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Journal of the
Andhra Historical
Research Society
Vol. XI
1937-38



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P. 284

JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

VOL. XI.
1937-38



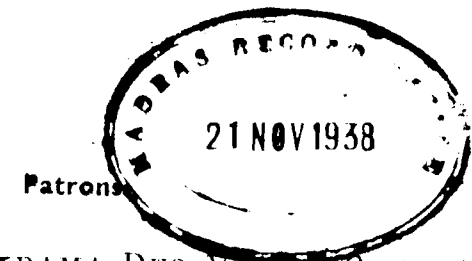
RAJAHMUNDRY:

NOVEMBER 1938

PUBLISHED BY THE SECRETARY,
ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Annual Subscription Rs. 8 (Indian)
Foreign 12 Sh. Postage Extra,

P. 284



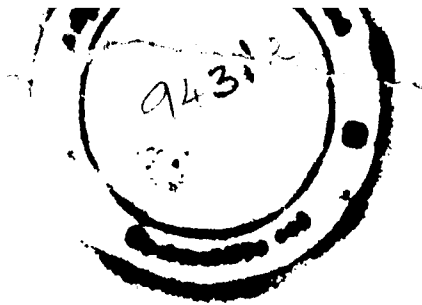
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LATE SRI K. NAGESWARA RAO PANTULU GARU,

Hony. President of the Andhra Historical Research Society

(By the Kind Courtesy of the Andhra Patrika.)

JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

Vol. XI.

January & April 1938

Parts 3 & 4

TELUGU LITERATURE AND HISTORY

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The literature of a country is said to reflect the activities of its people in all the spheres of their life as a nation; and as history is nothing but a narrative describing the national life in all its aspects, the relationship between literature and history is necessarily intimate. Such, at any rate, is the relationship that exists between the literature and the history of the Telugu people. This has been recognised to some extent by historians; and they have freely availed themselves of the valuable information embodied in the *pīṭhikas* or the author's prefaces with which all the literary works in Telugu commence invariably. As the *pīṭhika* is usually devoted to a description of the genealogy of the patron to whom the poem is dedicated, and of the great deeds which he and his ancestors have performed, the information they detail is generally of a political and military character, although occasionally, as, for instance, in the *pīṭhika* of the Haravilāsa of Śrīnātha, information about the peaceful avocations of life is also met with.

Beside the information contained in the *pīṭhikas* and the concluding verses, Telugu literary works, especially the *prabandhas*, yield considerable material which an historian can ill afford to neglect. As the Telugu authors in general, and the Prabandha writers in particular, are accustomed to impart a local colouring to their themes and weave into the texture of their works various strands of information pertaining to the society in which they lived, they help to amplify our scanty knowledge of the conditions governing the life of the people in the past. They impart to us bits of information about the hopes and fears of the people, how they toiled in the field, in the cattle-pen and the shop, how they ate and drank, and what they did to amuse themselves. However,

the extraction of the relevant information furnished by the Prabandhas is not an easy task, as much of it is mixed up with material which is not of use to the historian. The investigator must be a literary archaeologist as well as chemist, if one may be excused for coining such uncommon terms. He must dig like an archaeologist into the *terra firma* of literature with the spade of his mind and melt the material obtained therefrom in the crucible of criticism so as to separate the pure substance from the dross. An example may serve to illustrate the nature of work which an investigator has to perform in extracting the historical material from the Telugu literary works whether they are Prabandhas, Purāṇas, or literature of other description. Now, several prabandhas describe the behaviour of the Mussalman soldiers in the *Svarga* of Indra whither they had been despatched from the battle-field by the victorious Hindu warriors. Peddana, the poet laureate of Krishṇarāya, seems to have opened the gates of the *Svarga* to the Mussalman warriors without considering the possible consequences of his action; he has shown the Muhammadan cavaliers of Beḍadakōṭa (Bidar) the way to the *Svarga* and carefully recorded what they said to one another as they galloped along the high way to heaven. Their advent in the *Svarga* did not pass unnoticed.

Krishṇarāya recounts the atrocities of these Muhammadans in the *Svarga*. The Mussalman soldiers having been slain by his sword in the battles of Kalubarigi (Gulbarga) and Sagar went to Indra's heaven. They drank the wine drawn from the divine (palm) trees, and (becoming intoxicated) moved about (the streets of) Indra's capital with great tumult; they licked away the yellow ochre caste marks (gōpichandan) of Sanaka and other divine sages; bent (the stems of) the Vīṇas of the divine musicians, Hāhā and Hūhū, to make bows out of them, thereby causing the wires to snap; kicked out the *lingas* of sand set up by the Seven Rishis in the bed of the Heavenly Ganges with their booted legs; and forcibly caught hold of the plumpy breasts of Rambhā and other *apsarasas*, wherever they met them.

Occasionally, they changed their tactics. Savaram China Nārāyaṇa Nāyaka, an officer of king Venkaṭa II, narrates accurately what took place during the days of his ancestors. "On reaching Surapura (i.e., Amarāvati)," says he, "they (the Mussalman warriors slain by one of his ancestors) lay encamped outside the city and sent Indra a *hāzib* (messenger) to inform him that they would not attend his court unless he satisfied certain conditions before he gave audience:—he should (1) wipe the thin black mark (*nāma*) of musk off his forehead; (2) remove the elongated pearl ring from his ears and fill up the bores left uncovered by them; (3) take away the jewelled crown off his head and tie a turban in its place in the manner of the Paṭhāns; (4) and abandon the thunderbolt, and arm himself instead with the bow."

What answer Indra gave to this demand is not on record; he seems to have agreed to introduce the desired changes in his dress and accoutrement to suit the taste of the newcomers. The Muhammadar warriors established themselves in the *Svarga* and created panic by their unseemly behaviour so that even the mighty *dikpālas* ceased, in fear, to visit the metropolis of the Gods. However, they obtained news about the happenings in the capital through Nārada, who is said to have transmitted to them the desired information with great promptitude. He informed them that these Muhammadan warriors had dragged Jayanta (the son of Indra) upon the ground to force him to salute the boots of the faithful, harassed Tumbura by commanding him to stop his gesticulations and sing local ditties; plundered the shops of heaven for liquor-bottles and *ganja* powder; and disgraced the *apsarasa* Hariṇi by insisting that she should attend to the work of the stables."

Fanciful as these descriptions are, they are not worthless as they may appear at first sight. It is true that the happenings in the *Svarga* are beyond the ken of mortal men; and consequently they cannot be regarded as authentic records describing the progress of events in heaven; but viewed from another angle, they reveal a substratum of truth which no historian can afford to ignore. The writers whose works we have cited have attributed to the dead Muslim warriors the same mode of conduct in the *Svarga* as that which characterised them on earth. Although their accounts cannot be regarded as genuine chronicles of the events in heaven, they are invaluable to the historian as they describe some of the earthly habits of the Mussalmans and indicate indirectly their attitude towards the Hindus during their life in this world.

Information useful for the purposes of history is found in literature in three different conditions. In the first place, the figures of speech such as *upama* and *utpreksha* which the authors frequently employ in their poems impart much interesting information about the economic or social conditions. Take for instance, Śrīnātha's comparison of the Sun caught between the ridges of the haughty Vindhya mountain to a *jāga* (ship) entrapped between the billows of a stormy sea¹, or Rāmarāja bhūshana's bee which, like a merchant, having boarded the open *jāga* of camphor-bark and crossed the ocean of honey, reached the island of the flower-dust where it met the broker, the breeze and exchanged pearls viz., flowers-buds for cloth, i. e., camphor.² Now these comparisons give us interesting information, about our maritime trade in the 15th and 16th centuries. They inform us that our merchants used to cross the sea carrying with them cloth which they exchanged for pearls and probably also for other articles in the foreign markets. The voyages were

1 The *Kasikhanda* 2:98.

2 *Vasucharitra* 8:142.

not always secure; and the ships in which the merchants sailed, were caught now and then in a storm at sea and foundered. The term *jogu* occurring in the passages quoted above points to the existence of commercial intercourse between India and the east; for '*jogu*' is a loan word from the Malayan and Javanese languages and is identical with *jong* or *ajong* (a ship or a large vessel)³ from which the English 'junk' also is derived.

Secondly, descriptions of the seasons, the Sun, the Moon, etc., which occur as interludes in poems and other literary works, convey much useful information. As these descriptions portray the external appearance of things in general, and the behaviour of men and animals in particular, they have a good deal to tell us about the conditions of life during the age when they were written. We learn from the *Āmuktamālyada* that in summer owing to the extreme heat of the sun, the level of water in the wells sank very low, and women had to draw water resting their breasts on the parapet wall by means of long ropes. (2:66); and that people took refuge under the cool shade of trees in the garden throughout the day and repaired in the evening to the sugar-cane mills, putting on coloured cloth and wearing jasmine flowers (2:70). The rich ate in the afternoon a dish consisting of the slices of fresh river fish and half ripe mangoes and drank the water of the tender cocoanut which was kept buried in the sand heaped under the shadow of the trees for neutralising the unpleasant effects of the dish (2:68). The nobles visited the villages where the people erected cool pavilions to receive them (2:62). During the rains, people who were accustomed to eat after seeing the sun had to go without food; the cultivators of the soil found suitable time for sowing the seed; the people that used to assemble in the fairs deserted them; and the owners of houses with mud-terraces lost sleep at night (4:123). The pedestrians who took shelter under the roofs of the rest-houses along the highway, quarrelled with one another about the relative superiority of the Hayapati (the Sultan), the Gajapati (king of Orissa), and the Narapati (king of Vijayanagara); and scattered, as soon as the weather showed indication of clearing away (4:131). In the month of Bhādrapada, the wives of the farmers went to their men in the fields carrying on their heads pots containing porridge under the protecting-cover of *guḍas* of *zammu* (straw). (4:133). The wealthy *reddis*, having partaken steaming food of *ārugas* mixed with a dish of *gurugu*, *chanchali*, *tummi*, *agirisa*, and tamarind herbs fried in oil, mounted their cots with braziers of goat-dung fire underneath and slept while the calves licked their bodies. (4:134). The descriptions of the sunset, the stars, the rise of the Moon, etc., also furnish interesting details about social life. Errana, for instance, mentions certain

³ Hobson Jobson, p. 472.

features of the dancing hall in describing the earth aglow with the strange light of the setting sun. "The novel twilight of the evening" says he, "looked like a crimson curtain which Time, the stage-director (*sātradhāra*) draws up, as the dancer Night commences to dance in the court of the sky decorated with starry flowers in the presence of the assembled chiefs of the quarters."⁴ Similarly, Rāmarājabhūṣaṇa alludes to the manner of pearl-fishing in describing the emergence of stars. "The stars," says he, "made their appearance like pearls which the diver, the Sun, who has been lowered into the waters of the sea by the captain the sunset mountain, has brought out."⁵

Descriptions of this kind abound in almost all Telugu works. Though they do not yield any information about kings and wars, they contribute much to enrich our knowledge of the life of the common people.

Thirdly, the descriptions of fairs and festivals, the exposition of the current theological dogmas and philosophical tenets, etc., which the authors introduce into their writings, however ancient their themes may be, are of immense value to the historian, as they contain much useful information about the religious and the social life of the people during the period when these authors lived and wrote. The *Māndhātṛcharitram* and *Sāmbopākhyānam*, both works of 16th century, describe the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* of Rāmānuja at length, though Māndhātṛ and Sāmba, the heroes of these poems, are said to have lived in the Kṛita and Dvāpara *yugas* respectively. The shrine of Venkaṭēśvara at Tirumalai is not known to have been in existence earlier than 8th century A.D. Nevertheless, Tarigoppula Mallana, a subordinate of Venkaṭa II of Vijayanagara, sends Chandrabhānu, the son of Śrī Kṛishṇa by his wife Satya, and the hero of his poem the *Chandrabhānucharitram*, on a pilgrimage to Tirupati, and taking advantage of this event gives a graphic account of the pilgrims that flocked to this place. A huge concourse consisting of several crores of pilgrims travelled to Tirupati to offer worship to the lord of the Pannagāchala (Venkaṭēśvara). Some came with sealed lips and bodies emaciated owing to vows of fasting; some with unshorn heads moved forward in crowds to satisfy their vows; some, half dead with fright, walked without inclination on account of the *koḍem*⁶ around their neck; some prostrated on the ground and rolled without minding bodily pain; some offered salutations at every *kos* of their journey, and others prostrated at every step.

4. *Narasimhapurana* 3: 78.

5. *Vasucharitra* 4: 15.

6. *Koḍem* must be a sharp instrument like the *ganda-kattera* (a large pair of scissors used by the Vira Saivas to cut their heads off in fulfilment of vows) which the devotees appear to have worn around their neck, until they fulfilled their vow by making a pilgrimage to the shrine of the deity.

To meet this crowd of pilgrims and make a living out of the doles which they reluctantly distributed the *dāsari* mendicants ranged themselves along the path and attempted to attract attention in all possible ways: sticking their arms akimbo, some gesticulated as the castanets resounded; while the flame of the lamp-stand emitted smoke on account of the proximity of incense, some extended their hands and sounded the gong; slanting the head to one side as they struck the drum, some caused their trained bulls to dance; joining the courtesans in the service of the temple(?) some danced in the roofless *chapparas*; and having seated themselves by the roadside with a patched cloth spread before them and protecting their faces from the sun by means of a veil, some sang on to the accompaniment of wooden *dardes*.⁸

Passages such as these throw considerable light upon popular religion, and the information they furnish cannot be neglected as it is necessary for comprehending the religious life of the past completely.

And lastly, beside the *pīthikas*, the figures of speech, and the descriptions of the seasons, the Sun, the Moon, the stars, etc., the narrative portions of Telugu literary works yield useful material; for, the authors of these works show a marked partiality to dress the ancient heroes and heroines in the garb of their own age. Prahlāda, for instance, grants *umbalikas* to his dependents in the conquered territory in the manner of the Rāyas of Vijayanagara.⁹ And Manmatha (Cupid) bestows *kattubadis* of mango trees, *ummalikas* of flower shrubs, *pālems* of pomegranate plants, and *ālubadis* (amarams) of heaps of flower-dust respectively on soldiers drawing the *kaijitam* of herbs (cuckoos), Nallaparaja receiving the salary of cool honey of the flowers (bees), Pālegārs keeping guard over fruits (parrots), and the active nobleman having the management of coolness and fragrance (the south wind), in order to assemble an army to march against his love-lorn foes.¹⁰ It is needless to point out that Cupid is not only made to confer estates on his followers like Prahlāda but organize his forces on the model of the Vijayanagara army. Nowhere is this propensity seen more emphatically than in the Prabandhaic literature which is the characteristic production of the age of the Rāyas. The lives and habits of the ancient mythological kings and princes whose achievements are therein described bear such close similarity to the lives and habits of the Rāya and his subordinates that one appears to be a counterpart of the other. These fictitious kings and

their courtiers eat and drink, dress, decorate, and amuse themselves, and wage war upon their enemies even as the Rāya and his nobles are said to have done in the accounts of the foreign travellers. An account of the way in which some of the mythical kings are supposed to have mobilised their forces and led them against the enemy is given below to illustrate the tendency of the Prabandha writers of dressing the fictitious heroes of their stories with the garments borrowed from the wardrobe of the Rāyas.

As soon as the king resolved to lead an expedition against his neighbours, he commanded his servants (*aliyams*) to proclaim war in the streets of the capital.¹¹ Proceeding to a tent called *Veliguḍāra*¹² outside the precincts of the city, he awaited the arrival of the troops. Then came contingents of copper-hued, red-whiskered Pathān horsemen with fierce blood-shot eyes, and mouths stained red with the *tāmbala*. They wore turbans of multiple folds over their carefully oiled locks, and carried a bow in the hand and a quiver at the back of the shoulder.¹³ They were led by chiefs who drew a monthly allowance of five thousand *Sivarāya varahas* each.¹⁴ Other companies of Mussalman troops with rolling blood shot eyes and horrid mouths followed them. They put on turbans of fine laced cloth, and had a *kamarband* fastened over a long jacket in which they were dressed. They carried each a pair of Rūmi daggers beside a sword which had been recently tempered. They drove their mares before the king and offered him salute.¹⁵ The Kshatriyas of the *Kaijitam* came next. They wore a turban with a skirt dangling on the back; the coating of sandal with which they besmeared their bodies cracked into numerous flakes; they carried a falcon perched on their fore-arm and were armed with a sword and a short spear. They were accompanied by young pages and ponies loaded with their baggage.¹⁶ They were followed by shieldsmen who bore a rope of twisted yellow cloth and bells on the legs, and a black mark (*kāvu*) on the forehead as symbols of their heroism. They were dressed in a trouser which was held in place by a sash. Holding the sword which was half-drawn from the sheath by the hilt, the shieldsmen passed in front of the king with great clamour.¹⁷ After them marched the sturdy Bōyas like black tigers, dressed in coloured cloth. Over a belt of black cloth, they wore a sword with tassels. They carried drawn bows decorated with silver bands in their hands, and quivers at the back of the shoulder which gave a for-

11. *Kuvalayasavacharitam* 2: 46.

12. *Chandrabhanucharitram* 5: 25. *Rajavahana Vijayam* 4: 40.

13. *Rajavahana Vijayam* 2: 5.

14. *Ibid.* 5: 13.

15. *Ibid.* 2: 52.

16. *Rajavahana vijayam* 2: 53.

17. *Ibid.* 2: 54.

7 The exact meaning of 'Tiruvadi Sāni' is not known. Sāni is a courtesan, and Tiruvadi probably refers to the presiding deity of the hill at Tirupati. Hence it is tentatively rendered into English as "courtesans in the service of the temple".

8 The *Chandrabhanucharitram* 5: 41, 45.

9 *Uttara Nrusimhapuranam* 3: 43

10. *Chandrangadacharitram* 4: 84.

ward thrust to their turban.¹⁸ They were followed by a troop of warriors armed with clubs. They wore on their arms iron rings which produced as they moved a clanging sound.¹⁹ The foot soldiers marched in the rear accompanied by the king. They were a body of war-worn veterans with hardened scars of old wounds upon their chest. Particles of fine gold sparkled on their incisors which were carefully polished so as to impart sharpness to the edges. On their forehead shone the mark of white clay (*tirumani*) of Kōilkunṭa, straightened with some deliberation; on their arms they had amulets fastened as tokens of love by handsome women; and over the curls of their hair arranged into a knot on the top of their crown was a cloth of single fold. They were armed with a dagger stuck into the girdle of some soft stuff, a sword visible over the yellow cloth they wore, and a lance which they probably carried in one of their hands.²⁰ In addition to these there were musketeers, archers and a troop of elephants having its own commander.²¹ The Velama and Kamma chiefs who held all the forts of the kingdom as *unmaḥikas* joined the army.²²

A large concourse of camp followers accompanied the army. The merchants who sold all the necessary articles to the troops whenever necessary;²³ the wives of soldiers, officers and the king, and a huge assembly of courtesans including the king's mistress; all travelled with the army.²⁴

The march of the troops caused much damage to the countryside, as they destroyed the fields of green gram, millet, melon, bajra and rāgi.²⁵ The rice fields were trampled down by the cavalry, and the water of the irrigation tanks was sucked dry by the infantry.²⁶ And forests were cut down to make roads for transporting the artillery wagons.²⁷

At the end of a day's march the army usually halted. And the tent of the king was set up;²⁸ and shops were arranged into wide bazaars. The soldiers busied themselves with making arrangements for the night's rest. Some set up tent poles and spread over them cloth with pictures in golden colour printed thereon; some erected staves and built temporary huts with leaves and twigs; setting up three spears so as to form a trigon, some covered them with their own cloths; some who were more active scraped away with spades the undergrowth in the bushes and settled down there; some went in search of water; and some

18. *Ibid.* 2; 55.20. *Rajavahanavijayam* 2 - 57.22. *Ibid.* 5 - 13.24. *Rajavahana vijayam* 2 - 58, 63.26. *Ibid.* 2 - 67.27. *Ibid.* 2; 84.19. *Ibid.* 2; 56.21. *Ibid.* 5 - 15, 17, 19.23. *Kalapurnodayam*. 8 - 42, 48.25. *Ibid.* 2 - 65.27. *Kuvalayasvacharitam* 3-10.28. *Ibid.* 2; 106.

laughed and clapped their hands to scare away the reptiles and other noxious creatures.²⁹ The smoke generated by the smouldering hearth intensified the darkness; however, in place where the fires burst into flames fanned by the breeze, it was as bright as the day; the odour of the gruel strained from the boiling rice combined with the flavour of the meat roasted over the camp fires filled the atmosphere; and the horror of flaying the antelopes that had been killed became unbearable.³⁰

The screaming sound of the iron styles of the secretaries (*vrāyasams*) busily engaged in drafting letters to all necessary quarters; the whispers of the ministers (*amātyas*) conning the affairs of the king; the tumult of the spies waiting to convey information about the condition of the enemy; the outcry of the guard telling off men for sentry duty; and the ding-dong of the drums of the music bands awaiting the king's appearance to dance, pervaded the atmosphere around the white tent where the king slept.³¹ The foot-soldiers of the guard fell into small groups and attempted to divert themselves with song and gossip. One of them sang the songs of the shepherds inspired by the deity, while the others listened to him with rapt attention; and another played upon the *chengu* swinging his head in the manner of a snake charmer; another narrated the story of Dharmarāja without caring for accuracy; and a fourth sounded the *dhakka* neglecting the requirements of pace (*laya*) and time (*tāḷa*). They paid very close attention to the slightest sound and scrutinised their surroundings. They related to one another how disconsolate their sweethearts were when they heard the news of their departure to the front.³²

The march of the army is not without its hardships. A campaign especially in the rainy and the winter seasons appears to have been regarded as an unmitigated evil. "It is not possible," says one author, "to remain calm when a person contemplates the fear that besets the mind on hearing the sound of the marching drum no sooner than he settles down to take rest; the severity of the scorching sun while advancing by forced marches through a waterless, desolate tract; the grief engendered by the flight of the sumpter-bullock casting off the baggage at the sight of an elephant; the fast rendered inevitable by the collapse of the hearth owing to the inundation of the floor of the kitchen-tent with flood-water; and the unavoidable feeling of sadness caused by the occasional recollection of the dear ones at home."³³ "A campaign in winter is an affliction. The dew drops dripping from the *bandāra* leaves of the roof of the shed soaks the sheet covering the body; the sleep on the wet mud of the just

30. *Ibid.* 2; 107.31. *Kuvalayasvacharitam* 2: 109.32. *Ibid.* 2: 117.33. *Rajavahanavijayam* 2 : 62.

erected pial turns the body cold like the stem of a water-lily and produces aches; the cold blast laden with particles of dew rushing in from all sides produces shivering even in the centre of the shed; and the watch over the void expecting the king's arrival enhances the suffering caused by the cold. The income derived from a stationary office is far better than the service in the army.'³⁴

The foregoing account of a military expedition is based upon the material extracted from Telugu literary works. Much of the information is derived from the *Rājavāhanavijayam* and the *Kuvalayāśvacharitam*, though it has been supplemented here and there with material gathered from other sources. A comparison of this account with the description of the Vijayanagara army left by Paes, Nuniz, Barbosa and other foreign travellers shows clearly that Telugu writers freely imported into the professedly mythological stories a good deal of information of the economic, political, social and religious institutions of their age. Therefore, a careful and critical study of Telugu literature is expected to add much to our knowledge of the history not only of the Telugu country but of the whole of South India.

The investigation of the Telugu literature from a historical standpoint cannot be usefully undertaken without proper equipment. Although money plays but a little part in an investigation of this kind, the worker in this field must have at his command another kind of wealth without which no tangible results can be produced. He must possess a mind filled with the wealth of knowledge. Here, as in the spiritual world, to him that has, more shall be given. A nascent mind like a clean sheet of glass is incapable of reflecting an image.

One of the most important requirements of a researcher carrying on investigation in the field of literature from a historical standpoint is a fairly sound knowledge of history. A mere acquaintance with political history, i.e., the history of kings, wars, and court intrigues, is not quite adequate. Though a knowledge of political history is necessary, it cannot satisfy all the demands of his work. In addition to a knowledge of the political history an investigator must have some idea of the social, economic and religious conditions as well as the level of culture which the community has attained.

Otherwise, a good deal of what he finds in the field of his work fails to strike any fire in his mind. The anachronic reference, for instance, to Ēkavīrā, Warangal, and the Kākatīyas in one of the thirty-two tales of Vikramārka which the images guarding the steps of his throne narrated to king Bhōja of Dhāra³⁵ cannot provoke thought in the mind of an investigator who is not acquainted with the history of the

Telugu country nor does the allusion to the Mahāvratī by Ratī while admonishing Manmatha³⁶ can have any significance to one who is ignorant of the sectarian differences among Śaivas.

Moreover, a knowledge of the history of literature is as important as that of political history. In the first place, a person who engages himself with the study of literature must be quite certain of the chronology of writers whose works he undertakes to study; for, without an established chronology no scientific study of literature is possible. Secondly, an intimate acquaintance with the literary movements and the underlying currents of thought contributes to a clearer understanding of facts. Therefore, an investigator must have a thorough grasp of the circumstances leading to the genesis and growth of literary movements. Rāmarājabhūṣaṇa's assertion that a mixed theme, (*miśra katha*) i. e., an ancient theme embellished by the creative faculty of a (modern) poet resembles a gem cut and polished³⁷ may be taken up for consideration in this context. This statement not only alludes to the movement which gave birth to several *prabandhas* like the *Vasucharitra* but explains the principle underlying their composition. The poets of this age selected a theme from some *purāṇa* and re-told it in their own way, decorating it with ornaments manufactured by their contemporaries. No doubt, the *prabandhas* are the result of the creative genius of the poets; but the material on which it has worked has been obtained from the society to which the poets themselves belonged. A knowledge of this fact facilitates considerably the search for historical material in literature.

Besides, a knowledge of Sanskrit is desirable as it contributes to a thoroughly satisfactory examination of Telugu literary works; for, not only has the Telugu vocabulary been largely derived from Sanskrit but Telugu literary compositions are profoundly influenced by Sanskrit grammar, poetry, poetics and prosody. Moreover, a large part of Telugu literature consists of translations from Sanskrit originals. It must be pointed out in this context that these so called translations are seldom true to the original. They leave out what is uninteresting and dull, abridge much that cannot be ignored and add considerably to the original in order to increase its beauty and charm, so that the translation, though it bears the same name and treats of the same subject as the original, differs considerably from it as a work of art. Apart from artistic considerations, these Telugu translations have an additional point of interest. Much of the new material that is incorporated bears the impress of the age to which the translator-redactor belongs; consequently it has

³⁵ The *Simhasanadvatimsika* 8; 156-8.

³⁶ The *Kumarasambhavam* 4; 493.

³⁷ *Vasucharitra* 1; 19.

something to tell of the social and economic conditions of the age. A comparison of the translation with the original enables the researcher to separate without difficulty the redactor's contribution from the older matter, which he can utilise for historical purposes, if it is found satisfactory on examination.

A tale from the *Prñchatantra* is cited hereunder to illustrate the manner of translation of Sanskrit works into Telugu. This work has been translated by three or four ancient writers of whom Baicharāju Venkaṭapati, a writer of the 16th century, is the most important from our point of view, as his work deviates considerably from the Sanskrit original. Therefore, a comparison of his translation with the original is expected to show how Telugu writers have made use of the Sanskrit works which they profess to translate.

TALE OF DUSHTABUDDHI AND DHARMABUDDHI

A summary of the story as given in the Sanskrit text.

Once, two merchants' sons called Dushtabuddhi and Dharmabuddhi who were friends, went abroad to seek their fortune. During their peregrinations, Dharmabuddhi found a pot containing a thousand silver dinars buried by some money-lender in the past. He consulted Dushtabuddhi, and on his advice, both of them resolved to return home. As they approached their native city, Dushtabuddhi suggested to Dharmabuddhi that they should take one hundred dinars each and bury the rest underneath a certain tree. Dharmabuddhi consented; and having taken a hundred dinars each, they buried the rest and went home. At the end of one year, however, Dushtabuddhi who had completely spent his share approached his partner and suggested that they might take again hundred dinars apiece. Dharmabuddhi raising no objection, they did likewise. Dushtabuddhi, who spent away his share at the end of the second year, having made up his mind to appropriate the remaining money for himself went alone to the place where the money was concealed, and took it home without his friend's knowledge. After the lapse of about a month's time, he repaired to Dharmabuddhi and proposed that they should now divide the remainder of the hoard evenly between themselves. Dharmabuddhi, having agreed, they went up to the tree and looked for the treasure in vain. Dushtabuddhi thereupon charged his friend with theft and both of them went to the royal palace to seek justice. When they stated their case, both of them were detained by the officers of justice. After five days Dushtabuddhi communicated to them that he had a witness, viz., the tree under which the treasure was buried, and that it would bear testimony in support of his statement. Thereupon, the judges enlarged both the parties on surety and intimated that they would examine the witness next morning.

Dushtabuddhi having reached his home persuaded his old father to go at night to the tree, creep into its hollow and give an answer

favourable to him when questioned by the judges. He did accordingly. Next morning the officers of justice proceeded to the tree, and after reading the law books before the tree in the presence of the officials and ministers or citizens (*prakṛti*), questioned it. The answer issued from the hollow of the trunk that Dharmabuddhi had stolen the money. The judges were astonished; and Dharmabuddhi who was beside himself with rage on hearing this unjust accusation, gathered dried leaves and twigs and casting them into the hollow, set fire to the tree. And when the flames burst forth, Dushtabuddhi's father jumped out of the hollow half burnt, and having confessed the truth gave up the ghost. And the officers of the king having perceived the truth commanded that the money should be handed over to Dharmabuddhi and that Dushtabuddhi should be mounted upon the stake.

A Summary of the Telugu Translation.

There lived in a city a merchant called Dharmabuddhi; and he had a friend of the name of Dushtabuddhi. He found, on one occasion, a thousand *dinārs* in a place. And as he was not inclined to hide the matter from his friend, he informed him of the discovery. Dushtabuddhi said that it was not advisable to carry the treasure home as it might rouse suspicion; he thought that it was wise to deposit it in a pot and bury it under a *kāsara* tree, which stood on the boundary of his city. Not suspecting that Dushtabuddhi was intent on defrauding him Dharmabuddhi accepted the advice; and having taken a few *dinārs*, buried the rest, as advised, under the tree and went home accompanied by his friend. The evil-minded Dushtabuddhi left his house at midnight and went alone without being seen by the people of the city towards the tree; and having scattered *baḷi*, he unearthed the treasure and carried it home in great haste. A few days later, he met Dharmabuddhi and expressed his apprehension about the safety of the hoard. This roused suspicion in the mind of Dharmabuddhi, and he went together with his friend to the tree; but he found that the treasure had vanished. Thereupon he accused his friend of having stolen the money. Dushtabuddhi who was thus openly charged with theft grew indignant and dragged his accuser to the place of public assembly (*racca*). He entered the city dragging Dharmabuddhi with him; and having resolved to seek justice, (*dharma*) he assembled elders of the city (*pinṇā-peddalu*). The elders who knew the law looked at both the parties, and commanded them to state their respective cases, without hesitation, clamour and mutual interruption in a lucid manner so as to make all the details clear.

Then Dharmabuddhi turned towards the members of the *sabhā*, and raising both his hands in salutation to his forehead, said, "We had been friends for a long time. One day, I found a pot full of *dinārs*, and I communicated the information to Dushtabuddhi, like a fool that I was. He advised me to bury the pot at the foot of a tree, and I did likewise. A few days later he told me that his mind was filled with apprehension and suggested that we should go and have a look at the money. We went to the place, and found that the hoard had vanished. Then I told him that he had stolen the money and demanded that he should give it back to me. Thereupon, he grew angry and calling me names, dragged me before you. This is all that I have to say."

Dharmabuddhi stopped talking. Dushtabuddhi then saluted the judges of the *dharmāsana* and said, "What Dharmabuddhi has said is

perfectly true excepting his charge that I have stolen the money. I swear by the tree that I have not touched the money."

