South Indian Epigraphy was nearly but not fully, complete.
5. "If the Ananda Kings prior to Attivarman were Śaivas, Dāmōdaravarman who was a Buddhist must have come after Attivarman."
6. "The inscribed faces of the Maṭṭēpād plates of Dāmōdaravarman are numbered consecutively like the pages of a modern book. This fact also seems to suggest that Dāmōdaravarman came after Attivarman."
7. "Lastly, the epithet "*Hiranyagarbhōdbhava*" applied to Dāmōdaravarman indicates that he was the son of Attivarman, who was a *Hiranyagarbhōdbhava*."

These in brief are the arguments of Mr. D. C. Sircar for asserting that Attivarman was the predecessor of Dāmōdaravarman.

In the present state of our knowledge it is not wise for us to fix the genealogy of the Ānanda-gotra Kings. So far we are able to know the history of only three of the Ānanda-gotra Kings. A careful study of the history of the Ikṣvākus, the Pallavas, the Ānanda-gotra Kings, the Vishnukūḍin Kings, the Śāṅkayanas, the Bṛihatpalāyanas and others of the time, compels us to allot at least a century for the rule of the Ānanda-gotra Kings. After the dissolution of the Ikṣvāku Empire, the Pallavas got possession of the modern Guntur District. The Pallava suzerainty over the Dhānyakāṭa area i.e. the modern Guntur taluka appears to be a short lived one, as the only evidence that is available for proving their suzerainty is the Maidavolu Inscription. It can now be safely asserted on the authority of the Chezerla epigraph, that King Kandara took over the Amarāvati area from the Pallavas. Then the rule of the Ānanda-gotra Kings appear to have extended from the middle of the 4th century A.D. to the middle of the 5th century A.D. So we can suppose the existence of some more kings in between or later than the three kings of whom we know something. So it may not be worth our while to attempt to fix the genealogy of the Ānanda-gotra Kings of Kandarapura. But one point we must admit, that an impartial consideration of the palaeography of the Maṭṭēpād and the Gōrantla Plates, indicate that the issuer of the Maṭṭēpād plates is a predecessor of the

issuer of the Gōrantlā Plates. Then we have to answer the objection of Mr. Sircar that the epithet of *Hiranyagarbh* = *odbhavo* = *dhava* applied to Dāmōdaravarman points him as the successor of Attivarman. But the answer is quite simple. Nowhere in the Maṭṭēpād Plates it is suggested that he was the son of Attivarman. Our supposing the existence of a king, else than Attivarman who must have performed the *Hiranyagarbha-dāna* and a *Gōsahasra-dāna* will be more logically in tune with historical reasoning, than throwing out palaeographical evidence altogether. Palaeography, though not a sure test for determining the exact age of a plate, one can with certain amount of certainty say by the development of the characters which plate is earlier. My examination of the above two plates leads me to the same conclusion as that arrived at by Dr. Hultzschi. Dr. Hultzschi did not attempt to misrepresent facts when he said that the Maṭṭēpād Plates were partly written in Prakrit. He explained it in the same page, (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XVII, 327) what he meant by 'partly written in Prakrit.' Nobody who studied the Ānanda-gotra inscriptions can deny the great amount of Prakrit influence in the Maṭṭēpād plates. Excepting in one line all the names of the donees and their *gotras* are in Prakrit.

If a set of plates be numbered consecutively like the pages of a modern book, I do not think, it is a strong criterion for proving its antiquity or otherwise.

If we are to believe in the thesis of Mr. D. C. Sircar that "If the Ānanda Kings prior to Attivarman were Śaivas, Dāmōdaravarman who was a Buddhist must have come after Attivarman," I fear, we have to allot some of the Ikṣvāku kings to a later period than the Ānanda-gotra kings. If the Ikṣvāku kings are Hindus¹³ Damodaravarman, who performed *Gōsahasra-dāna* and gave a village to the Brahmins for his and his family's salvation for seven generations, must be considered a Hindu.¹⁴ Moreover it is not improbable to suppose that by this time Buddha might have been considered as deity in the Hindu pantheon. Till the 13th century we have evidence to say that the Hindus were worshipping the Buddha in Āndhra Dēśa. So on this consideration and on palaeographical evidence, I believe that Dāmōdaravarman reigned earlier than Attivarman. We know next to nothing about Dāmōdaravarman and Attivarman, except that they granted some villages to Brahmins and that they performed some *dānas*.

On a slab set up in front of the central shrine in the Kapōtēśvara Temple at Chezerla, Narasaraopeta Taluq, Guntur District, is inscribed the following inscription of Satsabhāmalla, grandson of king

13. I consider the Ikṣvākus to be pure Hindus.

14. Even supposing that the performance of *Gōsahasra* should be attributed to Attivarman, as stated by Mr. D. C. Sircar, the mere fact that Damodaravarman gave a village to Brahmins for his and his family's religious merit proves him to be a Hindu.

Kandara of the Ānanda gotra family. Only the first 13 lines of the inscription, describe king Kandara and so they alone have been given below. The inscription consists of about 50 lines. I have given this transliteration for the use of the scholars, who are not conversant with the Telugu script. This transliteration is based on the text published by the Epigraphical Department, in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Volume VI, as No. 594.

TEXT OF THE CHEZERLA INSCRIPTION.

(S. I. I. VI, No. 594).

1. Śrī Piṇḍīśvarāya
2. Kālīśvara sāravīra² (kē) tōh śvasakti śātita
3. śātrava-karivara-ghaṭa-saṁkṛta Dhānyakṛta-raṇa-
4. sapta-kōṭṣh pradhītān-Prithivī Yuvarajah Ā-
5. nandakar-Ānanda maharshi-mahāgōtra vīyad-amala-
6. sakala tu(hi)nakiraṇasya samavagāḍ = Āndhra-sundarī-
7. chandan-ānchan = ālaktaka-lōlā-mālā-parimōsha
8. (pa) richaya kritāparādha vaipulya sit = ētara-Bepṇā
9. nāthasya Trikuṭa-parvatapatē(r-) Gōlāṅgūla
10. (vija) ya-kētanasya hallisaka paṭu-paṭa-hara (va)sa
11. mapya.....dyōgasya Kandapuravara-Janapada-dvitayā
12. dhipatēh Kandara-rājasya priya sutāyam avanītalānta
13. vatyam = mahādēvyam sanjāta... etc., etc.
- * * *
30. ...sa-sakala-kala-viśāradas-Satsabhāmalla.

1 It is not clear whether any words are lost here. *Ed.*

2 Read "kālīśvara-hara-vīra". The context of the inscription as well as the phrase "Sa-garuḍa-Mura-ripu-sanātha-śāsanah" in line 23 and "sama-samaya-samunnata-Gṛdhr = ādhyāsita-kētanah" in line 25 of the inscription supports the above suggested probable reading.

3 This seems to be rather a title or epithet than real personal name. *Ed.*

VELICHERLA GRANT OF PRATAPARUDRA GAJAPATI

Dated Saka Samvat 1432.

O. VENKATARANGAYYA, B.A., B.L.

Velicherla is a Śrotriem village in Kōvūr Taluk, situated about twenty miles to the north of Nellore. This village is still in the possession and enjoyment of the descendants of the original donee Kondaya. Mr. Pulugulla Venkataramaniah, a pensioner (since deceased) was kind enough to lend me the engraved plates for publication. I edit this grant in this journal through the kindness of the Editor, Mr. Bhavaraja Venkata Krishnarao.

The grant is engraved on three thick copper-plates, each measuring about 8¼" long, 3¼" broad and ⅛ inch thick and containing a petal-like projection with a hole in the middle about ¾ inch long on the left side of each plate. The ring with which these three plates were strung together passed through the round hole in those projections. Unfortunately, this ring is missing. It might have contained the seal or the family legend and the ensign of the grantor. The projection of the third plate is also found broken.

The inscription is engraved on four faces of these three plates. The outside of the first and third plates which are left blank act as covers to the writing on the inner sides of these plates. The inscription begins on the inner side of the first plate, runs on either side of the second, and ends on the inner face of the third. It consists altogether of thirty nine lines written in Telugu characters which may be assigned to the sixteenth century. The language of the inscription is mainly in Sanskrit verse except the boundaries of the village granted which are in Telugu.

There are some orthographical peculiarities which deserve mention, though the script in general is not very much unlike the modern Telugu characters. Thus for instance letters *ḥ*, *ḍ* and *ḍ* (ḥ, ḍ, ḍ) are all written very much alike and the context alone should decide which particular consonant was intended by the scribe. And similarly *sa* (ṣ) is written like *ka* (ḡ) some of the eccentricities of the scribe which are more or less peculiar to the Telugu scribes are noticeable in this record. The following are some of them. Firstly: the writer is fond of doubling the consonant that follows the *anusvara*; e.g. *samssargga* for *samsargga*, *ambujāta* for *ambujāta*, *pamchcha* for *pamcha* and *praphullamtti* for *praphullamti*. Secondly, he is equally fond of doubling the consonant that occurs in conjunction with the letter 'r' thus for example, *sarvva* for *sarva*, *kirtti* for *kriti*, *vartti* for *varti* etc. The secondary sign

for 'r' which is called *velapala-gilaka* in Telugu is invariably used where it occurs in conjunction with another consonant. In modern script the *velapala-gilaka* is not frequently used; the letter "r" is written in its primary and full form and the consonant that comes in conjunction with it is written in the secondary form. Thus for example where the average modern scribe would write నర్వ and ర్మ the scribe of the record under wrote నవ్వ and ర్మ.

The inscription contains about twenty verses which are in chaste language, and run very smoothly. There are one or two metrical errors which are quite negligible. For instance line 20 reads *pātrair-behara-mahā-pātraiḥ*. In this line one syllable or *mātra* is in excess and the passage will be correct according to the rules of prosody if it is read as *pātrair-behrā-mahāpātriḥ*. Similarly in lines 26—27, in the portion "*Nārāyaṇa-yajvanah-pautrāya*" there are three extra syllables. The rules of metre will be satisfied by reading the passage as "*Nārāyaṇārya-pautrāya*." But the poet evidently sacrificed the cannons of metre for recording the fact that the donee's grandfather was an *yajva* 'a sacrificer'. The latter half of line 31 and the first six letters of line 32 do not seem to be wholly grammatical in their construction. But it is no difficult to surmise what is intended to be conveyed by those words. To bring grammar and sense into consonance the passage may be read as follows:

line 31: Tasya-grāmasya-sīma-chihnanī śīla-sthath-

line 32: bhairḥ siddhai jñeyāni |

Lines 32 to 36 of the grant are in Telugu prose and contain the boundaries of the village granted.

The first portion of the grant which, as has been remarked already, is in verse, contains very important and interesting information about the Gajapati dynasty. The first verse is in praise of god Vināyaka; the second of the Pristine Boar (*Adi-varāha*) incarnation of Viṣṇu. The third stanza sings the glory of the Sun-god, the progenitor of the Gajapati Dynasty which evidently claims to be of solar descent. Verses 4 to 14 are in praise of the family of the donor. The 15th stanza and a portion of the 16th relate to the date of the charter. The remaining portion of the 16th and the whole of the 17th verse mention the village granted, and the district to which it belonged. Verses 18—19 are devoted to the description of the donee and his ancestry. The remaining verses deal with the rights and privileges of the donor in respect of the charity or the village. Stanzas 22 and 23 at the end are the usual imprecatory verses.

The *raison-de-êton* of the grant is not recorded in it: but the grant was of the village of Velicharla to a brahmin householder, Konḍaya, an inhabitant of the village Pulugulla, of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*, who was the son of Dhammayā and son's son of Nārāyaṇa-yajva and a follower

of Yajurvēda. The date of the grant is given in verse (ll. 22-24) which runs as follows:

Kara-Rām=ābdhi- sītāṁśu saṁkhyāka Śaka-vatsarē

..... Pramōdōd-anyabdavarē māsē-Kārtika nāmanī

śukla-tṛtīya-divasē Bhārgavasya cha vāsarē * *

The conventional expressions Kara, Rāma, Abdhi and Sītāṁśu read backwards will yield the Śaka year 1432 which coincided with the cyclic year Pramōdōda or Pramōdūta; the month was Kārtika, the week-day was Friday, and the *tithi* was śukla 3 or the third lunar day of the bright fortnight. The exact equivalent of the date in the Christian era is Friday, 4th October 1510 A.D.

This date is important in another way. It shows that the sway of the Gajapati dynasty of Orissa extended as far south as Conjeevaram or Kanchi in the middle of the sixteenth century. Otherwise it would be difficult to understand how a ruler of Gajapati dynasty with his seat of government in the remote north should be able to make a grant of a village in the Pāka-nāṇḍu country (*Pāṁkanāṇḍu*) which covers a large portion in the modern Nellore district. According to this inscription, it appears that the suzerainty of the Gajapatis attained zenith during the sixteenth century. The empire of Gajapatis seems to have extended from the Gauḍa country (Bengal) on the north as far south as Nellore district and probably further to the borders of Conjeevaram (Kānchi) and on the west it seems to have covered a portion of Telingana which formed part of the dominions of the Sultans of Golconda and which is the local name for the eastern half of the Nizam's Dominions comprising all their Telugu districts. The reference to the subjugation of the citadels (*durga*) of Telinganā in lines 8—9 affords proof of indubitable the extent of the empire on the west.

The Gajapati dynasty of Orissa claimed Solar descent. This is borne out by the reference to the Sun-god as the progenitor of the family. (l. 6) The first great king of the dynasty was Kapilēnda (l. 6) He is said to have conquered the kings of the South and stormed the strong citadels (*durga*) of Telingāna. (l. 78) His son was Purushōttama, who was a great king and an excellent poet. (l. 10) His son and successor was Pratāparudra Gajapati (l. 12) He defeated the armies of and conquered the Gauḍa kings and annexed their kingdoms' (l. 13) He was a powerful monarch as his titles Mahārāja (l. 15) Rajēndra-Paramēsvara (ll. 15-16) Śrīmad-rājādhirāja and Pancha-Gauḍ-ādhināyaka¹ (l. 16) Virakēdara, Māna-Gōvinda-lāṅchhana, Vidyānidhī,

¹ The expression *Pancha-Gauḍ-adhi-nayaka* which occurs in line 16 cannot be satisfactorily explained. Who the Pancha-Gauḍas were, over whom Pratāpa Rudra Gajapati held sway as the supreme lord, remain still to be ascertained. The following are generally known as Pancha Gauḍas or the five Gauḍas; Utkala, Maithila, Kanoja, Kanyākubja and Sārvara. [Probably the epithet Pancha-Gauḍ-ādhināyaka was meant to be a title, Ed.]

Pānkanāṇḍi-Chōka-maṇḍala-Nāyaka,² Tribhuvana-Tōdaramalla, Raṇabaṇijāra, Pratāpa-vīravara Śrī Venkata-Gajarāja and Pratāpa-mārtāṇḍa, clearly indicate and proclaim. The historic value of some of these titles is not clear, and it remains for the future researches to find out the proper interpretations for them. The title Pānkanāṇḍi-Chōkamaṇḍala-nāyaka need not mean two distinct territorial divisions Pānkanāṇḍu or Pākanāṇḍu and Chōkamaṇḍala, for a portion of Pākanāṇḍu was known as Pākanāṇḍu Chōlamanḍala. The latter cannot be identified but Pānkanāṇḍu seems to be the same as Pākanāṇḍu which comprises the northern half of Nellore and the southern portion of Guntur. The expression Raṇabaṇijāra seems to be special title of Gajapati dynasty but the exact significance cannot be explained at present.³ This grant would appear to have been made from the king's seat at Unḍrakonḍa which is called *Kaṭaka* meaning 'capital.' It is probable that Unḍrakonḍa which cannot be identified now was the seat of the provincial governor who was in charge of the southern provinces that comprised the eastern Andhra seaboard. There are some brahmana families in Ongole with the family name *Unḍrakonḍa* but they are not able to locate the village definitely. It was probably a place of importance in the olden days in the Nizams Dominions. Another important place is Jaladanki which is said to be a *sthala* "the head-quarters of territorial division" named after it. Jaladanki exists today in Nellore District but it is not an important village.

The political and social dignitaries that are mentioned in the charter are an interesting study in themselves. They are Behara, (Behra) Pātra, Mahāpātra and Sāmanta. There is no doubt that these were titles of rank in the court of the Gajapatis and the holders of these dignities were apparently officers in charge of the administration of the provinces.

² The word Chōkamaṇḍala seems to be misreading for Chōlamanḍala. *Ed.*

³ It may seem rather fantastic to suggest that the Raṇabaṇijāra is a Telugu word. But it resembles the word *banjari* which means "an itinerant dealer in rich and other provisions on pack saddle". It might have an interesting history behind it. It is equally possible that the Telugu word *baṭija* is a variant of *banija* which is itself a variant of the Sanskrit word *vanik* which means 'a merchant'. The substantive word is *vanij* and *ara* may be a suffix, indicating trade business etc. Of Hindi words like *pinjara* 'cotton dealer', *sunhara* a 'goldsmith' and the like. Similarly in Telugu the same suffix in some modified form occurs in several Telugu words, e.g. *Pujari*, *lekari*, *nerpari* *tirpari*, *omari*, *chupari*, *kapari*, *tempari* and so on. There is some philological affinity between *na* and *la* in Telugu and this *Banija* may become *Balija*. This interchange of *n* into *l* is borne out by the word Telugu itself which has a variant in Tenugu. [With due deference to the author of this note, I wish to interpret the word *Ranabanijari* as 'one who is firm on the battlefield.' The word is a compound of three terms *rana*, *bani* and *jari*. The word *bani* may be a variant of *badi* which means 'steadfast', 'firm' etc. See *Sabdaratnakaramu*. Both *n* and *d* are also interchangeable in Telugu. Thus *Rana-bani-jari* seems to be a peculiar Telugu compound. *Ed.*]

Behra seems to be the Oriya equivalent for the Telugu *karnam* (village accountant).

The most interesting portion of the record is the monogram or the royal sign-manual at the end. An experienced Sub-Registrar who served in the present Orissa Province and who handled many documents in Oriya, suggests that the first symbol of the monogram resembles the Telugu letter *kha* and that the writing of the letter *kha* is the Oriya way of introducing the signature or mark of the executant and it might represent the Persian syllable *khat* which means 'the writing of' or 'the hand of.' So much so if the maker of the deed is Prataparudra he would begin with the symbol *kha* (for *khat*) and sign his name as *kha* Pratāpa Rudra. As regards the remainder of the monogram, the three oval shaped symbols close to one another and the double looped curve before them may be taken to represent the hilt of the sword and the rest of it, the blade. What the line underneath the monogram lying parallel to the sword blade indicates remains to be known. Sri Kumar Bidyādhara Deo, B.L., M.R.A.S., interprets this symbol in more or less a similar way. But he interprets the *kha*-like symbol to mean the face of a lion. (Siṁhamukha or the lion head of a sword).

Text.

First Plate: Second Side.