Having heard both the sides, the judges said "What is the use of wrangling? We grant you five days' time. Come again on the sixth day and explain the facts to us with a clear mind." On hearing this, Dushṭabuddhi declared "There is no need for an adjournment, nor for vain wrangle. I have a witness in the tree at the foot of which the treasure was buried." The learned men (*Vidvajjana*) were astonished at this statement and promised to hear the evidence of the tree next morning. The parties went to their homes.

That night Dushṭabuddhi persuaded his old father to go and hide himself in the hollow of the tree and give an answer favourable to him when the judges questioned the tree. His father complied with his request, and walking up to the tree at midnight crept into its hollow like an owl. Next morning, the elders summoned both the parties, and went to the tree accompanied by them. Having offered worship to the tree they asked it respectfully to tell them which of the two litigants was dishonest. Dushṭabuddhi's father replied from within the hollow that Dharmabuddhi was dishonest. On hearing this, Dharmabuddhi was beside himself with rage. Having collected dried leaves and straw, he cast them into the hollow of the tree and set fire to it. Being suffocated by smoke and half burnt by fire, Dushṭabuddhi's father jumped out of the hollow and reviling his dishonest son gave up the ghost.

The officers of the king, then, turned indignantly towards Dushṭabuddhi and cried, "O *Kōmaṣi* slave that cannot repay the money, advanced without considerations of its recovery; O *Vaijāti* blood sucker, who defrauds trusting customers by stealthily decreasing the quantity of articles purchased on loan for domestic consumption; O hateful beggar, that thrusts hollows without holes in the *adda* and *gidda* measures of other people; O vessel of wickedness who prays for famine in order to plunder grain and sell it dearly; and O dog of a *setṭi*, the embodiment of cruelty, that borrows money and without repaying it easily strikes a balance by selling cloth, nuts, and other articles".

Having thus abused, the officers of the king caused the money to be paid to Dharmabuddhi and mounted Dushṭabuddhi up onto the stake.

The Telugu version differs from the Sanskrit text in many details. The most noteworthy difference is found in the description of the judicial tribunal that decided the dispute between the merchants. According to the Sanskrit text, both the disputants went to the royal palace to seek justice. On hearing their statements, the judges ordered them to be kept in prison, but on Dushṭabuddhi undertaking to produce a witness on the fourth day they were released on bail. On the next morning when they proceeded to examine the evidence of tree, the law books were read before the tree in the presence of the king's officers of justice and the ministers (or citizens). When the truth was ultimately discovered, the officers of justice commanded that the money should be handed over to Dharmabuddhi and that Dushṭabuddhi should be mounted on the stake.

The Telugu translator introduces a new mechanism of justice. According to him, Dushṭabuddhi one of the disputants dragged his opponent to the place of public gathering (*racca*) in the city; and having

secured his consent to get their dispute settled according to law, assembled the elders (*pinnā-peddalu*) and requested them to hear their case. The elders who were proficient in the law (*dharmavid*) commanded both the parties to make their representations individually, without hesitation, clamour, or mutual interruption, in such a manner as to make all the details quite clear. Then both parties turned towards the assembly (*sabhā*), offered salutations to the people seated in the seat of justice (*dharmāsanaṣṭha*) and made their respective depositions one after another. The judges adjourned the case to the sixth day; but on Dushṭabuddhi undertaking to support his position by the testimony of a witness, viz., the tree, the learned-men (*Vidvajjanāḥ*) promised to hear the case next morning. That night, Dushṭabuddhi persuaded his father to conceal himself in the hollow of the tree, and give a suitable answer to the assembly of the learned (*Parishajjana*). Next morning, the elders summoned the parties and with them proceeded to the tree which they questioned. Dushṭabuddhi's father gave false evidence on behalf of the tree and perished from its consequences. Then the officers of the king stepped in to denounce the wily habits of the *Kōmaṣi* (for which there is no warranty in the Sanskrit text) and executed the judgment of the court.

The reason for the introduction of new material does not concern us at present. What is of immediate interest is to search for the source from which the translator has obtained it. *Pinnā-peddalu*, going to seek *dharmā*, *dharmāsana*, *ubhayāvātulu*, *sabha*, *vidvajjanas*, *parishat* etc. are terms which frequently occur in the inscriptions and legal documents of the Vijayanagara period preserved in the village *kaifiyats* and *danda-kaviles*. Baicharāju Venkatanātha, the author of this translation, was a subordinate of Vijayanagara kings and he seems to have flourished under Achyutadēvarāya and Sadāśiva. It is obvious that Venkatanātha grafted on the old *Panchatantra* the machinery of the judicial administration of the Vijayanagara empire with which he and his contemporaries were familiar.

A knowledge of Sanskrit is also useful otherwise. In the first place, it widens the extent of the field of investigation, and renders the increase of the information necessary for the reconstruction of the history possible. Take, for instance, the Sanskrit works produced under the Rāyas of Vijayanagara. They throw much needed light upon obscure problems and afford considerable insight into the administrative, social and economic conditions of the country. The *Yogānandaprahasana* of Aruṇagirinātha Dīṇḍima states that the punishment for committing adultery with a married woman is death by impalement; and if the committer of the crime happens to be a Brahman, he must not be impaled but blinded and branded with an instrument known as dog's foot. It also indicates that the father and the husband of the woman are liable to be punished with exile. Similarly, the *Śṛṅgāra-bhāṣana* of Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa has some interesting information to offer about the life in the capital. It alludes to a practice prevalent among the rich citizens of Vijayanagara of contracting temporary marriage alliances with courtesan women. The terms of the contract seem to have been embodied in a document called *Kaṭatrapatra* which was allowed to remain in the possession of the courtesan. The breach of the terms of this contract constituted an offence cognizable by law, and the parties might resort to a court of law, (*sabhā*) to seek redress. Besides, the

Sringarabhaṣaṇa incidentally mentions duelling, and popular amusements such as wrestlings and cock and ram fighting.³⁸

The Sanskrit works also throw light occasionally on what is obscurely hinted at by the Telugu authors. The practice of striking a metallic gong to indicate the passage of the *Gaḍiyas* is alluded to in many Telugu works.³⁹ An instrument for measuring time called the *gaḍiya kuḍuka* (the saucer or cup of gaḍi) which submerged under water is also referred to,⁴⁰ though nothing is said about the way in which it worked. Rājanātha Ḍiṇḍima explains the manner of its working in the following passage: "If the disc of the sun", says he, "had not been perforated by the kings forcefully slain on the battle-field by the sword which resembled the plaited locks of the Goddess of Victory in the hand of which the king of praise worthy acts (Achyutadēva), would the Sun who descended into the cauldron of the sky, filled with the flood of the king's pure fame, have become the be-jewelled vessel which measures the minutes of the day."⁴¹

It is evident from this that *gaḍiya kuḍuka* was a shallow cup with its bottom perforated, floating in a cauldron full of water. The water in the cauldron leaked gradually into the cup through the perforations and filled it up within a *gaḍi* when it submerged. Thus we get an accurate description of the manner of working of the *gaḍi kuḍuka* or water clock. Instances of this kind can be multiplied; but what is said is enough to show how very useful and necessary a knowledge of Sanskrit is to a toiler in the field of history.

Great caution, however, must be exercised in gathering information from literature and utilising it for the purposes of history; for, the material pertaining to different ages comes heaped up in an indiscriminate mass. To sift the available material, and to select what is relevant to any given topic under investigation, patience, wide scholarship, and sound judgment coupled with considerable critical acumen are needed. The investigator has to test the information he has collected from every point of view before he makes up his mind to use it in reconstructing ancient history.

38. *Sringarabhushana*. The Kavyamala Series.

39. *The Kridabhiramam*, p. 52. V. P. Sastri's edition.

40. *Kuvalayasva Charitra*, 2:125.

41. *I. A.* xivii, p. 134 I am indebted for the translation of the passage to Dr. V. Raghayan.

THE ANANDA & YISHNUKUNDIN KINGS OF ANDHRADESA.

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Some of my views regarding the Ānanda and Viṣṇukundin kings of the Andhra country have recently been criticised by Mr. V. S. Ramachandramurty in *J.A.H.R.S.*, X, pp. 187-93; XI, pp. 43-50. I have very little to say against his criticisms, as, excepting only one or two, I cannot, unfortunately, consider any of his arguments convincing and acceptable. I may therefore simply refer the learned readers of the *Journal* to the particular chapters of my monograph, *Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Eastern Deccan*, which have been criticised. To illustrate my position, I shall just mention two points in which my critic has differed from me.

(1) Without evidence of an exceptionally positive character, I cannot believe in the fact (nay, I even consider it absurd) that there may have lived two performers of eleven Aśvamēdhas and thousand Agniṣṭōmas (Kratus) of the same name, family and period. I have therefore supposed that the Viṣṇukundin king named Mādhavarman, credited with the celebration of eleven Aśvamēdhas and thousand Kratus in all records of the family, was one and the same person. Unfortunately, my critic believes it to be "not a very strong argument" (*op cit.*, X, p. 193). I cannot help it.

(2) The Ānanda king Dāmodaravarman is called *Samyak-sambuddhyasya pād ānuḍhyāta*, and I naturally supposed him to have been a Buddhist. He is called *avandhya-gōsahasr-āneka hiraṇyagarbh-odbhav-odbhava*, the natural interpretation of which is "one whose father was a performer of the Gōsahasra and Hiraṇyagarbha mahādānaś." My critic however thinks that Dāmōdaravarman was a Hindu (because he granted a village in favour of Brāhmaṇas) and a performer of the Gōsahasra mahādāna, (*op. cit.*, XI, p. 49). I hope, our learned readers will kindly excuse me if I fail to appreciate the cogency of such ingenious suggestions.

Of his suggestions, I gladly accept one. The Ānandas were possibly subdued or supplanted by the Pallavas, and not by the Śālaṅkāyanas, as previously suggested by me. I am glad to note Mr. B. V. Krishnarao's views (not known to me previously) regarding the position of Mādhavarman (II) of the Īpur grant (No. 2) and the interpretation of Triḱūta-malaya mentioned in that record, which do not appear to be unreasonable.

I should however thank my critic for his drawing my attention to the published text of the Chēzārī inscription mentioning the Ānanda king (I do not like the expression "Ānanda gōtra king") Kāndara. The record was not available to me up till the other day. I do not, however, fully agree with him in the interpretation of the record; but the points in which I differ from him may be discussed elsewhere.

Mr. Ramachandramurthy thinks that, like Dāmōdaravarman, the Ikṣvāku kings were "pure Hindus". Ikṣvāku Cāntamūla I performed Brahminical sacrifices and was evidently a Hindu. We cannot however be definite as regards the faith of Virapurisadata and Cāntamūla II, although the known female members of their family were Buddhist as they adored the Buddha and some of them were keen to get Nirvāṇa. This fact, I admit, may not be strong evidence to prove that the successors of Cāntamūla were Buddhist; but the suggestion that they were "pure Hindus" is even less convincing. It may be significant that, the epithet *virapākha-pati-mahāsena-parigahita* is applied only to Cāntamūla I, but not to his son or grandson.

It is moreover curious that, in my critic's opinion, the Buddha was "considered as deity in the Hindu pantheon" by the beginning of the fifth century A. D. I am afraid, the suggestion is against all evidence. I may only request my critic to go deeper into the subject and to study at least the works on the activities of Śāṅkarācārya and his followers and the records of the 7th century Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang. As I have elsewhere suggested, the performance of Aśvamēdha and epithets like *Dharma-mahārāja* and *Kaliyuga doṣ-āvasanna-dharma-ōdakarāṇa-nitya-sannaddha* appear to prove that some South Indian kings fought for the cause of their Brahminical faith which had been overshadowed by heretical doctrines like Buddhism. Besides some admittedly late interpolated passages of the *Mahābhārata*, *Harivamśa* and the *Purāṇas*, (cf. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 165) the Buddha is recognised as an *Avatāra* only in very late works, e.g., in the *Gitagovinda* of Jayadēva who lived in the 12th century A. D.

AN EARLY MARATHI PASSAGE FOUND IN TELUGU LITERATURE

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Pāṅkuriki Sōmanātha was a great Vīraśaiva poet who had written several poetical works in Telugu. He is also reported to be a good poet in Kannaḍa, but the few Kannaḍa works that are attributed to him and are now extant do not bear the stamp of the genius exhibited by him in his Telugu works. He is however, held in the highest esteem as a religious leader both in the Telugu and the Kannaḍa countries.

His chief works in Telugu are the *Basavapurāṇa* and the *Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhyā Charitra*. Of these two, the latter is the bigger one and Sōmanātha's erudition and poetical excellence find their highest and finest expression in it. It contains a mine of information on many topics.

Sōmanātha is assigned to about 1199 A. D. At any rate, he cannot be later than the middle of the thirteenth century. Marāṭhi literature in its present shape was in the course of formation about this time. It may, therefore, interest Marāṭhi scholars to be informed that Sōmanātha who was reputed to be an "Ashta-bhāṣhā-kavitva-viśārada," one proficient in composing poetry in eight languages, had taken the occasion of his description of the pilgrimage of Paṇḍitārādhyā to Śrīśaila to refer to the several groups of pilgrims hailing from different parts of India and in that connection showed his acquaintance with Marāṭhi by making the Mārāṭhi pilgrims speak in their own language. He calls the Mārāṭhi country the 'Āre-dēśa' and their language the 'Āre-bhāṣha', by which names they are still sometimes known in the Telugu country.

I am now engaged in editing the *Paṇḍitārādhyācharitra*. The printing is almost finished, but it has stopped short at the point where the Mārāṭhi passage occurs. It is unfortunate that the scribes of palm-leaf manuscripts were ignorant of the Mārāṭhi language, and naturally so, of that of the beginning of the thirteenth century; and so each of them wrote the lines each in his own way, so that all sense has been taken away out of them. The work was translated line by line and very literally into Saṁskṛita by one Gururāja Kavi, but it is a pity that he has skipped over this portion of the work, apparently because he could not understand the passages. In the absence, therefore, of proper help in both these directions, I had written to some Mārāṭhi scholars who, too, could not render me any help in restoring the Mārāṭhi lines under investigation. I am therefore obliged to fall on my own resources to emend the lines as best as I can, but in the absence of specimens of the twelfth or the thirteenth century Mārāṭhi, I am not sure of the

correctness of my emendations. I leave it to scholars of Mārāṭhi to make what use they can of the manuscript readings given below and the emendations that I have suggested.

The lines given below are 'Dvipada' lines peculiar to Telugu. A 'Dvipada' is a couplet with a *prāsa*, or same consonant, but not necessarily in combination with the same vowel at the second place of the two lines of the couplet, and either an ordinary 'yati' which in Telugu stands for the same consonant plus a corresponding vowel, or simply the 'prāsa yati' in which the consonant alone counts but not necessarily the corresponding vowel, occurring at the place next to that of the ordinary 'yati'. Each line in a 'Dvipada' has three Indra-gaṇa's (nala, naga, bha, ra, ta, sala) and a Sūryagaṇa (na, ha or gala.). Sōmanātha has, in my opinion, curtailed and condensed Mārāṭhi forms to make them suit his metre.

The Text.

Line 1. Readings—

- mā gā ra gā na kō ma ja bā pu ma ṇa ta
- mā gā ra ko na ko na ma ja bhā pu ma ṇa ta
- bā lā gu ko na ko na ma ja bhā pu ma ṇa ta
- mā gā ta gā na ko na ma ja bhā pu ma ṇa ta
- mā gā ra ko na ko na ma ja bā pu ma ṇa ta
- mā ga ra go na go na mā ja bā pu ma ṇa ta

My emendation: māga rahō nakō majha bāpu mhaṇata (saying 'Do not lag behind'.) The use of 'majha' for 'mājhā' is for metre.

Line 2. Readings—

- bhā ga va tē va tē bha kta tē ma ṇa ta
- bhā ga va tē va tē bha kta tē ma ṇa ta
- bhā ga va tē va tē bha kti tē ma ṇa ta
- bā ga vō dē va tē bha kta te ma ṇa ta
- bhā ga vō tē va tē bha kta tē ma ṇa ta
- bhā ga va tē va tē bha kta tē ma ṇa ta

My emendation: bhāgavatē vaṭē bhakta tē mhaṇata (Saying, 'I act as a devotee to you who are a 'bhāgavata'.')

Line 3. Readings—

- The printed reading is 'chara-liṅga guru-liṅga Śambhūna maṇata'. There are no other readings 'Śambhūna' in the line evidently stands for Marāṭhi 'Śambhūnē'

My emendation: chara-liṅga guru-liṅga Śambhūne mhaṇata (Saying, 'Oh! Śambhu's, in the forms of chara-liṅga's and guru-liṅga's!')

Line 4. Readings—

- pu ra va ra ke to dū ri vu ru kha tē ma ṇa ta
- pu ra va ra ke ta dū ri pu ra ha tē ma ṇa ta
- pu ra va ra ke ta dū li pu ra ha te ma ṇa ta

- pu ra va ri ke tta dū ri pu ra kha te ma ṇa ta
- pu ra va ra ke ta dū ri pu ra kha te ma ṇa ta
- pu ra va ri ke tta dū ri pu ra kha te ma ṇa ta
- pu ra va re khe te dū ri pu ru kha tē ma ṇa ta

My emendation: pura-vara keti dūra para hōte mhaṇata (Saying, 'How far away is the best of cities?') 'hōte' for 'hōiē' is for metre.

Line 5. Readings—

- a khi śi ri kai lā li da kha dō ri ma ṇa ta
- a khē śi ri kai lā sa de jhi kā re ma ṇa ta
- a khe si ri kai lā sa di khi dō re ma ṇa ta
- ā khe cha ri kai lā sa dē śi kā ma ṇa ta
- a khi si ri kai lā sa ḍa kha dō ri ma ṇa ta
- a khi si ri kai lā sa de khi kā ra ma ṇa ta

My emendation: akhisiri Kailāsa dakhaśīla mhaṇata (Saying, 'Let us see Kailāsa, the treasure of the eyes,')

Line 6. Readings—

- su kha mu khā jā lō pu su ru la yā ma ṇa ta
- su khi mu khā lō ga vu ra khi yu mā ma ṇa ta
- su kha mu khā lō pu ra kha a ṇa ma ṇa ta
- su kha mu kha jā lō pu ra ja tē ṇa ma ṇa ta
- su kha mu khā lō pu ra kha ya mā ma ṇa ta
- su kha mu khā dā lā pu su ru la yā ma ṇa ta
- su kha mu kha jā lō pu ru kha tē ma ṇi ta
- su khi mu khā lō ga vu ra kha ya mā ma ṇu ta
- su kha mu khā jā lō vu mu kha a mā ma ṇa ta

My emendation: sukha mukhā jhālōvū mukha āmcha mhaṇata (Saying, 'May our faces become happy!') 'āmcha' is a metrical curtailment for 'āmachā.'

Above the sixth line, certain manuscripts give an extra line, which, however, may be left as the corresponding line of the couplet is not forthcoming in any manuscript. Its readings are—

- ya khi vē re dē hīn ba ya ppu lē liṇ ga
- a khi si ri kai lā sa śi kha ra mā yā ji
- la khe si ri kai lā sa śi kha ra mā ā ji
- a khi le re dē vān ba a ppu le liṇ ga

Line 7. Reading—

- ma ga ma hā rā ṭa kha ma ha dē vu yā ji
- ma ga na hā ṭa ji ma ha dē vu yā ji
- ma ga ma hā rā ṭa chī ma ha dē vu yā ji
- ma ga ma hā rā ṭa bhi ma ha dē vu yā ji
- ma ga ma hā rā ṭa khi ma ha dē vu yā ji

My emendation: maga Mahārāṭācha Mahadēvu āmcha. (Again, our Mahādēva of the Marāṭhas)

Line 8. Readings—

- ga ga na rā ṇā ā jī kai lā sa yā ji
- ga ga na rā ṇā yā ji kai lā sa yā ji

- c. ga ga na yā nā rā ji kai lā sa yā ji
 d. ka ga na yā nā rā ji kai lā sa yā ji
 e. ga na ga na ra na yāji kai lā sa yā ji
 f. ga ga na rā nā rā ji kai lā sa yā ji
 g. ga ga na rā na yā ji kai lā sa yā ji
 h. ga ga na rā na yā ji kai lā sa yā ji

My emendation: gagana-rānā āmcha Kailāsa āmcha (Our king of the sky, our Kailāsa).

Line 9. Readings—

- a. a gha ma rā nā yā ji su khi dē vu yā ji
 b. ya khi ma rā nā yā ji su khi dē vu yā ji
 c. a khu ma rā nā yā ji su kha dē vu yā ji
 d. a kha ma rā nā yā ji su kha dē vu yā ji
 e. a khi ma rā nā yā ji su kha dē vu yā ji
 f. a khu ma rā nā yā ji su kha dē vu yā ji

My emendation: akhuma-rānā āmcha sukha dēvu āmcha (Our imperishable king, our god of bliss).

Line 10. Readings—

- a. su kha ka ra a plā chi śu bha dē vu yā ji

There are no other readings available. (He who gives us happiness, the god of welfare).

Line 11. Readings—

- a. a re thē vē hi bba gu ta a ppu ve liñ ga
 b. a khi thē vē hi bba gu re a ppu ve liñ ga
 c. a ri re va hi bba gu ta a ppu ve liñ ga
 d. a khi vē re dē liñ ga a ppu ve liñ ga
 e. a ra rē śi hō ba gu ta a ppu lē liñ ga

My emendation: are thāva hē bhakta āpalē llīga (O bhakta, my liñga, tarry.)

Line 12. Readings—

- a. si ri gi ri ma lla yya pa ra ma di ya rhta
 b. si ri gi ri ma lla yya va ra ma di ya tta
 c. si ri gi ri ma lla yya va ra ma di ya rhta
 d. si ri gi ri ma lla yya vi ra ma di ya tta
 e. si ri gi ri ma lla yya cha ra ma di ya rhta

My emendation: Siri-giri-Mallayya! charama diyanta (O Mallayya! Giver of release!)

Line 13. Readings—

- a. su kha lu la ji ti mā na lē kha la ba na che
 b. su kha tā la ga ti mā na ve kha la kha kha na che
 c. su kha tā la ja ga ti mā na ve kha la kha ni che
 d. su kha tā la ja ga ti mā na le kha la kha ni che
 e. su kha lu la ji ti mā na vē ba la kha na chē
 f. su kha lu la ji ti mā na vē ga ta kha na chē
 g. su khā tā la ga ti mā na le kha la kha kha na che

- h. su khu tā la ja ti mā na lē khi la nā che

My emendation: sukha-tāla-jati-mānalā khēla nāche (I shall dance to the measures of the time and rhythm.)

Line 14. Readings—

- a. ma kha ra ji si ri gi ri ma lla yya rā na
 b. ma kha ra chē
 c. ma gha ra jē
 d. ma ba ra ji
 e. ma kha ra che
 f. ma kha ra jē

My emendation: makhara jē Sirigiri-Mallayyarāna ' (O King Mallayya of Sirigiri! May you conquer again!)

Line 15. Readings—

- a. ā lā ni ba ddha sa tā na gī tā cha
 b. ā la ni ba ddha sa ta ni ga tā che
 c. ā lā ni ba ddha sa tā sa gī tā che
 d. ā lā ni ba ddha sa tā ni ggi vā ni
 e. ā lā ni ba ddha sa tā ni ggi vā di
 f. ā lā ni ba ddha sa tā ni gī tā che
 g. ā lā ni ba ddha sa tā ni gī tā che
 h. ā lā ni ba ddha sa tā ni gi tā cha
 i. ā lā ni ba ddha na tā la gī tā cha

My emendation: ālā nibandhana tāla gītāśi (To the time measure and rhythm of songs)

Line 16. Readings—

- a. mālā samarpaṇu mallayya rāni

No other readings are available. My emendation: mālā samarpaṇa Mallayya rāna (O King Mallayya, who has been offered the garland!)

Line 17. Readings—

- a. sra bba ta saṁ tā pa sā ra nā ta ka ne
 b. sra bba ta saṁ tā pa saṁ tā pa nā ta ka ne
 c. sra bbi ta saṁ tā pa saṁ sā ra nā ta ka ne
 d. ara bba nā tā pa saṁ sā ra nā ta ka ne

My emendation: srabba-saṁtāpa-saṁsāra-nāṭakane (With him who acts the drama of life full of all grief,) 'nāṭakane' for 'nāṭakanē' for the sake of metre.

Line 18. Readings—

- | | | |
|---------------|-------------|---------------|
| a. vrabbata | b. vrabbita | c. vrachchata |
| a. sachchijña | b. sarvajña | c. parvajña |
| a. gādi | b. gāde | c. gāṁḍi |

My emendation: prabbata mallayya prabbajña gātē (O Mallayya of the mountain! He who knows auspicious occasions! we sing.) 'gāto' for 'gātō' is for metre.

Line 19. Readings—

- a. u se ma nā pū ha ru jā nu chi tta
 b. hañ śa mā nā pu pū ha ru bū hu chi tta
 c. hañ śe ma na pu pu ha ru bū nu tiñ chi
 d. lañ śa ma nā vu pū ha ru bū ni chi tti
 e. luñ śe ma nā pu pū ha ru bū nu chi tta
 f. añ śe ma nā pu pū ha ru jō nu chi tta
 g. añ sē ma gā vu yī a ru jā nu chi tti

My emendation: āmchā magū puñū hara jāna chitta (Behind me, again, there is one with a mind which has known Hara.)

Line 20. Readings—

- a. u se ma hā bha kta la nē sam me la
 b. yañ śa ma hā bha kta ya kha ne sam mē la
 c. hañ sē ma hā bha kta la kha ne sam me la
 d. lañ sa ma hā bha kta la kha ne sam me la
 e. luñ sē ma hā bha kta la kha ne sam me śa
 f. lañ śa ma hā bha kta la kha ne sam me la
 g. añ śe ma hā bha kta ya kha ne sam me śa
 h. añ si ma hā bha kta a kha ma sam mē la

My emendation: āmchā mahābhakta akhila-sammēla (All the course of pilgrims who are great devotees is mine.) 'āmachā' is curtailed into 'āmchā' for metre.

Line 21. Readings—

- a. śa ra na hē chi dva ra ja va li tē ma na ta
 b. śa ra na he chchī pu ra ja va la tē ma na ta
 c. śa ra na hē chi pu ra ja va la tē ma na
 d. śa ra na eē chchi pu ra ja va li ta va ma na
 e. śa ra na hē chi pu ra ja va la tē ma na ta
 f. śa ra na he chi pu ri ja va ri te da ma na ta

My emendation: śaraṇa hē chidvara (java|a?) tē ma na ta (Saying, 'O Śaraṇa! O One possessed of Knowledge! to Thee, am I near.' This line is even to me doubtful.

Line 22. Readings—

- a. ba ra su ki su ki lē ga va ra ma hē li ita
 b. va ra su khi su ri be ga va ra ma hē li ita
 c. va ra su ki be ga va ra du he li ita

My emendation: vara-sukha sukhi mājha varada hē mhapata (Saying, 'O you who is happy with the best happiness! O my Giver of boons!')

I request scholars to give their attention to the above and try if they can evolve any good text out of the readings provided.

THE MĀTHARA OR PITRBHAKTA KINGS OF KALINGA.

Circa 350—Circa 430 A. D.

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

From about the first century A. D. till the middle of the fourth century A. D. the history of Kalinga is completely enveloped in darkness. Kalinga must have been an integral part of the Andhra Empire under the Śātavāhanas and later under the Ikshvākus. With the fall of the Ikshvākus Kalinga would appear to have become a prey to warring dynasties; and it continued to be so till about the middle of the fourth century A. D. The earliest record that refers to the sub-kings as contemporaries of the Emperor Samudragupta is the Allahabad inscription of the monarch. The inscription mentions amongst others four sub-kings of Kalinga, namely Mahendra of Pishtapura, Svamidatta of Giri-kottūra, Damana of Ēraṇḍapalla, and Kubēra of Dēvarāshtra. It is probable that some of these kings were vassals of the Sālaakāyana king Hastivarman of Vēngi. The territory, in which these four principalities lay, apparently covered the entire Kalinga which was bounded by the Gōdavari on the south-west, Rshikulya on the north-east or north, the rivers Śabarī and Tēlvāhā on the west and the sea on the east. Roughly this territory covers the modern Vizagapatam, Ganjam and the northern portion of the East Godavari districts of the Madras Presidency, and the southern portion of the Bastar state as well. As these four 'kings' were mentioned as contemporaries of Samudragupta, they evidently flourished about the middle of the fourth century.

Shortly after the southern expedition of Samudragupta a new dynasty would appear to have sprung up into power and acquired paramount sway over the whole of Kalinga. Probably it was not a new dynasty: it seems likely that the kingdom of Pishtapura itself acquired sovereignty over the entire Kalinga during the reigns of the successors of Mahendra. The new dynasty is known to history by the name *Māthara kula*. And it was apparently founded by Śaktivarman, the donor of the Rāgōlu plates.¹ The early southern characters and the Sanskrit language of the record clearly indicate that Śaktivarman must have reigned in the later part of the fourth century. It is therefore likely that he was a descendant of or a rival who had supplanted Mahendra on the throne of Pishtapura and soon acquired the sovereignty of the entire Kalinga. Dr. Hultzsch who edited this grant read the name of Śaktivarman's dynasty as *Māgadha-kulā* but recently an emendment has been proposed

¹ E. I. Vol. XII, pp. 1-3.

in the reading as *Māthara-kula*.² This reading is certainly, more reasonable than the older one, for Dr. Hultzsch read the letters, which were badly damaged, tentatively as *Māgadha kula*.
 The Māthara Dynasty and Saktivarman. The Rāgōlu charter describes Śaktivarman as "the ornament of the *Māthara-kula*, as Vāsishthīputra" and lastly as the 'Lord of Kalinga'.

Evidently Śaktivarman and his ancestors adopted their *gotra* as their family name like many of their contemporaries, viz., the Br̥hatphalāyanas, the Śālankāyanas, and the Āuandas and called their family by the name *Māthara-kula*. The metronymic Vāsishthīputra also indicates that Śaktivarman was a descendant of the Imperial Āndhras and the Ikshvākus or at any rate copied and maintained the traditions of those earlier dynasties in his family. Śaktivarman's capital was Pishṭapura; and from this city he would appear to have reigned over the whole of Kalinga. As the only record of his period is dated in the 13th year of his reign, his tenure on the throne, powerful though he was, may be assumed to have lasted about fifteen years. His reign may be placed about A.D. 350-365. It appears from his record that Kalinga was divided into three or four provinces and that one of them, Kalinga-*vishaya* lay, apparently on the banks of the Var̥ṣadhāra and covered the modern Chicacole taluk. The other districts which epigraphy has brought to light are Dēvarāshṭra,³ Plakirashṭra,⁴ Kōlu-vartani-*vishaya*,⁵ Varānavartani,⁶ Rūpya-*vishaya*⁷ and others. The Rāgōlu plates record an edict by king Saktivarman issued from his capital Pishṭapura announcing to the inhabitants of Rākaluva in Kalinga-*vishaya*, obviously identical with Rāgōlu in Chicacole taluk where the plates were discovered, that he had bestowed the village as an *agrahāra* to the brāhmaṇa Kumāraśarman of the Sāvarnasa-*gotra*, which had the *pravara* of five ṛshis, and to his eight sons, to be enjoyed by them and their descendants in perpetuity, for the increase of his merit, longevity and power. The *agrahāra* of Rākaluva was exempted from the payment of all taxes and liabilities and from the entry of soldiers. The inhabitants of the village were also instructed to wait upon the donees and to supply them with all that had to be measured in grain and paid in gold to the sovereign according to immemorial custom.⁸ The edict was dated on the fullmoon day of Vaiśākha in the 13th year of Śaktivarman's victorious reign. The

2 A. S. I. 1934-35, pp. 65. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, has, on the assumption that the dynastic name is *Magadha-kula*, advanced a theory about the origin of the Dynasty, which is now rendered utterly untenable. See *History of India* 150-350 A. D. pp. 127-128.

3 C. P. No. 14 of 1908-09, and E. I. Vol. XXIII, p. 56 ff.

4 E. I. Vol. XII, p. 133f.

5 E. I. Vol. IV, p. 185.

6 E. I. Vol. III, p. 127; See also I. A. Vol. XIII, p. 128.

7 E. I. Vol. XVIII, p. 307.

executor of the charity was king himself; while the edict was composed by Arjunadatta the *Amātya*.

There is no definite information about the successors of Śaktivarman. But the dynasty after the death of that monarch would seem to have abandoned their seat at Pishṭapura and made Sīmhapura on the north their capital. The reasons for this are not forthcoming. Possibly the successors of Śaktivarman lost their southern provinces to their enemies the Śālankāyanas, and, therefore, were compelled to move into northern Kalinga. There the Mātharas held sway till about the middle of the fifth century when they would appear to have been overthrown by another dynasty known by its *gotra* appellation, the Vāsishthas. All that can be gleaned about the history

of the immediate successors of Śaktivarman is from a recently discovered copper-plate grant of Mahārāja Ananta-Śaktivarman issued from Vijaya-Sīmhapura.⁸ Palaeographically this record is later than the Rāgōlu plates of Śaktivarman, and belongs roughly to the beginning of the fifth or the close of the fourth century A.D.⁹ The composer of this inscription was Arjunadatta who bore the titles *Dēśākshapaṭalādhiprta* and *Talavara*. It is noteworthy that the name of the composer of this grant appears also in the Rāgōlu plates. It may not be improbable that the composer *Talavara* Arjunadatta was the same as the *Amātya* Arjunadatta the writer of the Rāgōlu charter.¹⁰ It is also probable that the *Amātya* lived long till the date of Ananta-Śaktivarman's grant, rose in rank and dignity under the successors of Śaktivarman by dint of his devotion and ability and consequently came to hold the important offices of *Talavara* and *Dēśākshapaṭalādhiprta*. The peculiar double name of the king Ananta-Śaktivarman would seem to indicate that he was the son of Ananta-varman and grandson of Śaktivarman I. It is quite possible that Śaktivarman II superadded the name of his father and thus called himself Ananta-Śaktivarman so as to distinguish himself from his grand-

2. Anantavarman.
c. 365 A. D.

father whose name he bore. But this may not be the only reason. Nevertheless, these circumstances indicate that Anantavarman might be the son and successor of Mahārāja Śaktivarman (I) the donor of the Rāgōlu plates. There is no information about the reign of Anantavarman but it is probable that his reign was short

8 C. P. No 24 of 1934-35; See also Arch. Sur. of Ind. 1934-35, p. 65.

9 The learned Epigraphists Sri C. R. Krishnamacharlu and Dr. N. P. Chakravarti take it that the characters of this record belong to the fifth century A. D. I am of opinion, however, that these must belong to a slightly earlier period, and, therefore, I have assigned the record to the closing years of the fourth century A. D.

10 I do not agree with the Government Epigraphist in holding that *Talavara* Arjunadatta might be a descendant of *Amātya* Arjunadatta, for the reason that the interval between the two charters seems to be short.

and disturbed, and that accordingly during that short period the Māthara dynasty lost the southern dominions of Kalinga together with their capital Pishṭapura to their enemies who were probably the Śāṅkayanas.

The successors of Anantavarman evidently consolidated their kingdom on the north with their capital at Vijaya-Simhapura or Simhapura. The place may be identified with the modern Singupuram or Singapuram, between Chicacole and Narasannapeta in the Vizagapatam district.¹¹ There are altogether seven records of the successors of Anantavarman; and only in the earliest of them the family name Māthara appears. The legend *Pitrabhakta* 'Devotes of (the feet of) the father' that appears on the seals of all the charters of this line of kings proves conclusively that all of them belong to one and the same family known as the Māthara dynasty and that they were the descendants of Ananta-Śaktivarman (II) of the Māthara family. The seven records of the dynasty are: The Madras Museum plates of Mahārāja Ananta Śaktivarman,¹² Tirithāna grant¹³ and Kōmarti plates¹⁴ of Chaṇḍavarman, the Brhat-prōshṭa grant,¹⁵ the Dhavaḷapēṭa¹⁶ and the Tekkali plates¹⁷ of Mahārāja Umavarman.¹⁸ A noteworthy feature of the new dynasty of the Mātharas

The Mathara
Dynasty of
Kalinga.

Sources:
C.P. Grants.

is that the kings of this line dropped their family name in the next generation after the founder, in the formal preambles of their family charters and adopted the legend *Pitrabhakta* as the legend on their royal seals. They evidently abandoned the custom of attaching the metronymic appellation like Vāishṭhiputra and others to their personal names as in the case of the donor of the Rāgōlu plates, according to the prevailing practice of that age, and adopted in its place quite peculiarly enough the manner of superadding the patronymic appellation to their personal names. This is best illustrated in the name of Ananta-Śaktivarman himself, the founder of the new dynasty on the throne of Vijaya-Simhapura. Unlike the contemporary Śāṅkayanas and other dynasties, the Mātharas attached to their names the epithets *Parama-Bhāgavatah* and *Parama-daivatah* 'devout worshipper of the gods' in all their charters. More than anything else these epithets would seem to indicate the religious faith or the

cosmopolitan out-look in matters of religion of the Mātharas. It would perhaps also suggest that the Mātharas were more or less liberal in their religion and had no partiality for any particular deity. Except Mahārāja Chaṇḍavarman who, called himself in the earlier record of his reign *Paramabhāgavatah*, all the other kings of the family bore only the epithet *Paramadaivatah*.

There is only a single record of Mahārāja Ananta-Śaktivarman or Śaktivarman II as he may be designated. The edict was issued from his capital Vijaya-Simhapura or Simghapura. Apparently the latter pronunciation alone lingered in the speech of the country and hence the place came to be called Singupuram. The monarch bore the epithet *Parama daivata* and called himself

3. Ananta-Sakti-
varman or Sakti-
varman II
c. 365-394 A.D.

the ornament of the Māthara-kula. In the 28th year of his reign he bestowed the gift of a village in the Varāhavartani-vishaya to two Brāhmaṇa brothers called Nāgaśarman and Duggaśarman of the Kātyana-gōtra. The grant mentions two *datas*, 'messengers', Śivabhōjaka and Vāsudatta. Both of them would appear to be high officials of the kingdom: Śivabhōjaka bore the title *Kumārāmātya* and Vāsudatta was referred to by his designations *Mahābalādhikṛta* and *Danḍanētri*. The functions of these offices are not quite clear from the charter; and these officers are not usually mentioned also in any treatise on Ancient Polity of the Deccan. Nevertheless it may be assumed that the title *Kumārāmātya* meant a 'junior minister,' in the Home Department, and in a like manner the titles *Mahābalādhikṛta* and *Danḍanētri* represented officers in charge of the defence of the realm and the Chief Justice respectively. The writer of the charter was Arjunadatta the *Deśakṣhapatalādhikṛta* and *Talavara*. While the former title would seem to represent the officer in charge of the state archives, the latter is not clear. Perhaps, it (*Talavara*) meant, 'the chief magistrate.' At any rate the mention of the office *Talavara* is interesting and noteworthy, for it reminds us of the title *Mahātalavara* that occurs in the Ikshvāku inscriptions of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and the Koṇḍamūḍi plates of the Brhatphalayana king Jayavarman. As the grant is dated in his 28th year it is not improbable that he reigned for about 29 or 30 years. His period, therefore, might be roughly placed between 365 and 394 A.D.

Ananta-Śaktivarman's successor would appear to be Chaṇḍavarman, though the exact relationship between them cannot be known. It is probable that Chaṇḍavarman was the son of Śaktivarman II. The characters of the two records are undoubtedly more archaic than the alphabet of the records of Umavarman. The characters of the Kōmarti plates resemble closely those of the Peda-Vēgi grant of the Śāṅkayana king Vijaya-Nandivarman II; and this circumstance clearly indicates that both the princes were more or less contemporaries, and flourished

11 *E. I.* Vol. IV, p. 143. The identification is that of Dr. Hultzsch.

12 C.P. No. 24 of 1934-35; A.S.I. 1934-35, pp. 64-65. A.R.S.I.E. 1935, pp. 54-55.

13 C. P. No. 24 of 1934-35; A.R.S.I.E. 1935; also A.S.I. 1934-35, p. 64.

14 *E. I.* Vol. IV, p. 142f, with plate.

15 *E. I.* Vol. XII, p. 4f.

16 *JAHS.* Vol. X, pp. 143-144.

17 *JAHS.* Vol. VI, p. 53-54. This grant is not properly edited in the texts and is mostly indifferent and incorrect. The article is not accompanied by the facsimile of the plates. See A.R.S.I.E. 1935; Part II, p. 52. C.P. No. 13 of 1934-35

18 *E. I.* Vol. XXI, p. 29f; *J.B.O.R.S.* Vol. XIV, p. 282f.

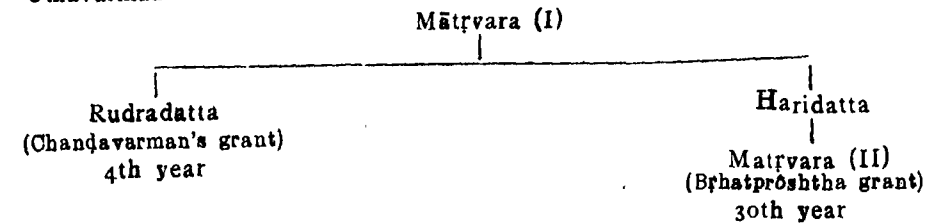
in the beginning of the fourth century. As both the charters of Chaṇḍavarman are not dated beyond the sixth year of his reign, it would be reasonable to assume that his tenure on the throne did not extend beyond six or seven years. Both the charters of Chaṇḍavarman give him the title *Kalingādhipati*, 'the lord of Kalinga.' The earlier grant was issued from Vijaya-Sirīhapura on the 5th day of the 2nd fortnight in the (Grishma (Summer) season of the 4th year of his reign. It registers the grant of the village Tirtthāna as an *agrahāra* to several Brahmanas. The king in this record is called *Parama-Bhāgavataḥ* which is somewhat peculiar. Another interesting point about this record is that it also refers to the thirty six *agrahāras* found in the Brhatprōshthā grant of Umavarman. The engraver of this charter was *Dśākshapaṭalādhikṛta* Rudradatta son of Mātṛvara.¹⁹ The second record, the Kōmarti plates, refers to the grant of the village of Kōhetūra as an *agrahāra* to the Brāhmaṇa Dēvaśarman of the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*, a student of the Vājasaneyā *śākha*. This edict also was issued from the victorious city Sirīhapura. The village of Kōhetūra cannot be identified, for the *viśaya* or district in which it lay is not mentioned in the inscription. It originally formed part of the king's domain, and it was converted into an *agrahāra* by the edict of the king which was announced by word of mouth. The grant was issued on the 5th day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra in the 6th year of his reign. Chaṇḍavarman like the Śālankāyanas and other contemporaries called himself *Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pādabhaktaḥ*; and this epithet clearly indicates the strong revival that came over the land with regard to the "worship or devotion to the father" in preference to the mother which was the prevailing practice of the previous Śātavāhana and Ikshvāku epochs. Chaṇḍavarman's reign was short, probably owing to the interruption caused by the enemies of the dynasty, who were perhaps the Śālankāyanas and others, who cannot be identified now.

Chaṇḍavarman's successor was probably Umavarman.²⁰ The three records of his period were dated in the 9th and 30th years of his reign respectively. The earliest record was dated from Vijaya-Vardhamānapura. This locality cannot be identified now but judging from the place of discovery, which is in the north and near about Tekkali, the city must have stood somewhere in that region. The troubled condition of his reign probably compelled Umavarman to remove the seat of his government to Varddhāmānapura early in his reign. The Tekkali plates record the grant of the village of Astihavēra as an *agrahāra* to the Brāhmaṇa house-holder, Vyāsa śarman of the Kāśyapa-*gōtra*. The edict was issued by the king

¹⁹ The charter is not published and therefore the information about it is necessarily meagre. A. S. I. 1934-35, p. 64.

²⁰ The learned Government Epigraphist, however, thinks that Umavarman might be a predecessor of Chaṇḍavarman. A. S. I. 1934-35, p. 64.

'by word of mouth' on the 7th day of the dark fortnight of Māgha in the 9th year of his victorious reign. The charter was engraved on copper-plates by Kēśavadēva, an inhabitant of Pishṭapura. This fact coupled with the discovery of the plates somewhere in the Tekkali taluk in the extreme north seems to indicate clearly that under Umavarman also the Māthara kingdom of Kalinga extended from Pithapura on the south to the Mahēndragiri peak on the north. The Brhatprōshthā grant states that Umavarman was the lord of Kalinga or *Kalingādhipati*, and that he bestowed the village of Brhatprōshthā, evidently a Sanskrit name for the original local name, on the Brāhmaṇa named Haridatta who belonged to the Aupamanyasa-*gōtra*, as an *agrahāra* with all the usual immunities. The village originally formed part of the king's domain in the Dantāyavāgu-*bhōga* or division: it was henceforth caused to be separated from it and joined to the division of the "Thirty six Agradhāras." The executor of the edict was Vāsudēva, and the writer was Mātṛvara, son of the donee Haridatta himself, who was the *Dśākshapaṭalādhikṛta*. The charter was issued from Vijaya-Sirīhapura on the 20th day of Mārgaśira in the 30th year of the victorious reign. The date of this record is note-worthy as it shows that the king must have reigned at least for thirty years if not more. Curiously enough, here we have a clue to determine the order of succession of the Māthara kings. The unpublished grant of Chaṇḍavarman mentions a certain Rudradatta son of Mātṛvara; and the Brhatprōshthā grant mentions a certain Mātṛvara son of Haridatta. As the government Epigraphist for India rightly points out, Mātṛvara of the Brhatprōshthā grant would appear to be a descendant of Mātṛvara, father of Rudradatta. Accordingly these will give us the following genealogy of the *Dśākshapaṭalādhikṛtas* of the reigns of Chaṇḍavarman and his successor Umavarman:



The Dhavaḷapēṭa copper-plate grant of Mahārāja Umavarman, curiously enough was dated from the same place Vijaya-Sirīhapura and

²¹ A. S. I. 1934-35 Dr. N. P. Chakravarti thinks that Chaṇḍavarman of the grant dated in the 4th year must be different from Chaṇḍavarman of the donor of the Kōmarti plates. The difference in the writing on the plates may be due to the existence of both the styles in the land at that time. In my opinion, therefore, there would appear to have been only one Chaṇḍavarman and that Umavarman was his successor.

on the same date as the Bṛhatprōshṭha grant. The inscription records that Umavarman, the lord of Kalinga, converted the village of Kottūru in the Mahēndrabhōga *viśhaya* into an *agrahāra* and bestowed it on the Brāhmaṇa householder Sryllasvāmin (?) of the Vatsa-*gōtra* and a student of the Vājasanēya *śākhā*. It would appear that the Brāhmaṇa donee was a *saha-pāṭhaka*, "co-student" of the king. The long reign of this monarch Umavarman would seem to show that it was a glorious period for the Māthara dynasty and that once more the king acquired sovereignty over the entire Kalinga. It will be seen that according to the scheme of chronology that has been adopted by us, Umavarman would become a contemporary of Vijaya-Skandavarman (circa 410-420 A.D.) the last of the Śālankāyanas. It was during his reign that the Śālankāyanas were uprooted by the rising Vishṇukunḍins under Mādhavavarman I, the Great, the offerer of Eleven *Aśvamēdhas* and a thousand *kratus*, including the *Rājasūya*. In that tumultuous period of confusion, the lord of Kalinga would appear to have restored the sovereignty of his house once more as far as Piśṭapura in the south.

The last known king of this line would appear to be Viśākha-varman, the donor of the Koroshanḍa copper-plate grant. The inscription may, on palaeographical grounds, be assigned to about the middle of the fifth century A. D. The alphabet of the plates resembles the characters of the contemporary Bṛhatprōshṭha grant of Umavarman and the Īpūru plates of Mādhavavarman II.²² The record describes Viśākha-varman as *Paramadaivataḥ* and *Bappabhaṭṭāraka-pādabhaktaḥ*; but the title *Kalingādhipatiḥ* is omitted. From this it

may be assumed, not unreasonably, that during the reign of Viśākha-varman, the Māthara dynasty was deprived of the sovereignty of the southern Kalinga, apparently by the powerful Vishṇukunḍin monarch Mādhavavarman I. The record registers the grant of the village of Tāmpōyaka in the Koroshanḍaka *viśhaya* or Koroshanḍaka pāṇchali to five Brāhmaṇas, of the Ātīya-*gōtra*, namely Vishṇuśarman, Śrēśṭhiśarman, Agniśarman, Nāgaśarman and Śivaśarman, who were residents, of the village of Śabarabhēṇḍa as an *agrahāra* by the king for increasing the merit of his father who was in heaven. The record is dated the 20th day of the 7th fortnight of the Hēmanta (winter) season in the 7th year of the king's victorious reign. As this is the only record of the reign and as it is dated in the 7th year it may not be improbable that king Viśākha-varman's period did not exceed a decade. (circa 430-440 A. D.) With the fall of Viśākha-varman, the Māthara dynasty of Kalinga came to an end. Viśākha-varman would appear to have made the grant mentioned above on the occasion of the anniversary of the death of his father. The edict was issued from the victorious city Śrīpura which was

²² E. I. Vol. XVII, p. 337f.

probably the king's capital at that time. This also supports the view that Viśākha-varman spent the few years of his reign in fighting his enemies and consequently was obliged to move the seat of his residence from Śrīhapura to a place further north called Śrīpura. Viśākha-varman's father is not mentioned in the inscription; for the present he may be assumed to be Umavarman. Mahārāja Viśākha-varman's reign would have come to an end about 440 A.D., and the date may be assumed to be fairly reasonable, for that date has been fixed by us elsewhere for the celebration of eleven *Aśvamēdhas* and the *Rājasūya* sacrifice by the Vishṇukunḍin king Mādhavavarman I.²³

The seven charters of the dynasty with the exception of the Rāgōlu plates furnish to us altogether six generations of the Māthara dynasty. The records do not specifically mention the names of the donors' ancestors and, therefore, for the present we are left to conjecture. The history of this line of kings, who held the sovereignty of Kalinga from about the middle of the fourth century to about the middle of the fifth century, is completely lost in obscurity. The history of this powerful dynasty who held sway over Kalinga for nearly a century would appear to have been the history of the wars and protracted hostilities between the Śālankāyanas of Vēngi, the Vāsishṭhas of Dēvarāshṭra and others who are not known to epigraphy. There is no doubt that the Mātharas were a powerful family who despite the hostility of their neighbours and treachery of their subordinates and vassal kings held the sovereignty of Kalinga for a long period. The kings of this illustrious dynasty may be arranged chronologically for easy reference as follows:

Māthara-kula

1. Vāsishṭhīputra Śaktivarman
or Śaktivarman (I). 350-365 A.D.
2. Anantavarman. 365 A.D.
3. Ananta-Śaktivarman
(or Śaktivarman II). 365-394 A.D.
4. Chaṇḍavarman. 394-400 A.D.
5. Umavarman. 400-430 A.D.
6. Viśākha-varman. 430-c. 440 A.D.

The above dates are only tentative.

The Mātharas may be said to be the first dynasty to attempt to establish a paramount monarchy for the entire kingdom of Kalinga,

²³ See Chapter IV in my forthcoming book on the "History of the Early Dynasties of Andhradesa" c. 200-625 A. D.

during the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era. The sovereignty of the Mātharas thrived as long as the friendly Śāṅkāyana neighbours in Vēngi on the south were in power. The fall of the Śāṅkāyanas at the hands of the Vishṇukunḍins hastened the downfall of the Mātharas also at the hands of the same power shortly afterwards. The expansion of the imperial Vishṇukunḍins would seem to have proved a menace to the sovereignty of the Mātharas in Kalinga. With the rise of the Vishṇukunḍins a new chapter begins in the Early History of Āndhradēśa and Kalinga. The first attempt to annex and incorporate Kalinga into Āndhra as a part of that country was made during the Vishṇukunḍin Epoch.

POSTSCRIPT.

The Māthara family would appear to have survived long after they were overthrown. They sank to the level of a feudatory family, and never afterwards rose to the sovereignty of Kalinga. This is borne out by a record of the time of Mahā Bhāvagupta II, of Yayātinagara, the ornament of the Sōmakula and lord of Trikalīngā.* A certain chief named *Rāṇaka Śrī* Punja (?) son of Vōdā, who called himself a subordinate of the *Paramadhātāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara* Mahā Bhavāguptarājādēva, and born in the Māthara family, is mentioned in the record. Dr. Kielhorn who edits the charter thinks that the inscription could not have been written earlier than the 12th century A. D. I shall take another opportunity to fix the chronology and trace the history of the Somavamsi kings of Yayātinagara. For the present, however, I shall content myself saying that I cannot agree with the learned and distinguished epigraphist, and assign the date of Mahā Bhāvagupta II to about the 9th century A. D. but not later. From the above inscription it appears conclusively that the Māthara family survived roughly five centuries after their fall.

* Kudopali plates of the time of Mahā Bhavagupta II. E.I., Vol. IV, pp. 254ff. (sic 256)

THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE GANGA ERA

In the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. XI, parts 1 and 2, my friend Sri B. V. Krishna Rao concluded after a long discussion that the first year of the Kalinga Gāṅga era ended in Ś. S. 420. That is to say, it commenced in some month in Ś. S. 419. Then the Pondūru grant of Vajrahastadēva being dated G. E. 700 must be of Ś. S. 1119. *Trikalingādhīpati* Anantavarma-Vajrahastadēva ruled from Ś. S. 960 to 992. So the date of the Pondūru Grant goes beyond the date of this Vajrahastadēva and falls within the period of his grandson Anantavarma-Chōḍa Gangadēva who ascended the throne in Ś. S. 999. We do not know of any ruler of the name of Vajrahastadēva after Ś. S. 992. How Sri Krishnarao would explain this discrepancy is awaited.

G. RAMADAS.

I am grateful to my friend Mr. G. Ramadas Pantulu, B. A., for giving me this opportunity to explain what he terms a 'discrepancy'.

In the first place I do not agree with Mr. Ramadas in reading the numerals giving the date as 700. I read the numerals as 500. The text—for the sake of easy reference—I give here once more—runs as follows:

“*Tasya Gāṅgānvaya pravardhamāna vijayarājya samvatsarasata 500 anken—āpi || Āshādha (mā*)as diva 5 Ada(di) tya vāra(e) likhitam*”

Mr. Ramadas draws a comparison between numeral expressing 7 in the Narsapatam grant of Vajrahasta (III) and says that this symbol and the figure in that record are alike. On this supposed similarity he reads the figures as yielding 700. But by a curious mistake he fails to see that numeral 5 after the word *dina* is closely alike the 5 in the hundreds unit in the above line. And secondly, while the initial form of the vowel *Ā*, the first syllable in the words, *Āshādha-māsa*, clearly visible in the plate, Mr. Ramadas omits it and reads the passage as *shāda-māsa* merely. No doubt this reading suits admirably the interpretation he puts upon the date. But the reading is hardly tenable. The date has to be read as

Gāṅga year 500-Āshāḍha-māsa-5th day, Sunday. According to my view the Gāṅga era commenced sometime in Ś. S. 419 (expired) and ended in. Ś. S. 420; and accordingly the date falls in Ś. S. 919 expired. Since the week-day is mentioned along with the *tithi* which may be taken as the 5th day of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha, it becomes quite easy to verify it. In Ś. S. 919 expired, the *amānta* Āshāḍha began on Wednesday, June 9, A. D. 997; and that was the day of the *pratipat* or *prati. pāda* or 1st *tithi* of the bright fortnight. The 5th *tithi* fell actually on Sunday, 12th June 997 A. D. This date falls therefore, in the reign of Anantavarma-Vajrahastadēva II, who reigned from about 977 to 980 A. D., for 35 years. (See ante p. 32). In my opinion there is no discrepancy, and the date of the charter admirably agrees with my view.

Mr. Ramadas makes another mistake. In the Pondūru charter I fail to read the epithet *Trikalingādhipati* for Vajrahastadēva (II). I cannot understand why the learned scholar should import that title. It would certainly mislead the readers.

B. V. KRISHNARAO.

FEATURES OF BEDARA ADMINISTRATION IN SOUTH INDIA

R. N. SALETORÉ, M.A.

The Bedars who played such a prominent part in the politics of Southern India during the 18th and 19th centuries were no mere barbarians. Their epigraphs show that they organised themselves into a body politic, evidently after their illustrious masters, the emperors of Vijayanagara, whose feudatories they were in their early days.

The head of the Bedara administration was the *Mahānāyakā-cārya* for in A.D. 1606 this title was assumed by Kāmageti Cikkanna Nāyaka¹. A record of A.D. 1609 relates how a *Nāyaka* received fines from priests in charge of temples, which they were empowered to spend, while orders for such expenditure were probably sent through his commander, the *Daḷavāyi*. The *Mahānāyakā-cārya* Kāmageti Immaḍi Medakeri Nāyaka, having received from the priest of the god Virabhadra of Hullur 24 *haṇa* as fines, granted them for the offering at the great festival of the god, giving orders concerning this amount to the *daḷavāyi* Mallappa.² It is interesting to note how this grant was made in the presence of certain *Gauḍas*, who are styled as witnesses. These *Gauḍas* sometimes sold their *gaudikes* to the ruling chief. A grant of A.D. 1581 shows how Siddappa Gauḍa of Siddapura, son of Devappa Gauḍa of Kerre, sold his *gaudike* of Roṭṭehalli, for 205 *varāha* to the son of Vōbappa Nāyaka, Medakere Nāyaka of Citrahalli.³ These *Nāyakas* used to grant whole villages as gifts. In A.D. 1730 the Citradurga ruler Medakeri Nāyaka's son gave a village to Hanuma Nāyaka.⁴

These Nāyakas of Citrahalli in A.D. 1718 appear to have had about them Bhaṭas, who sang their praises. These were sometimes granted *agrahāras*. Barmaṇṇa Nāyaka in this year, in order that fame and fortune may be "to his *bhaṭas*, granted to Bhaṭara Timmappa, son of

1 *E. C.* XI, Cd. 15, p. 6.

2 *Ibid.*, 22, p. 7. "Kāmagetti Yimmaḍi Medakeri Nāyaka ayyanavarū Hulluva Virabhadra-devaru tammadi Udairavarū Kayya 24 haṇa..... aparādhara kaikolal āgi-ā-ūra-yillade Hu...Virabhadra-devaru-mahotsava-naivedya...nāḍa Mallappage Krayavāgi ga 26 varāha...nindudakke daḷavāyi Tiri...na appaṇeyali māḍida śāsana. text p. 11.

3 *Ibid.* XI, Cd. 48, p. 13. "Sidapurada Sidappa Gauḍanu koṭṭa grāmada gaudikeya vikrayada sitā-sana nāmma avasaru-nimitta āgi namma gaudikege saluva Roṭṭehalliya grāmada...gaudikeyanu sanda Marruninda Krayar āgi ga 200 yinnūru-varāha aksharadallu yinnūru-varāha kaisale-marragi." text pp. 22-23.

4 *Ibid.*, Cd. 54, p. 14. Note Citrahalli was also known as Citradurga.

Muttappa and grandson of Bhaṭṭara Timmappa of Baggur, the village of Haluvadhara in the Durga *sīme* as an *agrahāra*".⁵ This reveals how this profession and probably the office too of the 'bhaṭṭa' was hereditary, like several other offices during the empire of Vijayanagara. This institution of the *Bhaṭṭas* was no innovation of the Citrahaḷḷi Beḍara rulers, for it was a well-known Karnāṭaka institution current during the Vijayanagara emperors.⁶

The Beḍara Nāyaka rulers appear to have been polygamous, as can be ascertained from their records. This was nothing strange, for in Vijayanagara times this was the usual custom of the emperors⁷ and it is not surprising that their feudatories imitated this custom. About the year A. D. 1700 Kamageti Kastūri Medakeri Nāyaka built a tank in the name of his junior crowned queen Nāga(mma?) with the assistance of one Kencaya.⁸

During the administration of these Nāyakas, they seem to have created seats for conducting the government of the locality. In A.D. 1700 it is recorded that Barmaṇṇa Nāyaka gave away the village of Cikka-Budhihālu within the Beṭur-*sīme*, evidently the 'seat of government of the government of the nāḍ' or the district.⁹

The Nāyakas of Citrahaḷḷi must have been great patrons of Brahmins. They bestowed villages on Brahmins who were not even their own subjects. Barmaṇṇa Nāyaka in A.D. 1708 granted to Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, Śankarabhaṭṭa and Śivabhaṭṭa, residents of Kāsi a grant of the Kollugunte village in the Koḍagaṇu-*sīme* of the kingdom he was ruling as a gift.¹⁰ The son of the ruler named Medakeri Nāyaka gave after his father to, Samācārya as a deed gift, the village of Mallanṇana-haḷḷi.¹¹ In A.D. 1716 the *guru*, Raghunātha Tīrtha Śrīpāda and his disciples were again given by Barmaṇṇa Nāyaka the village of Demalavanahaḷḷi in the same Koḍagaṇu-*sīme*.¹² These were grants made generally in a religious manner. The agent of the Banṭe Beṇṇu Immaḍi Hanumappa Nāyaka made a grant for Keṇḍada Dēva, with the witness of the *viḥḥṭi* and other *gaṇas* probably in A.D. 1576.¹³ Ruined

⁵ *Ibid*, Cd. 56, p. 14.

⁶ Cf. B. A. Saletore, "Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire" I, pp. 445-47.

⁷ Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 382-33; *Arch. Sur. Rep.* 1908-09, p. 178.

⁸ *E. C.* XI, Cd. 73, p. 16 "tamma paṭada Nāga...chikkammanavara hesarali kaṭisida kere yidu.." text p. 28.

⁹ *Ibid*, Dig. 16, pp. 28-29; text p. 47 "nāu āluva Bēṭūr-sīme yolaṅga Cikkabudhihalu yemba grāmavannu..."

¹⁰ *Ibid*, Dg. 181, p. 75.

¹¹ *Ibid*, Dg. 157, p. 80.

¹² *Ibid*, Dg. 147, p. 78.

¹³ *Ibid*, Dg. 158, p. 81.

temples were restored by them. In A.D. 1698 Barmaṇṇa Nāyaka of Citrahaḷḷi had the stone image of the god Ahōbala Narasimha of Niratādi made anew, caused it to be again set up, restored the temple and made a grant of land for the service of the god, as all the temples which were destroyed by the Muhammadan Sultans of Delhi, probably in A.D. 1636. *Agrahāras* for the propagation of merit were granted, for example, by Kastūri Barmaṇṇa Nāyaka, the Medakeri Nāyaka, in A.D. 1726.¹⁴

Sometimes, a government aided *maṭha* was created probably for feeding the poor. Rāja Medakeri Nāyaka in A.D. 1756 granted the village of Gauḍanahaḷḷi in the Hiriyūr-*sīme* of his kingdom with all the usual rights for the maintenance of the *annāchatra maṭha* he had had established in Hiriyūr in the name of some one.¹⁵

Dilapidated villages were repaired for the propagation of public prosperity. The Anesidāri village, first granted as an *agrahāra* of the great emperor Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya having been destroyed during a fight, in A.D. 1687 the Kastūri Medakeri Nāyaka had it repaired and set up a stone inscription recording his work of merit.¹⁷

Grants of villages were made to specific sects. It appears that the Rāmānuja sect was specially favoured by the Beḍars of Citrahaḷḷi. A record probably of A.D. 1583, very much effaced, shows that Timmaṇṇa, to whom Tirumala Rāya of Vijayanagara granted an *amara māgaṇi*, in order that merit might accrue to Tirumala Rāya, his patron, in the presence of the god Hampe Virūpākṣa in the capital, Vijayanagara, gave to the establisher of the path of the Vēdas, the *ācārya* of *parama-hamsa saṇyāsis* Mālāyavanta Rāmānuja-Jiyya evidently a village.¹⁸ Again in A.D. 1678 Kamageti Kastūri Cikkaṇṇa Nāyaka granted the Nāgenahaḷḷi village as a rent-free grant for the Rāmānuja sect.¹⁹ This, of course, never meant that these Nāyakas were not equally well-disposed to the religious heads of other sects. For instance, in A.D. 1663 in order that merit might accrue to his lord, Kastūri Rangappa Nāyaka, Kariappa Nāyaka of Tāle gave the Ganjigaṭṭe village to Gādaripāḷi-Nāyaka *svāmi*.²⁰

When such grants were made, they were not only bestowed in the presence of witnesses, who must have been local persons of importance,

¹⁴ *Ibid* Dg. 164, p. 82; text p. 144 "Yi niratādi Ahubola Narasimha dēvara punah-pratishṭheyānu mādisi dēvasthānavannu ā chandrāka-stayiyāgi māḍista seve."