1. Gaṇānām=adhipaḥ pāyāt gaṇḍa-matt= āli-nisvanai(ḥ) | bhakta-saṁ-ghghāta vighnaukhān-vārayan vāra-
2. ṇānanah || Pārāvāra viśṛṅkhkālōrmi-paṭali pathyā nimagnāṁ bhuvan | daṁshṭrāgrēṇa samu-
3. ddharan sa-pulakai (s)svēd=odgamām-ātmanah | saṁsargg=ānubhavēna iōma-paṭali lvē(svē)dōda-bīnddū-
4. nīva | krīḍa-krōḍā kaḷabarovatu sadā saptārṇṇavīm=udvahan || Asti-trayī mūla-mū-
5. rtir-ādityo mahasānnidhi | āmbhōjinīnām jīv = ātur-Harēr-dakṣiṇa-lōchanām || Tada-
6. nvayadhā vudabhūn-mahaujāḥ kaḷānidhiḥ ŚrīKapilēndranāmā | yat-kīrti-chandra-dvita-
7. y=ōri-bhūbhṛt | karāmbujātāni nīmīlayanti || Sa Bhūmipatir-Dakṣiṇabhūmipā-
8. lān vijitya viśrāṇana-pārijātaḥ | Ananya-sādhāraṇa sāhasa śrī-jagrāha paśchāt-Tye
9. lungāṇa-durggān || Puṇyāis-tadīyyai Purushōttamās-sat-putra=ōbhavat Śrī Pura

56

O. VENKATARANGAYYA.

[J.A.H.R.S.]

10. shōttamēndrah | sugandhayas tstat-kavitāvilāsā samkhyāvatām
karnna(karṇa) = rasāyanāni ||
11. divā-nīśam tasya mahīśvarasya pratāpa-bhānau pari-dṛśyamānē |
nāk = āpagāyām nalināni ni-
12. tyam n = āti praphullamṭti na-kuṭmalarṭti || Putrōbhavat-tasya
Gajēśvarasya Pratāparudrah-parasainya.

Second Plate: First Side.

13. raudrah sa-Gauḍarājasya balāni jivā | praty = agrahīd (t) rājam-
adhijya-dhanvā matt = ēbha-
14. kurmbbhau samarēshu yasya dṛṣṭvā palāyya sva-puram praviśya |
bhay = ākulō Gauḍa-8
15. patiḥ kadāpi. | bibbi-kuchau n = ēkshitem-ihatē sma Sa-
bhūpatir-mahārajēndra Para-
16. mēśvarah | Śrimad-Rājādhirājendra-Pañcha-Gauḍ-adhināyakah ||
Yaśasvī virakēdarō Māna-
17. Gōvinda- lāmchhanah | Vidyānidhiḥ Pāṁkananḍi-Chōka (1a)
maṇḍala-nāyakah || Tribhuvana-Tōḍara
18. mallō-Raṇa-baṇi-jārah pratāpa-vīra-varah | Śrī Venkkaṭa-Gajarājah
Pratāparudrah
19. pratāpa-mārttāmḍah Vurḍḍkormḍa-mahā-durgga-kaṭakē maṇi-
śōbbitē |
20. Simhyasanē(simhāsanē) sāmāsīnau vidvajjana-samāvṛte || Pātrair-
Beharā(Behrā) Mahā-
21. Pātrai-sāmaṁttai parisēvitah | pālayan prthivīm sarvvām Puruhū

Second Plate: Second Side.

22. ta-yiv = āparah Kara-Rā n = ābdi-sitāmśu samkhyāka śaka-
vatsarē | Pra-
23. mōdod = anybdavarē māsē Kārttika-nāmani || śukla-tritīyā
(tṛtīya)divasē Bhā-
24. rggavasya cha vāsarē Vū(U)dayāchala-durggasya pūrvabhāgē
pratisht(b)itē Ja-
25. ladankki-sthalē Pāṁkananḍi-simni virājitam Velicherla-grāma-
ratnam Pulu.
26. guḷla-nivāsīnē || Śrī Bhāradvāja-gōtrāya Yajus-śākhā-pravarttinē
Nāra-
27. yaṇa-yajvanah-pautrāya Dhammayasy-ātma-sūnavē | Konḍḍaya-
dvijarājā-
28. ya samasta-guṇa-śōbbhinē | sa-hirany = ōdakair-ddbhārāpurvarah
kṛtvā samādarā-

29. t || Shaṭ-trimśad = āvēdana karahitam nirupādhikam āchandr =
ārkaputra-pautra pāra-
30. m-pary = ānuśasanam || Ādi-krayādi-yōgyamchcha sarva-bhōga
samanvitaM | prāda-

Third Plate: First Side

31. Durggā-Jagannātha-sannidhau dharma- vṛddhayē || Tasya-
grāmasya Sīma-chihnāni Śilāstam-
32. bhāi-śisthai-jñēyāni || Grāmam-tūrppuna dāṁḍu-dōvanu-
gunṭanu-rāinni [| *] Ajñēyāna
33. charllōnu-vidanḍalō rāi [| *] Dakshināna Chēmullagumṭanu
ā-paḍumaṭi-kattuvanu rā-
34. inni Nairuti-mūlanu Rēvaḍigumṭa-paḍumaṭi-kommuna rāi
paḍamaṭa-nilvu-rāi [| *] Vāyu-
35. vyāna Varṁgudaṁḍḍa-rāi Uttarāna-Vuppuṁ-jervu-tūrpum-
gommuna rāi [| *] Isānyānā)-
36. Mudulla-guṇṭa-dmḍḍaanu rāyi Ivi-yella polam-samjñalu || Ēkaiva-
aginī lōke sarvvē-
37. shām-ēva bhūbhujam na-bhōjyā na-karagrāhya vipra-dattā
vasuṁdharā || Sva-da-
38. ttam para-dattam-vā yō-harēd-vasudham-imam shashthir-
varusha sahasrā-
39. pi vishtayam jāyatē krimih

A Note on the Date of the Velicherla Grant.

B. V. KRISHNA RAO, B.A., B.L.

The date of the Velicherla grant is given as Ś. S. 1432, presumably expired, corresponding to the cyclic year Paamōdūta or Promōdōda, the third *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārtika. Unfortunately, the Śaka Samvat and the Cyclic year do not agree, for Śaka 1432 expired coincided with the cyclic year Paridhāvi. Śaka year 1433 expired or 1434 current alone would correspond to the cyclic year Pramōdūta. The Śaka year 1432 would therefore appear to be a mistake of the composer of the charter for Śaka year 1433. If the Śaka Samvat and cyclic years coincide, the year would be 1433 and the date of the grant in Christian era would be equivalent to Friday, 24th October, 1511 A. D. This seems to be the proper date of the charter,

The date of the charter is also important for another reason as well. A stone inscription in front of the temple of Virabhadra at Gōnugunṭa in Ongole taluka, Guntur district, records in Telugu that on Tuesday, the 11(15)th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārtika, Pramōjūta *samvatsara*, Ś. S. 1433 expired, while Krishṇadēvarāya-Mahārāya was reigning over the kingdom. Sūrānāyani Abbanāyanivāu gave the village of Gōnugunṭa in Kocharlakōṭa-*sīma* in Koṇḍaviḍu-*rājya*, for the religious merit of Timmarasu-vāru, (who was the donor's immediate master at Koṇḍaviḍu) for providing *amṛtapādi* to Amarēśvara Śiva of Gōnugunṭa.¹ Timmarasu mentioned here was evidently the celebrated minister, *Mahā-sīraḥ-pradhāni* of Krishṇadēvarāya. In the details of the date of this record also there is a slight discrepancy. The week day could not be Tuesday if the *tithi* was 11. Obviously the *tithi* was 15 for it would be extremely appropriate for the donor to make the charity on Kārttika *suddha* Pūrṇima, which would be an important day for Śiva worship. The editors of the inscription must have lost sight of this and read the worn out figures as 11 instead of 15. The proper equivalent of this date in Christian era would then be, Tuesday, 4th November, 1511 A. D.

The proximity of the date of these two records is curious and interesting. It would appear from these two records that both Krishṇadēvarāya and Pratāparudra Gajapati held sway simultaneously in the Southern Āndhra country. Apparently, Krishṇadēvarāya's forces gained hold in Koṇḍaviḍu-*rājya*; and active hostilities must have commenced between the Gajapati and the Emperor of Vijayanagara and that the former had suffered already some reverses. Krishṇadēvarāya's annexation of some of the provinces in the Gajapati Dominions is also mentioned in a slightly later record at Tirupati. The record is dated in Śaka year 1436 expired² and mentions that king Krishṇadēvarāya attacked Pratāparudra Gajapati, defeated and pursued him as far as Udayagiri and captured the fortress. It would therefore appear from the above that Krishṇadēvarāya's wars with the Gajapati king commenced early in 1511 A. D.

1 Nellore Ins. Ongole 46. Rangachari—Topl. List of Ins., Madras Presidency Vol. II, p. 789, No. 371.

2 *Ep. Colln.*, No. 53 of 1899. Here again the cyclic year is stated as Bhāva. It could not be Bhāva but Anala or Nala.

KRISHNDEVARAYA AND HIS PATRONAGE OF TAMIL POETS.

PANDIT SOMA SUNDARA DESIKAR,
(*Tamil Lexicon, University of Madras*).

'The empire of Vijayanagar came into being under stress of circumstances which necessitated the gathering together of all the strength that the Hindu civilization was capable of putting forth in an effort to preserve that civilization from the utter destruction which has already overtaken it in this part of India' said Dr. S. K. Ayyangar in his *The yet remembered ruler of a long forgotten Empire*. It was Kṛṣṇa Dēvarāya that brought the Vijayanagar Empire to its zenith. He himself being a poet of no mean order, it is no wonder that he was a patron of Telugu and Sanskrit literature. But it was not well known that he was a good patron of Tamil Literature also.

During the latter part of the fifteenth century, the Tamil country was overrun by the Ōḍras and much damage was done by them in the country. Some of the atrocities committed by the Ōḍras are inscribed even in inscriptions. From inscription No. 1 of 1905 and 93 of 1906 we learn that the Ōḍras did much damage even to Temple properties. 'No. 93 of 1906 dated during the reign of King Virūpākṣa and Śaka Samvat 1395, the cyclic year Nandana, refers to the confusion caused by the Ōḍḍiyan and the consequent cessation of festivals in the Śiva temple at Jambai in the South Arcot District for ten years. No. 1 of 1905, dated two years earlier (1470-71 A.D.) during the reign of Sālūva Narasimhadēva mahārāja also refers to the confusion caused by the Ōḍḍiyan about 8 or 10 years ago and to the Viṣṇu temple at Tirukkōilur getting out of repair in consequence.¹ This statement of the Government Epigraphist is borne out by a stray stanza found in the *Tamil Nāvalar caritai*, "*History of the Tamil Poets*," said to have been composed by one Tatvaprakāsar of Tiruvārūr. In this stanza addressed to Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, the author compares the Ōḍra occupation to the Muhammadan invasion under Malik Kafur. The Tamil country was relieved of this thralldom by the rise of the Vijayanagar Empire, and the Ōḍras were completely annihilated by the Rāya after the campaign of Rāichūr and Koṇḍaviḍu. This fact has been immortalized in a stanza by a poet named Kumāra Sarasvati. The stanza is in Venbā metre and has a dual

1 *Anl. Rep. South Ind. Epy.* 1906.

to the milk, meaning thereby that they are poets of the highest order.⁸ On the other hand when his opinion was sought about a poet Ottakkuttan he informed that he was a poet of no learning. With all his plain speaking he was well received at the Rāya's court.

Another poet who lived during the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya was one N ā n a p r a k ā s a r. He composed a poem called *Manjarippa* and glorified him. Though the poem is not now extant we learn about it from another source named *Tondamaṇḍala Śatakam*. The poet was a native of Kāncīpuram and it is surmised that he was an abbot of a mutt there.

One Mandalapurusa composed a *Nighaṇṭu* during his reign. It is a standard work of Tamil Lexicography. It is called *Cirḍomaṇi Nighaṇṭu*. From all these extracts it may be clear that Kṛṣṇa Devaraya was a patron of Tamil Poets and Tamil Literature.

8. *Manhavi tāirum poḷrkūṭṭa nārappan vārtalaiman*
tankavi leḷḷiya pālāla kōkilam tānuraitta
ṭmankavi pālik kitu chaṛk karaikkavi namkaḷ chollum
punkavi uṇṇoṭu hāyamen reḥollip porruvarē.

UNHISTORICITY OF THE KAUMUDIMAHOTSAYA

DR. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A., Ph.D.,
 Lecturer, Calcutta University

The ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY has earned the gratitude of all students of ancient Indian literature and history by publishing interesting Sanskrit Drama entitled *Kaumudimahotsava* (Appendix to an *JAHRS*, II—III). The late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal characterised the work as historical and suggested that Caṇḍasēna whose usurpation of the throne of Pāṭalīputra is referred to in the drama should be identified with Chandragupta I of the Imperial Gupta dynasty of Magadha.¹ I have carefully studied the *Kaumudimahotsava* and, in my opinion, major part of the matter of this work is fictitious and the identification of Caṇḍasēna with Chandragupta I is highly fantastic and even absurd. The identification is invalidated not only by the different forms of the names, viz., *Caṇḍasēna* and *Candragupta*, but also by the plot of the drama. Excepting Caṇḍasēna's relations with the Licchavis,² everything that has been said in the drama about Caṇḍasēna goes against his identification with Candragupta I. We know that Candragupta was the founder of a dynasty which ruled for several centuries; Caṇḍasēna of the drama however was merely a usurper of the throne of Sundaravarman whose son, moreover, regained his father's throne when the usurper and the members of his family were killed.³ We also know that Candragupta was born in a royal family; he was the son of Mahārāja Ghaṭōtkaca and grandson of Mahārāja Gupta; the drama however represents Caṇḍasēna

¹ *Historical Data in the Drama Kaumudimahotsava*, An. Bhand. Or. Res. Soc., XII, p. 50ff; *History of India*, p. 113ff.

² Caṇḍasēna-hatakaḥ...tataḥ svayaṁ Magadha-kulaṁ vyapadiśann= api Magadha-kula-vairībhir=mlēcchair=Licchavibhiḥ saha saṁbandhaṁ kṛtvā labdh-āvasaraḥ Kusumapuram=uparuddhavān (p. 30).

³ vats-ānubandhō nihataś=Caṇḍasēna-hatakaḥ...unmūlita-Caṇḍasēna-rāja-kulaṁ.....Kalyāṇavarmāṇaṁ (p. 36).

⁴ purā kila Sundaravarmanā svayaṁ=avidita-svabhāvatayā viṣaturur=iva putrikṛtāś=Caṇḍasēna-hatakaḥ (p. 30). Caṇḍasēna may have been a Kāraskara as suggested by Jayaswal. That he was of a low caste is seen from the passage: kutra idṛśa-varṇasya asya rāja-śrī (p. 30). Matrimonial relations of the early Gupta kings with Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya families like that of the Vākātakas, Kadambas, and the Licchavis appear to suggest that they belonged probably not to a low caste. The records of Prabhāvatīguptā suggest that their gōtra was *Dhārāṇa*.

only as an upstart who was the adopted son of Sundaravarman, king of Magadha.⁴

A passage⁵ in the speech of the Sūtradhāra, which is supposed to prove that the drama was staged during the coronation of king Kalyāṇavarman and that the plot was taken from the past life of the king, it may be argued, proves the historical character of the *Kaumudīmahotsava*. The drama was however edited from a single MS. It is therefore not safe to accept the above reading and interpretation if the plot itself goes against the historicity of the drama. Before proceeding to discuss the historical value of the *Kaumudīmahotsava*, we give a summary sketch of the plot.

Caṇḍasēna, the adopted son of Sundaravarman, king of Pāṭalīputra conspired with the Licchavis, the hereditary enemies of Magadha. The Licchavis besieged Kusumapura or Pāṭalīputra, and in the contest with them king Sundaravarman died on the battle-field. Then Caṇḍasēna usurped the throne of Pāṭalīputra, and Kalyāṇavarman, son of the deceased Sundaravarman, was secretly removed to a fortified place called Vyādhakīśkindha in the vicinity of the Pampā-saras,⁶ in the Vindhya, by Mantragupta who was a minister of the dead king. While Kalyāṇavarman was passing his days at Pampā, Mantragupta, always in disguise, was at Pāṭalīputra looking for any opportunity to regain the throne for the unfortunate prince. This is the background of the plot.

A nun named Yogasiddhi was originally the nurse of Kalyāṇavarman. After Sundaravarman's death, she left Pāṭalīputra, spent her days at several holy places, and at last reached Mathurā (capital of the Śūrasēna janapada), where she was hospitably received by Kīrtiśeṇa, the Yādava king of Mathurā. Princess Kīrtimatī, daughter of Kīrtiśeṇa, was entrusted to her care, and the princess was sent with her to Pampā to worship at the temple of Goddess Caṇḍikā, Vindhyaśinī, Bhavānī or Ekānāmśā,⁷ the family-deity of the Yādava royal line of Mathurā. At Pampā, princess Kīrtimatī and prince Kalyāṇavarman met, and became deeply attracted to each other. Yogasiddhi saw a portrait of Kalyāṇavarman drawn by the princess and at once recognised the child who was

5 *dēvasya Kalyāṇavarmanah prati-nava-rājya-lābha-samhvarddhita-dr̥ṣṭi-vr̥ddhi-rara samkulē* = 'pi rāja-kulē punar = ayam = aparah pratyāsīdati Kaumudīmahotsav-ārambhah..... krtir = abhinēṭavyā..... asy = aiva rājñah samatītam caritam = adhikṛīya (Vijji)kayā nibaddham nāṭakam (p. 1) *Prati-nava-rājya* etc., is not clear.

6abhitaś = caṇḍik-āyatanam paṇḍpa-sarah samīpavartini..... Vyādhakīśkindha-nāmnī durga-sthānē..... Kalyāṇavarmanam (p. 3); Vindhya-ādri-gandha-gaja-dāna sugandhayo = 'mī paṇḍpā-sarah-salila-vicivimarda-śītāh..... (p. 7).

7. The reading *ekānamgā* has been rightly corrected by Mr. A. Ghosh as *ekānamśā* (Ind. Cult., IV, p. 271).

under her care at Pāṭalīputra. In the meantime, Mantragupta brought about the downfall of the usurper. Caṇḍasena and his family were uprooted, and Kalyāṇavarman was proclaimed king of Magadha. Yogasiddhi and Kīrtimatī went back to Mathurā, and Kīrtiśeṇa was pleased to learn all about his daughter's love affairs and her lover's fortune. He sent an embassy to Pāṭalīputra with proposals of his daughter's marriage with Kalyāṇavarman. Kīrtimatī was also sent to Pāṭalīputra. Kalyāṇavarman was glad to accept her as his queen.