¹⁵ *Ibid*, Hr. 74, p. 112.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, Hr. 55 pp. 110-111; text p. 186 "vara hesarallu Hiruyurallu māḍisidha anna-cbhatrada mathake..."

¹⁷ *E. C.* XI, Hr. 58, p. 111.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, Hr. 75, p. 112; Hl. 6, p. 116.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, Hr. 59, p. 111.

²⁰ *Ibid*, Hl. 66, p. 125.

but sometimes trustees were appointed to maintain them. When the new village of Virapura, pertaining to the Bāgūr *sīme* was granted by Ganjamma, the daughter of Kastūri Cikkappa Nāyaka's treasurer, Muddanna, certain trustees were appointed to look after this gift.²¹ This is a very ancient Indian custom of safeguarding public grants. Such a practice is evidently alluded to in one of the Nāsik Cave inscriptions, pertaining to the second century A.D.²²

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

From the records of the Beḍara chieftains, it is sometimes possible to know some of the economic conditions of their times. A grant of A.D. 1606 pertaining to the days of Kamāgeti Cikkappa Nāyaka's agent Malli Setṭi of Sīre mentions the grant of a village tax "*grāma dere*" (bilcoḍu-*sīmeya-kelasalagalige biṭṭa*).²³ It is not possible to know the nature of this source of revenue, but nevertheless it is interesting to observe how a public source of revenue was at times set apart for the execution of public works. It is also possible to ascertain some other sources of government income during the sovereignty of these Beḍars. In A.D. 1653 during the rule of Immaḍi Medakeri Nāyakārāya some more avenues of state income are mentioned. The village of Kaḍalegūḍu with all the dry cultivation, wet cultivation, forced labour, labour for wages customs dues, and all the many rents, in sole possession of enjoyment, was granted as a gift.²⁴ These sources, as shown elsewhere, were the traditional dues of Hindu government from very early times and were in common vogue during the Vijayanagara empire.²⁵ The villages so granted were called *mānyas*.²⁶

It is possible that the practice of granting compensation to those killed in battle, after the old Kārṇāṭaka manner, was also known to the Beḍaras. It is related how under Aparājarāsaiya, evidently a leader, in the siege of Harati, Bōṭi Canna, coming out of a town, fell on his head and died in the fight and for this a *rakta-kodage* was granted obviously to his survivors.²⁷ Like this, another custom of granting a part of land as *umbaḷi* must have also been followed. In A.D. 1568 the

21 *Ibid*, Hl. 80, p. 125.

22 *Ep. Ind.* VIII, p. 78, "dāta canena brāhmanasa varāhiputrāsu Asvibhūṭisa hathe kinita mūlena kahāpaṇasahasrehi catuhi 4000 ya Sapitusataha-d." In this connection see *Sir A. M. Com. Vol. III* (1928) p. 477.

23 *E. C.* XI, Cd. 80, text p. 32, tr. p. 18.

24 *Ibid*, Cd. 84, text p. 33, tr. p. 19: "Saluvantā kādārambha-nīrarambha biṭṭi kāmāṭa sunka saha sakala suvarṇādāya yeka sarvamānya."

25 *Of. Ibid*, Hr. 79, p. 113.

26 *Ibid*, Jl. 27, p. 87.

27 *Ibid*, Hr. 19, p. 157.

Holakkeri-*sīme* granted as an *amara-māgaṇi* by Tirumala Rāya of Vijayanagara to Kamāgeti Medakeri Nāyaka, was made over by this Nāyaka to his brother-in-law Gulliyappa Nāyaka as an *umbaḷi*.²⁸ This was done after Gulliyappa had determined the extent of land by former custom, (*grāma-svasti pārva mariyāḍiyanu namma maiduna Gulliyappa Nāyakaru mukhāntradalli bhūmiyannu āḷasi māḍisi pratipālisida kramav*) which appears to have been achieved through an examination and measurement of the lands.²⁹ For this purpose a measure of ten feet seems to have been utilised.³⁰ Distinction was made between the ordinary and other types of lands. An epigraph of A.D. 1600 relates how Kamāgeti Kastūri Medakeri Nāyakārāya granted to the Bāgūr Ciranti, Cenna Basappa Deva, the town lands (*yi grāmakke salluva*) of Guḍasundra in the Rāgūr-*sīme* including the wet land, dry land, the houses and other things free of all imposts. Moreover, local exemptions were given according to former custom.³¹

28 *Ibid*, Hk. 6, p. 116, text p. 196.

29 *Ibid*, Od. 7, p. 17.

30 *Ibid*, Hl. text p. 195; *biḷavaru hattu pādada alate kolu pramāṇa*."

31 *Ibid*, Hl. 81, p. 125. "Yi grāmakke saluva gade beddalu mane māru sarve samastavanu bhūmiyannu sarva sāmānyavāgi dhāra pūrva-kavāgi kottu idheve...sthala mānya pūrva mariyāde" text p. 208.

THE SO-CALLED REGENCY OF SRI NARAHARI TIRTHA IN KALINGA.

DR. M. RAMA RAO, M.A., Ph. D.

Saints and philosophers have played a prominent part in the history of our country in all ages. The medieval history of the Dekkan and South India contains numerous examples of eminent religious men who have exercised profound influence not only on the religious thought of the time but also on contemporary politics. Two teachers of the Mādhva school,¹ Śrī Vyāsārāja² and Śrī Narahari tīrtha,³ figure prominently in this connection. Of these, the former was the 'guardian angel' of the Vijayanagara empire for over half a century and the latter was the generous benefactor of the Kālinga country for over thirty years.

Very little is known about the life and work of Śrī Narahari tīrtha and the central fact of his long career, his regency in the Kālinga country, is open to serious doubts. I propose to examine in this paper the evidence relating to this event and determine the truth about it.

I

Śrī Narahari tīrtha *alias* Śāma Śāstry was born in one of the ministerial families of Kālinga. From the statements contained in one of his Śrīkūrmam inscriptions he seems to have received valuable training, while he was still in his teens, in statecraft as well as in the military science⁴. He was such a great genius, that could at that very early age acquire unique mastery over the philosophic lore of the time and obtain recognition as one of the accredited leaders of the Monistic school of Śrī Śānkara on the east coast.⁵ From the traditional

1 This is familiarly known as the Dvaita or Dualistic school and is one of the recognised systems of Vedānta. Its founder was Śrī Madhva āchārya 1238-1318 A.D.

2 Śrī Vyāsārāja svamin, a celebrated Madhva teacher, was held in high esteem by the rulers of Vijayanagara from Saluva Narasimha to Achyutaraya. For the life and work of this teacher see Somanatha's *Vyasayogicharitam* edited by B. Venkoba Rao.

3 This teacher was the second in apostolic succession to Śrī Madhva āchārya and was Pontiff between 1324-1333 A.D. The best part of his life time was spent in Kālinga, his native country.

4 See *Ep. Ind.* VI. pp. 260-268, lines 10-13 of the inscription.

5 The only other Monistic scholar that opposed the āchārya on the east coast was Sobhana bhāṭṭa, of the Godavary delta, who also, vanquished by the former, embraced *sanyasa* and became Śrī Padmanabha tīrtha. He was the first apostolic successor of the āchārya.

chronologies preserved in the Mādhva muṭṭs, Śrī Narahari tīrtha is known to have died in 1333 A.D.⁶ at the ripe old age of ninety. Obviously, he was born in 1243 A.D. While this boy prodigy was flourishing in Kālinga, a bright star arose on the Indian philosophical firmament and began to shed ever increasing lustre. Śrī Mādhva āchārya born in 1238 A.D. and admitted into the ascetic order eleven years later, emerged during the course of the next few years as a great critic of Monism and as the expounder of a new school of thought. This great teacher undertook his first tour to Badarīnāth in the Himalayas about 1258 A.D. and returned home by the east coast three years later. Śāma Śāstry, the strong advocate of Monism could not allow this avowed enemy of his faith to go unchallenged. He intercepted the āchārya's march and challenged him to a philosophical combat. A fierce controversy then ensued between the two and lasted for several days. In the end Śāma Śāstry was defeated. He took this defeat so seriously to heart that he gave up forthwith his old faith and joined the new school. So great was his enthusiasm for the Dualistic system of Śrī Mādhva āchārya and its propagation that he sought initiation into the ascetic order at the hands of the great teacher. Thus Śāma Śāstry became Śrī Narahari tīrtha⁷. This new disciple accompanied the āchārya to Uḍipi, the latter's head-quarters.

According to many sources,⁸ very soon after this, the āchārya commanded his pupil to return to Kālinga and be its ruler for twelve years. Śrī Narahari tīrtha protested against this apparent degradation and requested that he may be allowed to stay with his master. The āchārya told him then that the object of the disciple's stay in Kālinga was to fetch the idols of Rāma and Śīta,⁹ which lay neglected in the treasury of the Gāṅga kings of Kālinga. Gratified at the prospect of his being able to render a valuable service to his great teacher, Śrī Narahari tīrtha is said to have left for Kālinga. The traditional works mention further that this ascetic entered Kālinga just after the death of its reigning king. He proceeded to the bank of the Lāṅgūla river and sat on its bank wrapt in meditation. The late king left behind him a boy to inherit the Gāṅga throne. Following an old custom, the officials, feudatories and prominent subjects of the state assembled in a council and

6 This event is placed on the seventh day of the bright half of the month of Pushya in the cyclic year Srimukha.

7 See my *Śrī Madhvacharya Charitramu* Ch. 2 where the chronology of these events has been discussed. See also the *Stotramahodadhi*, Pt. I *Narahariyatistotra*.

8 The facts that follow have been derived from the *Narahariyatistotra* and the *Gurukathakalpataru*, a manuscript history of the Madhva Pontiff of the Uttaradi mutt, which H. H. Sri Satyadhyana tīrtha svamiji of the Uttaradi mutt has kindly allowed me to examine.

9 These two idols are still preserved in the Uttaradi mutt and are the chief objects of worship.

decided to elect a regent to look after the realm till the boy came of age. They gave a garland to the state elephant and left it free to choose a candidate. The animal is said to have gone straight to the bank of the Lāngūla river, approached the ascetic and thrown the garland round his neck. The ministers and feudatories, who followed it, explained matters to the bewildered ascetic and requested him to accept the regency. Śrī Narahari tīrtha recollected the command of his master, reconciled himself to the prospective change and accepted the charge. He is said to have protected the Gāṅga kingdom for 12 years, handed over charge to the boy king, who by then came of age, obtained the two idols from him as a reward and then left Kaṭṭiṅga.

There are many inscriptions in the Vaiṣṇavite temples of Śrīkūrmam and Simhāchalam in the Kaṭṭiṅga country which either record the gifts of Śrī Narahari tīrtha or contain clear references to him. The dates of these records range between 1264¹⁰—1294¹¹ A.D. indicating that this teacher stayed in that country for over thirty years.

There is thus an apparent contradiction between the traditional and epigraphical sources regarding the duration of this saint's stay in Kaṭṭiṅga. Several writers have referred to this in passing and no serious attempt has so far been made to examine this question in detail and determine the actual duration of Śrī Narahari tīrtha's stay. I propose to examine here, in the light of the available material, the truth of the so called regency.

II

It is necessary to mention at the outset certain facts which are beyond dispute and which help immensely in the solution of the problem mentioned above. In the first place, a careful perusal of the *Śrīmadhvaviṇaya*, the authentic biography of Śrī Mādhva āchārya, indicates clearly that he must have been passing along the east coast on his way back from his Badarī tour about the year 1261 A.D. It must be in this year that the controversy between him and Śāma Śāstry took place.¹² It is reasonable to suppose that a period of two or three years elapsed between this event and the return of Śāma Śāstry to Kaṭṭiṅga as Śrī Narahari tīrtha. The earliest record of this ascetic is also dated 1264 and supports this supposition. In the second place, Śrī Mādhva āchārya is known to have departed finally from Uḍipi on the eleventh day of the bright half of the month of Māgha in the cyclic year Pingaḷa corresponding to 11th January 1318. According to the traditional sources, Śrī Narahari tīrtha gave him the idols 30 days before this event. Evidently this ascetic reached Uḍipi on 24 October

1317. He seems to have left Kaṭṭiṅga about the middle of that year. In the third place, three monarchs of the Gāṅga dynasty, Narasimhadēva I (1238-1264), Bhānudēva I (1264-1279) and Narasimhadēva II (1279-1306) ruled over Kaṭṭiṅga during the period covered by the inscriptions of Śrī Narahari tīrtha.¹³

When did the so-called regency of this ascetic begin? According to the combined evidence of the traditional and inscriptional evidence mentioned above, it must have started in 1264 A.D. If so, it must have terminated in 1276 A.D. after a period of twelve years. But two facts contradict this possibility, viz. the epigraphs which show that he was in Kaṭṭiṅga till 1294 A.D. at the least and that part of the traditional version which shows that he must have reached Uḍipi only in 1317 A.D. Nor is there any evidence either in literature or in tradition to show that this saint left Kaṭṭiṅga after some years of stay, went to Uḍipi and then returned to Kaṭṭiṅga. His stay in the Gāṅga kingdom seems to have been continuous and unbroken. It is evident, therefore, that his so-called regency cannot be held to have begun in 1264 A.D.

Another alternative is to take 1317 A.D. as the year in which his regency might have terminated. In that case it should have begun in the middle of 1305 A.D. There are several objections to this alternative also. Firstly, the regency ought to coincide with Śrī Narahari tīrtha's entry into Kaṭṭiṅga and not begun forty-two years later as indicated by this alternative. Secondly, this saint was very active in Kaṭṭiṅga long before his regency would have commenced. His presence and activity before that event are against tradition. Thirdly, there occurs a gap of over ten years between the last known date of this saint's presence in Kaṭṭiṅga and 1305 A.D., which has to be explained. Thus even this alternative is against our fitting in the period of the so-called regency within the period covered by the inscriptions.

There is yet another argument which disproves this regency. The traditional sources mention unanimously that the regency was the outcome of the succession of a boy king to Kaṭṭiṅga. The arrival of Śrī Narahari tīrtha in this country should therefore coincide with the commencement of the regency and also the death of a Gāṅga ruler. King Narasimhadēva I was ruling over the country at this time and was succeeded by his son Bhānudēva I. Thus there is no possibility for a regency and there is further no evidence to prove that a boy sat on the Gāṅga throne during this period.

Another approach to this problem is suggested by the combined evidence of tradition and inscriptions. One traditional work states that¹⁴ as soon as Śrī Narahari tīrtha left the Gāṅga capital with the

¹⁰ *Madras Epigraphical Collection*. No. 369 of 1896.

¹¹ *Ibid.* No. 291 of 1896.

¹² See my *Madhvacharyacharitam* Ch. 3.

¹³ M. Chakravarti—"Eastern Ganga kings of Kalinga" in *J.B.R.A.S.* for 1908 pp. 120 & 125.

¹⁴ Cf. the *Gurukathakalpataru*.

two idols which were till then lying in the royal treasury, the treasury caught fire. Probably anticipating this event the saint is said to have ridden away in great haste. He is mentioned as having made a brief halt at Śrīkūrmam on the way, instituted the idols of Rāma, Sīta and Lakshmaṇa there and resumed his flight with the two idols obtained by him from the Gāṅga king. One of the Śrīkūrmam inscriptions mentions¹⁵ that Śrī Narahari tīrtha installed in the local Vaiṣṇava temple the images of Sīta, Rāma and Lakshmaṇa. The date of this event corresponds to 3rd January 1294. This agrees perfectly with the traditional version and this date also happens to be the last known date of this teacher in Kalinga. It may be suggested therefore that 1294 A.D. may be taken to mark the conclusion of the so-called regency. There are, however, two objections to this view. Firstly, the regency would then begin in 1282 A.D. and this would be 18 years after the arrival of Śrī Narahari tīrtha in Kalinga, while the traditional sources are unanimous in stating that this event coincided with the so-called regency. Secondly, this view is against the traditional version that the teacher left Kalinga in 1317 immediately after the termination of his office.

One writer, however, rejects the tradition that Śrī Mādhva āchārya asked his disciple to fetch the idols of Rāma and Sīta from Kalinga.¹⁶ Another writer¹⁷ refers to this view and the Śrīkūrmam inscription mentioned above, and inclines to think that the idols installed by Śrī Narahari tīrtha in 1294 were the same as those obtained by him at the Gāṅga capital. This view is untenable. In the first place, Śrī Narahari tīrtha obtained only two idols, those of Rāma and Sīta, but those set up by him at Śrīkūrmam were three in number, including the image of Lakshmaṇa also. In the second place, the two idols are said to have been lying neglected in the Gāṅga treasury. Obviously, they were smaller, portable and made of precious metal so that they needed safe custody in the royal treasury. The images set up at Śrīkūrmam in 1294 seem, on the other hand, to have been made of stone and of a comparatively bigger size. There is no doubt therefore that the idols of Rāma and Sīta now worshipped by the Pontiff of the Uttarādi Muṭṭ are identical with those fetched by Śrī Narahari tīrtha from Kalinga.

It is necessary to refer here to yet another approach made to the solution of the problem of the so-called regency.¹⁸ One writer takes his stand on a Śrīkūrmam inscription of king Narasimhadēva dated 1293

A.D. which is said to be his 18th regnal year and deduces that the reign itself must have commenced in 1275 A.D. This writer supposes further that this Narasimhadēva was the boy king mentioned by the traditional sources and that Śrī Narahari tīrtha was regent on his behalf for twelve years before 1275 A.D. The so-called regency lasted in his opinion between 1263—1275 A.D. There are many serious objections to this view. Firstly, the 18th year of the inscription referred to above is the *anka* year and not the regnal year. It corresponds, as such, to the 15th year of the reign.¹⁹ Secondly, there is no evidence to show that this Narasimhadēva succeeded to throne as a boy. Thirdly, the period between 1263—1275 A.D., which this writer assigns for the so-called regency of Śrī Narahari tīrtha falls within the reigns of two Gāṅga monarchs, Narasimhadēva I (1238—1264) and Bhānudēva I (1264—1279). These two kings were succeeded by Narasimhadēva II. Thus the chronology of the three Gāṅga kings indicates an unbroken succession and does not admit directly or indirectly a regency within the period. Fourthly, the period assigned by the writer converges practically over the entire reign of Bhānudēva I. If Śrī Narahari tīrtha is supposed to have been regent during this period, it amounts to saying that Bhānudēva never ruled at all, a conclusion which would be an apparent absurdity.

For these reasons I believe that Śrī Narahari tīrtha's so-called regency in Kalinga for twelve years is a mere myth. It appears that the traditional version about this incident is the result of an indiscreet combination of several independent events *viz*, Śrī Narahari tīrtha's stay for a long time in Kalinga, his active participation in the politics of the time, and his hurried departure from that country with the idols of Rāma and Sīta.

19 M. Chakravarthi—in J.B.R.A.S. for 1903. p. 128.

15 Madras Epigraphical Collection. No. 291 of 1896.

16 See B. Venkoba Rao in the *Vyasayogicharitam* edited by him, Introd. p. XXVII

17 See Prof. S. Hanumantha Rao in the *Madhvamunisasa* I-6, p. 115.

18 *Ibid*.

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION OF NORTHERN CIRCARS

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CHAPTER III

Settlement of the Chicacole Sarkar (1766—1774).

"When an Indian conqueror leaves to a chief of any considerable power the interior management of his country on the condition of paying an annual sum as tribute, it is tolerably understood by the parties that it will not be paid without at least the presence of an army to demand it."

Wilks: *Historical Sketches of the South of India*, 1810—17.

In this chapter I propose to deal with the settlement of the Chicacole Sarkar during the period 1766—1774. A word of explanation is necessary for the special treatment of this Sarkar. As has already been shown in the preceeding chapters, the Chicacole Sarkar till the year 1766, had never come under the close scrutiny

Introductory. of either the Madras government or of the chiefships of Masulipatam and Vizagapatam. Its physical configuration, its great distance from the seats of administration (Madras and Masulipatam till 1768) and the formidable power enjoyed by the Pūsapāṭis of Vijayanagaram constituted the barriers that kept off any on the part of the central authority to obtain effective control of its revenue affairs. The Sarkar was parcelled out among numerous rājas and hill-chiefs, especially in the Ichchāpuram *pargana* but the Vijayanagaram family acted the middleman for the payment of the local revenues. At a time when the authority of the central government had least enveloped this Sarkar and especially under the vigorous and tactful guidance of Sītārāma Rāzu, the administration of the Pūsapāṭis was obviously uncontrolled and severe.

Gradually the smaller zamindaries were swallowed up by this formidable principality and even the overthrow of such an historic family as that of Bobbili was acquiesced in by the Madras government who had felt bound to respect the fortune of the house of Ānanda Rāzu to whose resource and initiative the Company owed their hold in the Northern Sarkars. But when once the Sarkars were acquired by the grant of Shah Alum and the treaty with Nizam Ali, they found it necessary to call halt to any further increase in the power of Sītārāma Rāzu and his family. The settlement of the Ichchāpuram *pargana* carried through by Edward Cotsford during 1768—1774 was the outstanding result of this policy. To throw the transactions into clear relief it is necessary to survey the revenue affairs of the Chicacole Sarkar for the period 1766—1768.

As has already been seen elsewhere, Sītārāma Rāzu had entered into an agreement with the Madras government acting on behalf of Hussain Ali even before the treaty of Hyderabad was concluded, by which he agreed to pay five lakhs of rupees a year for the whole of the Chicacole Sarkar. This tribute was admittedly low. As was shown by John Lewen Smith, Chief of Masulipatam and successor of John Pybus who was responsible for this arrangement, it was justified by "the desolate situation of that country but just recovering after a severe famine brought on by the inclemency of the season."¹ Notwithstanding this, Sītārāma Rāzu tacitly obeyed the Company's regime and paid his *kists* in full.²

Early in 1767, the Madras government took an altogether exceptional view of the affairs in this Sarkar. They wrote to Masulipatam: "Sitteramrauze's situation is so different from that of last year when he paid Hussain Ally only five lakhs of rupees, that we hope he may be prevailed on to double that sum, since that Circar must be better settled now by the countenance we gave him than heretofore."

The Settlement of 1767. Smith³ and Craufurd proceeded to Satyavaram, in the Sarvasiddhi taluk of the Vizagapatam district,⁴ with a view to bringing Sītārāma Rāzu to fresh terms. But they found several difficulties in the way of raising the tribute to the unprecedented extent advocated by the Madras government. In extenuation of their partial failure, they wrote to Madras that on account of "the large body of troops he hath for some time kept and the expenses incurred by expeditions undertaken against Zemindars in the Chicacole Circar, he hath so involved himself that the Soucars seem to avoid any dealings with him whatsoever." Further, as he had "almost the whole year's revenue in his hands we can see no other method left but agreeing with him on the best terms we can obtain."⁶ On the other hand, they tried to impress on Sītārāma Rāzu that during the agreement of December 1765 "they had prevailed on Hussain Ally to accept of the five lakhs as a gratification and acknowledgment of obedience, not as a rent proportionable to the value of the Circar," and as such that agreement should not form the basis of

¹ *Masulipatam to Madras*, 31 December 1766. *Milit. Cons.* 5 January 1767. Vol. 58, pp. 3-6.

² *Smith and Craufurd to Madras*, Rajahmundry 8 March 1766 *idem*, 25 March, *idem*, pp. 237-39. See also, *Madras Letters Received*, 15 April 1767 (Bourchier) para 10, Vol. III.

³ *Madras to Masulipatam*, (military), 6 January 1767, Vol. 58, pp. 6-8.

⁴ Roughly 25° latitude and 35° longitude.

⁵ *Smith and Craufurd to Madras*, Satyavaram, 8 March 1767; *Milit. Cons.* 25 March, *idem*, pp. 237-39.

⁶ *Ibid.*

a fresh settlement.⁷ But since Sītārāma Rāzu remained obdurate matters seemed to end in a deadlock.

To meet this crisis, Smith and Craufurd devised a plan for splitting up the Sarkar into three divisions, and leasing them out since "to let this Circar remain for any length of time in the hands of a single renter who may be possessed of a considerable share of interest in the country must in the end be dangerous".⁸ As Sītārāma Rāzu had meanwhile consented to settle with the government for his own zamindari they found it advisable to accept his own terms and offer the *haveli* or government lands to rent to Vachchawai Rāghava Rāzu, the manager of Sītārāma Rāzu "not only on account of the difference in the rents but as it will be getting the countries out of his hands and thereby lessening his influence and power."⁹ The Madras government readily approved this novel method of dismembering the Chicacole Sarkar for the first time in the long history of its enjoyment by the Pūsa-pāṭis of Vijayanagaram.¹⁰ After protracted negotiations, an agreement was reached between the Company and Rāghava Rāzu by which the latter agreed to pay Rs. 1,33,941 for the Ichchāpuram *pargana* and Rs. 3,92,000 for the rest of the Chicacole Sarkar exclusively of the family properties of Vijayanagaram. As was customary, the Madras government undertook the defence as well as the internal policing of these areas.¹¹

How tentative and superficial the control of Rāghava Rāzu over the Ichchāpuram *pargana* must have been will be clear from the following statement of the names of the several zamindaries, their estimated value, and the sums at which they were rated in the Company's books. If the figures would be accepted as correct (and one cannot be too cautious in dealing with the first figures of a new settlement), the rating of the division was incommensurate with the actual value of the land. But it will be remembered that all these nineteen zamindars had for a long time been semi-independent, with turbulent *Sibbandies* swallowing up the revenues, and always reluctant to pay tribute unless compelled by the military forces of the renter.

Smith and Craufurd next took up the Vijayanagaram zamindari. Sītārāma Rāzu furnished them with a statement according to which he maintained that his family had been customarily rated at Rs. 2,55,00 a year. While agreeing to pay the same amount in future he pressed for deductions on account of personal *jāgirs* conferred on his family by the

subadar of the Dekhan valued at Rs. 1,25,000 a year for which he offered to produce *sanads*. He further claimed a remission on the year's tribute an account of the distressed state of the country. But, while disowning any knowledge of the existence of the *jāgirs*, Smith and Craufurd pointed out to him that their "present business was to settle with him for the rent of his Zamindary". Sītārāma Rāzu naturally protested against the summary manner in which he was treated by these servants of the Company, and, after a series of parleys, we are told, that "partly by fair means, assisted sometime by threats, we made him agree to give rupees 2,74,059, and in which no mention was made of the *Jagheers*."¹²

Revenues of the Ichchāpuram pargana 1767.

(In Rupees).

Zamindari.	Estimated value of the land.	Tribute paid.
Pāūr	10,000	3,300
Humma	6,000	3,000
Biridi	20,000	4,000
Kaḷlikōṭa	50,000	24,000
Hautgur, (Atagaḍa)	60,000	25,000
Ghumsar	100,000	25,000
Chikati	40,000	15,000
Mandasa	50,000	20,000
Tarla	15,000	5,000
Jalantra	40,000	10,000
Sourera	10,000	2,000
Dharakōṭa	40,000	15,000
Bodogada	40,000	15,000
Vijanagar (Pedda Kimidi)	60,000	20,000
Serugada	20,000	7,500
Mohiri	70,000	30,000
Surangi	20,000	10,000
Jarada	15,000	5,000
Budarasingi	10,000	3,000
Total	Rs. 6,66,000	2,41,000

Note.—Palur is slightly to the north of Ganjam, Humma to the west of Palur. Biridi to the north of Humma. Kaḷlikōṭa to the north of Biridi. Atagaḍa n. w. of Ganjam and due west of Kaḷlikōṭa. Gumsur just below Russelkonda and to the n. n. w. of Ganjam. Chikati s. s. w. of Berhampur. Mandasa s. s. w. of Sompeta. Tarla s. s. w. of Mandasa. Jalantra n. n. w. of Sompeta. Dharakōṭa n. n. w. of Aska.

⁷ Same to Same, 15 March, *Ibid*, pp. 239—41.

⁸ *Ibid*.

⁹ Smith and Craufurd to Madras, Satyavaram, 14 March 1767, *Milit. Cons.* 25 March, Vol. 58, pp. 246—50.

¹⁰ *Idem*, pp. 250—51, and Madras to Masulipatam, 26 March, *idem*, pp. 265—67.

¹¹ Smith and Craufurd to Madras, 26 March, *Milit. Cons.* *idem*, pp. 288—89.

¹² Smith and Craufurd to Madras, loc. cit. Vol. 58, pp. 289—91. The Madras government resolved that "the terms are full as favourable as we could expect". See Vol. 58, p. 292—293.

Bodogodo due w. of Dharakōṭa. Pedda Kimiḍi between Chikati and Chinna Kimidi Zaminharies. Surangi s. s. w. of Aska. Jarada zamindari which roughly represents a triangle, is literally hemmed in by the Chikati Surangi and Jalantra estates. Budarasingi due west of Dharakōṭa.

I was unable to identify Sourera and Mohiri. Sourera may be Surada. In the identification of these Zamindaries, I made use of various maps. Apart from the maps contained in the District Manual of Ganjam. I found the revenue survey maps of the Ganjam district 1" to a mile published in 1922 and the 1" to 16 miles survey map of 1918 published under the direction of Sir S. G. Burrard very useful.

To indicate the effect of confusion prevailing in this *pargana* it is interesting to note the following facts. Hautgur encroached on the Pubbakonḍa *pargana* to the extent of Rs. 10,000 a year. Ghumsur encroached on Aska to the extent of Rs. 15,000. Pedda Kimiḍi in a like manner on Korla (10,000) and on Pubbakonḍa (Rs. 10,000). Mohiri on Pubbakonḍa (Rs. 30,000). These sums are not included in the above statement. The tracts representing these sums were later on incorporated into the *haveli* land of the Company.

The result of this settlement of the Chicacole Sarkar which far exceeded the "most sanguine expectation," of the Madras government may be summed up as follows:¹³

Settlement of the Chicacole Sarkar.
(1767).

District.	Renter.	Rent in Rs.
Vijayanagaram zamindari.	Sītārāma Rāzu.	2,74,059 4 0
Chicacolo.	Rāghava Rāzu.	1,40,000 0 0
Kasimkōṭa.	do.	30,000 0 0
Isalmuru and Bomalli.	do.	50,000 0 0
Satyavaram and Anakapalli (Payaka Rao).	do.	75,000 0 0
Kimiḍi (Narayana Deo.)	do.	12,000 0 0
Tekkali. (Jagga Deo.)	do.	25,000 0 0
Naupaḍa Salt. ¹⁴	do.	40,000 0 0
Vonitla and five other districts.	do.	40,000 0 0
(Jagapati Rāzu).	do.	40,000 0 0
Ichchāpuram district	do.	1,33,940 12 0
Total Chicacole Sarkar.		Rs. 8,00,000 0 0

This settlement effected a rise of sixty per cent in the gross revenues of the Sarkar. More important than this increase in the gross

¹³ The names of persons in brackets in column one represent the zamindar for whom Rāghava Rāzu was accountable to the government.

See also *Madras Letters Received*, 15 April 1767 (Bourchier) para 10, Vol. III.

¹⁴ Naupaḍa is to the north of the Vamsadhāra River in the Vizagapatam district.

revenues was the fact that the authority of the Vijayanagaram family had been considerably reduced and as a consequence some of the lesser zamindaries which had formerly been usurped by the Pūsapātis were not liberated, while a nucleus of the *haveli* or government lands was formed,

This settlement was a thorough failure and did not last long. At a time when the Company's domain in the Sarkar was not completely established, the weakening of the traditional authority of the Vijayanagaram zamindari threw the revenue affairs in great disorder. Added to

this, the outbreak of war with Nizam Ali had its echo in the Chicacole Sarkar. No sooner had they realised that the zamindars were reluctant to obey the Company's authority than the Masulipatam

Council had withdrawn the troops stationed in the Ichchāpuram *pargana* which were also urgently required for the protection of the southern provinces.¹⁵ The French once again renewed their intrigues with Sītārāma Rāzu.¹⁶ Meanwhile, Rāghava Rāzu had escaped from the jurisdiction of the Madras government and made common cause with his former master Sītārāma Rāzu who was chafing with discontent at the peremptory manner in which the government had deprived his family of its traditional and extensive power and revenues.¹⁷ Matters came to a crisis when Nizam Ali invested Nārāyaṇa Deo, raja of Kimiḍi, as his *naib* of the Chicacole Sarkar and ordered him to dispossess Sītārāma Rāzu of the several tracts which his family had usurped during the period of their uncontrolled power and sequester his zamindari in the event of any opposition from him, massacre all the British troops in the Sarkar and thus annihilate the Company's authority to the northward.¹⁸

The Madras government welcomed the publication of the Hyderabad *sanads* by Nārāyaṇa Deo. For one thing, it precluded a general rising on the part of the numerous zamindars in the Sarkar. For another "it has a good deal of influence on Sitteramrauze in bringing him to the terms lately agreed on with Jogue Pundat and by cutting off the hopes he entertained for himself will be the means of

¹⁵ *Masulipatam to Madras*, 13 August. *Milit. Cons.* 24 August, Vol. 59, pp. 728-29. Madras readily approved this measure; see *idem*, p. 730.

¹⁶ The Madras government warned Sītārāma Rāzu against any understanding with the French governor of Negapatam who was responsible for these intrigues. See, *Madras to Masulipatam*, 21 April, Vol. 58, pp. 323-25.

¹⁷ *Masulipatam to Madras*, 14 November, *Milit. Cons.* 23 November, Vol. 59, pp. 1,255-65.

¹⁸ *Capt. Madge to Vizagapatam*, Chicacole, 27 November per *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 2 December, *idem*. pp. 1, 421-22.

See also *Madras Letters Received*, 4 November Bourchier. para 9, Vol. III.

maintaining him more firm to our interests.¹⁹ They did not deem it fit to send reinforcements to the Chicacole Sarkar even though Capt. Madge, the officer directing the settlement in the Sarkar implored assistance.²⁰ On the other hand, they found it expedient to conciliate Sitārāma Rāzu and direct Masulipatam to resettle with him "in the best manner they are able as we imagine he may be prevailed on to assist our troops in that Circar to dispossess Nārāyaṇa Deo of the country he had usurped".²¹ Thus a fresh settlement had been begun within less than ten months after the first attempt to settle the Sarkar.

Smith and Craufurd who had all the while been staying at Satyavaram deputed Jogi Pantulu to survey the Ichchāpuram *pargana* and settle the revenue business on the most favourable terms to the Company.²² After a considerable investigation, he

Akkāji's rent of reported favourably on the proposals of Dabir the Ichchāpuram Akkāji²³ and Jagannādh Rāzu.²⁴ The offer of *pargana* (1767-68) Akkāji, as the principal to act as *naib* of the Madras Government, more or less on the lines of Muhammad Raza Khan in Bengal and of Hussain Ali in the Sarkars was not accepted on account of the peculiar difficulties inherent in that type of management. Indicating this, Masulipatam wrote that if Akkāji "acts for himself he will most (sic) probably become circumspect in entering into any dispute with the Zemindars and most frugal with regard to expenses, than if he acted in the character of the Company's manager."²⁵ "There is further one (more) favourable circumstance that he is not powerful and therefore cannot resist the Company's authority."²⁶

¹⁹ *Masulipatam to Madras*, 10 December, *Milit. Cons.* 21 December, Vol. 59, pp. 1,474-76.

²⁰ *Masulipatam to Madras*, 7 November, *Milit. Cons.* 23 November, Vol. 59, pp. 1, 256-57. See also *Letters from Capt. Madge and Jogi Pantulu* pp. 1,262-61.

²¹ Resolution of the Madras Government, 22 December *idem*, pp. 1,476-77, and *Madras to Masulipatam* of the same date, *idem*, p. 1,480.

²² *Madras Letters Received*, 4 November, 1767 (Bourchier) para 10, Vol. III.

²³ Maltby gives his surname as "Dubbur". See, the *Ganjam District Manual*, p. 114.

I think that this statement is incorrect. For one thing the *Madras Military Consultations* clearly spell it as "Dabeer". Further I have every reason to believe that Akkāji's family, which obviously belong to the Vyāpārī sect of the Andhra Brahmins, has had considerable experience under the Marāṭha rule of Outtack and the adjacent territories. Historically Marāṭha terminology still survives in the Sarkars, especially in the lower rungs of the revenue machinery. Dabir (Persian) means a writer. See, Wilson: *Glossary*, s. v p. p. 116.

²⁴ *Masulipatam to Madras* 7 November, 1767. *Milit. Cons.* 16 November, Vol. 60, pp. 1,214-15. Their proposals are given as specimens of renters' proposals at this time in Appendix "D" No. 1 to this thesis.

²⁵ *Masulipatam to Madras*, 7 November, *Milit. Cons.* 23 November, Vol. 60, pp. 1,214-15.

²⁶ Extract from *Jogi pantulu to Musulipatam*, *idem*, pp. 1,216-18.

These two considerations induced the Madras government to reject the proposals of Nārāyaṇa Deo even at the risk of the peace of the country, as events shortly demonstrated.²⁷ This reluctance on the part of the Madras government to strengthen the power of any single individual in the Chicacole Sarkar constrained them to outline a further instalment of their policy of decentralisation. According to this, apart from the separate agreements with Akkāji for the Ichchāpuram district and Sitārāma Rāzu for the Vijayanagaram zamindari, they directed another individual agreement with Nārāyaṇa Deo for the Kimiḍi zamindari.²⁸ This departure from the traditional arrangement of a unified management of the Sarkar immediately resulted in the want of a controlling power and left the field open for the depredations of Nārāyaṇa Deo.

He at once took possession of the Ichchāpuram country in the name of Nizam Ali, and Akkāji was unable to maintain his own against him. Masulipatam wrote to Madras that "until the Company's affairs are so situated as to enable them to send a force into the Circar sufficient to reduce these turbulent and powerful Zamindars, we are of opinion it will be impossible to secure almost any of its revenues otherwise than by renting it out to Sitteramrauze who with his own troops and the assistance of Capt. Casemore's detachment may be able to exact from Narraindoo and all the other Zamindars the punctual payment of their several assignment or should they refuse, to extirpate them from their possessions".²⁹

Nārāyaṇa Deo's unchecked depredations had a disastrous effect on the Company's revenues. The Madras government was as yet helpless to interfere in the internal revenue administration of the Sarkar. As Masulipatam put it, it was "almost impossible to receive any advantage from Ichchāpour for this year, nor do we see anything can be done with it further than by ordering the Zamindars not to pay any part of the tribute to Narrain Deo, and thereby reserve it to the Company to exact it from them when they are in a situation to send a force for that purpose".³⁰ Strangely enough, the Madras government did not countenance the fresh proposals of Sitārāma Rāzu for the rent of the whole Sarkar. Even though he had paid his *kists* regularly and remained quiet during the disorders in the Sarkar,³¹ they thought that if he was

²⁷ *Madras to Masulipatam*, 19 November, 1767. *Milit. Cons.* 23 November and *letters from Capt. Madge and Jogi Pantulu*, pp. 1,264-63; Resolution of the Madras government, pp. 1,265-67; and *Madras to Masulipatam*, 23 November, pp. 1,281-83.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Masulipatam to Madras*, 17 December, *Milit. Cons.* 28 December, Vol. 60, pp. 1,492-93.

³⁰ *Same to Same*, 12 January 1760. *Milit. Cons.* 18 January, Vol. 61, pp. 68-69.

³¹ In fact, Sitārāma Rāzu has also discharged in full the balance due from Rāghava Rāzu for whom he stood security. See *Jogi Pantulu to Masulipatam*, *Country Correspondence* No. 14 for 1768. *Milit. Cons.* 22 January, Vol. 61, p. 69.

entrusted with the rent of the Sarkar the hereditary quarrels between the Vijayanagaram and Kimiḍi zamindaries would lead to a more dangerous crisis. Hence, they gave to Akkāji, for a second time, the rent of a far larger area—the whole of the Chicacole *haveli*.³²

The credit for this settlement devolved, on the shoulders of Jogi Pantulu. The Madras government placed it on the record that he had "exerted himself in such a manner in the business on which he has been employed as to merit our thanks. The Chief and Council (of Masulipatam) are therefore to be desired to acquaint him that his conduct has been much to our satisfaction."³³

The following statement illustrates the position of the Chicacole revenues for 1768:

District.	Renter.	Rent in Rs.
<i>Chicacole Revenues (1768).</i>		
Vizayanagaram.	Sītārāma Rāzu.	2,74,059
Vuratla.	do.	10,000
Satyavaram.	Pāyaka Rao.	75,000
Chicacole <i>haveli</i> . ³⁴	Akkāji and Jagannādhā Rāzu.	1,52,500
Total Chicacole Sarkar.		Rs. 5,51,559

In this settlement the agreement with Pāyaka Rao opened a further stage in the decentralisation of the Chicacole Sarkar and more seriously undermined the power of the Vijayanagaram zamindari. The revenues of the Sarkar as compared with those for 1767 showed a decrease of two and a half lakhs of rupees. This was occasioned by the fact that no revenues were forth-coming from Nārāyaṇa Deo for his districts of Tekkali, Jalmur and Kimiḍi. His depredations not only caused the Madras government the loss of his tribute of Rs. 90,000 but also the rents of the Ichchāpuram *parganā* and of the Naupaḍa salt-farm valued at Rs. 2,35,000 a year. Otherwise, there would have been a gross increase of about Rs. 85,000 over the previous *jamābandi*. The most serious and direct loss to the Company was the expenditure of a lakh of rupees a year on the military detachments maintained in this Sarkar.

This settlement also ended in a failure. The initial successes of Nārāyaṇa Deo induced him to adopt a more ambitious policy. His

³² Resolution of the Madras government, 19 January 1768. *idem* pp. 73–74, and *Madras to Masulipatam* of the same date, pp. 86–87.

Masulipatam to Madras, 13 February, *Milit. Cons.* 22 February. *idem* pp. 205–07.

³³ Resolution of the Madras Government, 22 February. *idem* p. 209.

³⁴ An abatement of Rs. 22,500 was allowed to Akkāji and his partner on the last *jamābandi* on account of losses sustained from Nārāyaṇa Deo's depredations.

troops ravaged the Rājān and Bobbili districts which belonged to Vijayanagaram "burning every village they met in Ruinous condition their route and by their rapid progress threatened of the Chicacole to lay waste (the) country."³⁵ The combined troops Sarkar. of Sītārāma Rāzu and the Comyany were not completely successful in holding their own against him. The condition of the country had gradually become worse and worse. Describing it, Masulipatam wrote: "We cannot but lament the present truly deplorable situation of that unhappy Circar, not only for the sufferings of its miserable inhabitants who have so lately and so severely been afflicted with a general famine and epidemical small-pox, but likewise for the bad consequences which must result from the depredations now committing to the Company, as well as by the immediate loss of revenue, as that Circar will, we apprehend, sink considerably in value by being deserted of (sic) its labourers who, we understand, are leaving it to take their residence in some other country less subject to devastation."³⁶ A remedy for this was urgently sought and this the Bouchier government found in the establishment of a residency at Ganjam with sufficient troops to handle the situation. Edward Cotsford was consequently appointed to carry through the first regular settlement of the Ichchāpuram *pargana*.

The Residency at Ganjam was originally established in accordance with the resolution of the Madras government of 2 December 1766.³⁷ Edward Cotsford, an engineer in the service of the Madras government was appointed the first resident to look Cotsford as Resi. after the Company's investment there.³⁸ The Court dent of Ganjam of Directors objected as a rule to the Company's military servants being drafted into the civil department. But without creating a precedent, they allowed Cotsford to

³⁵ *Masulipatam to Madras*, 8 April, 1768. *Milit. Cons.* 25 April, Vol. 61, pp. 592–94.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Pub. Cons.* 2 December 1766, Vol. 24, p. 598.

³⁸ Cotsford was appointed a writer in the service of the East India Company in 1756. See, Princep: *Record of Services of Madras Civil Servants*, p. 35.

After seeing service as an engineer at the siege of Wandewash and Pondicheri and in the Manila war, he returned home in 1764 on account of ill-health. On his return to India in 1766 he was appointed resident at Ganjam which post he occupied till 1773. Later he was chief of Masulipatam and finally a member of the Madras Council in 1776. He returned home in 1780, and relinquished service in 1790. He attempted in vain to obtain his nomination as successor to Lord Macartney (1764). *India Office Tracts*, Vol. 51.

He gave evidence before the Committee of Secrecy of the House of Commons which drew up the *Fourth Report*. See, Appendix No. 24 to the *Fourth Report*.

choose the civil department and continue as resident.³⁹ Cotsford actually took charge of Ganjam in 1767 and reported on the disastrous management of the *naibs* of Sitārāma Rāzu which resulted in the depopulation of the district and loss to the Company's investment. But the rebellion of Nārāyaṇa Deo compelled him to abandon his office and return to Madras. He was now reappointed to the residency to carry through a fresh revenue settlement of the present Ganjam district.⁴¹

On 26 April 1768, the Madras government issued lengthy instructions to Cotsford for the settlement of the Sarkar.⁴² He was appointed, so they ran, to the residency at Ganjam for the specific purposes of reducing the rebellious zamindars of the Chicacole Sarkar. Col. Peach with his Bengal troops was detailed to assist him in his formidable enterprise. Cotsford was to have complete control of the Company's affairs at Ganjam,—commercial, military and dealings with local rājas labelled at this time as "country affairs." He was directed to assert the right of the Company to this Sarkar on the basis of the *farman* of Shāh Alam and the *altamgha* of the Nizam. The Sarkar itself was to be administered as of old and its three traditional divisions of Kasimkōṭa, Chicacole and Ichchāpuram were to be maintained. The chief and Council of Vizagapatam were to assume charge of the first two divisions, while Cotsford was to direct the affairs in the northern and most turbulent Ichchāpuram *pargana*.

Cotsford was directed immediately to proceed with the settlement of the *jamābandi*. He was to revive and accept the proposals of Akkāji for the rent of the *pargana* which were made prior to the rebellion of Nārāyaṇa Deo and "settle (the arrears) on the spot as you march with each Zamindar, calling them to account for the past and not suffering them to plead that they have paid anything to Nārāyaṇa Deo." The Madras government hoped that the presence of Col. Peach's detachment should make matters easy for Cotsford but at the same time they directed him to "acquaint the Zemindars (that) it is not our intention to deprive them or their families of their ancient possessions or change the form of government. All we aim (at) is to establish order and regularity to prevent continual disputes.....We shall be attentive to protect each Zamindar in his established rights. We expect

³⁹ *Madras Despatches*, 25 November 1768, para 49. Vol. IV, pp. 265—67. They ruled out of order a further recommendation of the Madras government in the case of one Stevens who enjoyed the rank of an engineer in their military department.

⁴⁰ *Pub. Cons.* 18 May, 1767. Vol. 25, p. 356.

⁴¹ *Madras to Cotsford*, 26 April 1768. *Milit. Cons.* Vol. 61, pp. 540—48.

⁴² *Ibid.*

they will pay a due subordination to the ruling power and regularly discharge the rents settled for each district." As for the *jamābandi* to be demanded from the zamindars, it must be "in proportion to their extent and value (and not to their situation or the force the Zamindar keeps up" The Company's troops would be stationed at convenient centres for the protection of the country.

Such zamindars as would not submit to the Company's authority must be compelled by force and "rooted out if they continue refractory." When a zamindar was settled with "a cowle must be given him for the country he is to hold, expressing the limits and the yearly rent, in which coin, in what kists, and where to be paid.....He must sign a formal agreement to pay annually or monthly so much for such a district and engage to live in continual obedience to the Company's authority." Finally, Cotsford was directed to furnish the fullest information on the Sarkar and plans indicating the situation of the zamindaries.

The Madras government hoped that the policy enunciated above should prove most beneficial to the Company's interest. They wrote to Cotsford: "By this method revolts against the Company's authority would be prevented, the revenue ascertained and each Zamindar ought to look to the representative of the Company (and) not (to) his own arms for protection and redress against his neighbours or foreign enemies."

Cotsford was further directed to act in harmony with Col. Peach. The expenses of the detachment were to be defrayed by the Bengal Paymaster. But the expenses of Capt. Casemore's Madras battalion stationed at Chicacole must be charged to the Madras revenues. Cotsford was given a seat on the Councils at Masulipatam and Vizagapatam when he happened to be at either of these places Jogi Pantulu was deputed to assist him in his arduous task.⁴³

On May 1768 Cotsford took his seat at the Masulipatam Council in order to acquire the preliminary knowledge of the organisation of the revenue affairs at Ganjam.⁴⁴ Since Jogi Pantulu was unavoidably prevented from proceeding with him, Kāmāji Pantulu, who was a native of Ganjam and the go-between for the Company and the zamindars, and the renter of the Masulipatam salt and other farms, was appointed to assist Cotsford.⁴⁵ Cotsford was furnished with all the information available in the records of the Masulipatam Council who had so far been responsible for the administration, however superficial it had been for this Sarkar. He was specially supplied with a short statement of the revenues of the Sarkar from the time of the appointment of Anavardi

⁴³ *Madras to Cotsford*, (Milit.) 26 April 1768, Vol. 61, pp. 540—48. See also *Madras to Masulipatam and Vizagapatam*, 27 April, *idem.* pp. 549—51.

⁴⁴ *Masulipatam to Madras*, 1 May, *Milit. Cons.* 23 May, *idem.* pp. 617—48.

⁴⁵ *Masulipatam to Madras*, 1 May. *Milit. Cons.* 23 May, Vol. 61, pp. 637—48.

Khan by Nizam-ul-Mulk to the year during which "the utmost confusion and disorder had prevailed throughout the whole province".⁴⁶ Cotsford sailed to Ganjam on 21 May 1768, with Rs. 30,000 supplied by the Masulipatam Council along with the stores necessary for the establishment of his residency.

Cotsford reached Ganjam even before Col. Peach's detachment had arrived there. Masulipatam got a fresh settlement sanctioned in view of the fact "that the sooner the renter is invested with the management of the country, the greater will be its value to him; consequently, the higher will be his proposals, or, what is a more material consideration the payment of his rents will become the surer by his being able to procure from the farm the wherewithall to discharge them."⁴⁷ As Cotsford was as yet unable to handle the situation, Vizagapatam was temporarily put in charge of the affairs, while Masulipatam directed the general line of conduct to be pursued.⁴⁸

The principal task of the Madras government in implementing a fresh settlement was to restore peace in the country and inspire confidence in the minds of cultivators. A measure of the nervousness of the people in general and the paralysed state of cultivation at this time will be found in the fact that most of the wealthy inhabitants had fled to Cuttuck and no *sāhukars* were forthcoming to offer the customary security to renters. There were two principal reasons for this state of affairs. The first was, as Cotsford had pointed out, "the remissness of the renters of the country and their leaving the discharge of their duty to the care of others (owing to their engaging in more than they can execute)".⁴⁹ The other was the system of annual leases, in deprecation of which Masulipatam wrote that "some method should be fallen on to render the Circar less subject to these destructive convulsions and to procure to the husbandmen a return more adequate to his labor than what will be ever allowed him by a yearly renter who, having the country for a short period, neither will take pains nor can afford to encourage the inhabitants and make them the necessary advances for the cultivation of it."⁵⁰

(To be continued)

46 Same to same, 27 May, *idem.* 8 June, *idem.* pp. 706-07.

47 Same to same, 6 June, 1768, *idem.* 13 June, *idem.* pp. 739-41. Resolution of the Madras government, p. 711. and *Madras to Masulipatam*, 15 June, *idem.* p. 751.

48 *Madras to Vizagapatam*, 15 June, *idem.* p. 751-52.

49 Cotsford to Madras, Chicacole, 12 June, 1768. *Milit. Cons.* 27 June, Vol. 62, pp. 797-98.

50 *Masulipatam to Madras*, 22 June, *idem.* pp. 791-94.

HINDU MUSIC UNDER A SULTAN.

M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI, M. A.

A few Muhammadan sovereigns in spite of their tendency to destroy the holy monuments of the Hindu religion have spared their fine arts, especially music and poetry. The reigns of the Moghul kings especially of the first three or four emperors are marked with great religious toleration, and they revived even the ancient arts of the Hindus to such a degree that the world would interpret that they adopted Hindu religion and art. During the Moslem administration chief executive officers were still the Hindus and in several cases the Hindu generals led their armies. Thus the influence of the Hindu service was brought to bear upon their rulers in matters of taste and luxury. But till the Moghul Empire formed and settled itself, the Afghan Conquerors acquired the country by intrepidity, cruelty and terror and the destruction of its memorable treasures of art and literature more than their sword, induced the Hindus to submit immediately, sometimes even without a blow. Even among the sultans themselves envy and treachery guided their policy and fortunes. The mightier swallowed up the weaker as the Indian politicians call it 'the law of the fish' *māt-ya-nyāya*. In the midst of such upheaval and confusion in the political world there are stray instances worthy of notice of Sultans, who had glorified the Indian fine arts, and incidentally their own fame, by their munificence and display of luxury. Ghiyaz-ud-din Muhammad, the sultan of Māndvi in Guzerat liberally entertained the literary and musical courts and an instance is noted by Viṭṭhala, a Telugu writer,¹ that his father was honoured by that sultan with a thousand tolas of gold for demonstrating the twenty two *srutis* in Indian music. In the court of Alim shah of Guzerat, Maṇḍana wrote his *Saṅgitamaṇḍana*.²

1. तत्पुत्रो लोकमित्रः सुभगजनमनोभास्करो विष्णुभट्टा-
चार्याख्यो माण्डवीशं महमदुगयाजस्तीन सुरत्राणमेत्य ।
... ..
अन्यैर्विज्ञापितोऽभूदिति यवनपतिर्नापरमूर्यशास्त्रे ॥
सुरत्राणः स्वैरं स्वयमपि समाक्षिप्य समितौ
श्रुतिप्राधान्यत्वं स्वरयुगविभेदप्रकटनम् ।
दशप्राणान् तासां
विलोक्यार्थं चादादशशततुलं स्वर्णमतुलम् ॥

Viṭṭhala's Telugu commentary on *Saṅgitaratnakara*.

2. Ms. is in the Jain Library of Pathan (page 50 Catalogue of Pathan Mss. Gaekwad series).

The subject of this paper is to introduce another Sultan who had only a passing notice in the political history and demands our grateful mention for his greater liberality resulting in more permanent results. He was the ruler of Kaḍa (Kara) a city on the southern bank of the Ganges about 40 miles from the Vēṇī (Allahabad) and was a feudal chief subordinate to the king Ibrahim (of Jaunpur). Ibrahim defeated and punished the king of the Gaudas for the oppression of the Prophet's faith and installed his more prudent son, who embracing the conqueror's religion retained his ancestral possessions.

In *Sangitasirōmani*, the work under notice, the authors speak of him thus:—

... .. संग्रामवह्निषु ।

असिपत्नं व्यधाद्वाधूमिवराहिमभूपतेः

... ..

घनाद्योपं गर्जद्गजतुरगसेनाजलधरैः

समं नीत्वाशङ्कं शकशलमसप्तार्चिकमयम् ।

तुरुष्कं निर्माय प्रकटितनयं तस्य तनयं

व्यधाद्गौडान् प्रौढः पुनरपि शकानां जनपदान् ॥

आदक्षिणोदधेरां च हिमाद्रेरीं च गाजनात् (Gazni)

आगौडादुज्ज्वलं राज्यमिवराहिमभूभुजा

अस्यैवं सार्वभौमस्य प्रतापात्पृथिवीपतिः

सलिकः सुलुताशाहिर्मध्यदेशाधिपोऽभंभत्

गङ्गायमुनयोर्मध्ये गङ्गायि विपुले तटे

कहाख्यं नगरं तस्य वेण्ण्यं योजनपञ्चके

... ..

... नगरस्यास्य देशस्य च महापथाः

बहादुरमलिकस्य पुत्रो ग्रन्थमर्चयितुम् ॥

3 The facts given in this quotation from *Sangitasirōmani* are confirmed by the following passages in the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. II, pp. 252-53. "Between 1409 and 1414 A. D. Ibrahim was persuaded by the saint Qutb-ul Alam to invade Bengal with the object of punishing Raja Ganesh who, having acquired in that kingdom more power than its nominal ruler, was persecuting Islam. Ganesh on discovering that his persecution of Moslems was raising up enemies on all sides, promised to desist from it and permitted Qutb-ul Alam to convert his son Jajmal to Islam and the saint satisfied with this success persuaded Ibrahim to retire.".....

"The dynasty of Jaunpur is known as Sharqi or Eastern dynasty both from the title of Malikush Sharq, king of the East held by its founder and from the situation of its dominions to the east of those of Delhi (Ghasni?)"

The sultan of Kaḍa⁴ gathered a large library in *nāṭya* and *saṅgīt* and invited the best scholars proficient in those subjects as well as in grammar, logic and *mīmāṃsā* to a conference. They came from all parts of India. At the conference the Sultan, in his presidential address pointed to the best of his collection and requested them to compose a work on music after due deliberation, discussion and the settlement of differences in various older schools, registering their conclusions and theories. Their combined effort, supported by the royal patronage and focussed to unanimity by the noble impartiality of the president, produced a large work in music called *Saṅgita Śirōmani*. This work probably consisting of five sections embraces the whole field of the dance, instrument and music. The composers of the book, whose names are not found in the available portions of the manuscripts have furnished us the date of composition or the conference with details about the sultan and his sovereign. These details which proclaim their military glories fade away in importance before the curiosity and interest aroused in the minds of the scholars doubly bent on the academic research by a list of the choice works laid before the conference; thus giving an opportunity to determine the earlier dates of all those works mentioned therein.

The date of the composition or the time of the convention of the conference is given as V. S. 1485 and S.S. 1350 in the two śakas then in vogue which corresponds to 1429 A. D. The chief works consulted by the leaders of the conference and about the convention itself are in their own words:—

सपादलक्षं भरतनिर्मितं शास्त्रमादिमम्
आनाय दक्षिणाद् देशात् सुलुतासाहिरुन्नतः
नानादेशगतान् ग्रन्थान्तर्धानपरानपि
सङ्गीतसागरं रागार्णवं सङ्गीतदीपिकाम्
सङ्गीतचूडामणिं च वादिमत्तगजाङ्कुशम्
सङ्गीतरत्नाकराख्यं तथा संगीतदर्पणम्
तालार्णवं च सङ्गीतकल्पवृक्षं सविस्तरम्
संगीतरत्नावलिं च नृत्यरत्नावलीमपि
संगीतमुद्रां संगीतोपनिषत्सारमुत्तमम्
संगीतसारकलिकां श्रीसंगीतविनोदकम्
आनन्दसंजीवनाख्यं तथा मुक्तवलीमपि
मनोहरं भारतीयव्याख्यानं कलबोधनम्

⁴ Kaḍa may be Kara, now a small zamindari near Allahabad.

पूर्णानपूर्णांन्यांश्च संगीतज्ञैः कृतादरान्
 संगीततत्त्वसंचित्यै समाहृत्य महाशयः
 पौरस्त्यान्दाक्षिणात्यांश्च पाश्चात्यानुत्तरोद्भवान्
 पदवाक्यप्रमाणज्ञान् संगीतार्थविशारदान्
 आनाय्य पण्डितानुचैर्भामहेमाम्बरादिभिः
 सत्कृत्याह च संगीतग्रन्थाः संपादिता मया
 नैतेऽल्पबुद्धिभिर्ज्ञेया गूढाश्चात्यन्तविस्तृताः
 मनीषाभिरभिप्रायांस्तेषां ज्ञात्वा तिरोहितान्
 सारमुद्धृत्य संयोज्य विरुद्धानि यथोचितम्
 मार्गदेशीप्रसिद्धानि लक्ष्यान्यनुपमृष्ट च
 ग्रन्थेनाल्पेन सर्वेषामेतेषामर्थसंग्रहम्
 कुरुष्वमैकमत्येन निश्चितार्था विपश्चितः
 एवमाज्ञापितैः प्राज्ञैः सुलुतासाहिरुत्तमम्
 अचीकरदमुं नाम्ना श्रीसंगीतशिरोमणिम्
 इभराहिमसम्राजि शकराज्यं प्रशासति
 वर्षे चतुरदशशते पञ्चाशीत्यधिके गते
 वैक्रमानन्दे खबाणाभिषिषिषंख्ये च शाकके ॥

Fortunately, in the case of works on music the authors are either kings or their chief officers and this fact enables us to easily determine their chronology. But very few works give the list of books consulted by their authors. Sārangadēva in *Sāngitaratnākīra* (1230 A.D.) Hammīra, the king of Śākambarī in Rājaputana in his *Śringārāhāra*, (1300 A.D.) Allarāja in *Rasaratnadīpikā* (1330 A.D.), Jagaddhara in *Sāngitasarvasva* (1450 A.D.), king Raghunātha of Tanjore (1620 A.D.) in *Sāngitasudha*, Ranganātha in *Sāngitadīghābdhi* (1700 A.D.) and an anonymous author in an anonymous work of a recent date, have favoured us with the names of their authorities.⁵ Of course every work mentions

5 Hammīra:—

जैसिंहनृपतिश्च रुद्रदो भोजविक्रममहीभुजौ तथा ।
 जगदेकमहीपालः केशिदेवोऽथ सिंहणः
 गणपत्यवनीशश्च जयसिंहादयो नृपाः

(Continued on next page)

some earlier names or sites older passages, such citations profuse in every branch of literature conduct for us a gallery of chronology where if one step is fixed rightly the others are determined in relation to it. Thus the Sultan Sāhi and others supply us the milestones of the chronology in musical literature.

Sāngitasūtramanī probably consists of five or six *prakāśas* or sections on *gīta* and *rāga*, *tāla*, *prabandha*, *prakīrṇa* (characteristics of songsters and flourishes in songs), *vādya* and *nṛtya*; but out of which

(Footnote continued from previous page)

Allarāja:—

पूर्वाचार्यैर्विरचितं नाट्यार्णवमथापि च
 नाट्यलोचनमानन्दवर्धनं भरतोदयम्
 भावप्रकाशनं चैव तथाशृङ्गारसागरम् (हारकम्?)

Jagaddhara—

नाट्यदर्पणसंगीतवल्ली संगीतशस्त्रं
 नाट्यलोचनसंगीतकल्पवृक्षौ निरूपयन्
 दशरूपं रत्नकोशं भरतोक्तादिकं तथा
 संगीतसर्वस्वमिदं तनोति श्रीजगद्गुरः

Raghunātha mentions— *Nandavira-samhita*; *Yashika-samhita*; *Bharatiyam*; *Brihaddesi*; *Sāngitachandrika*; *Hanumatsamhita*; *Vidyāranya's Sāngitasara* and *Sāngitaratnakara*.