It will be seen that major portion of the *Kaumudīmahotsava* which claims to deal with the past life of Kalyāṇavarman is concerned with the prince's love affairs, and only a small part of it with his installation on the throne of Pāṭalīputra. I do not like to analyse the details of the major portion of the plot. To me some of the details appear to be suspicious, though others may think them natural. But in a seemingly historical drama we surely expect that at least princess Kīrtimatī (daughter of the Yādava king Kīrtiśeṇa of Mathurā), who is the heroine of the work and is, besides Kalyāṇavarman, the most important character in the drama, should be an historical figure. In my opinion, if Kīrtimatī can be proved to be an imaginary character, major portion of the plot is automatically proved to be fictitious. As regards Kīrtimatī and her father, the drama says:—*asti Śūrasēnō nāma janapadaḥ teṣāṃ svāmī vikhyāta-kīrtiḥ Kīrti-śēṇō devaḥ..... tasy = ēyam = ekā duhitā prāṇēbhyō = 'pi garīyasī Kīrtimatī nāma..... svayam = ēva duhitaram "Caṇḍik-āyatanam gatvā kānicid = ahāny = āradhayatu bhagavatīm Vindhyaśinīm" = iti sābhisarām = ēnām = itaḥ preṣitavān Yadunāthaḥ (p. 8) bhagavaty = eva Vindhyaśinī: kula-daivatam hi Yadunām = ekānamśā⁸ (p. 38)..... tatas = tathā-bhūteṣu Vṛṣṇiṣu sāgara-grastāyām Dvārāvatyām pratiṣṭāpita-parīkṣitāḥ pravrajitukāmasya rājarṣer = Yudhiṣṭhirasy = ādēsād = dhanañkayena Śūrasēneṣu pañc-ābhidhānam (Read *vajr-ābhidhānam*) Vṛṣṇi-kumārām pratiṣṭhāpayatā hār-ālāmkāro dattaḥ: tat-param parayā Kīrtiśeṇam prāptaḥ (p. 43).*

It is clear from the above passages that, according to the author of the drama, the Yādava family was ruling at Mathurā from the establishment of Vajra up to the time of Kīrtiśeṇa Yādava, father of Kīrtimatī. Now, Kīrtimatī may be supposed to be an historical character, if only there existed any Yādava royal line at Mathurā about the time of Kalyāṇavarman who is supposed to have been a contemporary of

8. Cf. the names *Kīrtiśeṇa* and *Kīrtimatī*; they appear to be coined rather than genuine Cf. also the mention of Paṇḍpā in the Vindhya and in the vicinity of Kīśkindha.

9. The texts that I have consulted read the name of this prince as Vajra. See *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (Bangabāsī ed.), *Pūrva-khaṇḍa*, Ch. 148, verse 11; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (Do.), Pt. 5, Ch. 38, verse 34; etc.

Candragupta I and also of the author of the *Kaumudīmahotsava*. The continuation of Yādava rule at Mathurā from Vajra to a king of the first half of the fourth century A. D. is however utterly absurd. No Yādava king is known to have ruled at Mathura during the earlier centuries of the Christian era. Inscriptions and coins discovered in the Mathurā region do not prove the existence of Yādava rule in that locality in that period. We have early coins of native Rājās and foreign Satraps¹⁰ in the Mathurā region. Epigraphic evidence proves that Mathurā formed part of the Kuṣāṇa empire.¹¹ According to the Purāṇas (e.g., Vāyu, 99, 382), seven Nāga kings ruled at Mathurā before it was conquered by the Guptas. So, the rule of a direct descendant of Vajra at Mathurā about the beginning of the fourth century A. D. is out of the question. The Yādava king Kīrtiṣeṇa of the *Kaumudīmahotsava* (if he is supposed to have been a contemporary of Candragupta I) is as imaginary as his daughter Kīrtimatī, and the major portion of the plot becomes unhistorical. There is no proof that any Yādava king ruled at Mathurā even after the fourth century; the evidence of the *Kaumudīmahotsava* regarding Kīrtiṣeṇa, therefore, must be regarded as extremely doubtful.

The doubtful character of the major part of the *Kaumudīmahotsava* renders the remaining portion dubious. But since the existence of a Varman dynasty in Magadha is proved by inscriptional evidence and since the Licchavis are known to have had relations with Magadha from the time of Bimbisāra to that of Candragupta I, we may think that there is some historical background of the play. But that "background" does not help us in going beyond the facts that there was a Varman dynasty which ruled at Pāṭaliputra and that there was a Varman dynasty which ruled at Pāṭaliputra and that there was a Licchavi invasion of Magadha (possibly at the time of the Varmans). The Licchavis are known to have ruled in the northern part of Bihar and the adjoining districts now in Nepal from early times to the ninth century A. D. But in my opinion, the names of Sundaravarman and Kalyāṇavarman may be accepted as historical only after their existence is proved by reliable evidence.

The Sirpur inscription (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1654) of Mahāśivagupta-Bāīrjuna (son of Harṣagupta and Vāsaṭa, and grandson of Candragupta) of the Pāṇḍava family is generally ascribed to the eighth or ninth century A. D., but may be earlier. In this record, Mahāśivagupta's mother is said to have been the daughter of Sūryavarman of

"the Yarman dynasty of Magadha". There is thus evidence of the existence of a Varman dynasty in Magadha before the eighth century. Sūryavarman seems to have been related with Pūrṇavarman who is mentioned Yuan Chwang as a local rājā of Magadha (about the middle of the seventh century) and as the last descendant of Aśōka Maurya. These Varmans of Magadha, moreover, appear to have been no other than the Maukharis whose names end in *varman*.¹² It is possible that the author of the *Kaumudīmahotsava* refers to this Varman dynasty which ruled in Magadha after the early emperors of the Gupta dynasty, and not, as suggested by Dr. Jayaswal, to a Varman dynasty that is supposed to have ruled at Pāṭaliputra before the Guptas. There is nothing to prove that the *Kaumudīmahotsava* is earlier than the seventh or eighth century A.D. The reference to Kaṭāhanagara (p. 37) as a familiar place seems to suggest that it was composed after Kaṭāha (Ke(d)dah in the Malay Peninsula) became famous under the Śailēndra emperors in the eighth century. The Śailēndras are known to have had political relations with the Pālas of Eastern India in the first half of the ninth century and with the Cōḷas in the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. It may be interesting to note in this connection the mention of Kaṭāha as a familiar place in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* which is admittedly a late work (R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, (p. 51). The Vāmana (13, 10-11) and Garuḍa (55, 5) Purāṇas however mention Kaṭāha-dvīpa as one of the nine divisions of Bhāratavarṣa in place of Saumya or Gandharva of other Purāṇas, such as the Mārkaṇḍeya (57, 0) and the Vāyu (45, 79). But the absence of any such name like Kaṭāha in Ptolemy's Geography which gives a detailed account of Malayasia appears to suggest that the Purāṇic references to Kaṭāha are later interpolations.

12. The Maukharis are known to have been in Magadha from early times (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, Introduction, p. 14). For the Maukhari occupation of Magadha about the sixth century A.D., see Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1603-05, 2079-81 etc.



10. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, I, p. 190 ff. Raychaudhuri, *Political History*, 2nd ed., p. 282 ff.

11. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 299, 301 ff.

A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF SALUVA TIMMARASU

Prime Minister of Krishnadevaraya.

K. ISWAR DUTT, B.A., (Cocanada).

In the whole and vast range of the history of the Vijayanagar Empire, seldom we come across such an illustrious personality, a miraculous man of action, a sturdy soldier, an astute statesman and a sound scholar as Sāluva Timma or Sāluva Timmarasu,—as he was popularly called,—the Prime Minister of Krishnadevarāya. The life of this great minister, is a fine illustration of that dictum that in every society a career is open to talent, and that, provided that the man has got it, he can mount to the pinnacle of human fortune without the aid of wealth and station in life, and the perquisite of pedigree and privilege.

The contemporary Telugu literature, the chronicles of Paes and Nuniz, the lithic records of the time, give us a comprehensive, though not a complete glimpse into the history of the statesman, and especially the Indian historian should feel highly grateful to the two Portuguese chroniclers, who committed the picture of this powerful personage to the canvass of history. Though the picture they painted became dim through mist of time, nevertheless, it is dazzling in parts.

A *chāṭu* verse in Telugu coming down through four centuries, narrates a painful story about the early life of this great man.¹ It was said that he had to beg for food at Chandragiri and then at Penugonda, and that he served as a valet to some feudatory chiefs of that time. Tradition states that on account of performing some great intellectual feats, he aroused the fine emotions of Krishnarāya and claimed his admiration so that the latter observing that this person was a man of astute intellect, made him his prime minister. But long before he began to guide the destinies of the Vijayanagar Empire under Krishnadevarāya, he held that high office under his predecessor. At first we come across his two Tāḍipatri inscriptions, where, in one of them, it was stated that he was the *Mahāpradhāni* "the Great Chancellor" of Vīra Narasimharāya Mahārāya.² He presented some villages to the god Rāmēśvara at Tāḍipatri and in the second inscription at the same place, we find him

1 Guttim bullelu kuṭṭi Chandragiri lō gūḍ-etti Pengonda lō
Hattin satramunandu vēḍi balu-durg—adhīsa-tāmbālapum-
tittul-mōsi padaṣṭul—aina ghanulan dīvimpa dīvinohedan
matt—Arāti Yayāti Nāgama-sutun mantriśvarun Timmanin.

2. *S. I. I.* Vol. 1V, No. 802.

remitting taxes on marriages, for the religious merit of king Vīra Narasimha Mahārāya.

Except these solitary instances, we do not know much about the early life of Timmarasu, and the part he played in moulding the destinies of Empire under the first Tuluva Emperor. After the death of Vīra Narasimha, the part he played in the history of the Empire, became very conspicuous and was marked by marvellous and astounding feats of statesmanship of a master mind, by dazzling proofs of power, prowess, and ability only to culminate in a melancholy and a tragic end.

We turn to Nuniz to learn the circumstances, under which Krishnadevarāya, was installed on the throne of the Vijayanagar Empire and the prominent part played by the great and illustrious statesman in shaping the course of life of that Emperor and marking his impress in the history of the Empire. Nuniz stated "This king (Vīra Narasimha) died of his sickness in the city of Bisnaga; and before he died he sent for Salvatimya, (Sāluva Timmaya or Timma) his minister, and commanded to be brought to him his (the King's son) son, eight years old, and said to Sallvatina that as soon he was dead he must raise up his son to be king (though he was not of an age for that, and though the kingdom ought perhaps to belong to his brother Crisnaraο) and that he must put out the eyes of the latter and must bring them to show him; in order that after his death there should be no difference in the Kingdom. Salvatina said that he would do so and departed, and sent to call for Crisnaraο, and took him aside to a stable, and told him how his brother had bade him to put out his eyes and make his son King. When he heard this, Crisnaraο said that he did not seek to be King, nor to be anything in the Kingdom, even though it should come to him by right; that his desire was to pass through this world as a *Jōgi* (ascetic) and that he should not put out his eyes, seeing that he had not deserved that of his brother. Salvatina, hearing this, and seeing that Crisnaraο was a man of over twenty years and therefore more fit to be King, as you will see furtheron, than the son of Busbalraο who was only eight years old, commanded to bring a she-goat, and he put out its eyes, and took them to show the king, for already he was at the last hour of his life; and he presented them to him, and as soon as the king was dead his brother Crisnaraο was raised to be king, whose eyes the late king has ordered to be torn out".⁴

What Nuniz had stated, Paes, the other great chronicler confirmed in his narrative. The confirmation is quite striking. He states, "Salvatina, who is the principal person that enters the building, supervises the whole, for he got up the king and made him king, and so the king looks on him like a father. Whenever the king calls to him

3. *Ibid*, No. 803.

4 *Forgotten Empire*, p. 314—315.

he addresses him as "Lord (Senhor) Salvationica" and all the captains and nobles of the realm made a *salaam* to him".⁵

The Prime Minister was very old at the time Krishṇadēvarāya was crowned Emperor, and Paes, who might have seen the statesman, wrote that he was an old man and the greatest favourite of the king.⁶

At the time of Krishṇadēvarāya's accession to the throne, we find Timmarasu as Governor of Koṇḍaviḍu. From a record at Ongole, it will be seen that the *rājyam*, province, of Koṇḍaviḍu was bestowed on Sāluva Timmarasu before the stronghold of Koṇḍaviḍu was actually captured from the king of Orissa, and that Timma made a grant of land in that *rājyam* in 1511—12 A. D. It may be surmised that the Gajapati king was not in effective occupation of the northern parts of Nellore though held the forts of Udayagiri and Koṇḍaviḍu.⁷

A couple of years after Krishṇadēvarāya had ascended the throne, the celebrated statesman, Timmarasu commenced to play his part in shaping the destiny of the Empire, and so dominated the men of his day, so identified himself with the history of the times, that his military prowess, political prescience and uncanny foresight, were indissolubly linked to the events of history of which he helped to shape. The biography of Timmarasu, is without any exaggeration virtually an outline of the history of the Vijayanagar Empire during the two decades following the accession of Krishṇadēvarāya and during which period he was closely associated with his achievements. As soon as Krishṇadēvarāya ascended the throne, he examined his treasury and army and made preparations to curb the turbulent chiefs in the south. He left the city in charge of Sāluva Timma to guard it and set out on his expedition.⁸

The Emperor first defeated the chiefs of Ummattūr and next captured the impregnable citadel of Udayagiri. His thirst for conquest was not quenched and he thought, as Nuniz stated, that his conquest of

⁵ *Opi. cit.* p. 268, [It would appear from another Chātu verse quoted below that Emperor Krishṇarāya held Sāluva Timmarasu in high esteem and called him Appaji "Venerable Father". *Ed.*]

"Ayya yanipimchukontivi

neyyambuna Krishṇarāya-nṛpapungavuchā-(a)

ayyā ! nī sari yēri?

tiyyani vilukāḍavayya ! Timmarusayyā !"

⁶ *Opi. cit.* p. 250.

⁷ Butterworth and Venugopala Chetti—*Nellore Inscriptions*, O. 46. Saka 1493. The Saka year is evidently expired. A record of Krishṇadēvarāya dated S.S. 1496 (expired) Bhāva samvatsara, at Tirupati, mentions the king's attack on Pratāparudra Gajapati, his pursuing him as far as Udayagiri and his capture of Udayagiri. (*Epi. Colln.* No. 53 of 1890). [It is therefore possible to believe that war had broken out between Krishṇadēvarāya and Pratāparudra Gajapati early in S. S. 1488 expired, i. e., in 1510 A. D. *Ed.*]

⁸ Dr. S. K. Ayyangar: *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, pp. 111 and 130.

Udayagiri was only a trivial one, and so he had determined to penetrate into the dominions of king of Oriya. He ordered his Prime Minister to make necessary preparations for the expedition.

CONQUEST OF KONDAVIDU BY TIMMARASU :—The expedition against Koṇḍaviḍu provided a wide theatre to display his great parts and disclose his indomitable courage, will and prowess. The Mangalagiri inscription which describes the capture of that fortress is one of the finest records depicting the Prime Minister's achievements. Koṇḍaviḍu is the well-known chief fortress in Narasārapēta Taluk of the present Guntur District. It was stated that he captured the "the swan-like kings appointed by Gajapati in Koṇḍaviḍu."¹⁰ The swan-like kings appointed by the Gajapati at Koṇḍaviḍu were, Vīrabhadra the son of Pratāparudra Gajapati, Narahari-Pātra, the son of Kumāra Hummīra Mahāpātra, Mullu Khan, and Uddanda Khan of Rāchūru, Rāchirāju of Pūsapāḍu, Śrīnātha Rāju and Lakshmīpati Rāju. Kēśāva Pātra of Janyala, Bālachandra Mahāpātra and others.¹¹ The above event took place on 23rd June, 1515 A. D., as mentioned in the above record. The conquest of the place is one of the decisive factors both in the life of the illustrious Chancellor and in the annals of the Empire. Though old, the Great Minister possessed a strong will, brilliant and powerful intellect, a conspicuous individuality, which above all combined to make him the favourite of the court, the master of the country, and the sway the Empire.

Krishṇadēvarāya was not, however, content with the conquest of the Gajapati at Koṇḍaviḍu. He wanted to penetrate into the heart of the Gajapati dominions and as far as his capital even, a desire that prompted him to display his superior military strength and not to annex permanently the dominions of the enemy. Timmarasu was not for an aggressive foreign policy and he remonstrated this with the king that it was not desirable for the Emperor to enter further into the dominions of the Gajapati's country, as there was the possibility of his being attacked on the flank by the Muhammadans who might succeed in cutting off his supplies.¹² The Emperor did not heed the advice of his Prime Minister but proceeded on his campaign. As usual, the Prime Minister along with the other nobles followed the march. It is not appropriate here to describe the details of the march and the various encounters on the way. The Gajapati was ready to face the Vijayanagar armies and measure his strength with them. He assembled his forces with the aid of his sixteen Śatrapas or *Mahāpātras*. The Emperor was informed of the enemy's mighty preparations and the pitched battles he had to fight, and

⁹ *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 316—17.

¹⁰ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI, pp. 108—138.

¹¹ No. 207 of 1897; No 574 of 1902; and 196 of 1903 of *Madras Epigraphical Collections*.

¹² *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, pp. 115 and 132.

then he consulted his Prime Minister. Sāluva Timma, sagacious as he was, thought of gaining victory by a stratagem. The Emperor was aware of the great ability of his aged minister and so he delegated to him necessary powers to do as he liked. Then the crafty minister despatched some chests full of gold and valuables to the Sixteen *Mahā-pātras* along with secret letters with the intention of seducing them to desert their master during the fight. It was proposed in those letters that the chests were despatched to the *Pātras* according to a previous understanding between them and Krishṇadēvarāya, that they should abandon their master during the battle. The boxes fell by a premeditated device into the hands of the Gajapati's messengers who placed them before their master. The Gajapati became alarmed, and having been terribly afraid of the treachery of his subordinate chiefs, abandoned his capital and ran away to a place of safety. The *Mahāpātrās* came to know of the king's flight and return themselves to their respective fortresses. Thereafter, Krishnadevaraya summoned the minister of the Gajapati king and informed him, that he had not come to annex the territory and that he was ready to relinquish the same to his master and return to his capital. The Gajapati was duly informed of the generous intention of the Emperor. The Gajapati king returned to his capital; and he along with his subordinate chiefs begged the pardon of the Emperor. The Gajapati too rose to the occasion and showed magnanimity. He gave his daughter to Krishṇarāya in marriage and made presents of valuable gems, ornaments, elephants, horses etc. and ceded all the country to the south of the river Kishna as dowry of his daughter. The stratagem of Timmarasu completely succeeded not only in securing to the Emperor complete control of the northern dominions of the Empire but also in bringing a fair damsel, as a life long companion for his lord.¹³

Nuniz wrote a different story about this chivalrous conqueror and the illustrious vanquished, and the part the celebrated Chancellor of the Vijayanagar Empire played in it. During the victory against the Gajapati at Koṇḍapali the Emperor captured a son of that king and having come to understand that the son was an expert at fencing, the Emperor arranged for a duel with one of his experts in that line. The son of the Gajapati refused to cross swords with the expert, on the ground that he was not of the blood royal and then slew himself. When the Gajapati came to know of the death of the son he wrote to the Minister Timmarasu asking him the means by which he could ransom his wife who remained in the custody of the Emperor. Timmarasu was stated to have replied, that the Gajapati king should arrange the marriage of his daughter with the Emperor, and that afterwards the Emperor would

restore to him, his (Gajapati's) wife and lands. So the marriage was arranged and the wife and lands of the Gajapati were thereafter restored to him.¹⁴

According to the above authority it is stated that Sāluva Timmarasu was appointed to be the Governor of Koṇḍaviḍu after the Emperor returned from expedition against the land of 'Catur'. The Prime Minister on his way to Koṇḍaviḍu encountered with a huge army of a Muhammadan general of one of the Sultans of the Deccan. Sāluva Timmarasu easily won the day, captured the Muhammadan general, his wife and son horses, elephants and much money, and handed over them to the Emperor who imprisoned the captives. Timmarasu, thereafter remained at Koṇḍaviḍu and after restoring peace and order there, returned to Vijayanagar.