Rāṅganātha —

रत्नाकरं दर्पणं च भरतं नन्दिकेश्वरम्
 कोहलं वीरभद्राख्यं शिवरत्नाकरं परम्
 तथा चन्द्रकलां चापि विलोक्य विबुधेष्टमं (!)

Anonymous author— Page 55 No. 4798 of Oriental Mss., Library; Mysore.

आदिनन्दि उमाप्रोक्तं मोहनं नाट्यदर्पणम्
 संगीतकल्पवृक्षं च संगीतमणिदर्पणम्
 कुण्डलीदर्पणं चैव कुण्डलीमणिभूषणम्
 मुक्तावलीं नारदीयं तथा मातङ्गसंहिताम्
 तालकलाविलासं च रत्नाकरसमाह्वयम् ।
 चतुरसभाविलासं बृहस्पतिमतं परम्
 शम्भुराजीयकं चैव तथाभिनयदर्पणं ।
 मतं च जैनसंप्रोक्तमाञ्जनेयमतं तथा
 षष्ठितन्त्रं नाट्यशास्त्रं महर्षिमतसम्मतं

the portions of the first and the fourth section alone are now available. An examination of the first section shows that the composers aimed at brevity and precision in both matter and expression; wherever more schools than one existed on any particular topic and those followed by the minority are also treated in addition to the general opinion. For instance after the treatment of three *grāmas*, *shādja*, *madhyama* and *gāndhāra* as defined by the schools of Bharata the council proceeds to give the definitions of those maintained by Nārada, Hanumān, and the author of *Vādimattagajāñkusa*, which are *nandyāvarta*, *jīmāta* and *subhadra*.⁵

Vādimattagajāñkusa deals at length with *nandyāvarta*, *jīmāta* and *subhadra* *grāmas* which have nothing in common with the three *grāmas* of the Bharata school.

नन्द्यावर्तोऽथ जीमूतो सुभद्रस्तु तृतीयकः

तेषां तु लक्षणं स्पष्टं कथयिष्ये पृथक् पृथक्

षड्जः ऋषभगान्धारास्वराणां जन्महेतवः

नन्द्यावर्तो भवेत् षड्जो जीमूतो ऋषभात्तथा

गान्धाराश्च सुभद्राख्यो विज्ञातव्याख्यः क्रमात् ।

In *Saṅgītasāra*, which is in the form of a dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī, it is given as:

त्रयो ग्रामास्तारमन्द्रौ घोरः स तु तृतीयकः

नन्द्यावर्तादयो ग्रामा यैरुक्तास्तन्मते यथा ।

adding the *murchanās* peculiar to these *grāmas* which agree with those enumerated by Nārada. But the learned council condemns this school thus:

ग्रामाणामीदृशं लक्ष्म प्रायो न बहुसम्मतम्,

रागलक्ष्मण्यसंस्पर्शाच्च चास्माकमिहादरः ।

Grāmas of this school are useful more for the regulation of *tānas* used in sacrifices than for the pleasure with which *rāgas* can entertain the public mind. Later on when the form of *vinā* interpreted by *śruti* values was altered by the permanent fixture of frets the old *grāma*-system became obsolete.

5 Bharata mentions only the *shādja* and *madhyama* *grāmas* and abandons the *gāndhāra* as it is not useful to the *dhruvāgāna* in a drama. The *grāmas* are distinguished by the perfection of concordant or *samvādi* svaras either natural or strained. *Shādja* *grāma* has natural *samvāditva* for three *svaras*, while a little strain on the *panchama* and *dhaivata* produces the *madhyama* *grāma* but the *gāndhāra* *grāma* has the least concordance unless the *svaras* are greatly shifted in *śruti* values. Thus Nānyadēva and Abhinavagupta say that it presents too low or too high a pitch. ("atitāramandratvāt")

Among the works enumerated herein, Bharata's *Sāstra* leads the others, as the oldest. It is said that its extent is 1,25,000 *granthas*. *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata as available consists of 6000 *granthas*, while another work called *Dvādasa-sahasrī* is apparently lost. A number of verses quoted under Bharata by Sāgaranaedīn, Jagaddhara, Śrīnidhi etc., are not found in the available work.⁶ Śāradātanaya and Tamil writers refer to *Panchabhāratiya* (five works in the name of Bharata and his pupils) and the following conjecture may induce research scholars to work out the problem in a more satisfactory manner:—

Bharata:	6,000		
Vṛiddha Bharata:	12,000	(<i>Dvādasa-sahasrī</i>)	
Kōhala:	(8,000?)		
Mataṅga:	6,000	(including portions on <i>vādya</i> and <i>nṛtya</i>)	
Dattila:	2,000	do.	do.
Aśmakutṭa:	2,000		
Nakhakutṭa:	2,000		
Gāndharva-vēda:	20,000		
Māṭṛgupta:	6,000		
Nandi:	4,000		
Śiva and Pārvatī:	4,000		

Even such liberal and imaginary estimation does not take us beyond 72,000 *granthas*. Unless commentaries are included in Bharata's works the total of 1,25,000 cannot be made up.⁷ Abhinavagupta alone gives us 40,000 *granthas* and Udbhata 8,000 (?), Lollaṭa 15,000 (?) and Śaṅkuka 6000 (?). Kīrtidhara and Dhananājaya have written independent works, and not commentaries on Bharata.

6. अत्रार्थे मुनेर्भरतस्य वचनं यथा—

विभावनावक्र वचः प्रभुत्वेष्वग्रे मनाङ्मुग्धमथ द्वयोश्च ।

समुद्भवेषु त्रिषु मानमासां स्त्रीणां मुनिश्चाति समृद्धमाह ॥

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नृत्यभूतिर्भवेद्भक्तो नेपथ्यं वर्णिका क्षितिः

काव्यस्याल्पतया यत्र पात्रं नैव प्रहृश्यते ।

जगद्भर in मुद्राराक्षसव्याख्या ।

देवतादर्शनान्तं हि कर्तव्यं नाटकं बुधैः ।

राजर्षिदर्शनान्तं वा ते हि देवैः समा मताः ॥

श्रीनिधि in his com. on *Anargharāghava*.

7. Even Jyōtirmalla, Maharāja of Nēpal (1600 A.D.?) says:

लक्षपद्यामिति नाटकसूत्रं । यत्कृतं भरतेन तु तच्छ्रुतम् ।

तत्तु पूर्णमिह नैव दृश्यते । वर्तते किमथवा न वा तु यत् ॥

Bharata's work is said to have been obtained from the South.⁸

A brief notice may be taken of the other works. It is yet to be determined whether the convention intended any chronological sequence in the enumeration of the books kept at their disposal.

Sāṅgītasāgara and *Rāgārṇava*:—Nothing is known of these two works. A large fragment of Aśokamalla's book on *nṛtya* is available which bears no name in the manuscript, which has neither beginning nor end; it may be a section of *Sāṅgītasāgara* or *Sāṅgītārṇava*. Whether *Rāgārṇava*, *Tālārṇava*, *Gitārṇava*, *Deśanṛittārṇava* are independent works or sections of *Bharātārṇava* or *Sāṅgītārṇava* can be ascertained only by further discoveries of some of these works. In some places the names of works are used as synonyms and in others as *radhi*.⁹ In others they have to be treated as different works e. g. *Sāṅgītārṇava* and *Sāṅgītaratnākara*, *Nāṭyārṇava* and *Nāṭyaratnākara* are separate books.

Sāṅgītaḍḍipikā—was composed by Mādhavabhaṭṭa, a resident of Benares. It is a small work of 1000 *granthas*. Its author enumerates the three *grāmas* as *nandiyāvarta* &c., and his division of the *rāgas* are based on *rāgi-rāginī* system. King Raghunātha mentions this work in his *Sāṅgīta-sudhā*. A copy of this work is found in the Tanjore Library. It was probably composed about 1200 A.D.

Sāṅgītachūḍāmaṇi the work of Jagadēkamalla, a Western Chālukya king (1135-1143 A.D.) has at least five sections. He is full, clear and precise in thought and expression. Like his father, famous Sōmeśvara, the author of *Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi* and *Vikramān-kābhyaḍaya*, he spent his whole life among scholars of repute, as mentioned with honour by a poet:—

“विद्वन्मिन्तरगोष्ठी जगदेकमल्ल”¹⁰

⁸ Bhartrihari states a similar instance of Patanjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, when it was lost in the north, was obtained only at Sriparvata on the banks of the Krishna. Jagajyōtirmalla, the king of Nepal, procured with great difficulty a copy of *Sāṅgītachandra* (i.e. *Sāṅgītachandrodaya*) from South India. Copies of Abhinavagupta's commentary are now procured only from Malabar, on which alone the printed edition is based.

⁹ “*Dēśyanṛitya-samudr-ākhyā*” (Kallinātha's quotation), “*Dēśyanṛittajaladheḥ*” (Vēmaḥhūpāla), “*Dēśyanṛitta-payorāṣe*” (Jāyana)—are the synonyms of the same work when they referred to *pāda-pāṭha* (foot-poses).

¹⁰ *Tāldādhyāya* (Section II) ends:—

यन्मात्रा महती कलामु कुशले यो यो गुणी मानिनाम्

चित्रं यस्य चरित्रमूर्जिततरं योऽक्षिनो नायकः ।

देशीतालनिबन्धलक्षणमिदं चैकेन पञ्चाशतं

स श्रीमान् जगदेकमल्लनृपतिः चालुक्यचूडामणी ॥

(Continued on next page)

Vādimattagajāṅkuṣa—is a small work of about 400 *granthas* of anonymous production but its authorship is ascribed to Bharata as the work begins—

प्रणम्य भरतो भक्त्या सर्वं शिवदं शिवम् ।

गीतस्य लक्षणं प्राह वादिमत्तगजाङ्कुशम् ।

It follows closely the school of Nārada in music. The contents of the work after the introduction are given as follows:—

सप्तस्वराख्यो ग्रामा मूर्छनाश्चैकविंशतिः

ताना ऐकोनपञ्चाशत् तिस्त्रो मात्रा लयाख्यः ।

स्थानत्रयं यतीनां च षट् हास्यानि रसा नव

वर्णाः षड्विंशदित्युक्ता भाषाः स्युः सप्त षड्गणाः

पञ्चाशीत्याधिकं ह्येतद्गीताङ्गानां शतं स्मृतम् ।

स्वयमेव पुरा प्रोक्तं ब्रह्मणान्यक्तजन्मना

The whole work is available in Nepal and Poona. For forty-two *bhāshās* (vernaculars) the author gives examples separately.

Sāṅgītaratnākara is a work of Śārṅgadēva (1230 A.D.) which is available in print with the commentary of Kallinātha. Kallinātha seems to have written his work about 1420 A.D., and was probably one among the Sultan's proteges.

Sāṅgīadarpaṇa. A work of this name is available everywhere but it is the production of Dāmodara of about 1600 A.D. For his son Ananta was the tutor of Veda the author of *Sāṅgītamakaranda*, who wrote it under the patronage of Śahājī father of Śivājī. Hence the work referred to in the Sultan's collection must be an earlier production. A work called *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* is available to us but whether it forms the *Nāṭya* section of *Sāṅgīadarpaṇa* is yet to be known.

(Footnote continued from previous page)

Nṛityādhyāya (Section V) closes thus:—

दृष्टिर्दुर्गतिहोरिणी प्रणयिनां नम्रं शिरः श्रीपतौ

पाणिर्यस्य रणे विनम्रशिरसां रक्षाकृते क्षमामुजाम् ।

दर्पाध्मातनरेन्द्रमस्तकतले पादश्च येनार्पितः

प्राज्ञोऽसौ सुकृतिः प्रतापनृपतिः सन्नृत्यलक्ष्म व्यधात् ॥

इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्रीमत्प्रतापचक्रवर्तिजगदेकमल्लविरचिते संगीतचूडामणौ नृत्याधिकरणं नाम पञ्चमोऽध्यायः ॥

Sāṅgīlasamayāsāra of Pārśvadeva is only an epitome of this fine work.

Tālārṇava. An early work referred to in *Tālābdhi* and *Tālāratnākara*. There is a Tamil work of the same name which is probably its translation.

Sangīta-kalpavriksha with *Vistarā* or its commentary was written by Rāya Gaṇeśh, son of Vīrasirṇha of Chāḥuvāna family. The commentary was composed to please a great songstress called Mā'ā.

Sangītaratnāvalī—There are two different works of this name written by different authors. Jāyana, the commander of the Elephant forces of Kākatīya Gaṇapati of Warangal (1193—1263 A.D.) composed a work of this name about 1240 A.D. Somarājadeva, the *prathāra* (door-keeper) of Bhīmadēva II of Anahilapatak is another author of the work of the same name. The former work consists of eight chapters and the latter nine sections. Somadeva was the son of Jagaddeva of Chāpotkaṭa family who defeated Amir (of Sind). Sōmarāja was also the master of the Elephant forces. His work consists of 1,000 *granthas* and may be assigned to 1200 A.D.¹¹ Hammīra of Śākambhari mentions him with honour thus: "*prōkta śrī Sōmarājena nāṭyavēdāvirīṇchinā*". Sōmarāja was a commander under both Ajayapāla and Bhīmadēva, between whom Haripāla, the author of *Saṅgītasudhākara* ruled for four years.

Nṛīttaratnāvalī. This was written by Jāyasaṇapati mentioned above. It is divided into *mārga* and *deśī* modes of dances each being treated separately in four chapters. It was composed in the Kali year 4355, Ānanda when Gaṇapati was reigning in Warangal.¹² It is one of

11 Sōmarājadeva closes his work thus:—

आसीद्धम्मीरलक्ष्मीहठहरणहठपौढवल्गत्कृपाणः

संमामोष्वापचापोत्कटकुलनलिनीषण्डचण्डांशुरूपी ।

द्वास्थः श्रीभीमभर्तुर्नृपमकुटमणिः श्रीजगद्देवनामा

तस्य श्रीसोमराजः समजनि तनयः काश्यपीकल्पवृक्षः ॥

प्रत्यर्थिक्षितिपालकालरजनीदोःस्तम्भवद्वाश्रय-

श्रीसंरक्षणसौविदः परकरिस्कन्धच्छिदाकोविदः ।

यः पङ्ककुरुतेस्म राज्यमखिलं चौलुक्यचूडामणेः

श्रीमद्भीमनृपस्य तेन तदिदं द्वाःस्थेन शास्त्रं कृतम् ॥

12. इदानीं भारते वर्षे काले वेवस्वतेऽन्तरे, कलौ यातेषु वर्षेषु भूतबाणाभिसागरैः
मितेष्वाणन्दसंज्ञेऽब्दे जगदानन्ददायिनि, शश्वत्कुवलयोल्लासियशःप्रालेयरोचिषि
... .. तौर्यक्षितयीवज्ञानरहस्तत्त्वविशारदे ॥

मार्गदेशीविभागस्य विवेचनविचक्षणे महाराजाधिराजेऽस्मिन् गणपत्यवनीश्वरे ।
समुद्रमेखलामेनां बाहुना रक्षति क्षमाम् या देशी वर्तते लोके सास्माभिः कथ्यते स्फुटम् ॥

(Continued on next page)

the best works on *nṛīya*, following Abhinavagupta and Kīrtidhara for *mārga* type and Mataṅga for *deśī* system. The author traces the *Chitra Gōṇḍālī* dance to the aesthetic conceptions of Bhūlokamalla-Someśvara.¹³

Saṅgītamudrā. Nothing is known about it and no reference to it is found in any other work.

Saṅgītopanishatsāra is a work by Sudhākalaśa, a great Jain scholar, pupil of Rājaśekhara of *Maladhārīgachcha*. The author composed the *Saṅgītopanishat* in 1380 V. Ś. and its *sāra* in 1406 V. Ś. which corresponds to 1324 and 1350 A.D. He had the title of Vāchanāchārya. He was an ornament of the court of Bhavēśa¹⁴. The work is divided into six chapters. He mentions Durgā, Kōhala, Dattila and Bhōja. It extends over 1,000 *granthas*. Of the other Jain writers on music we may mention Pārśvadeva (of *Digambara* sect) and Maṇḍana who composed *Saṅgītasamayāsāra* and *Saṅgītamaṇḍana* respectively.

Saṅgītasārakalikā was the work of a mathematician Mōksha-dēva who lived about 1300 A.D. The work is divided into 3 sections on *gīta*, *vādya* and *nṛīya* in which the *tāla* portion of the *vādya* section alone is still missing. The rest of the work extending about 4000 *granthas* treats of in a concise form both the *sangīta* and *nāṭya* sciences. The author mentions with reverence Sāraṅgadēva and, therefore, is later than 1230 A.D.

(Footnote continued from previous page)

This Gaṇapati was regarded as a great patron of letters, especially *saṅgīta* and probably as an author too. Hammīra, a king of Śākambhari (Sumbhar?) extols him in his *Śringārahāra* (a fine work in *sangīta* and *nāṭya*).

जैत्रसिंहनृपतिश्च रुद्रदो भोजविक्रममहीभुजौ तथा ॥

जगदेकमहीपालः केशिदेवोऽथ सिङ्गणः ।

गणपत्यवनीशश्च जयसिंहादयो नृपाः ॥

13. Jāyana says.—

कल्याणकटके पूर्वं भूतमातृमहोत्सवे ।

सोमेशः कुतुकी कांचिद् भिल्लवेषमुपेयुषीम् ।

नृत्यन्तीमथ गायन्तीं स्वयं प्रेक्ष्य मनोहराम् ।

प्रीतो निर्मितवान् चित्रगोण्डलीविधमित्ययम् ।

यतो भिल्ली महाराष्ट्रे गोण्डिनीत्यभिधीयते ॥

14. सूडादिबन्धक्रमरीतिविज्ञो रागेषु तालेषु महाप्रगल्भः ।

गीते रसे चापि विशेषविज्ञो भवेशभूपालसभावतंसः ॥ End of *Adhyāya I*.

Sangitavinoda. It is not known who composed the work and what portions of *nritya*, *gita* and *vādyā* are treated in it. All the three copies available give us three different commentaries on a single verse which enumerates the categories in music proper. In two of the commentaries a portion of it on *hastābhinaya* (poses of hand) was lost and it was apparently restored by king Anūpasimha of V. Ś. 1649, as the manuscript was copied then. If only one śloka forms the work it is really a *vinoda* in music and the name of the book is quite appropriate.¹⁵

Ānandasanjīvanī is a work by the king Madanapāla probably of the 14th century. The leaf describing his genealogy, is unfortunately missing in the manuscript. He had the titles of Rāyakathārimalla, Rāyavibhāla and Paṇḍitapārijāta. The work is incomplete and stops in the third chapter. Madana's treatment is new and interesting. Kumbhakarna (1450 A.D.) quotes from this work. Madana may be identified with the author of *Madana pārijāta* and *Madanapāla-nighantu* which was composed in 1375 A.D. Though the kings of that name appear in the families of Gāhadhavalas about 1120 A.D., and the Rāstrakūṭas, about 1190 A.D. as Visvēśvara referring to Madana in his *Karmavipāka* mentions the above titles of him, he must be his patron. (1375 A.D.)

Muktāvalī. This is evidently an abbreviation for *Sangitamuktāvalī*. There are two works of that name, one by Devaṇabhaṭṭa and the other by Devendrabhaṭṭa; copies of the both are available in the Tanjore Palace Library. Devendra quotes from Devaṇa's work which seems to have been written about 1300 A.D., under the patronage of a Karṇāṭa king. If the development of the theories in music and poses in dances is scrutinised, Devaṇa's work appears to come between Śāraṅgadeva (1230 A.D.) and Vēmaḥpāla (1410 A.D.) It is probable that the work referred to is Devendra's which may be tentatively assigned to a date between 1320 and 1380 A.D. His *guru* was Rudra or Rudraṭa honoured by the scholars at the courts of the Āndhra, Karṇāṭa,

15. नादधामपदस्वरा विधिगुणा वर्गा लयास्तानकाः
आलप्यो गमकश्च तालरचना ज्योतिःकलामूर्छनाः ।
सिध्वाद्या गुरुरागरङ्गभरणा देशीकसालङ्काराः
वाद्यं चापि समस्तसूत्रघटनास्थानान्तरं पातुवः ॥

This *śloka* though found in five copies is still erroneous. Here *Vidhi* is of five kinds याक, योक, रेख, टेक, परिहासक. *Jyōtīh* is of two kinds साञ्जना, निरञ्जना *Kalāh* are 72. *Guru*, 3 kinds दीक्षागुरु, परीक्षागुरु, शिष्यगुरु.

Mahārāshṭra, Gauḍa, Gūrjara and Gwalior.¹⁶ In the evolution of *Parvaranga* of Bharata (Chapter V.) which was restricted to the exhibition of a drama great modifications have been made as time went by and the latest was introduced in the daily performance of dance in the form of *Pushpāñjali*. About 1400 A.D., quite a modern system of combination of dance, instrument, and vocal music came into vogue and the oldest description of it available is found in Devendra's work, then in the *Sangitadarpaṇa* of Dāmodara and afterwards in *Sangitamakaranda* of Veda. Devendra was a profound scholar in grammar, logic, and *mīmāṃsā* and frequently quotes from the opinions of scholars of the Āndhra and Karṇāṭa countries.¹⁷

Bālabodhana—This appears to be a commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭya śāstra* and seems to have been composed about 1350 A.D., and the work is not mentioned elsewhere. On the *Nāṭya śāstra* of Bharata, (i.e., the *Shatśahasrī*), Udbhaṭa, Lollaṭa, Śāṅkuka, Ghaṭaka, Kīrtidhara, Abhinavagupta, Jagadekamalla, Śrīrangarāja have commented. Abhinavagupta's is the best among them. Śrīrangarāja is referred to as *Bhāṣhyavyākhyāta* by Achyutarāja of Vijayanagar (1530—1544 A.D.) in his work on the *tāla* section.¹⁸ Kumbhakarna (1450 A.D.) studied completely four of the above commentaries, and Jāyana (1240 A.D.) was well acquainted with Lollaṭa, Kīrtidhara, and Abhinava. *Bālabodhana* is not available to us.

Sangita-Sīromani is found quoted by Gajapati Nārāyaṇa (probably of 1700 A.D.) in his *Sangitanārayaṇa*. The manuscripts of *Sangita-*

16. यो गोपाचल गौडगूर्जरमहाराष्ट्रान्ध्र कर्णाटक
क्षोणीपाल समागत बुधश्रेणीभिरभ्य समार्हितः ।
श्रीरुद्रस्य गुरोर्गिरां पतिरपि प्रस्तौति यच्चतुरीं
तस्या हर्निशमाश्रये पद्युगं विद्यवतां प्रीतये ॥
17. कर्णाट द्रमिडैरेष क्रमे नैव विवक्षितः ।
(a) अन्ध्रा गोपाचलीयास्तु प्रोक्तरीत्या क्रमं विदुः ॥ Gōpāchala is Gwalior.
(b) ध्वादनृत्तं पृथक्त्वेन नेष्यते क्रमगुम्भितम्
कर्णाटद्रमिडान्ध्राणां नटानां क्रम कर्मणाम्
नन्दीश्वरमतात्तत्तु ध्वादनृत्त मुदाहृतम् ॥
18. In the Commentary on his own *Tālābdhi*, on the *śloka*
आद्यन्तयोरनियमो विषमश्च प्रकीर्तितः ।
मात्राधिक्यं च तस्यैव केचित्कापि प्रचक्षते ॥

Achyutarāja say: केचिदिति रङ्गराजप्रभृतयो भरतभाष्यव्याख्यातारः (विषम पद्यम्यन्तयोरनियमो भट्टलोकटशब्दप्रभृतितानां मतस्य भिन्नत्वे नाहः)

siromani are found in the libraries of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, and of the H. H. the Maharajah of Bikanir. Both of them are incomplete. The Society's copy extends over the *gita* section alone. The first leaf of this manuscript gives the beginning of a different work on *tāla* and has no connection with the text of *Sangitāsiromani*. One of the colophons reads—

इति श्रीमलिक शरक सुलतान साहेरादेशेन

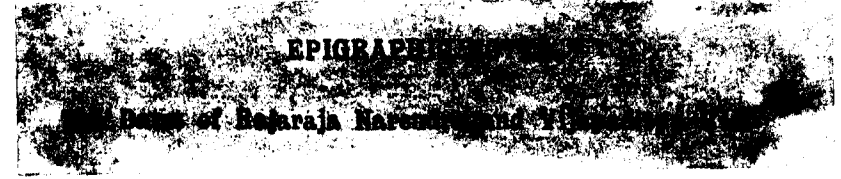
नानादेशीयपण्डितमण्डलीविरचिते संगीतशिरोमणौ तानप्रकाशः ॥

The copy of the Library of H. H. The Maharaja of Bikanir extends over sections of *prabandha* (musical composition) and *prakirna* miscellaneous. Someśvara and his son Jagadekamalla are mentioned frequently as they are the great authorities on *prabandha* compositions. If the whole work is available it would surely form a noble addition to the Library of Music.

In preparing the foregoing note on *Sangitāsiromani* I am deeply indebted to the kindness of the authorities of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal for sanctioning the loan of their manuscript through the Curator of the Bhandarkar's Oriental Research Institute, Poona. I am very deeply indebted to the Bikanir Durbar for giving me copies of very rare works on Music available in the State Library. Particularly my thanks are due to the Prime Minister and the Director of Education of the State.

Errata

In footnote 10, please make the following corrections. At the end of line 1, read: मानिनां for मानिनाम्; in line 2, read योदक्षिणो for योदक्षिणो and in line 4, read चूडामणिः for चूडामणी.



B. V. KRISHNARAO, M.A., B.L.

In my Revised Chronology of the Eastern Chālukyas,¹ I stated that the reign of Rājārāja or Rājārājanarēndra began in Dundhubi, Ś. S. 944 and ended in Plava, Ś. S. 983² and, that the intervening Śaka years were counted as 41 years. That is to say, I stated that Rājārāja's reign lasted from 1022 to 1061 A.D. This view has been seriously contested in certain quarters and, therefore, it is the purpose of this short paper to show that there are four recorded dates in the inscriptions of the Vishṇuvardhan-Vijayāditya VIII³, (not VII as Dr. Fleet and other scholars who still follow him call) which go to establish beyond doubt that my supposition is quite reasonable and correct. Rājārājanarēndra's reign began in Bhādrapada of Ś. S. 944 expired and ended sometime in the earlier half of Kārtika, Ś. S. 983, the corresponding dates in Christian era being August 1022 and October 1061. The recorded dates in question are as follows:—

I. S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 1012: Daksharāma, East Godavari Dist.

Ll. 1—4: Śā(Śa)kavarshāmbulu 990 Svasti Sarvalōkāśraya śrī Vishṇuvardhana Mahārājula pravarddhamāna-vijayarājya saṁvatsarā(lu) 8 dina 11 Viśa(śā)khapaṭṭana(na)muna Kamma-kōmaṭi Mēḍiyasseṭṭi koḍuku Pāpaya Tulā-māsamuna Kṛṣṇa-pakṣhamuna trayōdaśi.....“Hail! On the 13th *tithi* in the dark fortnight of the Tula month, which is the 11th day of the 8th year of the augmenting victorious reign of the glorious king Vishṇuvardhana-mahārāja surnamed *Sarvalōkāśraya*, Papayya, son of Mediya-seṭṭi, a vaiśya of the Kamma i.e., Andhra country⁴ and resident of Viśākhapaṭṭana etc.” The details of the date correspond to 26th October 1068 A.D. It must now be obvious that as the 8th year fell in Ś. S. 990, the 1st year began in Ś. S. 983 according to the theory advanced by me, namely that when one king's reign ended and his

1 JAHRS. Vol. IX, Part IV, pp. 1—32.

2 Ibid, See chart facing p. 32.

3 When Dr. Fleet wrote (I. A. XX, pp. 274—276) the reign of Vijayāditya-Bādapa was not known. Therefore he called Vijayāditya, younger brother of Rājārājanarendra, Vijayāditya VII. Now that Bādapa also appears to be a Vijayāditya, he is to be designated as Vijayāditya VII and Vijayāditya, son of Vimalāditya is to be styled as Vijayāditya VIII.

4 In Kalinga and Orissa, the name Kamma refers to the Andhra country in contradistinction to Kaṭaka which indicates Kalinga or Odra. For instance, the Andhra brāhmanas are referred to as Kamma brāhmanas by the Oriyas.

successor's reign began in one and the same Śaka year, the year was counted twice over, firstly, as the last year of the deceased monarch and secondly as the initial year of his successor. According to this view Ś. S. 983 becomes the last (4th) year of Rājārājanarēndra and the first year of his successor Vijayāditya VIII. Moreover, the date of the above-mentioned record fixes precisely the date of Vijayāditya's accession. If the 13th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Tula month in Ś. S. 990 was the 11th day of the 8th year, it follows then quite logically that the 13th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Tula month in Ś. S. 983 was the 11th day of the first year of Vijayāditya VIII. And that means Vijayāditya's reign began actually on the 3rd *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Tula month. This date corresponds in Christian era to 2nd November 1061 A.D. This date agrees substantially with the date (October 1061 A.D.) already proposed by me for the commencement of Vijayāditya's reign (*Ibid*).

II. S.I.I. Vol. IV, No. 1018 : Dakshārāma.

Ll. 13-4: Śākābdē rasa-nāga-rāmdhra gaṇitē kanyārṇ gatē bhāskarē.....Śakav(rsharṇbulu*) 996 | Svasti Sarvalōkāśraya śrī Vishṇu-
vardhana mahārājulu pravarddhamāna vijayarājya saṁ 3 pḍagu nēṇṭi
Kanyāsamkrānti nimittamuna....."On the occasion of the Kanyā-Samkrānti
(Sun's entry into the zodiacal sign Virgo) in Ś. S. 986, in the 3rd year
of the glorious great king Vishṇuvardhana surnamed *Sarvalōkāśraya*....."
If the Ś. S. 983 could not be the first year, Ś. S. 986 ought to be the
4th year. But this apparent discrepancy can easily be explained. The
Ryāli plates of Vijayāditya VIII state that Śaktivarman II reigned for
one year after having been placed on the throne by his father out of
paternal love, and then passed away.

Grihitvā sva-sutē snēhāt rājyam śrī Śaktivormani |

nyastam tasmin dharām=ekam samrakshayā=blam divam gate ||

If we deduct this one year from the period under review, we find that Ś. S. 986 becomes the 3rd year. Again it appears from another verse of the same record that after the death of his only son, Vijayāditya VIII, or Vijayadēva as he called himself also, ascended the throne once more,—rather resumed the kingship which he had apparently laid down in preference to his son,—out of regard for *dharma*, like Pārtha after the death of Abhimanyu.

Aprāptānubhāve suto vidhivaśāt prāpt=Abhimanuvā=ivaś |

svarggam tyakta ruchis-sukhoṣhu Vijayādityādhipaḥ Pārthivat ||

This verse clearly denotes that towards the closing years of his reign, Vijayāditya VIII had ceased to reckon his son's period of 1 year on the throne as being different from that of his own. He reckoned accordingly his own regnal period from Ś. S. 983. This is clearly borne out by the following record.

III. Rajahmundry Stone Inscription, *Ep.Col.* No. 400 of 1933-34. Published by me in the *Bharati* 1933, Part 1, p. 468, in Telugu.

Ll. 1 & 4 Śākābdē yuga-nanda-ramdhra gaṇitē Chaitraṇ gatē bhāskarē

* * * *

Svasti Sarvalōkāśraya śrī Vishṇuvardhana-mahārājula pravarddhamāna vijayarājya saṁvatsa(ra*) 12 śrāhi Vishuva-samkrānti-nimittam-buna....."In Ś. S. 994 (ramdhra=9, nanda=9 and yuga=4) when the sun has entered the asterism Chaitra, on the auspicious occasion of the Vishuva samkrānti, in the 12th year of the glorious great king Vishṇuvardhana surnamed Sarvalōkāśraya....." The corresponding date in Christian era for this is 21st September 1072 A. D. Reckoning from Ś. S. 983 as the 1st year we get the 12th year in Ś. S. 994.

The Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, thinks that Vishṇuvardhana mentioned in these records could not be taken to be Vijayāditya VIII. (*J.R.S.I.E.*, 1933, p. 56). He says, that, "normally 'Vijayāditya' would not be designated as a 'Vishṇuvardhana', and with this dynasty beginning with Vishṇuvardhana III down to Amma II, that practice was for the monarchs to assume the surnames Vishṇuvardhana and Vijayāditya alternately....." So far his statement is correct. But he has not taken notice of the fact that from Śaktivarman I (991—1011 A. D.) onwards down to Rājārāja II (1146—1173 A.D.) that practice was not followed. Every Eastern Chālukya king during this period called himself only by the surname Vishṇuvardhana without a single exception. There is no wonder, therefore, in Vijayāditya VIII assuming the surname Vishṇuvardhana like his elder step-brother. The learned Epigraphist is, not unaware of the record on Ryāli plates of Vijayāditya VIII (*C. Pa. Nos. 8 and 9 of 1932-33*) wherein the king calls himself 'śrī Vishṇuvardhana Mahārājādhirāja'. So the objection that Vishṇuvardhana mentioned in the above records might not be Vijayāditya VIII is not sound. Again, the learned Epigraphist throws out a suggestion that Vishṇuvardhana might in all probability be Kulōttunga Chōḍadēva I. This suggestion, too, is hardly tenable. In the first place the Chellur plates of Vīra Chōḍa (*S.I.I.*, Vol. I, No 39, p. 49 ff., verses 14—17) clearly speak of Vijayāditya's rule in Vēngi before Kulōttunga Chōḍa assumed the rulership of it. A number of his records found at Dakshārāma and elsewhere plainly show his reign began in Ś. S. 991, i.e. 1069 A.D. (*S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1015, 1021, 1029 and 1282). And this date obviously falls after the reign of his maternal uncle and rival, Vīra Rājēndra Chōḷa. Still another objection to the learned Epigraphist's view is that in all the records of the Āndhra country, Kulōttunga Chōḍa I is referred to not merely as Vishṇuvardhana, but as *saptama-Vishṇuvardhana* or Vishṇuvardhana VII and *Chakravarti Kulōttunga Chōḍadēvara*. (*Ibid*). Above all there is the statement in the Chellur plates that Kulōttunga Chōḍa I assumed suzerainty directly over Vēngi

only after the death of his uncle Vijayāditya, who went to heaven after reigning for fifteen years. It was only then that Kulōttunga sent his second son Rājarāja Mummaḍi Chōḷa to Vēngi as his viceroy. In the face of these facts, the learned Epigraphist's suggestion or doubt loses all its force and fails to carry conviction.

IV. *S. I. I., Vol. IV, No 1012, Dakshārāma.*

Ll. 1, 4 & 6: (Śā)kābdē śara-ramdhra nanda-gaṇitē śrī Bhīma-nāthāya.....Śakavarsha(mulu*) 995 svasti sarvalōkāśraya śrī Vishṇu-wardhana-mahārājula pravardhamāna vijayarājya saṁvatsara(mulu*) 13 gu neṭṭi yuttarāyaṇa nimittamuna..... "Hail. In the Śaka year 995, in the 13th year of the augmenting victorious reign of Vishṇuwardhana mahārāja surnamed *Sarvalōkāśraya*, on the occasion of *uttarāyaṇa-yamkrānti* (winter solistice).....If Ś. S. 995 is reckoned as the initial year, then Ś. S. 995 becomes the 13th year.

From the foregoing it is clear that Rājarājanarēndra's reign, came to an end about the Tula-māsa or Kārttika in Ś. S. 983 corresponding to October 1061 A.D. and Vijayāditya VIII's reign commenced immediately, about same time.

THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REDDI DYNASTY.

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About two years ago when an old tank was being repaired at Kōrukonda, a flourishing village situated about 9 miles to the north of Rajahmundry, the Uppara tank diggers found in a corner of the tank-bed a small masonry structure. When it was destroyed, it is said, they discovered to their astonishment three complete sets of copper-plates and a number of other articles of which no accurate account is available. The Upparas took possession of the finds and taking them to be gold shared the spoils amongst themselves equally, after cutting the rings and destroying the seals. One of them, to whose share fell two large plates and three small ones, approached the village goldsmith, but was disappointed when it was pronounced that the plates were made of copper and that they would not bring any wealth. The news reached the manager of the Korukonda *Devasthānam*, who at once sent for the Uppara man, seized the plates and sent them to his friend Mr. B. V. K. for decipherment and publication. Some days later, three large and three small plates reached Mr. Nalam Krishnarao, President of the Gautami Library, from another source, and were passed on to Mr. R. S. R. through the intervention of a common friend. Quite accidentally both B. V. K. and R. S. R. came to know of each other's possessions. When they put the plates together, they discovered that they contained three different inscriptions, two complete ones and one fragmentary. The third set is incomplete, for one or two plates of that set must have been destroyed under the belief that they were gold. The fragmentary record is none the less poorer for the loss of its plates, for the donative and historically interesting portion which is engraved on the last plate remains with us. We then decided to publish these three inscriptions under our joint names in the pages of this Journal. These three records belong to the Reddi dynasty; and their discovery in one spot throws a suspicion that they probably belonged to one and the same family. The first record belongs to the reign of Kumāragiri (circa 1382—1403 A.D.) and the remaining two including the fragment belong to the period of his brother-in-law, Kātaya-Vēma founder of the kingdom of Rājamahēndranagara. (Rājamahēndri or Rajahmundry).

I. Anaparti Grant of Kumāragiri, dated S. S. 1312.

The record is engraved upon five copper-plates, each measuring roughly 11" by 5", which are numbered. The first three plates are slightly longer than the two outer ones; the plates contain round

holes to their proper left, through which passed a ring containing a seal which is now missing. The edges of the plates are slightly raised into rims so as to protect the writing on them. The plates are in an excellent state of preservation. The writing on the plates is not uniform; it discloses apparently the hand of more than two scribes. The writing on plates i (b), ii (a) ii (b), iii (a) and iii (b) seems to be very careless, and the letters are not well formed or shaped. The writing on the two sides of the fourth plate is neat and the letters are beautiful and shapely. Again the letters on the last plate appear to be in a totally different hand altogether. Moreover, the number of lines on each plate is not uniform. On plate i b, there are 7 lines; on ii a and ii b there are nine lines each; on the iii a there are ten lines, while on iii b there are only 9 lines again. On the remaining plates there are ten lines on each side. Thus the inscription runs in all into 82 lines. The presence of three varieties of writing, of three different scribes apparently, and the un-uniform size of the plates throw a reasonable suspicion on our minds, whether all these five plates contain only one inscription. Against this view, however, there is the fact that there is the continuity of the record; and, therefore, we may safely conclude that this inscription was engraved upon the copper-plates by at least three persons. That perhaps is the reason why the scribe is not mentioned at the end. The letters are not properly incised on the first three plates; nevertheless, the letters are clear. On the remaining plates, the letters are deeply and clearly cut.

The characters used are Telugu of the old type and belong to the period to which the inscription relates. There are, however, certain instances in which the characters differ from the modern letters. The *talakaṭṭu* or the secondary form of *a* looks like a semi-circle, and the *guḍi* or the secondary forms of the vowels *i* and *ī* appear like the upper half of a circle. To denote the secondary form of *ī* the scribe has used a small loop-like curve at the left end of the semi-circle. The secondary form of *e* looks like a sickle, and no distinction is made between *e* and the secondary *ē* and similarly between *o* and *ō*. The use of a perpendicular sign at the bottom to distinguish the aspirated from the unaspirated forms of some consonants is not employed. The reader is therefore obliged to read the letter either as unaspirated or aspirated according to the context. The letter *bha* is distinguished from *bha* which is written without a *talakaṭṭu*. Otherwise the distinction is not to be met with in the other forms of *bh*, for instance in *bhi*, *bho* and *bhou*. Similarly no such distinction is drawn from *d* and *ḍ* and *dh* and *ḍh*; one has to make them out from the sense. The only orthographical peculiarities that are worth mentioning are that when *r* is the initial letter in a compound letter it is written as in Nāgari sometimes as a curved stroke on the right top side of the letter. (L. 47, 51, 52, 62 etc.) *Anusvāra* is used in places throughout where *m*, *n* or *ṇ* is to be used. The language employed in the inscription is Sanskrit and the record is in

verse throughout. It contains different metres; at the end even the boundaries of the village, which are in Telugu are freely mixed up with Sanskrit language and are mentioned in verse.

This inscription is important and interesting for several reasons. This is the only record on copper plates of the reign of Kumāragiri, one of the fortunate sovereigns of the illustrious Reddi dynasty of Koṇḍaviḍu, which has been so far discovered. The charter being a contemporary record, the historical information provided by it has a greater value. This inscription which is luckily dated, fixes the date of the conquest of Kalinga by Kumāragiri. It is also interesting for the reason that it makes a clear reference to the contemporary rulers of the neighbouring kingdoms and the political relations that prevailed between Kumāragiri and his contemporaries. Kumāragiri's contemporary in Vijayanagara was Vira Harihararāya II, at Gulburga (Kalubarige) Sultan Feroz Shah and in Kalinga Vira Nṛsiṃhadēva IV (1378-1414 A.D.)

The inscription opens with invocations of Viṣṇu (verse 1) and of the Moon. (verses 2—3). It then refers to the Mountain Mēru, which is the support of the three worlds, and then to Bhāratavarsha which lies to the north of it. In Bhāratavarsha lies Bharata khaṇḍa, the abode of prosperity, where arose many mighty kings of the Kshatriya race who protected the earth for a long time. In their line was born a mighty king known as Pratāpa Rudra, the moon to the ocean that was the illustrious Kākatīya family.

The inscription then goes on to state that after Pratāpa Rudra, had passed away, the land meaning the empire was enveloped in darkness just as after the setting of the sun. The country became infested with thieves, robbers and lawlessness, and terror prevailed for some time. Then to the delight of the world i. e., the kingdom and the people there was born in the family that sprang up from the feet of Viṣṇu a great king named Vēma(I), whose spotless fame spread far from the Sētū (Ramesvaram) to the Himalayas. He was a great warrior; by the strength of his arms and valour, Vēma conquered a kingdom and acquired the epithet *Vira-Nārāyaṇa*, for he had 'lifted' the earth that was sunk in the ocean that was the Yavana or Muhammadan army like God Nārāyaṇa himself and thus freed the country from the Muhammadan occupation. He built a flight of steps from the bank Pātāla Ganga, i.e., Krishna to the top of the Śrīśaila Hill where resides the Lord Mahēśa, (Śiva.) He performed all the *dānas* (gifts) mentioned by Hēmādri. He had two sons, the glorious Anna-Vōta and the great king Anna-Vēma. Anna Vōta conquered his foes, captured their forts and thereby extended the borders of his kingdom. Anna-Vēma became king thereafter who like his father performed all the choicest gifts (*dānas*) described by Hēmādri and delighted the hearts of the forlorn and the distressed. Anna-Vōta had a son named Kumāragiri, the abode of fortune, who was

well versed in all arts and sciences. By celebrating spring festivals (*vasantōtsava*) in his kingdom, Kumāragiri acquired the epithet *Vasanta rāya*. Kumāragiri's son was Vīra Anna-Vōta (II) who was equal in prowess and valour to his grand-father whose name he bore. Anna-Vōta II shone like Kumaṛa (Kumārasvāmin) in beauty and valour as well. Having seated the young prince on his lap, king Kumāragiri performed the *Tulā-dāna* or *Tulāpurusha-dāna* at Dakshārāma (now misspelt as Drākshārāma). With the object of bestowing upon his son Prince Vīra Anna-Vōta, a large kingdom by occupying new territories, king Kumāragiri summoned his brother-in-law, the great prince Kāṭaya-Vēma, who was his minister and generalissimo, to his presence and spoke to him thus: 'The kings of the northern and southern as well as the western regions have always been eagerly on friendly terms with us of their own accord. Only the kings of the eastern quarter and beyond the Simhādri hill (i. e., Simhachalam in Vizagapatam district), have not been our allies. They are, therefore, to be conquered and their territories annexed to our dominions'. Thus commanded by king Vasantarāya, who was an ornament of majesty, valour and splendour, the great hero Kāṭaya Vēma declared his departure with a large army causing thereby great distress and affliction to the enemies. He left Śailapura (literally 'the city of the hill', i. e., Koṇḍaviḍu and arrived in the city known as Rājamahēndranagara. There, within the walls of the city, stood the celebrated shrine, the abode of the Lord Gōpīātha, the destroyer of the intoxicated *Asuras*, having been established in that spot by the sage Śuka-Brahma. With the desire of obtaining success to his arms in the expedition, the high-minded Kāṭaya-Vēma worshipped Gōpīnātha, the lord of the Universe and then took a vow that if he returned victorious from his eastern expedition he would assign a beautiful village for the worship of the deity.

Then, at an auspicious moment and agreeable time, Kāṭaya-Vēma sounded the kettle-drum and set out with his army against the rulers of the eastern quarter with the object of conquering them and extending the dominions of his sovereign. He conquered the rulers of the kingdoms that lay between the Vindhyaḍri in the north and the Simhādri on the south, and placed his own officers in charge of all the important fortresses and towns in that region. He then levied tribute from the vanquished Gajapati, ruler of Cuttack, the foremost among the kings of the eastern region, who offered numerous rutting elephants, horses, jewels and precious metals and other kinds of valuable ornaments. These and other rich spoils of war, the victorious Kāṭaya-Vēma carried to Koṇḍaviḍu and presented them to his sovereign Kumāragiri.

Being pleased with the heroic exploits of his brother-in-law Kumāragiri rewarded him suitably in various ways. Thereafter Kāṭaya-Vēma returned to Rājamahēndranagara with prince Anna-Vōta II, surnamed Vīra-Nārāyaṇa who was appointed as Viceroy of the newly

conquered kingdom of the east with its capital on the banks of the Godavari.

While staying at Rājamahēndranagri, Kāṭaya-Vēma obtained permission from his sovereign Anna-Vōtā II to make a grant of a beautiful and excellent village as a *dēvabhōga* to the worship of the deity Gōpīnātha. Accordingly, Kāṭaya-Vēmāreḍḍi summoned to the royal presence of his master Anna-Vōta, Śingaya and Vengala of the Vaikhānasa-*kula*, the priests of the deity Gōpīnātha, and treated them with suitable presents. Prince Anna-Vōta then spoke to them as follows: "You are the *archakas* (priests) of the Great Lord Gōpīnātha, who has been the protector of the fortunes of our great kingdom and the cause of our ever increasing prosperity and victories in our recent expeditions against our enemies. For the worship of the God Gōpīnātha, We now give away an excellent great village."

The grant then mentions the date. It was made in the Śaka year 1312 expressed by a chronogram *nētra-chandra jvalana śaśi*, (in the reverse order, *śaśi*=1, *jvalana*=3, *chandra*=1, and *nētra*=2, that is 1312), on the 7th day of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha. The exact equivalent of the date in Christian era would be Friday, 22nd April, 1390 A.D.

The object of the grant is the village of Anuparati on the river Tulyabhāvi, which was renamed as Annavōtavaram after the king. Anuparati is the same as the modern village Anaparti, a railway station in the East Godavari district on the M. S. M. Railway. Tulyabhāvi is the same as Tulyabhāgā, once a holy stream that branched off from the Godavari somewhere down Rājamahēndranagarī and joined the sea called Chollangi, a few miles at a place to the north of Cocanada. It is to-day used as a drain by the irrigation department, and except at the place where it falls into the sea the river had ceased to be a holy stream. The boundaries of the village are recorded with meticulous care and in verse. They are stated as follows: On the east, a village pathway called *Kaḍamula-punta* near the palmyra tope (*Tāti-tomṭa*); on the west, *Yōra-gomgu*, (the meaning of which is not known); on the north, a boulder or a mound called *Umarā baṇḍa*; on the south, a village boundary pathway called *Velagala-punta* (lit. *punta* of the *Feronia elephantum* or Wood-apple trees); on the south-east, a mound called *Nērēḍu-baṇḍa*, (*nērēḍu* is *syzigium jambolaum*); on the south-west, the holy stream Tulyabhāgā; on the north-west, a tank named after Pōka-Māsāya or *Pōka Māsāya-cheruvu*; and on the north-east, a mound called *Kokkera-baṇḍa*. (Kokkera is a species of crane).

The inscription states at the end that prince Anna-Vōta II bore the epithet Vīra Nārāyaṇa. The poetry of the record was composed by Annaya-kavi, son of Pinnayārya and grandson of Manuma-Durga-

*sudhi*¹ The *defacto* donees of the grant were the *archakas* who were said to be well versed in the worship of the deity. There were four of them Singaya, Vallabhārya, Veṅgalārya, and Avvalu or Ayyalārya. A certain Vōbhalārya was appointed as the *sthānādhipati*, and to him the king presented a palanquin, an umbrella, fly-whisks and other insignia of the office. The charter was apparently signed by the king, Kumāragiri, for the last plate contains the royal sign manual in Telugu characters as *Komāragiri-vrālu*.

As has been remarked above, the importance of the present charter lies in the fact that this is the first and only copper-plate-charter of king Kumāragiri (1382—1403 A.D.) that has been so far found. Kumāragiri's reign was indeed a glorious chapter in the history of the Redḍi Dynasty of Āndhracēśa. But somehow scholars have gathered an impression that it was most inglorious. It seems to us that historians in the past had done great injustice to Kumāragiri by wrongly assessing the glory of his reign or his character or greatness. Mr. Ch. Veerabhadra Rao, writes thus:² "He (Kumāragiri) did not evince any interest in the affairs of state. He had more fascination for celebrating the Spring festivals (*Vasantotsava*). He did not possess the great talents of his father, grandfather and uncle. No doubt he was a great scholar but he was fond of the company of scholars, poets, dancers, musicians and courtesans, rather than that of soldiers and statesman." Dr. N. Venkataramanayya also believes that Kumāragiri was an incompetent prince. Accordingly, he writes, "The task of defending the kingdom fell upon his brother-in-law and minister Kāṭaya-Vēma. Though Vēma was a capable general and a brave soldier, he could not resist the advance of Vijayanagara from the south and west. The territory extending from Śrīśailam to Tripurāntakam was lost between 1382 and 1385 and the district of Addanki together with the coastal strip appears to have been lost about the same time. A peace was probably concluded at this stage, for Kāṭaya-Vēma was busy fighting along the Kalinga frontier from 1385 to 1391"³

Mr. Ch. Veerabhadra Rao's assumption, that Kumāragiri was a weak king, advanced without assigning any reasons, has to be rejected. Firstly the chronology of the Redḍi dynasty was not settled as it is even today even though a nearly quarter of a century had elapsed since the publication of his *History of Andhras* (Vol. III, 1916). Again in the estimation of Mr. Veerabhadra Rao the partitioning

¹ Manuma-durga means Durga the grandson. When a child is named after its grandfather, the grandson is referred to with the epithet *manuma*, 'grandson' to distinguish him from the grandparent. Similarly Manuma-Siddhi, the patron of the illustrious poet Tikkana is likewise called.

² *History of the Andhras*, Vol. III, (Telugu) pp. 181—82.

³ *Triveni*, 1938, November, p. 276.

or signing away of the kingdom of Rājamahēndranagara to his brother-in-law and minister Kāṭaya-Vēma was an imprudent act that was fraught with dire consequences which led to the decline and fall of the Redḍi kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu within two decades after the death of Kumāragiri. Mr. Veerabhadra Rao has not told us anywhere in his book when the partition of the kingdom was actually made, whether it was during the early period or during the last illness of Kumāragiri. Mr. Veerabhadra Rao did not discuss at all the political events of the reign of Kumāragiri that led to the giving away the kingdom of Rājamahēndranagara to his brother-in-law; but probably he had at the back of his mind the statement in the Tottaramūḍi plates⁴ that Kāṭaya-Vēma rendered great assistance to Kumāragiri in obtaining possession and ruling the ancestral kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu, even as Krishna did to Yudhishthira. He forgot for the time being that Kumāragiri had lost his only son Anna-Vota presumably in a campaign. Kumāragiri knew that the kingdom of Rājamahēndranagara at any rate the territory beyond Simhādri was conquered by Kāṭaya-Vēma, who, having placed him on the throne remained steadfastly loyal throughout his reign to the throne of Koṇḍaviḍu. If Anna-Vōta or another offspring of Kumāragiri had been alive and ascended the throne, the history of the Redḍi kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu would have been different and Kāṭaya-Vēma would certainly have remained loyal to his sovereign and protected the great kingdom over which Kumāragiri reigned. Kumāragiri, therefore, foresaw as his end was drawing near the difficulties that were sure to arise on his death for the kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu. He must have feared that one of his own kinsmen, either Kōmaṭi-Vēma or another, would seize the throne and that Kāṭaya-Vēma would revolt. Accordingly as an act of wise statesmanship and with the earnest desire to see that his subjects lived in peace and prosperity, he allowed his brother-in-law, Vēma to become independent at Rājamahēndranagara towards the close of his reign. This event must have taken place shortly before the death of Kumāragiri in 1403. Kumāragiri probably hoped that the two Redḍi kingdoms, Rājamahēndranagara and Koṇḍaviḍu, would remain allies and thereby check the progress of Vijayanagara on the south, subdue the haughty Velamas of Rāchakoṇḍa on the west, overawe the Bahmani kingdom on the north-west and keep down the Gajapati and other kings of the east, even as he could do during his own reign. But his good intentions proved false. From the moment of his succession Kōmaṭi-Vēma pursued an unwise policy of aggression and hostility against Kāṭaya-Vēma with the object of reducing the kingdom of Rājamahēndranagara to vassalage. Kāṭaya-Vēma, a great and veteran soldier and statesman of repute proved more than a match to Kōmaṭi-Vēma. The result was protracted wars between Koṇḍaviḍu and Rāja-

⁴ *E. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 311, v. 19.

mahēndranagara; and Kōmaṭi-Vēma's ambition, therefore, was the cause of the fall of the Redḍi dynasty. Instead of keeping peace with Kāṭaya-Vēma by entering into alliance with him, Kōmaṭi-Vēma forced war upon him. In the end he was left without a friend on all sides of his kingdom and his death at the hands of the Velama chief of Rāchakoṇḍa sealed the fate of the kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu. He left to his successor the incompetent and cruel prince Rāchaya-Vēma an impoverished kingdom, an unsuccessful army and inveterate foes everywhere. No wonder, therefore, that the kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu disappeared quickly within four years after the death of Kōmaṭi-Vēma who spent all his reign in wars with Vijayanagara on the one hand, with the Velamas of Rāchakoṇḍa and lastly with his own kinsmen at Rājamahēndravaram on the other, and forming an unholy alliance with the Bahmani Sultan Feroz Shah. So it appears that it was Kōmaṭi-Vēma, despite his great qualities as a reputed soldier and statesman, was the cause of the sudden fall of his kingdom soon after his death. It was not due to the partitioning of the kingdom by Kumāragiri; even without Kumāragiri's act, war would have broken out between Kōmaṭi-Vēma and Kāṭaya-Vēma, for the latter would never have contented to remain as a vassal of Kōmaṭi-Vēma.

Turning to Dr. Venkataramanayya's contention that Kumāragiri was an incompetent prince, we fail to discover even an iota of evidence in support of his views. In the first place it will be apparent even to the casual reader of his paper in the *Trivani* that he was writing with a bias against the Reddis and particularly against Kumāragiri, firstly on account of his partiality for Vijayanagara and secondly on account of the writings of Mr. Veerabhadrarao, Pandit Prabhakara Sastri⁵ and others who had not presented a proper and correct estimate of the character and reign of Kumāragiri. It is well known that Kumāragiri reigned roughly for twenty years and the following verse from Śrīnātha's *Haravilāsam* bears strong testimony to the fact that Kumāragiri's long reign was not merely most prosperous but victorious and glorious from every point of view. The maritime activity of the kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu was at its height.

- నీ॥ పరరాజ్య పరదుర్గ పరవైభవశీలఁ గొనకొని విడనాడు కొండవీడు
పరిపఠరాజన్య బలముల బంధించు । గుఱులైన యుఱుతాడు కొండవీడు
ముగురురాజులకును మోహంబు బుట్టించు । కొమరుమించినవీడు కొండవీడు
చటులవిక్రమకళా సాహసం బొనరించు । కుటిలారులకుజోడు కొండవీడు
- గీ॥ జవన ఘోటక సామంతసరవవీర । భటనటానేకహాటకప్రకటగ్గింధ
సింధురార్థటి మోహనశీలఁ దనరు । కూర్చినమరావతికిజోడు కొండవీడు.

⁵ See *Sringara Srinatham*.

Tradition states that this *chāḍu* verse was composed in the court of Harihara II when Śrīnātha visited Vijayanagara. As Harihara II reigned from about 1377 to 1404, A. D. this verse would appear to refer to Koṇḍaviḍu of the time of Kumāragiri. There seems to be no exaggeration in the statement of Śrīnātha that Koṇḍaviḍu was the envy of three kingdoms, the Vijayanagara, the Bahmani and the Gajapati.

- నీ॥ పంజాబు(?) కహ్నూరపాదపంబులు తెచ్చి । జలనోగి బంగారుమొలక తెచ్చి
సింహళంబున గంధసింధురంబులు తెచ్చి । హరుమంజుబలు తేజ హరులు తెచ్చి
గోవ నంశుద్ధనంకుమద్రవము తెచ్చి । యావగనాణిముత్యాలు తెచ్చి
చోటంగి కస్తూరి కాటంకములు తెచ్చి । చీని చీనాంబరశ్రేణిఁ దెచ్చి
- గీ॥ జగదగోపాలరాయవేశ్యాభుజంగ । పల్లవాదిత్య భూదాన పరశురామ
కొమరిగిరిరాజు దేవేంద్రహర్షహితుఁడు । జాణ జగజ్జెట్టి దేవీయచామసెట్టి.

Kumāragiri's reign, therefore, witnessed continued prosperity. Kumāragiri's claim in this present record that the kings of the south, west and north seek his friendship of their own accord seems to be absolutely true and justifiable. The Bahmani kingdom sought peace with Kondavidu. It was during this period held by three weak and puppet kings, Mahmood and his two sons, Gheias-ood-Deen (April 1397—June 1397) and Shums-ood-Deen (June 1396—November 1397), and later by an ally Sultan Feroz Shah. The reign of Mahmood Shah I (1378—April 1397) was marked by peace and prosperity in the Bahmani kingdom. In the words of Ferishta⁶ "The King, preferring the blessings of peace to engaging in war, allowed his reign to pass in tranquillity, and from his great wisdom the Deccanies gave him the title of Aristotle. During a period of nineteen years, nine months and twenty four days, only one disturbance occurred, which was quelled in a few months." On the death of Mahmood I, his infant son Gheias-ood-Deen was placed on the throne by the nobles of the court but was soon cruelly blinded and imprisoned⁷. Then his younger brother Shums-ood-Deen was anointed king but that unfortunate prince also was soon dethroned and slain. Sultan Feroz Shah then ascended the throne and he continued the friendly relations with Kumāragiri till his death. Neither Ferishta nor Syed Ali (Author of the History called *Burhan-i maisur*)⁸ speak of any wars which Sultan Feroz waged against Koṇḍaviḍu during his long reign (November 1397—September 1422 A.D.) of twenty-five years and seven months.⁹

⁶ Ferishta: *History of the Rise of Mohamedan Power*: Briggs' Translation, Vol. II, p. 350.

⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 353—355.

⁸ *I. A.*, Vol. XXVIII; translated into English by Major King.

⁹ Ferishta: Vol. II, p. 353—396; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVIII,

Let us now turn to examine another claim which Dr. Venkataramanayya makes on behalf of Vijayanagara that between the years 1382 to 1385 A.D., Kumāragiri could not resist the occupation of his southern or south-western provinces lying between Śrīśailam and Tripurāntakam and Addanki. This territory, it will be remembered, was the home province of the Reddi kingdom; and the Reddi kings, however weak they might be, would not allow that to be conquered by the hostile power of Vijayanagara. The claim is apparently made on the strength of two stone pillar inscriptions at Tripurāntakam and a third one at Motupalli which mention the Vijayanagara prince Dēvarāya. One of them is dated in Ś. S. 1307, Krōdhana *samvatsara* corresponding to 1385—86 A.D.¹⁰ It records a gift made to the god for the merit of prince Dēvarāya during the reign of Hari Hara II. Another inscription from the same place is dated in Ś. S. 1308 Kshaya *samvatsara*, corresponding to 1386—87 A.D.¹¹ These two records no doubt show that Vijayanagara authority was recognised at Tripurāntakam between the years 1385—87. The inscription at Motupalli¹² no doubt mentions Dēvarāya as governing the great emporium in Ś. S. 1312; and the date is given as Friday, the 1st *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha, Durmukhi *samvatsara*. It enumerates the taxes to be paid to the king on imports at Motupalli. The inscription, no doubt is a genuine one but the *Saka Samvat* and the cyclic year Durmukhi do not coincide. Ś. S. 1312 could not be Durmukhi *samvatsara*; it would agree with Pramōdūta. The date is therefore clearly wrong. It is therefore obvious that both the *Saka samvat* and the cyclic year are wrongly stated. Till now the Epigraphy Department have not taken an estampage of the record and it is utterly unsafe to rely on an eye copy made by one of Col. Colvin Mackenzie's assistants. The date would appear to be Ś. S. 1310 Vibhava *samvatsara* for the other details of the date agree and yield the equivalent as Friday, 10th January 1388 A.D. If this supposition is correct it would appear that Vijayanagara was in occupation of the southern provinces of the Kingdom of Konḍaviḍu roughly between 1385 and 1388 A.D. for a period of four years. It is not clearly known when Kumāragiri succeeded on the throne after the death of his uncle the great king Ana Vēma Reddi. So far the last known date of king Ana Vēma is Vaisākha, Ś. S. 1303, corresponding to April—May 1381 A.D.¹³ There must have prevailed confusion for some time in the Reddi kingdom during the period following the death of Ana Vēma and the accession of Kumāragiri, which enabled the Vijayanagara viceroys to advance into the Reddi territory and occupy some provinces. The period

¹⁰ Ep. Colln. No. 270 of 1905.

¹¹ Ep. Colln. No. 270 of 1905.

¹² Local Records, Vol. 42, p. 422—23.

¹³ (S. I. I. Vol. IV., Nos. 1879—1380).

of such Vijayanagara occupation would therefore synchronise with the period of political confusion in the capital of the Reddis, between 1385—1388. Soon after he had made himself secure on the throne of Konḍaviḍu, King Kumāragiri conquered the Vijayanagara prince Dēvarāya and once more restored the authority of Konḍaviḍu at Motupalli, at Tripurāntakam and in the other southern provinces as far as Śrīśailam and beyond. This success of the expedition was doubtless due to the military genius of the great general and minister Kāṭaya-Vēma, sister's husband of Kumāragiri. It was, therefore, in consequence of this decisive victory gained by the Konḍaviḍu army against prince Dēvarāya that the Vijayanagara emperor Vīra Harihara II concluded peace with Kumāragiri by ceding not only the occupied territory but giving his daughter Hairiharāmbā in marriage to Kāṭaya, son of Kāṭaya Vēma. The marriage itself must have therefore taken place in or about 1388 A.D. Otherwise there is no justification for Kumāragiri's claim in the present inscription that "the kings of the southern, western and northern regions have been on friendly terms with us out of their own free will, and that we should turn our attention to the conquest of the eastern quarter."¹⁴ The war with Vijayanagara being over and a treaty concluded advantageously to the kingdom of Konḍaviḍu, Kumāragiri despatched his minister and commander-in-chief, Kāṭaya-Vēma to conquer the kingdoms of Kalinga. According to the present record the conquest of Kalinga, the subjugation of the Gajapati and the kings of the countries stretching as far as the foot of the Vindhya and the Mahānadī was already an accomplished fact by the beginning of 1390 A.D. The war on the Kalinga frontier therefore has to be placed between 1388—89 and not from 1385 to 1391 as proposed by Dr. Venkataramanayya.¹⁵ Kumāragiri was not, therefore, an incompetent prince. Scholars have showered more praise on Kāṭaya Vēma in their admiration for him, and failed to estimate properly the glory of Kumāragiri's reign and his character and ability as a great and fortunate sovereign.