After Timmarasu returned, Krishṇadēvarāya set out on an expedition against Rāichūr. The expedition was undertaken on the advice tendered by the Prime Minister. It is stated by Nuniz that many of the nobles differed from the Prime Minister in the wisdom of the suggestion.¹⁵

Krishṇadēvarāya was successful in his expedition, and the success was entirely due to the great powers of organisation, skill, ability, knack for discipline, of the Chancellor and, the steadfast loyalty of the various subordinate chiefs who had contributed to the success of the mighty campaign so vividly described by Nuniz,

We may now pause to take stock of the various encomiums showered on the celebrated Minister, who richly deserved the same, and which were recorded both in literature and lithic records of the times. In the Bezwada inscription of Singarāja, one of the commanders of the Emperor in the expedition against Gajapati, the praise of the Prime Minister was sung as follows:—¹⁶

इवा किल जगति सकलरिपुकुलमवजित्य जयस्तम्भमधिपोदुनूनिधाय निजवशे
गजतुरगबलमधिकराज्यं प्राप्यं च यवनपतेरखिलां विजित्य दिशो विजयनगरमासाद्य
मणिमयमारुह्य सिंहासनमखिलमपि भुवनभारं मूर्तिमति विश्वासनिवासे निखिलगुणानां
मतितपनधाम्नि साल्वतिम्मनाम्नि मन्त्रिणि पाति विजितसुरमन्त्रिणि निधाय पदवाक्य
प्रमाणपारावारपारदृशनां प्रतिविबुधपलालमातरिश्वनां मनीषिणामपि काव्यनाटकालंकार
भाषाविशेषवेदिनां चतुर्विधकवितासाम्राज्यमधितिष्ठतां कविनामप्यपरेषामपि विद्यावतां म
हतां गोष्ठीषु गरिष्ठाषु सततमवनीवनीपकमनीषितपूरणेषु च मनो निधाय निरवाधिकमतुल
मवनीसाम्राज्यसुखमनुभवति.

14. *Forgotten Empire* page 320.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 323.

16. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 789 ll. 70—78.

In the Bapatla record, it is stated that Sāluva Timmarasu bore the title of "*Dharanivarāha*" and that he was Krishnarāya's own body.¹⁷

अभवत्प्रतीपवंशे खड्गो धरणीवराहविरुदांकमंडनः

सकलप्रधानगुणगौरवोन्नतः सचिवोस्यदेह इव सार्वतिम्मध्यः ।

Mallana in his *Rājasēkharacharitam*, describes the great *Pradhāni* as *Sakala-Karnāṭa-rakshā vichakshana* and Kumārja Dhūrjaṭi in his *Krishnarāya-Vijayam* praises that the great statesman has no equals as a minister in the Kṛta, Trēta and Dvāpara Yugas¹⁸

In the *Kṛshnārjuna-Samvādam* of Gōpamantri, the Prime Minister is described as *Sri Kṛshnarāya-Sāmraṇyabhāra-durandharuṇḍu* and in the commentary on *Prabhōdhachandrodaya* by the same author, the Prime Minister is described as follows:—¹⁹

तस्य श्रीकृष्णरायस्य प्राज्यराज्यदुरन्धरः ।

कुलक्रमागतो मन्त्री सार्वतिम्मचमूपतिः ॥

आपूर्वपश्चिमसमुद्रमधत्त राज्यम् आशेतुसिंहगिरि चाप्रतिमप्रतापः ।

यः कृष्णरायनृपपालकदण्डनाथः कौण्डिन्यगोक्षतिलकः कविपारिजातः ॥

KRISHNADEVARAYA'S IDEAL OF A MINISTER:—It will be interesting to know the picture of an ideal minister conjured up by the Emperor who had probably in his mind the brilliant personality of his own *Mahā Pradhāni* before him, when he sketched the lines of that imaginary and illuminative illustration. We quote below, the translation of the verses given by the late lamented scholar Mr. Rangaswami Sarasvati, from the Canto IV of of the Emperor-poet's *Āmuktamālyada* or *Vishnuchittiyam*.

V. 207: Entrust your fortresses to such Brahmins (Generals) as you are best acquainted with. Do not keep them weak, but give them such strong forces that they can be devoid of fear from the enemies.

V. 211: If a Brahmin is a scholar, who is afraid of *Adharma*, who is well-versed in *Rājanīti* and who is between the ages of fifty and seventy, who is healthy in body, whose connection with the king has come down from previous generations and who, not conceited, accepts the ministership under a king and looks after his business, would it take more than a day for the *Angas* (constituents of royalty) of such a king to increase?

V. 217: Because a Brahmin would stand to his post even in times of danger and would continue in service though reduced to becoming

¹⁷ S.I.I., Vol. VI, No. 146.

¹⁸ *Rajasēkhara-charitram*, Canto 1; Vide *Lives of Telugu Poets* p. 210. *Krishnarāya-vijayam*, Canto 2, Verse 104.

¹⁹ *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 145.

a subordinate to Kshatriya or Śūdra, it is always advisable for a king to make Brahmins as his officers.

V. 261: That king can lay his hand on his breast and sleep peacefully, who appoints as masters of his fortresses such Brahmins as are attached to himself, are learned in many sciences and arts, are addicted to *dharma*, are heroic and have been in his service since before his time, who makes arrangements for storing in those fortresses tigers' cheese? (Tel. *pulijunnu*) and other articles to last for a generation, who gives to the subordinate chiefs (*sāmantas*) lands and other things without lessening in the slightest degree the arrangement with them, who increases his treasury by multiplying his income and lessening expenditure and by seeing that the people are without trouble, who keeps watch on the territory of weakened enemies by his spies and capturing them suddenly like the crane which catches fish, who sees neither he nor his subjects suffer and who gives trouble only to his enemies.

THE FAMILY OF THE PREMIER:—This biographical sketch of the great Minister will be incomplete without mentioning his family circle. He was a Brahmin of the *Āruvāla Niyōgi* community of the Āndhra Brahmins, which gave rise to poets, scholars, soldiers and statesmen of eminence for several centuries in the past. He belonged to the Sāluva family.²⁰ He was the son of Rāchirāja, or Rācharasa and Nāgamāmba, and grandson of Vēmaya or Vēmarasa, and belonged to the Kauṇḍinya-gōtra, Āpastamba-sūtra and Yajuś-śākha. He married Lakshamma, sister of Nādinḍa Timmarāja of Kauśika-gōtra, and gave his sister Krishnāmba or Krishnamāmba in marriage to Nādinḍa Timmayya.²¹ He had an younger brother in Gōvindarāja and three nephews, Kōna, Appa and Gōpa. The power which he wielded during his day could only be imagined when we know the high positions held by his brother, and nephews, in the administration of the Empire. In fact almost all the important posts were monopolised by this particular family group. This was the last occasion in which such positions were held by this particular (the *Āruvāla-Niyōgi*) Brahmana community, for during the time of Achyutarāja and thereafter under the *de facto* ruler Rāmarāja, the Brahmin as a poet, soldier and statesman gradually disappeared from the literary and political arena owing to the lack of patronage.

SALUVA GOVINDARAJA, younger Brother of the Great Minister: In one of the records it was stated that Gōvindarāja was the elder brother of the Great Minister but according to another he was

²⁰ Tradition records that Timmarasu and his ancestors belonged to Konḍavīḍu in Guntur District, and that Timmarasu and his brother Gōvindarāja migrated to south after the death of their father and destruction of the family fortune and roamed in poverty for a long time in South India. *Ed.*

²¹ (a) *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pages 108 to 133 and p. 234. (b) Epigraphical Report, Tirupati Dēvastanam, part 2, p. 191.

mentioned as the younger.²² We believe that he was only the younger. He held important posts from time to time. He was the Governor of Guttirājya about 1513 A.D. according to the Tāḍipatri inscription.²³ He was also called *Mahā-Pradhāna* and *Śirah Pradhāna*. He was also the lord of Terakanambi-sīma in Hoyasala-nāḍu.²⁴ When Paes visited the city of Vijayanagar (about 1520-22 A.D.) he was spoken of as the Governor of the city. He accompanied the Emperor in the expedition against Rāichūr.²⁵ We also know from another source of epigraphical evidence, that he was transferred from time to time as Governor from one important outpost to another. He was called the minister of Krishṇadēvarāya and Governor of Padivalkunai including Guṇḍlupēṭa, in a grant dated July 17, 1523 A.D.²⁶

APPA AND GOPA, The Nephews of the Premier:—We learn that the Great Minister had three nephews, Kōṇa, Appa and Gōpa. There is no record to know anything about Kōṇa and we presume that he died early in life; but Appa and Gōpa were the foremost Provincial Governors of the period, holding the key positions and important strategic forts of the time. The nephews belong to another illustrious family of ministers who had served under the Sāluvas and Tuḷuvas in some capacity or other. The genealogy of the family according to *Rājasekhara-charitram*, *Krishṇārjuna Samvādam* and *Prabodha-chandrōdaya-Vyākhyā* is given at the end of this study, to show how this family is linked with the family of the great Sāluva Timmarasu. Tirumalāmba, the elder daughter of Timmarasu was married to Appa-mātri, and Gōpa was the younger son-in-law of Timmarasu. Appa and Gōpa would appear to have served one after another, as Governors of Koṇḍaviḍu soon after it was captured from the Gajapati king.²⁷

From the *Rājasekhara-charitram* we learn that Gōpa was Governor of Guttir for sometime and that post he must have held before was transferred to Koṇḍaviḍu. The Mangalagiri record says that Appa obtained from Krishṇadēvarāya and the minister Timmarasu, the posts of Commander-in-Chief of the army, of the Superintendent of Vinukonda, Guttir, and Amarāvati forts and the sole Governorship of that Kingdom.

Rājasekhara-charitram was dedicated to Appa. Gōpa would appear to be a scholar, and the author of the poem, *Krishṇārjuna-Samvādam* and a commentary on *Prabodha-chandrōdayam*. It is

²² No. 196 of 1918 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collections*. Tirupatī Devastanam, Epigraphical Report, p. 192;

²³ S.I.I., Vol. 4, No. 800.

²⁴ Epi. Carn., Vol. IV. Introduction, p. 25. *Arch. Surv. Rep.* 1908-09 p. 183

²⁵ *A Forgotten Empire*, pages 284 and 327.

²⁶ *Mysore Arch. Rep.*, 1934, p. 123. *Mysore Arch. Rep.*, 1930, p. 122.

²⁷ Epi. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 112.

evident that these two brothers owed their elevation in the service of the State, to the favour of the Premier, their uncle and father-in-law.

THE ATTACK ON THE PORTUGUESE AND THE REVERSES:—The relations of Krishṇadēvarāya with the Portuguese were almost cordial and we know that the Emperor extended a warm welcome to the successive Portuguese Governors of Goa, in the city of Vijayanagar. Their help was sought in the Battle of Rāichūr, and the best horses for the Vijayanagar cavalry were supplied by the Portuguese. While this was the friendly intercourse between the Hindu Empire and the Portuguese power, Sewell quoted the authority of Baros and stated in his monumental work that about 1523 A.D., Timmarasu invaded the main lands, near Goa, which had been occupied by Ruy De Mello, and that he advanced towards Parda with a small force, but he was attacked and driven back. This reverse of the Prime Minister who was also the Generalissimo of the forces of the Empire on the battle field was perhaps the commencement of his misfortunes.²⁸

SALUVA TIMMA-DANDANATHA AS A SCHOLAR:—He was reputed scholar who wrote the commentary on Agastya's *Champa-Bhāratam*. In the colophon of the commentary, he called himself, 'Sri Krishṇarāya Śirah-Pradhāna, and Sakaiāgama-pārāvārapārīṇa'.²⁹

TRAGIC END:—The evening of the career of this great personage, was shrouded in mystery, and a curtain though not impenetrable veils the last act in the drama of his life. It is almost common with the lives of great men, that fortune turns its back on them at the fag end of their lives, and they had either to be behind the bars of prison, ascend the scaffold, assassinated or humiliated. Mary, queen of Scots roamed from prison to prison. Charles I was beheaded. Bismarck was driven away from office "like a dog." The lamentable life of Napoleon at St. Helena was well-known. Abraham Lincoln was shot dead in the midst of a play. Akkana and Mādanna, the celebrated Hindu ministers at the court of Gōlcoṇḍa were dragged alive in the streets of that city. Instances may be multiplied, and Sāluva Timmarasu fared no better if we believe Nuniz. History repeated itself. What happened at the commencement of the reign of Krishṇadēvarāya, took place at the close of it. The events were quite similar, and we give the story from Nuniz and put down the painful pen.

Krishṇadēvarāya had a son, Tirumala, aged six years. The Emperor wanted to retire and abdicate in favour of the young prince and instal him on the throne. Timmarasu was as usual made the counsellor of the state and one of the sons of the Prime Minister was given a high position in the administration. Unfortunately the young prince suddenly

²⁸ *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 158.

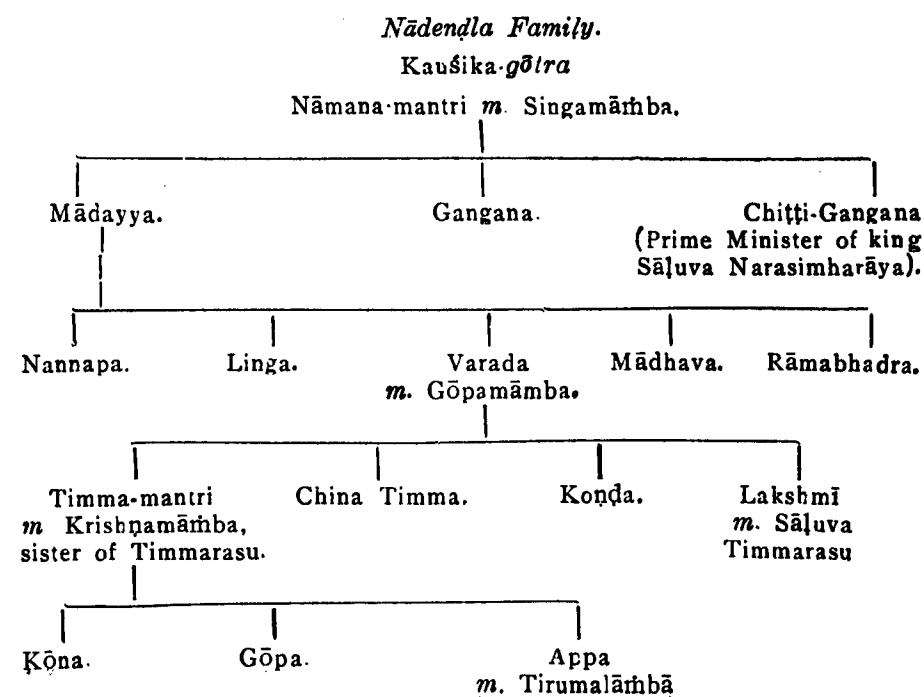
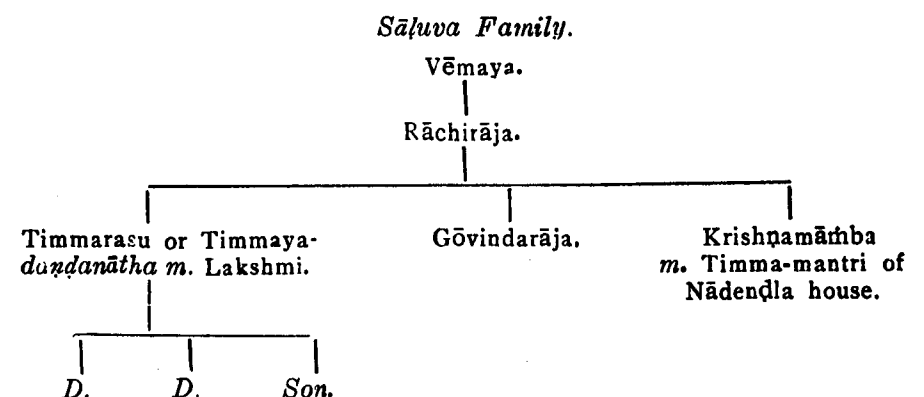
²⁹ *Sources of Vijayanagar History* p. 143.

died of a sickness not known, and the Emperor was informed that the son of the Prime Minister poisoned the prince. He believed it, and summoned the Premier, his son, and brother Govindarāja, and then informed them how Timmarasu had deceived Vira Narasimharāya and elevated him (Krishnarāya) to the throne, and how he could believe that the same mischief could have been perpetrated by them now in the case of his son as they were capable of doing anything. The king imprisoned them but the son of Timmarasu was stated to have escaped from prison and rebelled against the Emperor. But soon after, he was captured and the Emperor being enraged against the conduct of these persons ordered of their eyes to be put out and to confine them in the prison.

It was not known what happened to these unfortunate persons. But there is epigraphical evidence to show that Timmarasu and Govindarāja continued to serve under Achyutarāya, the brother of Krishnadevarāya. Fortunately, Nuniz, did not inform us that these illustrious brothers died in prison and therefore it would appear that they were restored and elevated to their former positions, after Achyutarāya ascended the throne. Numerous inscriptions are quoted to demonstrate that these two brothers bestowed various gifts on temples during the time of Achyutarāya. It is believed therefore, that these two brothers survived to the end of 1535 and 1541 A.D. respectively, the last dates of inscriptions of Timmarasu and Govindarāja, respectively available so far.³⁰

³⁰ *Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Report*, pages 194 and 227.

SĀLUVA & NĀDINDLA FAMILIES.



KANDYAM PLATES OF DANARNAVA.

Dated in S. S. 892.

MANDA NARASIMHAM

These plates were discovered about three years ago lying buried in the village of Kaṇḍyam, about twenty miles from Chicacole in Vizagapatam district. When the plates were taken out of the earth, the right half of the fourth plate was so entirely corroded with rust that it soon crumbled to pieces. The first and fourth plates appeared to contain traces of another inscription which was beaten out to make the surface smooth so as to receive the present inscription. The plates appeared to have been beaten or cut to match with the other plates. I am thankful to Mr. G. Ramamurti Naidu of Kaṇḍyam for giving these plates and enabling me to publish the inscription engraved upon them. The plates are five in number; they are strung together by means of a solid copper ring, the ends of which were secured under the royal seal. The plates, together with the ring and the seal, weigh 284 tolas; the ring and the seal alone weigh 104 tolas. The diameter of the seal is three inches. The seal contains the figure of the *varahā* (Wild Boar) facing to the proper right. In front of the boar is an *ankuśa* 'elephant goad' and behind it is the crescent. On the top of the seal there is the symbol of the sun. Beneath the boar is the legend *Śrī Tribhuvanāmkuśa* in bold Chālukyan characters. Below the legend is an expanded lotus flower, and on the either side of it are two *chāmaras* or 'chowries'. Of the five plates, the first and the last have raised rims on one side alone while the remaining plates have their rims raised on all sides. The plates measure $9\frac{1}{2}$ " by $4\frac{1}{4}$ ". The first plate has no writing on the outer side but the rest bear writing on both sides.

The writing on the plate is fairly well preserved and the scribe seems to have a good settled round hand. But there are many errors and omissions. The alphabet employed is old Telugu known as Vengi script and resembles that of the Pāmulavāka copper-plate grant of Amma II.¹ The language employed is Sanskrit and the inscription is partly in prose and partly in poetry.

The inscription relates to a grant made by king Dānārṇava who bore a second name Chālukya Bhīma.² Dānārṇava was the eldest son of Chālukya Bhīma II, born to his queen Ankidēvī or Ankimahādēvī. He

succeeded to the throne of Vēngi after the death of his half-brother, Amma II, in S. S. 892 expired or 970 A.D. Dānārṇava is called in the record Dānapa or Dānapēśa.

The inscription opens with an invocation or prayer to the dgo Śiva. Then follows the usual preamble of the Eastern Chālukya records containing the genealogical account of the kings from Kubja Vishṇu-vardhana, younger brother of Satyāśraya Vallabha, down to Ammarāja II. On the death of Ammarāja II, his elder half-brother Dānapa or Dānapēśa or Dānārṇava came to the throne. "Dānārṇava was the eldest son of king Brhad-Bhīma, or Chalukya Bhima II by his first wife. He possessed great strength; defeated the armies of his foes, became the king of the kingdom of Vengi and reigned over it with great ability. The earth (meaning the kingdom) was fortunate in having him as the king for he administered law according to justice. He was learned in all sciences and arts. He was a descendant of the great king Kali Vishnu; his mother was Urjapāya who was a daughter of the king of Kalinga. He assumed the second name Bhima when he ascended the throne.³ His chest was broad like a doorway, his arms were strong and long. He became the abode of the *dharma* of Kṣatriyahood. He was justice incarnate; he was the beloved of the people. He was the master of the Ethics of State (*akhila-rāja-vidya*). He studied all the *śāstras* from his childhood. He was learned..... In the Śaka year 892 (*dvi-nava-vasu*).....(here month and *pakṣa* of the month are lost on the broken plate)....on Thursday the 8th day, at an auspicious moment, having offered oblations to the manes of ancestors, kinsmen and the gods, king Dānārṇava ascended the throne under the name, the glorious Vishṇuvardhana Mahārājādhirāja. He was Paramēśvara,.....worshipper of the feet of the parents, in the presence of his *Mantrin, Purohit, Śānāpati*,.....having assembled the inhabitants and Rāṣtrakūṭa chiefs of the district of Pottappi-nāṇḍu commanded thus:.....There was a prince.....born in the illustrious, spotless and renowned *Mudugonḍa Chālukya* lineage, who acquired a kingdom by conquest. His son was Smara(?) who destroyed his enemies by the force of fierce valour. His wife was Pērakāmba, the pious, just and devoted to doing good to the people. She was the mother of several sons. Among them, Mallana and Goṇḍiya have become celebrated all over the world. To these two princes, Mallana and Goṇḍiya, who have enriched my Treasury and thereby pleased Us, We have bestowed in our royal pleasure two sparkling white large parasals, royal robes, the war drum, the *stambha*, the fillet, large white silken tents with poles, elephants and all the insignia of feudatory chieftains (*sāmānta*) along with the rulership of the district known as Pottapi-nāṇḍu vishaya 300 (*tri-satam*),

¹ JAHRS, Vol.

² This view is extremely doubtful. The text does not seem to bear out this meaning. Ed.

³ See note 2 above. Ed.

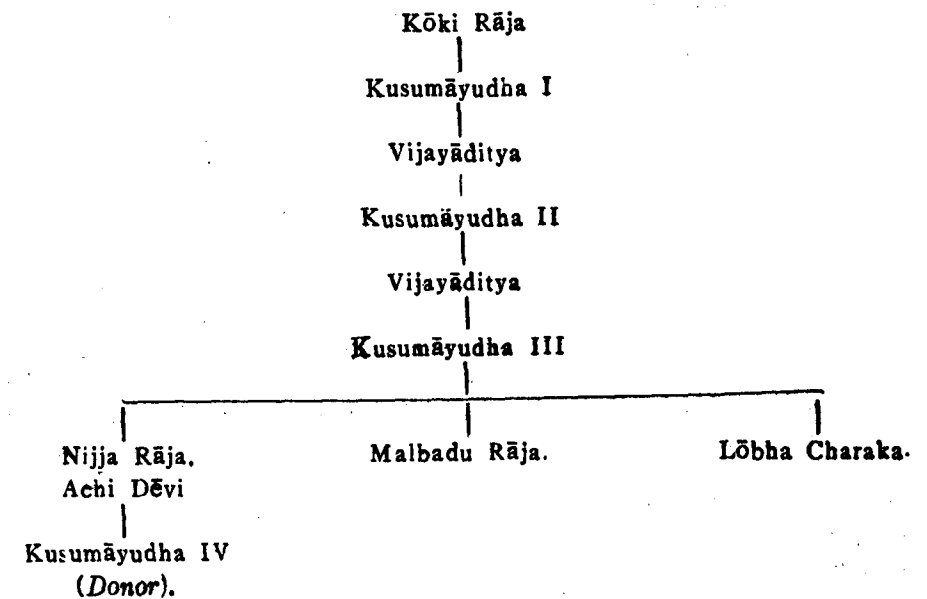
having exempted it from all burdens of taxation. The boundaries of the district are, be it known, 'on the east the river called Pampavādi (Pampāvati), on the south Uttara-varusa or 'the Northern Range', on the west Minurbāka-nāṇḍu and on the north Vedeguna-debbadi or Veḍuguna 70 district. This grant shall last as long as the moon, stars and earth and the Eight Great Mountains endure. The Yuvarāja (crown prince) shall protest and enforce this gift with the aid of 2032 soldiers and elephant-keepers.⁴ Any person who molests this gift becomes one who has committed the five great sins'.....Then follow the usual imprecatory śloka attributed to Vyāsa, an appeal to future kings of his house and the land to protect the gift from any molestation, and a curse to the effect that whosoever molested or appropriated the grant either partly or wholly, would be born as a dog who ate what had been vomitted by others.

The executor of the royal command was the officer Kaṭakarāja. The poetry of the grant was composed by Nāgambhaṭṭa. The charter was engraved on the plates by the scribe Jontachārya".

The Mudugonḍa Chālukya line of vassal kings are mentioned in this record. This family is not altogether unknown to our scholars. The Mudugonḍa Chālukyas hail apparently from the south. Though we do not know the complete genealogy of this southern line of kings, we know for certain that they occupied a subordinate position in the latter part of the tenth century A.D. The existence of the Mudugonḍa Chālukya line of kings was first brought to light by the publication of a copper-plate grant of Kusumayudha IV. by the Rev. C. BENDAL, M.A., M.R.A.S., in the *Indian Antiquary* in 1903. That was found in the Treasury of H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad. Kusumayudha's grant gives the following pedigree of the Mudugonḍa Chālukya line of kings.

⁴ The passage does not seem to have properly translated or explained here. See the text lines 62-63. The passage seems to mean that the *yuvaraja*, who is the commander of the Elephant Troop unit of 2032 elephants and soldiers, shall enforce and protect the grant. The *yuvaraja* here seems to be a dignity. It appears to be a high dignity conferred upon some distinguished officer in the king's army under the Eastern Chālukyas and had not perhaps anything to do with the real *yuvaraja* or heir-apparent. Compare for instance a similar passage which appears in a grant of Amma II (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 139f. text line 29) which runs as follows:— Paṭṭavardhaniyāḥ Pammavākyāḥ sūtāya Yuvarāja-Ballāladēva Vēlābhātāya Bodḍiyanāmnē etc. Compare also with another similar passage in another grant of Amma II (*Ind Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 248, lines 85-86) where the *yuvaraja* was appointed to protect the grant. Here is the passage:— Eṭāya rakshakāḥ Uruhastubhaya-gana sahasra-dvitayā kalvapākṣhī (?) Vumāchēṣṭu patayāḥ ballāka pimchha chhatra Vēlābhātāḥ. Prince Vēlābhata mentioned in in these two grants would appear to be one and the same person. He was called Yuvaraja Ballāladēva Vēlābhata, son of Pammava of the Paṭṭavardhani lineage in the former and commander of 2000 Elephant troop who possessed a white parasol in the latter. *Ed.*

Mudugonḍa Chālukya line of Kings



This record does not give the date when Kusumāyudha IV had bestowed the grant, nor does it give the regnal years of the previous kings. These kings trace their descent from Kōki Rāja who appears to be the founder of the line. This Kōki Rāja might perhaps be Kōkili or Kokkili, the third son of Mangi Yuvarāja of the Eastern Chālukya family. Kōkili ruled over the Vēngi country for 1/2 year. He was then expelled from the country by his brother Vishnuvardhana II. This fact is clearly stated in almost all the Eastern Chālukya grants. After being driven out from the Vēngi Country, Kōkili must have gone forth in quest of establishing a kingdom for himself.

It was in these troublous times that Kōkili of the Eastern Chālukya line must have gone forth south in quest of establishing a new kingdom; and in fact he did succeed in founding one. The genealogy of this line of Kings, as stated above, is traced from Kōkirāja. Since we have little hesitation in identifying this Kōkirāja as the Kōkkili of the Eastern Chālukya line, there is not much difficulty in roughly fixing the date of Kusumāyudha IV, the donor of the Mudugonḍa grant. We know that Kōkili was driven away from the Vēngi throne in A. D. 713-14. If this Kōkili had established a kingdom at Mudugonḍa in or about A. D. 714, taking on the average 30 years rule for each generation from Kōkili to Kusumāyudha IV, we get roughly 250 years. Hence Kusumāyudha IV must have been ruling in or about A. D. 965.

Our present record mentions that king Dānārnavā gave away the district of 300 villages to two princes of the Mudugonḍa-Chālukya family.

The donor explicitly says that they got the kingdom by conquering it. (*jītaprāpi Vasundharā*) Hence we may believe that the two princes Malliya and Gōṇḍiya had rendered great help to the donor in the fight with Bādapa for regaining the throne. The grant was given at the time of the King's coronation which took place in A.D. 970. These princes, we gather from the plates, were the sons of Pērakāmba and that their father was Smara. This Smara we may identify with Kusumāyudha IV in the donor of the copper plate grant referred to above.

LOCATION OF MUDUGONDA:— The inscription clearly states that the king granted these 300 villages to the two princes in their own district of Pottapi-nāḍu. In describing the boundaries, the river Pampāvati is stated to be on the east, Minumbāka nāḍu on the west and Uttara-varusa (apparently a mountain range on the south). Pampa of the Ramayana fame is none else than Hampi in the Bellary District. Hence the river Pampavati must be a stream flowing into or near the lake of the same name. Another strong suspicion in favour of Mudugonda being in the modern Bellary district is the fact that Mr. Bendal has discovered his plates in the Dominions of H. E. H. the Nizam. Moreover, this Pottapi nāḍu is stated in the present record, as the country of 300 villages and as the great Āndhra poet Dhūrjaṭi of the 15th century mentioned *Pottapināḍu* in his *Kālahastisvaramāhātmyamu*, as the home of the forester Saint Tinnāḍu and located it in the Ceded Districts, I am of opinion that Mudugonda and Pottapi nāḍu lay in the Ceded Districts.

Text.1

First Plate: Second Side.

1. [Om*] Lakshmīn-tanōtu-jagatām kālagalasy = āruṇa (divyōjva) la jāyō(ṭā)nta su-
2. ranadī-kuhara-kambukar = āñjala-nikara iva bhāti || Svasti Śrīmatān sakala-bhu-
3. vana-saṁsiṭṭiyamāna-Mānavyasagōtrānām Hārītiputrānām Kauśikī-vara-prasāda-
4. labdha-rājyānām-Matṛgaṇa-paripālītānām Svāmi-Mahāsēnapādānu-
5. dhyātānām Bhagavān-Narayana-prasāda samāsādita-vara-varāha lāñchha-
6. n = ōkshmaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśīkṛt = ārāti-maṇḍalānām Aśvamōdh = āvabhṛtha-snāna-pavitrikṛ-

1 From the original plates.

2 This is expressed by a symbol,

7. ta-vapushān Chālukyānām kulam = alamkārshṇōs-Satyāśraya-vallabhēndrasya-bhrātā || Śrī-
8. pati vvikramōn = ādya Durjyād balitōdarām āhṛty = ashtā dasābdāni Kubja Viśṇu-

Second Plate: First Side.

9. r-apād-imam | Tad = ātmajō Jayasimhas-trayastrimśat | Tad-anuj = Ēndrarāja-nandanō Vi-
10. shṇuvardhanō nava | Tat-sūnur-Mmañgi-yuvarājah pañchavimśati | Tat-putrō Jayasimhas-tra-
11. yōdaśa | Tad-avarājah Kōkili-shaṇmāsān | Tasya jyēshthō bhrātā Viśṇuvardhanas-tam = uchchāṭya sapta-
12. trimśat | Tat-putrō-Vijayāditya-bhaṭṭārakō-ashtādaśa | Tat-sutō Viśṇuvardhana shaṭ-tri-
13. mśat | Tat-sūnur-bhānu-bhāsō rapa vigaṇanayā nīlakaṇṭh-ālāyānām sa-grām = ā
14. rāmakāṇam salilata-ramaṇīm saṁpadānām kṛtvā prōttungam = asht = ōttara-śatam = abhunag-vi-
15. ra dhīr = aashta-yuktas chatvārimśat-samāh kshamān janānuta Vijayāditya-nāmā narēndrah | Tat-putrō
16. Kali-Viśṇuvardhanō = dhyarddha-varshaṁ || Tat-priya tanayah | Abdāt saṁgrāma-raṅgē nija-lasa-

Second Plate: Second Side.

17. ā.asinā Mangi-raj = ōttamāṅgah tungādīḥ śṛṅgam = urvyām-asa(ni*) riva mudā pāta yat-Kannarāṅkaṁ piśśa-
18. mkaṁ Saṁkilēna pradhita janapadād-durgam = ānnirgga mayya-drāgdhā vaṁ yah pravēśya(h) prabhur-abhaya
19. manām(h)pratyapad-Baddhagāṅkam | Sa Śrīmān Vijayāditya-bhūpatē bhrātṛbhis-saha chatvā-
20. rimśat-samās-sārdhām chatubhir abhunak-bhuvam | Tat-bhrātur-Vikramāditya-bhūpatēs-sa-
21. ch chamupatēh vilasat-kaṇṭhikādāma kaṇṭhasya tanayō nayi || Dīn = ānāth = ātura-
22. pām dvija-vara-samitēr = yyāchakānā(m) yatīnām nānādēs = āgatānā(m) paṭu-vara naṭa-saṁ gāya-
23. kāmān kavīnām bandhunām andhakānām abhikashitaphala śrāṇanād-rakshaṇadyō mā-
24. tāvat = trimśad-abdhān bhuvam = abhunaga sau chāru-Chālu(kya*) Bhīmḥ || Tat-putrō sva-bhuj = āsi-khaṇḍita

Third Plate: First Side.

25. ripu-kshmābhṛd-balād Vāsavīm jītvā sām Virajā prāṭishṭhita
jayastambhaḥ (| *) prādisṭhē raṇē svarṇāū-
26. dha tulōtra baddham=atulo-dhātri-talē | kshatriyai(r)mmitrābhah
pari-rakshati sma Vijayāditya-
27. s-sam=ārddhām varām | Tasy=ātmajaḥ . prapata vairi-śirō-
vilagna-ratna-dvirēpha-parichumbita-pāda-padmaḥ
28. Mērum hasathstulita-hāṭaka-rāṣi bhāsā varsbāṇi sapta sam-
apād-bhuvam Ammarā-
29. jaḥ | Tat sutarḥ Vijayādityarḥ bālam=uchchāṭya-līlayā Kō(Tā)
lādhi-patir=ākra-
30. mya māsam=ēkaḥ=apād-bhuvam || Tarḥ jītvā yudhi Chā|uykya
Bhīma-bhūmi patēs-sutaḥ Vikra-
31. māditya-bhūpō=pān-māsān=ēkādaśa kshitirḥ | Tatas-Tālapa-
rājasya sūnus-sūnṛa vā.
32. kprabhuḥ Yuddhamalla-dharādhiśas sapta varshāṇy=apād-bhuvam ||
Nirjjity=Ārjjuna sannibhō janapa-

Third Plate: Second Side.

33. dāt-tan-nirggamy=ōddhatan dāyādār=inabhānu-līna-bhagaṇ=
ākarām vidhāy=ētarān | Vajr=iv-ōrjji-
34. ta-nākam=Ammarāja nṛpatēr-bhrātā kanīyān-bhuvam Bhīmō
bhīma-parākrams-samabhunak saṁvatsarān-dvā-
35. daśa || Tat-sūnur-Ammarāj=ōpi dharma-parah pañchvīṁśati
cha samāḥ rājyam chakāra tarppitē
36. viprajanō vijita-vairir ajita-kīrthiḥ || Dvai-māturas-tasya cha
Dānapēso jyēshṭhō mahad-bhū-
37. ri-bhūjair-jitāri(h*) | Śrīmān su-Vēṅgi-vishayādhipō-bhūd=
api kshitirḥ śāsati satya-dhanyaḥ(vān) ||
38. Sūnō Bṛhad-Bhīma-mahībhujasya āptaḥ kalāvit-Kali-Vishṇu
nāmnā sūnōḥ Kaṇṇēśvara sat-sutāya(h)
39. Bhīmādhipō bhūdvaram=ūrjapāyārḥ⁸ | kavāṭa-vakshādr̥dha-
dirgha-bāhuḥ kshatra svakarmma kshamām=āsri
40. tōvat (| *) dharmasyāya(m) dēham-ihōr-kīrttir-virājatē bhūjana
vatsalāya | Bālyādhi vīra-dharmma-a-

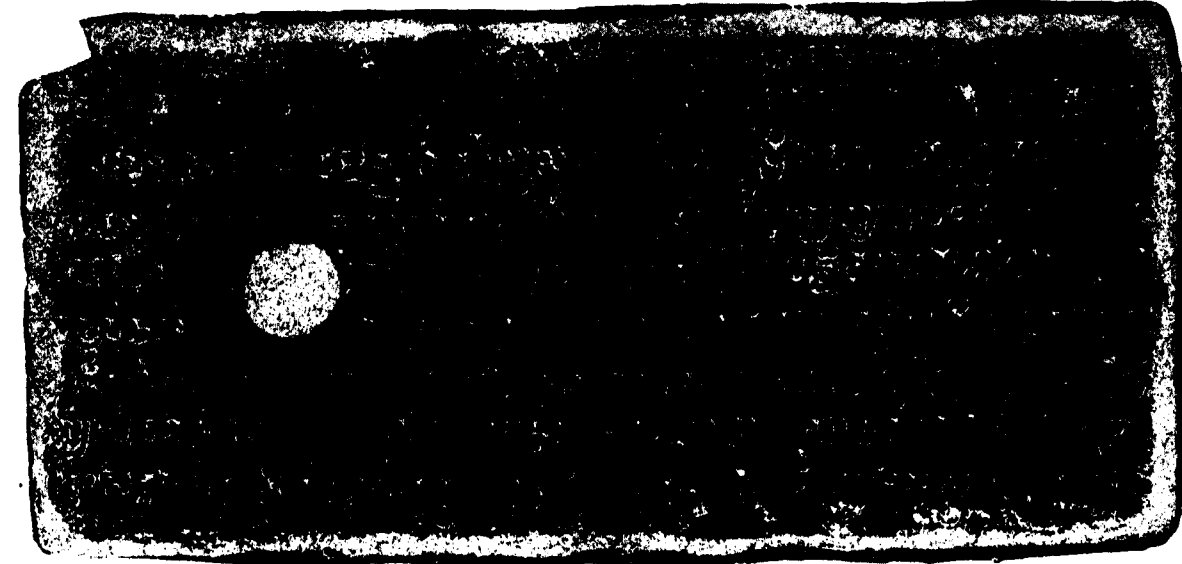
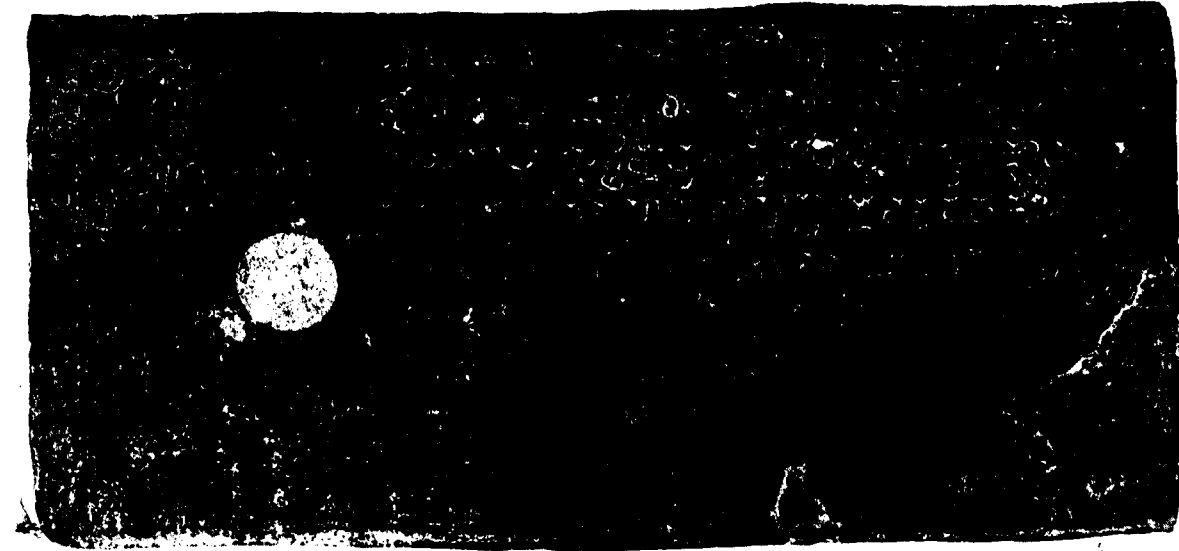
⁸ The reading is doubtful in this stanza. Ed.

61. pāvadi(iī)-nāmanadī⁵ | dakṣhiṇataḥ Uttaras-varusa | paśchimataḥ
M ī n u m b ā k a-nāpḍū (|*)
62. uttarataḥ V e d e g u n a debbadi | Hastipaka-dvi-sahasra-
dvā-trimśaddhīra nikara-ga-
63. na Yuvarājāḥ | Paripālaniyam=ētat-śāsanam=āchandra-tārarka-
bhū-kula-śailam || A-
64. sy=ōpari na kēnachid-bādhā-kartavyā yaḥ karōti sa
pāñcha-mahā-pātakō bhavati | Tadh=ōktaḥ
65. Vyāsēna || Bahubhir-vvasudhā dattā bahubhiś-ch=ānupālita
yasya yasya yadā bhūmi.

Fifth Plate: Second Side.

66. -stasya nasya tadā phalaḥ || Svadattāḥ para dattāḥ
vā yō harēti vasundharām | shashṭhi-varsha saha-
67. srāpi viśṭāyāḥ jāya(tē) krimiḥ || Madvarṇśajā(h*)para-
mahīpati vamasajā vā pāpād=apēta
68. manasē bhūmi bhāvi-bhūp=ōyaḥ pālayanti mama=dharmam=
imāḥ samastaḥ tēshāḥ mayā
69. virachit=āñjali=ēva mūrdhniḥ || Sarvēshāḥ cha dīśhō
bhōktava śvāsrvanti na kadāti śunskōdvita
70. ra pāpa svadattasy-āpaharakaḥ || Ājñaptiḥ K a ṭ ṭ a k a
r ā j a ḥ J o n t ā c h ā r y y a likhitaḥ
71. N ā g a m a b h a ṭ ṭ a-kāvyaḥ ||

5 The reading of the name of the river Pampāvatī seems to be probable. Ed.

Fifth Plate, First Side*Fifth Plate, Second Side*

Scale .5

CHARLES PHILIP BROWN—A SURVEY OF HIS SERVICES
To South Indian History and Telugu Literature

Prof. RAO SAHEB C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A.,
Annamalai University.

Mr. Charles Philip Brown was one of the famous band of scholar researchers that the East India Company's servants furnished for the promotion of Indian Culture. He was in the Madras Civil Service from 1817 to 1855 and eventually became Post Master General of that Presidency. In 1866 he printed *Some Account of the Literary life of Charles Philip Brown*, and later became Honorary Professor of Telugu in the University of London. From one point of view, Brown was one of remarkable trio of scholars comprehended by Colin Mackenzie, John Leyden and himself. All the three of them acted to the full truth and the real spirit of the dictum laid down by the Rev. W. Taylor in his comprehensive Catalogue Raisonnee of *Oriental Manuscripts in the Library of the (late) College Fort St. George. (3 vols. Madras, 1857).* Therein Taylor declared thus :—"The absolute non-existence of historical records and our not being acquainted with such as do exist are quite different propositions. It is best to suspend a judgment on the former point until positively certain that all possible 'materials have been thoroughly sifted, and found to yield dust and no diamonds.'" Brown and his fellow-scholars were staunch evidences of the truth of this statement.

Brown rose to be a very ardent student of Telugu and to be one of the instruments of its modernisation. Besides his services to Telugu literature and language and to the accumulation and publication of historical and quasi-historical material concerning South India, it may be noted that he was interested in the accumulation of manuscripts. The valuable collection of manuscripts in the Indian languages made by John Leyden, a collaborator with W. Erskine in the translation of the famous *Memoirs of Baber*, was purchased by the East India Company on his death. Mr. Brown catalogued these manuscripts which numbered 2106.¹ John Leyden's Indian career began in 1803, included a residence at Penang which enabled him to inquire into the peculiarities of the Malay race and ended very prematurely in 1811. Mr. Brown prepared descriptive lists of the Leyden Manuscripts in Sanskrit, Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam and Canarese. He was instrumental in unearthing them from the India

¹ Page 97, *Journal of the Madras Literary Society* 1847.

House Library in 1837 whose whole store of manuscripts, in Tamil, Telugu and Canarese, he got transferred to the Madras Literary Society in 1844. On completing these lists, Brown added his own large library of manuscripts to the Madras collection. His munificent donation was warmly acknowledged by the Madras Literary Society in a vote of thanks printed on p. 202 of their Journal for 1847.2

Brown's collection was thus almost entirely in the Telugu character. More than one half of the manuscripts were in the Sanskrit language but in Telugu characters, and the remainder mostly in Telugu. The Rev. W. Taylor says that though Brown was distinguished by his attainments in nearly every other language of India, whether vernacular or classical, he was particularly attached to the study of Telugu, the best years of his official life were passed in the Telugu districts and he was the first who "applied himself to a thorough examination of its literature and if others shall hereafterwards be enabled to follow his example, it will be only by the light of those aids which he has left for their guidance." "Mr. Taylor has given us two lists of works published by Brown either as author or editor, a perusal of which will convey some slight conception of the nature and extent of his labours.³ This list should be used as a reference in the following account of the Brown MSS.

2 Mr. Brown's Collection has been catalogued by that eminent scholar himself on the same plan as was adopted by him with 'West India House' Collection. On the authority of the entry in the *Madras Literary Journal* above referred to, it comprises 2,440 MSS. and it is thus, *pro tanto*, the richest of the three.

Language	Character	No. of MSS.
Sanskrit	Telugu	1,278
"	Devanagari	16
"	Malayalam	5
"	Bengali	5
Telugu	Telugu	1,116
Canarese	Canarese	18
Malayalam	Malayalam	3
Burmese	Burmese	4
Total MSS.		2,440

To this donation Mr. Brown was continually making additions up to the date of his departure for England, in 1855. p. xxii of the introduction to the *Catalogue Raisonné of the Oriental Manuscripts*—Vol. I. 1857,

3 This collection, as described by Taylor in 1857 can be very usefully compared with the classified description of the Brown MSS. in the India Office Library as given by G. R. Kaye in *India Office Library Catalogue of MSS. in European Languages, Volume II, Part II. Minor Collections and Miscellaneous Manuscripts, Sec. I. Nos. 1-538 (1857, London) pp 1049-63 and items 431-478*. The writer of this paper has greatly utilised this book and the works of Taylor and Wilson. See also his paper—Robert Prime and Colin Mackenzie, Two Early Collections of MSS. and Records—Report of the I.H.R. Commission, 6th Session, Madras.

LIST NO. I OF W. TAYLOR.

"A Grammar of the Telugu language:" first edition, 1840 and a second edition entirely rewritten and much extended.

English—Telugu Dictionary ... 1400 pages royal 8vo.

Telugu—English Dictionary; of the same size, and in 1300 pages.

Dictionary of mixed Telugu and the language used in business. 130 pages.

This work has since been corrected and greatly enlarged in preparation for republication.

Telugu and English Dialogues: and a second edition of the same: with Grammatical analysis. These Dialogues have also been printed in Tamil and in Kannadi.

English Irregular verbs, explained in Telugu. The same in Tamil. The Vākya-vaṇi; or exercises in English idioms: translated into Telugu. Also in Tamil, and Dakkhini Hindustani.

Telugu Disputations on (Mirāsi) Village business: a record written about A.D. 1765—1790; with an English translation.

The Wars of the Rajas: being a record of occurrences in the Bellari District, about the year A. D. 1750.

The Tatachari Tales; a collection of popular stories; including a portion of the "History of Hyder".

The verses of Vēmana; with an English translation: printed in 1829. Several editions have since been printed without the translation.

The prosody of the Telugu and Sanskrit languages explained, 1827.

An analysis of Sanskrit prosody, printed in the English character, London 1837.

Essay on Telugu literature; in two parts: printed in the Madras Literary Journal.

Cyclic Tables of Hindu and Musalman Chronology. (Mr. Brown refers to this valuable compendium, as the work that cost him most pains next to his Grammar.)

An Ephemeris, showing the corresponding dates according to the English, Telugu, Tamil Malayalam and Mahomedan computations from A.D. 1751 to 1850, with a chronological table of events. Pages 600.

Memoirs of Hyder Ali and his son Tippoo: translated into English from the Mahratta.

Various volumes translated into Telugu for Educational Societies,

LIST NO. II, (BEING NEW EDITIONS WITH IMPROVEMENTS)

Three Treatises on Mirasi Right: by Mr. Ellis, Col. Blackburne and Sir Thomas Munro.

The Proverbs of Solomon and the Book of Psalms in Sanskrit metre, reprinted from the Calcutta Edition. in the Telugu character.

The Tale of Nala in Telugu (Dwipada) couplets,

The Tale of Harischandra in Telugu couplets.

The Gajendra Moxam, in Telugu metres.

The Kuchelopakhyanam in mixed metres.

The Garudachalam in Telugu musical metres,

The Manu Charitra, a classical poem with commentary in Telugu.

The Vasu Charitra, do. do.

The Tales of Nala and Savitri in Sanskrit, being extracts from the Mahabharat.

"There also remain not yet printed:—

The Hitopadesa in Sanskrit, with a Telugu commentary.

The Pancha Tantram, with a Telugu commentery.

The Kulyati Sauda (Poems of Sauda) in Hindustani: the only complete edition ever prepared: with a commentary written in Hindustani".

Above all, a Telugu version of the Holy Scripture (the special works of twenty years) has been completed. Also a version of the Apocryphal books. And a Telugu Translation of the book of Common Prayer.

These last three, it is belived, were presented by Mr. Brown to the local Committee of the Gospel Society.

As soon as the East India House and other collections were entrusted to its custody, the Madras Literary Society notified to the Government of the accession of the Brown manuscripts to their collection and they requested also that a small establishment might be permitted to them for the care of Oriental Library thus accumulated. Government sanctioned their request, but at the same time required that they might be furnished with a Catalogue Raisonnee of the contents of the East India House and Brown Collection, similar in character to Prof. Wilson's⁴ *Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection*, published in 1835. The Literary Society replied that the preparation of such a catalogue would be beyond their means as it would require the maintainance of a special staff of Pandits and Copyists. They also suggested that Government might bear this outlay and that the whole of the mauuscript collections might be transferred to the Fort St. George College Board, which was

⁴ A Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection, 2 Vols. (1828.)

thereupon directed to accept the charge. The court of Directors sanctioned the proposals only requiring quarterly reports on the progress of the work of compilation of the catalogues. Mr. Brown was first offered the task of supervising the formation of the catalogues but being then much occupied with the preparation of his Telugu dictionaries,⁵ he declined the task, which was then undertaken by another distinguished scholar-civilian Mr. (later Sir) Walter Elliot. The latter could not, however, fulfil the task on account of the pressure of other duties; and after some time (i. e., in 1852) Mr. Brown, more at leisure, offered his services and promised to bring the work to a conclusion in three years; but as he was then Post Master General, the Court of Directors would not consent to burden him with this additional task. Thereupon the Rev. W. Taylor was nominated as the editor of the catalogue.

The connection of Mr. Brown with the formation and accumulation of the Oriental Manuscripts Library of the Government of Madras and his zeal in his planning a comprehensive catalogue of them should show the reader what his interest in preserving the gathered records of Indian scholarship was.

II.

The so-called C. P. Brown MSS. that are now in the India Office Library contain 52 items of which 29 are MSS. and 23 are printed volumes copiously annotated by Brown himself. Of the printed volumes, 17 were published by Brown himself.⁶ These books and added material may be studied in section A—Grammar.

A. TELUGU GRAMMARS.

Of the Telugu grammars which form ten volumes of the collection, we read the following interesting items from the notes prepared on this section of the Indian Office Records by G. R. Kaye.

MSS. Eur. D. 287—8. 32 × 20 cm. 2 vols. pp. 466, 464, including 100 blank pages.

A Telugu Grammar. By Charles Philip Brown ... Second Edition 1847. On the inside of the cover is written, "I originally planned this grammar in 1828... It was ultimately framed and completed in England in the year 1837. It was rejected by the College in 1838. It was printed in 1840. It was revised in 1841, retranscribed in 1843. Then again in 1847 in the present two volumes."

"*MSS. Eur. B. 57.* 21 × 13 cm. pp. vi, 186 print; interleaved and 12 leaves added at each end.

⁵ Noticed below.

⁶ pp. 1042—63, *European Manuscripts in the India Office Library*, Vol. II, Part II. *Minor Collections and Miscellaneous MSS.* Kaye and Johnston, Sec. 1, Nos. 1—538. Kaye. H. M. Stationary Office—referred to above.

A Grammar of the Telugu Language. By W. Carey, D. D... Serampor...1814.

There are many notes by Brown. On page iii he writes: "The Grammar is deplorable. It is woring on every page"; and at the end he adds, "I had not looked into Carey's Grammar for thirty years when this copy fell into my hands. The book is worse than I imagined. Some may fancy my remarks splenetic and disrespectful. All who know Telugu will see my castigations are not groundless..."

"MSS. Eur. B. 58. 21 x 13 cm. pp. 88 print.

A short Grammar of the Telugu Language in which the Roman Telugu character is used. Prepared by M. Lakahminarasayya..... No. 11, Madras Engineering College papers...Madras, 1860.

Copy presented by the author to C. P. Brown. There are some MS. notes by Brown, for example. on page 5. "This is one of those short cuts to learning which end in a ditch. The book shows that a native who has been years teaching Telugu is unable to explain its grammar."

B. GLOSSARY.

Regarding Wilson's *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms etc.*, first published in 1857,⁷ Mr. Brown prepared a new edition, the MSS. of which is classified 443. Minor Collections, MSS. Eur. C.60-61. Brown's remarks on Wilson on this book are interesting. "Brown writes (opposite page 1), "Wilson too often tries to derive a Tamil or a Telugu words from a Sanscrit root. That book I hope will be reprinted, with some additions copied from Wilson's Glossary of which one half is labour wasted... Yet Brahmans usually assert that all the languages in the world spring from Sanscrit; and Wilson bows to the Brahmans. The additions I have made are numerous; but I have erased so many useless words (particularly the cant or gibberish used among the Thags) that the volume, if reprinted, will be smaller than it was when first printed... In the India House Library there is Prof. Wilson's own copy of this book, interleaved, with additions in the author's handwriting. I found none worth transcribing."

There is a letter from R. Rost to Brown of 10th December 1880 (471, 11) which indicates that the printing of a Volume of additions and corrections to the Glossary was under consideration." At the time of the publication of the *Glossary*, Telugu was spoken, according to official estimates, by nine millions in the Presidency; and a knowledge of the language was helped by good practical grammars by Messrs Campbell and Brown. Campbell had published a Telugu and English Dictionary of which "the only defect was its want of comprehensiveness". Reversed

⁷ Compiled under the orders of the E. I. Company, London, W.H Allen & Co.

dictionaries of English and Telugu had also supplied useful selections for study.⁸

C. PROVERBS.

One of the books deposited among the Brown MSS. of the India Office [(MSS. Eur. B. 61) - 2 volumes in one] is *A Collection of Telugu Proverbs*, translated, illustrated and explained etc. and *A Supplement to the Collection of Telugu Proverbs*, containing additional proverbs, an index verborum, and an index to the European proverbs quoted in illustration by Captain M. W. Carr: 1868.

Brown supplied some brief 250 manuscript emendations for the work. At the end of the first volume, on the last page he has thus written: "The printing of the book is masterly, but the stuff is wretched." At the end he has given a list of references to himself.

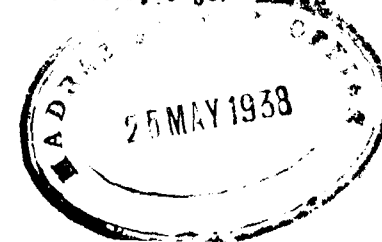
D. DICTIONARIES.

First is his *Dictionary, English and Telugu*—explaining the English idiom and phrases in Telugu, with the pronunciation of English words—prepared by C. P. Brown, 4 volumes, Madras, 1852. This book has (pp. xxxiv, 1392 print and 1044 added leaves containing many notes which "were written after my return to England, in preparing the works for a second edition. This work proceeded steadily until 1880. The Dictionaries have grown to more than double the size of the 1852 edition." In the 4th volume, on pp. 1082-83, was written a note of some interest on Benjamin Schulze. The second is his *Telugu and English Dictionary*, explaining the colloquial style used in business and the poetical dialect, with explanations in Telugu. It has 1282 leaves added to the printed pages of the 4 volumes, as in the previous case. A revised edition of this was published in 1895, and a second edition of the revision in 1903, under the title:—"A *Telugu-English Dictinoary*, new edition thoroughly revised, by M. Venkataratnam, W. H. Campbell and K. Veeresalingam Pantulu Garu."

Next comes his *A Dictionary of the mixed dialects and foreign words used in Telugu*, with an explanation of the Telugu alphabet (Madras, 1854). It has 208 leaves added to its printed part, containing a great quantity of emendations.

Then there follow two manuscript Dictionaries, (1) *Telougou et Francois* neatly written out in Telugu and French in double columns and containing about 12,500 meanings. The Ms. contains no date, nor any indication of the author; and it is surmised from the watermarks of the paper that it was written in or about the year 1794, and perhaps an ignorantly abridged copy of a book written about 1740-30. Brown

⁸ See p. xxii of the Preface to the *Glossary*.



considered this worthless. (2) *Dictionnaire Francois Telougou* (Dictionary of the Telugu language explained in French). This is an incomplete book, containing about 14,800 meanings; and Brown remarks that the spelling is wretched and altogether it is a poor production, and "had it any value, it is completely superseded by Mr. Campbell's *Telugu and English Dictionary*, in which work it was made use of." It is really Telugu-French and arranged, absurdly enough, on the plan of the French alphabet coming "no lower than U (no great loss!)."

E. TABLES OF CHRONOLOGY.

There are eight volumes of chornology in the Brown MSS., of which three are printed books with sheet of addition in MS. interleaved and added at the end. The first of these latter is *Cyclic Tables of Hindu and Mahomedan Chronology*, regarding the history of the Telugu and Kannadi countries, to which are added the genealogies of particular Hindu families, with essays on various matters of inquiry. (Madras 1850). Brown had added to this numerous MS. notes and emendations. "On the inside of the cover is written 'See Critique on this volume of Cyclic Tables in *Friend of India*, 20 Feb; 1851; p.117. It was written by the Rev. T. Smith of the Free Church. His great objection is regarding Vrihaspati on which see Warren, p. 392. There are in the book, separate columns for the Christian. Śālivāhana, Cyclic, Hijri and Fasli years and for notes.

The next printed book is entitled also the same as the previous one; but the emendations in MS are not copied from the previous one. The last of the printed books on Chronology is '*Carnatic Chronology. The Hindu and Mahomedan methods of reckoning time explained with essays on the systems; symbols used for numerals, a new titular method of memory; historical records and other subjects.* (London, 1863). This may be regarded as a second edition of the *Carnatic Chronology*. Copious MS. notes were added by Brown to this; some of them were prepared after 1873. It is this copy as improved that is referred to by Brown when he says in his Literary Life: "A third (edition) is ready".

Besides these, we have another printed work of Brown (not in Kaye's catalogue) on Chronology, entitled "*An Ephemeris, shewing the corresponding dates according to the English, Hindu and Musulman Calendars from A.D. 1751 until 1850, compiled by order of Government under the directions of C.P.B. Madras, 1850.* This is included in the first list of Taylor.

This work was prepared by a Hindu astronomer showing the monthly and weekly notations for a century - different columns being assigned for English, Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam and Hijri dates. Brown says in the preface that a volume on a similar plan was prepared under the directions of Mr. Reid, Registrar to the Court of Sadr Adalat at

Calcutta and was completed for the period A.D. 1764-1835; but it gave only one or two days in a week and omitted the lunar reckoning which was essential in Hindu dates. Brown's *Ephemeris* gives a valuable note on the use of Fasli year, which was reckoned loosely under Muhammadan rule and under the East India Company till the 13th July was constituted the beginning of the Fasli by the British in 1800 and thus the Fasli was metamorphosed into a solar reckoning devoid of months, being a mere official year. Thus A.D. 1820 came to be deemed Fasli 1229; and Munro's Report for 1807 speaks of survey rent in 1215, meaning Fasli 1215 for A. D. 1806.

Brown's manuscript tables of Carnatic Chronology include as many as five volumes. The first of them contains cyclic tables for ten centuries from A. D. 860, based on ancient inscriptions and on original documents, Sanskrit, Canarese, Telugu, Tamil and Persian, and giving corresponding Hindu, Muhammadan and European dates. This was prepared after 1840 and was the basis of printed version of 1850. The next volume is another version of the tables and contains a list of Mackenzie's Manuscripts in the Madras Library. The following next two volumes contain tables from A. D. 967 to 1810. The last of this set of volumes is entitled "Time-tables of Hindu, Muhomedan and English Chronology A. D. 1000-1850". The title is enlarged thus:—"With the corresponding lunatations and days of the week A. D. 1751-1850; with notices of historical events and the successive ruling families in Southern India and an index of names; with preparatory treatises explaining the system in use at various periods in the Telugu and Carnatic countries." The MS. contains no tables, but only rough notes for the preface. The printed work, entitled '*Ephemeris*' 1850, has been noticed above.

F. HISTORY AND CHRONICLES.

Two volumes of Brown's *Telugu Collection* are described under item 451 MSS. Eur. D. 301.2. The first contains several *Mahātmyas* and several historical works, like *Bizzala Raya Charitra* and '*Krishna-raya Vizaia*m; and second contains *Kongu Desa Rajakkal* and *Palnati Charitra*, besides a *History of Surapuram*.

No. 454 of the India Office Collection is a manuscript account of the *Memoirs of Hyder Ali Bahadur and of his son Tippoo Sultan* written in the Maratha language by Ram Chandra Das, Punganuri, an officer attached to the treasury under those princes. This was taken by Brown from among the Mackenzie MSS., translated into English and printed in 1849 with an ample historical commentary; and Brown claims to have even prepared a second edition for the press in fair manuscript form in 1853.

Nos. 456 and 457 relate to Peixoto's History of Nawab Hyder Ali Khan Bahadur, which was edited by Brown. The original was apparently in Portuguese; and Brown had to work from an imperfect English translation. The second of these two MSS. contains Brown's emendations of sentences and corrections of proper names. The title itself seems to have been a creation of Brown, for a good portion of the text has no concern with Hyder Ali but contains anecdotes of the author, who was first an infantry captain in Goa, then took service with Hyder Ali in 1758 and rose to be "the chief of the vanguard of all the European fusiliers in his army. He left Haider Ali's service in 1797, went to Madras where however, he refused to enter English service and after extensive wanderings, resought employment under the Sultan of Mysore in 1769, and he was given charge of all the Europeans with firelocks on half his previous pay. He records incidents of this time "gives examples of Hyder's cruelty, some account of Colonel Wood etc." He deserted later from Haider Ali, and took service in Tanjore during its last siege by the English. Afterwards he retired to Goa and proceeded to Lisbon.

G. TELUGU LITERATURE.

Brown's works published by him either as author or as editor and quoted above should give an idea of his services to the resuscitation of Telugu literature in particular. The I. O. Collection contains a Ms. volume embodying plans for the revival and promotion of Telugu literature 1825-1858-1867. Among the plans are (1) observations made by him in 1827, regarding improvements in Telugu printing, in the collection of MSS, etc; (2) suggestions on the mode of transcription, mode of correction, payment and the best mode of printing, in the field of preparing critically exact editions of the poets; (3) mode of compiling indexes; (4) his literary acquaintances; (5) hints regarding purchases of Mss. and for the guidance of those wishing to collect or edit Sanskrit or Telugu Mss. Brown states in the course of this volume: "In 1825 I found Telugu Literature dead. In thirty years I raised it to life." It is for students of Telugu literature to estimate the real value, at this date, of this claim¹⁰

The next Ms. under this heading is entitled "Telugu idioms exemplified in sentences on the plan of Willymott's Latin Particles: also examples of Syntax." Brown had added a large quantity of manuscript notes to his two articles—"Essay on the Language and Literature of the Telugus," originally published in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* for 1839 and 1840. The following item is entitled "Essays on the language and literature of Telugu" rewritten in the year 1842. This contains three essays and is said to be "greatly extended from the paper

originally printed in the tenth volume of 1839 of the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* and reprinted in Nos. 32 and 34 of the *Asiatic Journal*, 1840."

The volumes containing his Literary Collections and Telugu Collections contain notes on the *Śāktas* written in 1840 at the suggestion of Prof. H. H. Wilson. Brown thus remarks on the *Śakta* sect in South India: "further close inquiry has led to the certainty that the Śakti Pūja or Tantra or Tantra system, whether it be in use in Bengal or not, is unknown in South of India. Of course, those brahmins who have a curiosity regarding the Tantra system can obtain and peruse the Tantra books; just as a scholar in England can procure and peruse a licentious Greek or Latin book; for instance, the writings of Peter Dens, of Sanchez or of St. Basil, three authors whose excess in filthiness is far worse than anything we can find in the Tantras."

Brown's collections of papers regarding the Tenggala and Vadagala sects of Vaishnavas and on Mirasi or village business, in the form of disputations, may also be noted. He wrote a book of inquiries concerning the Vira Saiva or Jangam sect. He published a summary of these in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, and a paper on Creeds and Customs of the Jangams in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1871.

One volume of the India Office MSS. contains notes on Telugu grammar, a poem entitled 'I and my Carpet bag' and several odd memoranda, one of which last reads:—"At various times I have been considered (and by myself) as somewhat insane. Those who have known me most intimately have judged me wholly sane". T. Goldstucker, R. Ross, E. Thomas and Walter Elliot are known to have been among Brown's literary correspondents.

Brown's Collections constitute a rich mine of still largely unexplored knowledge, affording ample scope for translation, interpretation and research. Along with researchers of the class of Mackenzie and Leyden, and also with the genus of oriental scholars like Wilson, Rottler, Kittel and others, Brown shines as a beacon-light to all succeeding researchers and scholars.

¹⁰ The claim is indeed justifiable. *Ed.*

PROPOSED MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES AT NAGARJUNAKONDA.

Rao K. N. DIKSHIT Bahadur, M.A., Director-General of Archaeology in India, Simla has been pleased to write to the *Editor* of this Journal the following letter in reply to the Editorial note published in Vol. X *ante*. We reproduce here the entire letter with the kind permission of the Director-General of Archaeology.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

D. O. No. 892/8102
DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF
ARCHAEOLOGY IN INDIA,
Simla, the 22nd Sep. 1937.

Dear Mr. Krishnarao,

In the latest number of the Journal of your Society there appears an editorial comment under the heading "Archaeological Museum for Āndhra Dēśa". In this connection I should like to inform you that 'Museum' is a provincial subject under the Reforms, and it is the Provincial Government to recognise the Andhra county as a separate cultural unit for which a Museum can be established. The Government of India have no concern with Provincial Museums, nor is it possible for them to make themselves responsible for the construction and maintenance of a museum for such a unit as Āndhra Dēśa. As has been stated, the Museums maintained by the Government of India fall in two categories: (1) Central, which include the Calcutta and Delhi Museums, and (2) local Museums which are, strictly speaking, erected at the *sites* where important objects are recovered in sufficient quantity. Among the latter class are the Museums at Taxila and Harappa (Punjab), Mohenjodāro (Sind), Sarnath (U. P.) and Nalanda (Bihar). It is not permissible to stretch the meaning of "local Museums" by attempting to build a Museum at Bezwada for housing the remains of Nāgārjunakonda. Bezwada may be a central place and for that reason quite suitable for the construction of a Museum for the Āndhra districts of the Madras Presidency, but this is a matter for the Āndhra public or the Provincial Government to decide.

In paragraph 4 of the comments, certain Museums have been mentioned, but among them only the Patna, Bombay and Lucknow Museums are Provincial. The Museum at Rajshahi has been built entirely at the expense of the founder-President of the Varendra Research Society. The Museum at Dacca has been established by a local Committee and is now (like Rajshahi) recognised for certain purposes as a 'regional' Museum for the Dacca Division. Calcutta and Delhi, as I have stated above, are Central Museums. At Agra there is no Museum except a small collection at the Taj. The Rajkot Museum is meant for the Kathiawar States, but as several of the States maintain their own collection, it is not being developed as it should have been. You will thus see that there are no Museums maintained by the Government of India at any of the Provincial centres except the Indian Museum at Calcutta which has been in existence for the last hundred years.

You refer to the Madras Presidency as a vast and varied region. The case of the Bombay Presidency is also similar, but pending any

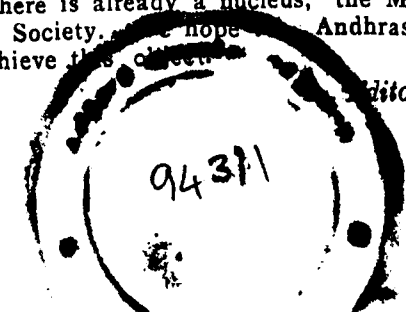
Museums in the different linguistic areas, such as Gujerat, Kārṇāṭaca and Mahārāṣṭra. the Prince of Wales Museums at Bombay is recognised as the only Provincial Museum. In the United Provinces, although the Provinces of Oudh and Agra are different, there is only one Provincial Museum for the whole Province, but the United Provinces Government have also provided a local Museum for the important centre of Muttra. In Allahabad there is also a large Municipal Museum. I must mention that the Archaeological Department has helped both the Muttra and Allahabad Museums by lending them exhibits, but the responsibility of their maintenance is in no way borne by the Central Government.

You will thus see that it is for the Andhra people to put together their resources and induce the Government of Madras to recognise their claims and to provide a Museum at a centre like Bezwada. When such a Museum has been constructed, we shall certainly consider sympathetically its claim to a share of the antiquities which we may collect in our investigations in the Āndhra-dēśa. As regards Nāgārjunakonda it is solely with a view to preserve the relics within the border of Āndhra-dēśa rather than have them scattered in other Museums, such as Madras or Calcutta, that the idea of constructing a Museum at this inaccessible and difficult place was pursued. For a number of years the sculptures found here were lying in the open and were liable to damage by the effects of weather, but in the absence of a road there was hardly any means even for the removal of the relics to a safer place. The Government of Madras promised that they will provide an approach road from Mācherla as early as possible, and it was on this understanding that this Department undertook to construct the local museum. The materials have already been collected, and the construction is beginning very soon. I hope, therefore, that you will see that the Department has tried to do its best for Andhra-desa. As to the location you will, I suppose, agree that the relics can best be studied in their natural surroundings where the monuments, for which they were recovered, have also been properly preserved. Bezwada, therefore, offers no substitute for the picturesque and historic surroundings of Nāgārjunakonda, and you will, I am sure, revise your opinion in respect of our decision,

Yours sincerely,
K. N. DIKSHIT.

We entirely agree with the views of the Director-General of Archaeology and hope that the Madras Government will take steps early to fulfil their promise of building a good road to Macherla, and that the sympathetic Government of India will give Andhra Desa, ere long the promised Museum of Antiquities at Nāgārjunakonda.

A Provincial Museum for Āndhra dēśa may be organised profitably at Rajahmundry where there is already a nucleus, the Museum of the Andhra Historical Research Society. I hope Andhras will pool their resources together to achieve this object.



EXTRACTS FROM THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT THE HISTORY SECTION OF THE
NINTH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, TRIVANDRUM, DEC. 1937.

DR. R. C. MUZUMDAR, M.A., Ph.D.,
Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University.

* * *

Before I proceed further I must mention the great loss that the study of Indian history has sustained by the death of Dr. K. P. Jayaswal. For more than a quarter of a century he was a dominant figure in the field of Indian history, and his learned contributions on a variety of topics have distinctly enriched the subject.

* * *

There is no denying the fact that he supplied a dynamic force which quickened the progress of Indological studies and widened their scope. His untiring industry and passionate attachment to Indology are really remarkable. In spite of heavy professional duties of a lawyer, he found time not only to make a deep study of the diverse problems of Indology but also to manage with great success institutions like Bihar and Orissa Research Society which would ever remain a great monument to his scholarship and organising ability. He was intimately connected with the Oriental Conference, and was elected its President at the Baroda Session. The oriental scholarship is distinctly poorer to-day by his death.

The name of Dr. Jayaswal would remain indissolubly bound up with the foundation of what may be called an Indian School of Indology. It is difficult to define this term, or perhaps, even to justify its use. But those who have been in intimate touch with the progress of Indological studies in this country would easily comprehend its meaning.

* * *

A great revolution is silently taking place in Indological studies in India and we are in the midst of the period of transition. This is what I understand by the term "Indian School of Indology" mentioned above. Among that small band of scholars whose clarion call led to the foundation of this new school of study in India, Dr. Jayaswal must for ever have an honoured place.

The best and most proper way to show respect to the dead is to follow in their footsteps and continue the great work to which they

dedicated their lives. Homage to the memory of Dr. Jayaswal, if it is sincere, must inspire us and stimulate our activities to a more serious and co-ordinated study of Indian history and culture. The Indian school of Indology is now in the process of growth, and it should be our common endeavour to ensure that it develops on healthy lines and sound principles.

* * *

One of the greatest benefits that accrued to this study from European schooling or discipline was the introduction of scientific method in the pursuit of historical studies. This involved, above all, two great principles, the critical spirit in the analysis and examination of data, and a sincere quest for truth in a detached spirit, without prejudices, passions or pre-conceived notions of any kind. In all our future studies these two broad principles must always be kept in the fore-ground. Unfortunately, with the growth of popularity of the subject, some amount of laxity is noticeable in this respect. In a craze for making great discoveries, and allured by the prospect of establishing new truths, some writers have developed a tendency of deducting facts from very insufficient data, and of suiting these facts to their novel theories, rather than building up a theory on the basis of facts ascertained in a scientific way from reliable data. Nor has the study of the history of ancient India remained unaffected by the passing current of national movement. Some have deliberately sought to use our ancient history as an element in our national fight, and reconstructed it with a view to maintain that everything in ancient India was beyond cavil or criticism, and that it contained almost all the elements of progress which we notice in the modern world.

These are disquieting signs, ... But it is time that we should denounce this uncritical method of study and check its further progress. Those who uphold the cause of scientific study of history must rigidly and scrupulously follow the scientific principles and make a determined effort to expose the hollowness of these uncritical studies, unswayed by any motive of personal considerations or pseudo-patriotic sentiment. ... In the scientific study of history, ... we must sedulously foster a spirit of healthy criticism, without personal rancour, undeterred by any consideration of the reputation or greatness of the scholar whose views are involved. This is a *sine qua non* for a real progress in our studies, and we must ruthlessly shake off the sentimental weakness or false idea of decency which stand in the way of a free expression of our judgement. On the other hand criticism, to be healthy and useful, must avoid all acerbity of feelings and should not degenerate into an ill-concealed personal quabble. In this respect we can do no better than imitate the charity and courtesy which characterises European scholars in their dealings with fellow-workers.

The Indian School of Indology has one great task before it, viz., to compile a critical history of India. Such a task has been rendered possible by the success of specialised studies into the different branches of Indology during the past hundred years. Several attempts have been made in recent years to carry out this project, but unfortunately nothing came out of them. It is the clear duty of the Indian Oriental Conference to take the lead in this matter.

In addition to this co-operative project, there are several branches of Indology to which sufficient attention has not yet been paid by Indian scholars.

* * *

In the first place, the discoveries of Mohenjodaro and other ancient sites in Sind and Baluchistan have opened a new vista in Indological studies. It has thrown new light on at least three important aspects of Indian history, viz., the antiquity of Hindu civilisation, its relation with Vedic civilisation, and its intercourse with the civilisations that grew up in early times on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, and perhaps also on the Nile. In short we have to study anew the beginnings of Indian history and civilisation. A proper treatment of this subject requires a critical knowledge of those allied civilisations of the West. *Unfortunately there is not a single Indian scholar who is properly equipped for the task.* This is a serious deficiency which must be removed. This can only be done if a big University like Calcutta makes provision for these studies either by opening up new departments with a properly equipped staff imported from abroad, or if that is not possible, by sending out competent young men to important centres of learning in Europe with adequate scholarship. In any case *India must have a centre of specialised study in these associated civilisations*. Of all Indian Universities Calcutta has made the most elaborate provision for the study of Indology. I earnestly appeal to its authorities to introduce this new study even by curtailing or re-shuffling the existing organisation for Indology if financial considerations stand in the way.

Another important branch of Indian history in which little progress has been made by Indian students, is the history of the spread of Indian culture and civilisation in other parts of Asia..... The establishment of the Greater India Society in Calcutta has aroused a general interest in this glorious chapter of Indian history. But little real work has been done so far. The reason is not far to seek. Unlike European Universities, those in India do not attach sufficient importance to a knowledge of foreign languages, even in higher studies. The result has been that students in this country do not usually acquire the knowledge of any foreign language other than English, and their knowledge is limited to books written in that language. On the other hand, the

materials for the history of Indian civilisation in Java, Sumatra, Annam, Cambodia, Siam and Malay Peninsula are available only in Dutch and French publications, and the same is true, to a large extent, in respect of China. Besides, a knowledge of the language of these countries is also essential for a real and critical study of the subject. All these equipments are lacking in Indian scholars, and a strenuous endeavour must be made in providing for these studies in our universities.

In short, time has come for co-ordinated efforts on the part of our Universities to make adequate provision for those studies which are essential for the furtherance of Indology but which are at present lacking in this country. Here again we can appeal only to the rich Universities for supplying the deficiency. For, at present the Universities are the only seats of higher learning in India where provision can be made for these studies. The only other alternative is the establishment of an Indian Research Institute with adequate funds for development along these lines. Charitable endowments are not rare in this country, but few of these go to educational institutions. Even those few are generally earmarked for the advancement of scientific or technical studies.....The new national India cannot thrive without a proper cultural background. Those who have long and broad vision about the future of our motherland must be impressed with the paramount necessity of putting Indological studies on a proper basis. A demand for political independence must be preceded by an intellectual independence. People seldom realise that to-day the intellectual dependence of India is no less marked than the political and economic dependence of India. It is time that we seek for an intellectual regeneration. One of the first steps in that direction must be to make India the great centre of Indological studies in all its ramifications. We ourselves should be in a position to explore and interpret every single phase of our own culture and civilisation. We shall ever gratefully acknowledge the great debt we owe to Europe for initiating us into these studies, but we should not be content any longer to remain in intellectual tutelage of any other country. Further, there are distinct signs that Indological studies will not flourish long in Europe. One by one, the great scholars of the last generation are passing away, leaving a void which is not likely to be filled up by the younger generation. Time is not distant when researches in Europe and America will cease to count as appreciable factors in the progress of Indology. On our shoulders therefore must fall the legitimate task of keeping the torch burning — the torch that was lighted a hundred years ago to illumine the darkness that shrouded our ancient past. It is, therefore, our paramount duty to set about making preparations for that great and noble task that lies ahead. The success of a Conference like this is only to be measured by the extent to which it brings us nearer our goal.

We appeal to the Andhra University for taking suitable and prompt steps for the promotion of Indological studies on the lines suggested in the above address in the closing paragraphs. In the Andhra University which was avowedly constituted for the promotion of Indological studies with special reference to the History of the Andhras and Andhra dēśa, there are no chairs for studies in Andhra language, literature and culture and Sanskrit and other oriental languages. We earnestly hope the authorities of the University will ere long remedy this defect.

Editor.

Corrigenda

AUTHORSHIP AND DATE OF MRCCHAKATĪKA.

By A. D. PUSALKER.

The author requests the readers to change the word *Āndhra-bhṛtya* into *Āndhra* and *Āndhrabhṛtyas* into *Āndhras* wherever they occur in the article.

VELICHERLA GRANT OF PRATĀPA RUDRA GAJAPATĪ.

POST SCRIPT.

Since returning the proofs to you, I have come to learn from Mr. Godavarti Ramadas Pantulu, B.A., M. R. A. s., Jeypore that those three loops and the continuing line at the end of the writing on the last plate represent a conch (*śankha*), an emblem of military equipment and enterprise in ancient Indian warfare. See *Bhagavad Gita* for instance: Chapter I, vv. 12—19 which culminate in the famous passage.

सघोषो धार्तराष्ट्राणां हृदयात्विदारयन्

I am inclined to think that the explanation of Mr. Ramadas is the correct one.

O. VENKATA RANGAIYA.

REVIEWS.

The Kharias by S. C. ROY AND R. C. ROY with a *Foreword* by DR. R. R. MARETT. 2 Vols. Price Rs. 11.

The authors are well-known for their anthropological studies. The Khāriās are primitive tribes living in the forests and hilly parts of Orissa feudatory states, Chota-Nagpur and a part of C. P. (East). Their total population comes up to two lakhs. One-third of them are described as Christians and one-third as Hindus and the rest as animists (aborigines). Their language is a branch of the Muñḍ language but some speak Oriya and some Bengali. This tribe has three distinct divisions.

1. Pāharias—Hill-men living by hunting and shifting cultivation.
2. Dhekis—Food-producers and plough cultivators.
3. Dūdhis—Men advanced in social and religious system.

After narrating the previously published account of the Khāriās in Chapter III, the authors describe in Chapter IV to VII, their physical, economic, social and tribal organisations. These are very detailed and instructive. In Chapter VIII to X, their birth, marriage and death ceremonies are described and in Chapters XI to XVI, their religious beliefs, festivals, games, crafts, arts and dancing etc., are described in an interesting manner. The appendices at the end containing statistics are useful to students of anthropology.

The authors are to be congratulated on their detailed sketch of the life and manners of the Khāriās. The book is well-illustrated. The authors' plea that this decreasing tribe should be helped by all should commend respect, and their statement that they became Christians to secure relief from the oppressions of the landlords and money-lenders must make the Hindus pause and think. It is something that this tribe can stand comparison with the Mundas and the Oraons in their general culture and character.

We hope that this interesting book will find a place in every College and University library.

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A.

Suryasiddhanta (A Text Book of Hindu Astronomy); English Translation with Notes and Appendix by Rev. EBENEZER BURGESS—Reprinted from the edition of 1860: Edited by Prof. Phanindranath Gangoly, M.A., B.L., with an Introduction by Prof. Prabodh Chandra Sengupta, M.A., Published by the University of Calcutta 1935. Pp. li+409. Price Rs. 7.

We are glad to welcome the second edition of the translation of the *Suryasiddhanta* under the patronage of the Calcutta University. It

has been for long, a desideratum, and it is no wonder if students of Hindu Astronomy should deem themselves fortunate in procuring the book for a nominal cost of Rs. 7, when they were previously obliged to go in for a second-hand book somewhere from Allahabad at the prohibitive cost of Rs. 100 per copy.

Suryasiddhanta has ever been the sacred Astronomical work of the Hindus and, ever stands out as a historical monument of the ancient Hindu culture. This book was originally translated by the Reverend E. Burgess in 1860 A. D. and published in the Journal of the American Oriental Society. In view of the innumerable technical difficulties in bringing out a translation of a scientific work, especially when the original is in Sanskrit, and that too abounding in ambiguous and enigmatical expressions, Burgess's work will never fail to stand out as a model of research work. While on the one hand, it reflects much credit to the genius of a foreigner, who must have taken enormous pains to do the task, equally does it, on the other hand, speak badly about the intellectual inertia of the modern Hindus, who have not still realized the necessity of elucidating their own culture. It is a great pity that they have been accustomed to a very bad tradition of priding themselves on ancient glory, *when it is recognised by the West*, and pocketing any sort of damning remark, provided a Westerner has condescended to make it.

As for the present reprint of the translation, it is not much to say that the Calcutta University, is as usual the leading institution with regard to the Oriental culture, in aptly bringing out this edition. It is edited by Prof. Phanindranath Gangoly, M.A., B.L., Premchand Roychand scholar and lecturer in the Calcutta University, whose erudition is recognized in more than one branch of letters. Further more, what renders the translation specially useful, is, that it is prefixed now with a critical and learned introduction by Prof. Sengupta, sometime lecturer in Indian Astronomy in the same University. Prof. Sengupta's argument that Hindu Scientific Astronomy is independent of any foreign source seems to be critical and justifiable. Burgess too was inclined to take the same view in his Appendix (p. 388). The present translation which has been critically edited is indispensable to research scholars also for the invaluable references contained in it. It is indeed a glorious tribute to the memory of the late Reverend E. Burgess.

D. A. SOMAYAJI, M.A., B.Ed.

An Introduction to Politics by Prof. PRATAPAGIRI RAMAMURTI, Professor of History, Wilson College Bombay. (The Popular Book Depot, Grant Road, Bombay — Price Rs. 2-8-0.)

This is a book on political thought, dealing with the usual topics of the origin of the state, the sphere of the state, principles of political obligation, sovereignty etc. The author seems to have set before

himself two objects in the treatment of these problems: one "to interpret them in terms of idealism" and another "to present the views of ancient Indian thinkers" wherever possible.

As regards the former aim, it does not appear that the author's attempt to carry political idealism beyond Green and Hobhouse carries us far. "The state is the individual universalised and so is not alien to him. The individuality and personality of the state is far more than a fiction of the laws: it is as real as life itself. The individual is realised in the state; he is not a person outside of it. His personality reaches to a higher state in the combined and the continuous synthesis of the state. In the same way, the state is itself being gradually realised in the spirit of the world. The personality of the state is interdependent on the citizens. The most vital truth of their relationship is this mutuality". The whole conception, resembling the Hindu Vedantic Conception of Godhead, is thus summed up by T. H. Green. "God is a being in whom we exist; with whom we are in principle one; with whom the human spirit is identical in the sense that he is all which the human spirit is capable of becoming." "The state is not external or alien to the nature of the citizen. It is his highest expression, the complex of institutions without which, he should not have a life to call his own. All that he holds dear, science, art, religion, etc., rest and grow in the state. In ancient society, the individual existed for the state; in modern society, it is sometimes said, the state existed for the individual. This is rather a false antithesis and is a wrong approach. It is not possible to rigidly divorce end and means; both are identified in purpose. The state is at once end and means". It is all Green's doctrine of self-realisation through state; the state being the expression of the social self; its mind, of the social mind. "It is the best and highest expression ourselves. In obeying it, we are obeying the best self which makes us human".

All this transcendentalism is followed by the admission that it applies not to the state as it is, but as it should be: especially no nation-state ought to be sovereign." The state as a moral or spiritual principle, the expression of the general will, makes for interdependence and solidarity not for the impotence and stagnation of independence (of nation states). It is an ideal which can be realised only when sovereignty results in the whole of Humanity organised in a single commonwealth—a World state.

As regards the second objective of the author, namely, to present the views of ancient Indian thinkers, it is done on a very limited scale and that too to demolish the view held by some modern Indian scholars that most of the doctrines of Western Political philosophy had their counter parts in ancient Hindu thought; for instance, speaking about the contractual theory of the state, he says "Hindu political thought was

always religious in its essence and no political problem was discussed without a religious or theological background. Political practice and life must assume a secular temper in order that a contractual view of civic relations should prevail. Some passages in the *Aitr̥ya Brāhmaṇa* are ridden to death in the futile attempt to establish that Eastern thought too countenances the theory of social contract etc., etc." So also speaking about the organic theory of the origin of the state, the author, after pointing out how biological analogies are explored by ancient Indian writers to visualise the state, the body politic of the *Saptāṅga* and to describe the function or empirical *Svadharmā* of the various castes of the Hindu social order, says "The Hindu conception is not organic enough. The other orders and classes than the higher castes, the Brahmin and Kshatriyas, are regarded merely as means to an end. The body politic did not mean the same thing to every constituent part. The Śūdras or the lower orders were to serve the higher classes. The good that the state sought to realise was not the common good. In the organism the parts cannot stand to each other as means and end".

Though on the whole there is not much of newness in the matter contained in the book, it is a concise and clear survey of the whole field of Western political thought, and should be of great help to our University students that take up Political Philosophy for Honours Courses.

S. VENKATACHARI, M.A.

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume
Edited by Professors. V. RANGACHARYA, C. S. SRINIVASACHARI and Mr. V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR. 500 pp. and 20 pp. Introductory and Appreciations.

This is a volume of 'Essays and Papers written by the learned Doctor's Friends, Pupils and Admirers' and presented to him on his degree 66th birthday (15th April 1936). It contains his full-size photo-print, a Foreword, appeal signed by eminent professors and learned scholars for contributions to the volume as a result of which 70 papers were received. A Note on the Life & Works of Dr. S. K. Aiyangar and an appendix showing all his works are given in the Volume.

From the editorial note, we learn that the learned Doctor graduated in physics and devoted himself to post-graduate studies in Mathematics and afterwards interested himself in History taking his in it in 1899. Since 1900, being employed as a lecturer in History in the Bangalore College, he began to contribute historical articles like "The Wodayars of Mysore", "The Colas of S. India" etc., to several leading journals. In 1908, he took a leading part in founding the Mythic Society of Bangalore and in 1911 published his first work *Ancient India*. In 1914 he was appointed by the Madras University as its Professor of

History and in that capacity he published most of his works. He was also a learned journalist being connected with the editing of the Journal of the Mythic Society, the *Indian Antiquary* and the Journal of Indian History. His career is thus an inspiring example and very rightly several research scholars praise his work and hold him in great esteem as proved by the several Appreciations published in the Volume.

Among the 70 papers published, 23 relate to General Indian History, 14 to S. I. History, 6 to Religion and Philosophy, 14 to Language and Literature, 10 to Art and Archaeology, and 3 to Greater India. Most of the articles are thought provoking and highly instructive. And for example, Dr. Bhattacharya's *Royal Prerogative in Ancient India*, Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy's *Vedic Monotheism*, Dr. Pradhan's *Sisurāga and Kākavarṇa*, Dr. Subramanya Aiyar's *Roll of Brahman in Andhradeśa in Eastern Chālukyan period*, Mr. Venkatrao's *Aśoka's Dharma*, Prof. Acharya's *Playhouse of the Hindu Period*, Prof. Rangachari's *Suvarṇabhāmi and Suvarṇadvīpa* and Prof. Srinivasachari's *South India and Eastern Archipelago — A Study of Culture Migration*, are worth mentioning.

It is a very interesting and learned work which ought to find a place in every college and club library. An index and a better sort of binding would have certainly increased the value of the work.

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A.

The Khandakhadyaka: An Astronomical Treatise of Brahmagupta
Translated into English with an *Introduction*, Notes and Appendices by Prof. PRABODH CHANDRA SENGUPTA, M.A. Published by the Calcutta University, 1934. Pp. ix-xxx, 205.

Brahmagupta's *Khandakhadyaka* is one of the greatest works of Indian Astronomy. Brahmagupta wrote another work *Brahmasphuṭa-siddhānta*. He gave a śaka year in that book from which we can say that he lived about 628 A. D. From the given date in *Khandakhadyaka* it appears that the book was written about 665 A. D. This book is solely written on the basis of *Āryabhaṭīya*. But Brahmagupta has simplified the same calculations. Though the calculation is simple it gives the same results as *Āryabhaṭīya*. But in some Brahmagupta is quite independent and follows his own way. This book is divided into two parts—*Khandakhadyaka* proper and *Uttara Khandakhadyaka*. In the first part calculation of various planets and eclipses are given. The second part deals with spherical portion of astronomy; and the methods of this portion are based mainly on the theories of his *Brahmasphuṭa-siddhānta*. This is a book on the *ardharātrika* system of Āryabhaṭa. Unlike in his *Brahmasphuṭa-siddhānta* he followed equal space system in this book. The book originally consisted of 11 chapters. Eight chapters consist *Khandakhadyaka* proper and three *Uttara Khandakhadyaka*.

But one manuscript shows a twelfth chapter on Pātas. If there was really a chapter on that there was no necessity to Prthūdaka to give his own calculation on this in his commentry. So we may consider that this was added by somebody. Among numerous commentaries on *Khandakhadyaka* those written by Lalla, Bhaṭṭopala, Prthūdaka, Sōmēśvara, Varuṇa and Amaraja are important.

This book is translated into English by Prof. Prabodh Chandra Sengupta who also adds very valuable notes and introduction. The translation is in a very simple style. It is written for each śloka separately, so that the full meaning of the text may be easily known.

In the *Introduction* Prof. Sengupta gives the various constants of other works such as *Aryabhaṭṭya*, *Suryasiddhanta* of Varāhamihira and the Modern *Suryasiddhanta*. He has proved that the planetary revolutions, longitudes of nodes of the orbits, orbital inclination of *Aryabhaṭṭya* and *Khandakhadyaka* are the same. Also, the constants of longitude of the apogees of the orbits of planets, Dimensions of epicycles of apsides, Dimensions of Śighra epicycles of *Suryasiddhanta* of Varāhamihira and of *Khandakhadyaka* are similar. The translator gave the full meaning and derivation of the figures used by Brahmagupta. Along with his notes he gives also examples. Both are exhaustive and illuminating. From the given examples and notes a man though ignorant of Astronomy can easily understand and work out. In some places he shows the differences between this book and the other books, and in some places the approximations used by Brahmagupta are also clearly shown. At the end of Chapter I the translator gives fully notes on the ślokas given by Prthūdaka. In his notes he gave not only the meaning of the text but also the meanings given by the commentators.

Epigraphists who are quite ignorant of Astronomy and who cannot understand the Sanskrit text may easily work out the dates with the help of this translation, notes, and worked examples of this book. The translation and the notes are much more useful to the professional astronomers of the day. It was perhaps through this great work that *Brahmasphuṭa siddhanta* of Brahmagupta came to be valued. Even now this *siddhanta* is used in calculating Almanacs in different parts of Rajaputana, Bombay and other places.

The present translation with notes, is now published as Part I of a complete edition of the *Khandakhadyaka*. The publication is done under the auspices of the Research Fund in Indian Mathematics and Astronomy created by Maharaja Sri Manindrachandra Nandi, K. C. I. F. of Calcutta.

Pandit D. VEERESWARA SASTRI.

Printed by V. Nagaraju, B.A., at the Ratan Electric Press, Rajahmundry.