¹⁴ That Kumāragiri enjoyed peace on all the borders of his kingdom and king Harihara II, Sultan Feroz and Gajapati were his allies is also hinted from the following verse in *Haravilasam*,

చ॥ హరిహరరాయ షేరోజనహ సురధాని గజాధిపాధి భూ

వరులు నిజప్రభావ మభివర్ణన నేయఁ గుమార గిరంజి

శ్వరుని వనంత వైభవము సర్వము నొక్కడ నిర్వహించుమా

తిరుమలనాథ శైలికిని ధీగుణభట్టి నెవ్వరిడగు.

¹⁵ *Triveni*, Nov. 1933, p. 279.

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TEXT.¹*First plate, Second side.*

- 1 शुभमस्तु [1*] अस्मिन्नुद्भूति क्षितिं यवनिकावार्धित्वीप्योध्वनि [1*] प्रो-
 2 द्यन्मंगलद्वयवाद्यनिनदो मौहूर्तिकः पद्मभूः [1*] शेषाशे-
 3 षफणे मणिद्युतिशतैर्निरांजनं चाभवत् [1*] भूधाराधिपस्स-
 4 विष्णुरखिल श्रेयांसि पुष्पातुवः । [१*] बिंदुरिवाखिलागमात्थान् गं-
 5 डस्थल ललित दानजलविंदुः । बिंदुरवापो भूभूवनानं-
 6 दाग्धिबर्द्धन नर्वेदुः । [२*] व्योमारामस्थलरम्यकर शाखामनोहरित-
 7 पुष्पवंतौ² व स्यातां मनोरथफल प्रदौ । [३*] अस्ति त्रिभुवनाधारो मेरुना (नी)-

Second plate, First side

- 8 ममहीधरः नूतन रत्न प्रभाजाल नीराजित दिगंतरः । [४*] भाति तदक्षिणेभागे वर्ष भा-
 9 रतमुत्तमं [1*] तत्रापि भारतं खंड मखंडव(वि)भाकरं(म्) । [५*] तत्र क्षत्रकुलोत्त-
 10 सा राजहंसा स्सहस्रशः अपालयन् धरं धर्मतत्परा दशशुक्तिपराः* । [६*] ततः
 11 क्रमात् विक्रमवान् धरित्रीं प्रतापप्रदक्षितिप दशशास [1*] श्रीकाकतिप्यान्वयवार्धि-
 12 चंद्र स्साम्राज्यलक्ष्मी विजितामरेंद्रः । [७*] बन्धोदये चारुवसुप्रसिद्धौ
 13 तस्मिन् महीन्मयकतिगमभानौ [1*] अस्तंगते कालवशादधासीत्³ दोषक वं-
 14 धुर्य्यवनांधकारः । [८*] सतां हृदयपद्मानि विकासं विजहुः क्षणात् विचरुश्चोराः
 15 खद्याता तस्मिन् ध्वांते निरंतरे । [९*] ततः परं सन्मुनिभिर्निकामं ध्येयेज्जसूतेः प-
 16 दपंकजते । जातान्वये वेमनृपालवर्य्यस्सत्योन्नतः प्रादुरभूदुदारः [१०*] आसीद्वा

Second plate, Second side.

- 17 सेतु शीतक्षितिधरयुगलीमध्यदीप्त प्रतापस्सीमा शैलेंद्र सानुस्थल चर खचरी गी-
 18 तविख्यातकीर्तिः* । राजद्राजन्यवर्य्य स्फुटमुकुटतटि⁴ रत्न नीराजितांग्रि वैम-

* N.B: The plates for this inscription will be published later.

1. From the original plates.

2. Two syllables which constitute the subject are apparently left out here by the scribe.

3. Some syllables again are omitted here by the scribe.

4. Read 'रत्न'

- 19 क्षमामंडलेंद्र स्सकलसुकृतिनाममणीरुप्रसौर्ध्वः । [११*] प्रबनजवनवाजिजात रं-
 20 मत्तसंगे यवनबलमहाब्धौ भूतघांत्रीं⁵ निमग्नां । विपुलविजयधामा-
 21 यस्समुद्युत्य⁶चक्रे निजभुजमणिभूषां वीरनारायणांकः । [१२*]
 22 सोपानानि कृतानियेन कृतिना पातालंगंगातटे श्रीशैलस्य महीश मौलिम-
 23 णिना तान्येवचिन्नं पुनः । [१३*] सोपानानिभवंति⁷ मेरुशिखरारोहाय नाकाप-
 24 गाम्बलाहाय त्रिदशंगनाजन महासौधाधरोहाय च [१४*] हेमाद्रि दानाभ-
 25 रणोन्नतस्य तस्य क्षितीशस्य सुता वभूतां श्रीयन्नवोतक्षिति पात्रवेममही-

Third plate, First side.

- 26 श्वरौ शाश्वतधर्मलोचौ । [१५*] तयोद्वयोरप्रभवो भवांग्रि समर्ष
 27 ना संभृत राज्यवृद्धिः धाटीमुखैरेव विरोधिराजदुर्गणि जमाह चतुर्विधां(नि)⁸ [१६*]
 28 हेमाद्रिनिर्दिष्टमहाविशिष्टदानानि दीनावनकेल्लोलः चकारयस्सर्वदिगंतराल नृ-
 29 पालमौलि स्थितशासनश्रीः [१७*] तदन्नवोतक्षितिपांबुराशौ कुमा-
 30 रगिर्य्याख्यनृपालचंद्रः अखंडविभ्राजितमंडलश्री⁹ श्रीयास-
 31 मं प्रादुरभूत् कलावान् । [१८*] अभ्रं लिहाम्रेवरिराजसौधजा-
 32 लेषु दूर्वासिचयं समंतात् । अंकुर इत्वासनृपः कृपावानरिरजचां-
 33 द्रमसं कुरंगं(म्) [१९*] वसंतविलासु दिशावधूनां कर्पूरखंडैः कृतमंड(न*)श्रीः कु-
 34 मारगिर्य्याख्य वसंतरायः कीर्तिप्रतापाभरणो विभाति । [२०*] पुत्रः प्रादुरभू
 35 तस्य कुमारगिरिभूपतेः । अन्नवोत इति ख्यातः(*) स्वपितामहाविक्रमः । [२१*]

Third plate, Second side.

- 36 सुकुमारतराकार स्स कुमारशिखामणिः । जयावह तु महाशक्तिः कुमा-
 37 रद्वय राजवे । [२२*] तं बालमंकमारोप्य कुमारगिरिभूपतिः⁹ दक्षिणा-
 38 रामे तुलादानमकार्षीदतिकौतुकात् । [२३*] अथ तस्मै कुमाराय यो रा(र)
 39 विभासिने । देशं दिग्विजयाक्रांतं दातुकाम स्स भूपतिः । [२४*] च-
 40 तुर्विधोपायनयप्रवीणं सां राज्यनिर्वाह महाप्र-
 41 भावं । स्वसुः पतिं काटयवेमभूपं रागादवादीदति गौ-
 42 रवेण । [२५*] उदीच्या दक्षिणात्यश्च प्रतीच्यश्च महीधराः आचरं-

5. Read समुद्युत्य

7. Read भवन्ति

6. Read 'धात्री'

8. Read मंडलश्रीः

9. Read⁹ दक्षिणा

- 48 ति सदा मैत्रि मस्माभि रतिकौतुकान् । [२६*] तस्मात्सिंहाद्विपर्यत प्राच्या एव
44 महीश्वराः । जेतव्यास्तन्महीपालानधुना जयलीलया । [२७*] इति प्रा(प्र)तापाभरणे-

Fourth plate, First side.

- 45 न तेन वसंतरायांकमहीश्वरेण आज्ञापितः काटयवेमशैरि रापांसु
46 केलिव्यधितारिवीरः । [१४*] ततश्चैलपुरात्तस्य कुमारगिरिभूपतेः । रम्यं राजमहें-
47 द्राख्यनगरीं प्रत्यपद्यत । [२९*] तन्नगर्यां गरीयस्यां प्राकारांतरभूषणां आ-
48 स्ते श्रीगोपिकाधीशश्चक्रप्रतिष्ठितं [३०*] चक्रं नियुज्य समदासुरभंजनाय बु-
49 द्धिं नियम्य भुवनत्रयरंजनाय । संक्रीडते जगति यस्सुरमौलि-
50 रत्ननीराजितांघ्रिकमलः कमलासहायः । [३१*] इत्थं प्रभवोदयभा-
51 समानं तं गोपिकानाथमशेषसेव्यं महामतिः काटयवेमशैरि जयप्रसी(सि)
52 द्यै(ध्वै) मनसाप्रमणम्य । [३२*] अस्मिन् दिग्विजये तुभ्यंप्राम मत्पूजितं विभोदास्य
53 मीति प्रतिश्रुत्य सत्यशासनवैभवः । [*३३] मौहूर्तिकन्यस्त मनोज्ञलम्पे प्रस्तान-
54 भेरीपटहप्राणादैः । वीरावयन् विश्वदिगंतराणि प्रातिष्ठ(ष्ठ)त प्राञ्जुपतीन् विजेतुं । [३४]

Fourth plate, Second side.

- 55 ततो विंध्याद्रि सिंहाद्विर्वर्ति महीश्वरान् जित्वा तद्देशदुर्गेषु नियुज्य स्वाधिकारिणः । [३५]
56 अध गजपतिमुख्यैरर्पितोदात्त मत्तद्विपहयमणिभूषाढंभरोपायनानि ।
57 कोमरगिरिमहीशस्याग्रभागे निधाय प्रकटविजयधामा काटयाधीशवेमः । [३६*]
58 प्रणम्य तस्मै धरणीश्वराय संभावितस्तेन बहुप्रकारैः । कृतार्त्तै(र्त्थै) जन्मन ममं
59 स्त सम्यगात्मानमा नम्रविरोधिवीरः । [३७*] ततो निजभुजालब्धमहाविजय-
60 हेतवे हिमाचलसमुत्तुंगपतंगपतिरेतवे । राजद्राजमहेंद्राख्य-
61 पुरी नित्यनिवासिने श्रीमद्रोपालदेवाय शाश्वतैश्वर्यदायिने । [३८*] कुमारगिरि-
62 भूभर्तुस्सुतेन रवितेजसा अन्नवोतकुमारेण साम्राज्यरुचिराश्रिया । [३९*] तुल्य
63 भाविनदीतीरे प्राममुद्दामवैभवं । सोयं काटयवेमांकः । प्रादापयदुदा
64 रविः । [४०*] सकुमार स्तत स्तस्य देवस्यार्चनकोविदौ वैधानसकुलश्रेष्ठावाद्यौ शिंगय

Fifth plate, First side.

- 65 वेंगलौ । [४१*] संभाव्यदेवो भवदीय एष पुष्पातिराज्यश्रिय मस्मदीयां । अतो
66 महाप्राममनेकसस्यमस्मौ ददामीति मुदा वृषाणः । [४२*] शाकाब्दे नेत्रचंद-
ज्वलनशशि

- 67 मिते मासे वैशखसंज्ञे सप्तम्यां शुक्लपक्षे कोमरगिरिविभोस्सूनु रिद्धप्रतापः ।
प्राप्तं श्री(श्री)-
68 यन्नवोतप्रभुरनुप७ति प्रोढनामाभिरामं प्रादादाचंद्रतारं निजविजयकृते गो-
69 पिकाधीश्वराय ॥ [४३*] प्राच्यां कडमुलपुंतः पश्चिमतः ताडितोट कडयो७गो
70 गुः । उमरुबंड उदीच्यां वेलंगलपुंतश्च दक्षिणभागे । [४४*] आज्ञेयां दिशि-
71 भाति सर्वविदितो नेरेडुबंडस्ततो । नेर्ळ्यांदिशि पुण्यजीवनवती सा तुल्यभगानदी ।
72 वायव्योपि च सीम्निपोकविदितो मासायचे७७वु दिशीशान्यं कोक्केरबंड इत्यभिम
73 तो प्रामस्यसीमा इमाः ॥ [४५*] राज्ञांमौलिमणेः कुमारगिरिभूपालस्यसूनुः प्रभाभा
74 नु धीनिधिरन्नवोतनृपति श्रीवीरनारायणः । [४६*] दत्तां भूरमणीं भुजे विजयतां

Fifth plate, Second side.

- 75 प्रत्यर्त्तो(र्त्थो) पृथिवीपतीन् धर्म्मान् पालयितात् श्रियं वितनुतादाचंद्रतारकं (म्) ॥
[४६*] सा
76 मान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयोभवद्भिः । सर्वानेवं भाविनः
77 पात्ति(र्त्ति)वेंद्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामचंद्रः । [४७*] श्रीमनुमदुर्गसुधीयपौ-
78 त्रेण सुतेन पित्र्यार्यस्य अन्नयकविनाविरचितं शासनमाभाति गोपिकाभर्तुः । [४८*]
79 शिंगनार्योवल्लभश्च वेंगलार्योदभावः । अय्यलुश्चेति देवस्यसमा-
80 राधनकोविदाः ॥ [४९*] आंदोलिका लसच्छत्रचामरादिबिरुजितः । लब्धस्ता(स्था)
81 नाधिपत्य श्रीयोमलार्यश्च विभूतः । [५०*] एवां सावृत्तयो राजानि निताजन
82 विभूताः ॥ को म र गि रि प्रा लु

2. Komaragirivaram Grant of Kataya-Yema, Dated S S. 1330.

This record is engraved apparently on three copper-plates but there is reason to suspect that the inscription was originally engraved on four plates and that one of them, namely, the third was lost. For the inscription begins rather abruptly from line 46 recording the date of the grant and the name of the donee without any introduction whatsoever regarding the latter. The plates are numbered. And this circumstance renders, however, the above suspicion that one of the plates is missing, baseless. The plates are now partly preserved in the Gautami Library and partly in the Museum of the Society.

The plates measure roughly $9\frac{1}{3}$ " by $4\frac{4}{5}$ " each. The ring which held the plates together is now missing but there are holes to the proper left of the plates through which the ring passed. The plates are in excellent state of preservation and bear writing on both sides. There are eleven lines on each side including the reverse side of last plate; thus there are 66 lines altogether in the inscription. The writing is clear and the letters are deeply cut.

The characters are of the old Telugu type. No remarks other than those that have been made in the introduction of the preceding grant are necessary. Orthographical peculiarities are few. The scribe adopted the modern way of writing the secondary form of *ya* under the initial *ra* throughout wherever the compound letter *rya* had to be written. But this rule is not observed in respect of other compound letters like *rsha* and *rma* etc., where the initial letter *sha* or *ma* is to be written. In the case of these letters, the secondary *ra* which is like a stroke on the right top corner of the letter is written. (See *gharsha* in line 6, *Bhārggava* in l. 19, *nīrmāṇa* in line 8 and *dharmma* in line 45.) *ga* is doubled before the secondary *r* as in *Bhārggava* and so also *ma* occasionally. (See *dharmma* in line 45). Instead of the *anunāsika* of the group, *anusvāra* is freely used. The inscription is composed in Sanskrit throughout except the boundaries of the village which are in Telugu prose.

The formal preamble of the inscription is almost the same as that of the Tottaramūḍi plates of Kāṭaya-Vēma and it is noteworthy that the poet who composed the poetry of this record is the same as the author of the poetry of the Tottaramūḍi plates. There are, however, three verses, verses 13, 14 and 18 which are new and which do not find place in the Tottaramūḍi plates. The inscription opens with invocations of the Boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu (v. 1), of Gaṇēśa (v. 2) and of the Moon on the head of Śiva (v. 3). Then it refers to the God Viṣṇu, from the lotus of whose navel was born the Creator of the Three Worlds, from whose mouth, arms, thighs and feet sprang up the four castes (v. 4). One of the branches of the Fourth caste was *P a ṇ ṭ a - k u l a* (v. 6). In this was born the great king Vēma who bore the surname *Jaganobba-gaṇḍa*, "the hero who conquered the world". He built a flight of steps to the top of Śrīśaila hill from the bank of the Pātālaganga (v. 7). To him was born Ana-Vōta who was equal in might and prowess to Mahāsēna the destroyer of the Asuras. His younger brother was Ana-Vēma who bore the surnames *Vasantarāya*, 'Lord of the Spring' and *Kshurikāshaya*, 'one whose weapon is the dagger' (v. 12). Ana-Vēma appears to have acquired the epithet *Vasantarāya* on account of his celebrating the spring festival year after year in all quarters of his kingdom. The celebration of the Spring Festival which assumed a great celebrity in the reign of Kumāragiri appears to have been innovated by Ana-Vēma as his title *Vasantarāya* indicates. Verses 13 and 14 which are new, state that Ana-Vēma planted victory pillars at Śrīśaila and

A HISTORY
of the
EARLY DYNASTIES OF ANDHRADESA

c. 200—625 A.D.

With a map of ancient Andhra country and Dakshinapatha.

BY

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*Thesis approved for the Degree of
Master of Arts in the Andhra University*

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KHATMANDU, (Nepal)

May 4, 1938

Dr. F. W. THOMAS, C.I.E., M.A., Ph.D.

*Boden Professor of Sanskrit (Retired) Oxford, President
of the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference, Trivandrum.*

writes in the course of a letter to the author
as follows:—

“.....I am duly impressed by the immense
amount of information you have amassed, by your
command of the sources and the literature
bearing upon them including numismatics, and
the definiteness of your conclusions.....
“.....In various points also I am at first sight
impressed by the soundness of your judgments....
“.....The ability and independence of your
work are, indeed, remarkable, and I have little
doubt that you have made an important contri-
bution to the study of the whole subject.”

SPECIMEN PAGE

enemies. There is a gap in the history of the Pallavas of Kanchi, roughly from the time of the fall of Skandavarman IV the Trilōchana Pallava, (c. 485 A.D.) till about the rise of Kumaravishṇu II, who conquered Kāñchīpura back from the Chōlas and raised the sunken prestige of his house. (c. 515 A.D.) The unabated conflict that raged for over quarter of a century previously, between the Pallavas and the Kadambas, had at last come to a close with the crushing defeat of the Pallava power simultaneously both by the Kadambas on the west and the Chōlas on the north. While the Kadambas emerged victoriously from the conflict and checked the aggressive policy of the Pallavas, the Chōlas, too, under Karikāla Chōla the Great invaded the Pallava Empire and shook it to its very foundations. The Chōla onslaught on Kāñchīpura was like a tidal wave that suddenly rose and swept down the Pallava Empire and completely eclipsed its glory. In the wake of that military disaster the Vishṇukunḍin monarch Mādhavarman II, would appear to have conquered again and annexed finally the southern Āndhra sub-provinces of the Pallava Empire to his kingdom. This event may with approximate certainty be placed about 485 A.D.

On the north, the Guptas showed signs of decline about this period. That was just the time when a fresh horde of the nomadic Hūnas descended heavily into the north western frontier provinces of India, advanced into the interior and attacked the Gupta Empire. 3 About 470 A.D. Kumāragupta II was dead and the semblance of the Imperial power passed through some obscure transition into the hands of a line of weak kings who were known to the archaeologists as the Later Guptas of Magadha. Simultaneously a new dynasty called the Mukharis,

33. V. A. Smith: *Early History of India* 4th edn. p. 329.

Sirbhāchala, and this fact indicates that he conquered the regions of the east and west. After Ann-Vēma, Kumāragiri, son of Ana-Vōta ascended the throne. Kumāragiri had a son named Ana-Vōta who is compared to Jayanta, Vasavu, Pradyumna and Viṣṇu in personal beauty. Kumāragiri, it is said, reigned for a long time at Kōṇḍaviḍu, the traditional capital of his house. Verse 18, which is new states that he built several beautiful palaces, ornamented them gold and jewels, and that the most celebrated of them was the lofty palace with a tower known as *Grharōja*. He constructed several public ponds or baths for pleasure (*kriḍa*), sport and jest, and himself (*Vasantarāya*) enjoyed the company of his beloved women in those beautiful ponds and baths. Kumāragiri performed numerous *tulā-purusha* gifts. He had the jewel of a minister in Kāṭaya-Vēma, who equalled Bṛhaspati the preceptor of the Gods and Bhārgava, the counsellor of the *Asuras* in statecraft and Paraśurāma and Pārtha in valour. Kāṭaya-Vēma rendered invaluable assistance to Kumāragiri in obtaining possession of the ancestral throne and kingdom even as Lord Krishṇa did to Yudhisthira (v. 21). King Kumāragiri conferred upon Kāṭaya-Vēma the eastern kingdom at the mouth of which stood Rājamahēndranagara, being pleased with his heroic exploits (v. 21). Then follow three verses which trace the descent of Kāṭaya-Vēma. They state that Kāṭa (I) had a son named Māra whose son was Kāṭa (II) and the son of the latter was Vēma. Kāṭaya-Vēma was also related to king Vēma as his daughter's son. Kāṭaya-Vēma's mother was Doḍḍāmbikā. Incidentally we are told here that Kāṭa II was the son-in-law of king Vēma. It is said that all the kings of the eastern quarter flourished or perished at the pleasure of Kāṭaya Vēma and that Gajapati the foremost among them was his vassal. (v. 26).

The inscription then states the date and the object of the grant. In the Sāka year 1330 (*vyōma-rāma-traya-saśi*: in the reverse order *saśi* = 1, *rāma* = 3, *traya* = 3 and *vyōma* = 0, i.e. 1330), cyclic year *Sarvadhāri*, in an unspecified month and *tithi*, on Friday, at the time of the *Vyātipāta-yoga*, Kāṭaya-Vēma carved out a new village under the name Komaragirivaram, apparently after the name of his beloved sovereign, in the district (*śīma*) of Kōṇḍa and granted it to the brahman Aubhalārya. The year corresponds to 1408-09 A.D. but as no details are given it is not possible to find out the exact equivalent of the date of the grant. But usually *vyātipāta yoga* is believed to be a portent of a calamity to the kingdom and on such occasions kings in the past made religious grants to temples and pious brahmanas so that the threatened calamity might be averted. The donee Aubhalārya belonged to the Vaikhānasa sect of the Vaishnavas. He was the son's son of or (*Āḍuvarya*) and son of Nṛsimhārya and an adept in conducting the daily worship of the god Viṣṇu.

The object of the grant is Komaragirivaram which is said to be in Kōṇḍa district. The village had gone out of existence long ago.

Korukonda is the same as Korukonda a village situated nine miles to the north of Rajahmundry. The village is celebrated for its renowned temple of Lakshmi Nṛsimha (Vishnu) built on the summit of a precipitous hill where an annual festival on a large scale for five days is held in the month of Māgha, commencing from the 11th *tīthi* (*ekādasi*) of the dark fortnight. The festival attracts pilgrims from all parts of the districts lying on both the banks of the Gōdavari. The other localities mentioned in the boundaries are local tanks and mounds and cannot be identified.

The poetry of the inscription was composed by Śrīvallabha of the Kaṇva-gotra, son of Lakshmi and Srivallabharya. The grant bears at the end the invocation 'Let the Glorious Boar-incarnation Protect Us' and the signature of King Vēmu (Vēmu-vralu) i. e. Kāṭaya-Vēma.

TEXT.¹*First plate, First side.*

- 1 Viśvaṁbhar = ōpy-ābhūdāraḥ kēli palvalit = āmbudhiḥ | Viśvaṁ
- 2 bharaḥ bhavatsāpi yēn ōdvāham = avāpyabhūḥ [1*] Bhavatāṁ bhava-
- 3 tāṁ nāgaḥ Śāṁkarīḥ Śāṁkarōnvahāṁ | dānēna surabhi-svasya
- 4 dānēna surabhiśchayaḥ || [2*]
- 5 Śirōratnaṁ Śambhōḥ śasidhara-kīśōraḥ kalayatād-alamkāre
- 6 Gauryā-mukura-
- 7 ti ratē dipati cha yaḥ | bisāṁkūrābhṛāṁtya gaganataṭiṇī
- 8 haṁsa paṭalī
- 9 muhuś-charmchū gharshād-vimala vimalas-tējita iva || [3*] Asti
- 10 Svasti ma-
- 11 dāya madhvara-bhujāṁ āmbhōjanābhaṁ mahastāṁ nābhī-
- 12 kamalād-abbū(t)-tri ja
- 13 gatāṁ nirmāṇa-karma-kshamaḥ | mukhyō viścha(viśva) sṛjāṁ
- 14 chiraṁtanagīrāṁ viśrāma gha-
- 15 mṭāpathas-tasyāsan mukha bāhu sakthi-padatō varṇāḥ
- 16 kramēṇ = ōditāḥ || [4*] Purnasas-tasy pu-
- 17 rātanasya charapāmbhōjāta jātaṁ kulāṁ svalp = āchāra
- 18 vidhānatōpi vimalaṁ śuddha(ddha)
- 19 svabhāvād = idaṁ | āśit kiṁcha Kalau-yugē nṛpatayaḥ prāyēṇa
- 20 yatr-ōditā-

First plate, Second side.

- 21 stējaḥ śaurya-vadānyatā-prabhṛtibhir-yuktā guṇāḥ prābhavan || [5*]
- 22 Tatra P a m ṭ a-kulāṁ-

1 From the original plates.

2 On either end of the first line are the symbols of *Samkha* (conch) and *Chakra* (disc) weapons of God Vishnu, mounted on pedestals which are beautifully engraved.

- 23 nāma prasūtāṁ bahu-sākhini | tarāv = iva phalaṁ ramya-vṛttaṁ
- 24 sarasam-ujvalaṁ³ || [6*] Ta
- 25 tr = āśid V ē m a-b h ū p ā l a ḥ kuē-vibudha-ramjakaḥ |
- 26 payōdhāv-iva saṁtānō-rājaratō-
- 27 dbhavākarē || [7*] Śrīmān V ē m a-mahīpatīsa vidadhī
- 28 P ā t ā | a-G a ṇ g ā t a ṭ ē Ś r i ś a i l ē J a g a n o b b a
- 29 g a ṇ ḍ a-birudas-sōpāna vidhīm⁴ śubhāṁ | yā sau dīvyati
- 30 divya sīma naga-
- 31 r = ārōdhādyatānāṁ nṛṇāṁ nīśrēṇīḥ parikalpitēva nitarām = ā
- 32 Brahma-
- 33 kalpasthirāṁ || [8*] Yasṁ nissīma bhūdāna-khyāti saubhāgya-
- 34 śālinī | dvijair-na ba-
- 35 humanyatē Bali-bhāvana Bhārggavaḥ || [9*] A n a-V ō t a-prabhu-
- 36 tasmād-ajāyata bhujāya-
- 37 taḥ Mahācēnō Mahādēvā divārāti-kulāṁtakaḥ || [10*] Anavōta-
- 38 mahīpatau dharitī-
- 39 m paritō bibhrati Pannagēndra (Pannagēndra) mukhyāḥ | chirm-
- 40 ūchvalatā laghukṛtē svē bharaṇē jīvana-
- 41 m-asya saṁstuvartit || [11*] Tasy = ānujas sujano n = osti
- 42 V a s a n t a r ā y a V i r = Ā m n a V ē m a-n ṛ p a t i-

Second plate, First side.

- 23 ḥ kshurikā-sahāyaḥ | yasmin mahīm-avati sārtham-abbhūch-
- 24 chirāya nāmā
- 25 vanau sumanasāṁ bahuśō vadānyē || [12*] Yasmin kirati
- 26 vasaṁtē diśi diśi kāmōtsa-
- 27 vēshu karpūraṁ | adhivāsita paridhān = ānubhavañō bhu-
- 28 chchirāyo gīris = ōpi || [13*] ya-
- 29 syāstāṁ vijayē samasta viditau Śrīśaila Śirbhāchalau stambhau
- 30 paśchima pūrva-di
- 31 g-vibhajana-vyākhyāna vaijñānikau | [14*] Tveṅgat-śaurya turāṅga
- 32 nishṭhura khura-śīṇī kṛpāni
- 33 hēti spūṛjach-charmdra-karāji-rājita lipis tōmāṁkit = ādityakau || [15*]
- 34 K u m ā r a g i r i-
- 35 bhūpō = bhūd = A n a v o t a-vibhus-sutaḥ | Jayantō Vāsavasy =
- 36 ēva Pradyuna iva Śā-
- 37 rñjīṇaḥ | [16*] Koṇḍaviḍur-iti khyātā-purē sthitvā kulāgatē |
- 38 Kumāragiri-bhūpōyaṁ chirāṁ bhū-
- 39 mim-apālayat || [17*] Līlā gṛhāṁ kanaka-ratna-chayair = anēkān
- 40 prāsādam-unnta śikhara Gṛharā-

3 Read *ujjvalam*

4 Read *vithim*.

5. Read *ujjvalatā*.

- 32 ja-samjñam Kṛidā sarāmsi chā vidhāya Vasamtarāyaḥ
kēli radhānasi sah=āramata priyābhīḥ || [18*]
33 Tulāpurusharatnasya Śrī Kumāragirēḥ kṛtaḥ | Tulāpurusha-
mukhyāni ma-
34 hā-dānāni Yō tonot || [19*] Asid=amātya-ratnam K ā ṭ a y a-
V ē m a prabhus-tasya | ati-sura-

Second plate, Second side.

- 35 guru-Bhārggava matir-ati Bhārggava vijaya vijaya vikhyātḥ || [20*]
Simhāsarē nidhā-
36 yā sau Kumāragiri bhūvaratḥ | atējayan-mahā-tēja(h*) Śrī
Kṛshṇa iva dharmajātḥ || [21*] Ku-
37 māragiri-bhūnādhō(thō) yasmai vikrama-tōshitaḥ | prādāt prāchi-
bhuvart Rājama-
38 hēndranagarī mukhām || [22*] Naptā Kāṭa-mahībhujō guṇa-gaṇ-
ōdārasya Māra-
39 prabhōḥ pautraḥ Kāṭaya-Vēma bhūmi-ramaṇaḥ Śrī Vēma-
prthvīpatēḥ || [23*] Dauhitraḥ
40 punar Anna-Vōta-nṛpatēḥ dhātrīśa-chūdāmaṇir-jāmātā jāyati
kshitiḥ chira-
41 m-avan Doḍḍambikā namdanah || [24*] Kāṭaya-Vēma kaṭākshē
prabhavati sadayē cha nirdayē
42 cha tathā | Gajapati-mukha-nṛpatinām chitraḥ mukt-ātapatrā
bhavati || [25*] Bhūpālān-
43 namayan prajān-niyamayan kāntājanam kāmayan bhūdēvān-
ramayan-
44 ripūn-viramayan mitrāpi viśrāmayan kīrtiḥ svām bhramayan
naghāni śamayan
45 dharmam samāmayan's = ōyam Vēma-mahīpatir-vijayatē Kāṭavanis=
ātmajaḥ || [26*]

Third plate, First side.

- 46 Śrī śākē vyōna-Rāma-traya-śaśi-gaṇitē Sarvadhāryabda Śukrē
Śrī Vēmaḥ Kāṭa-
47 yāmhbhōnidhi-rājanikaraḥ sa vyatīpāta-yōḥ | s-ā-hṭaiśvaryaḥ sa-
bhōgam K o m a g i r i-
48 v a r a m nūtanam Kalpayitvā grāmam Kōṛkoṇḍa-sīmni prakāṣa-
teram-adād=Aubhalārya-dvi-
49 jāya || [27*] Dhīmān s=ōyam Vikhanasa ku'asy=Aḍuvā=
ārya-nāmnah pautraḥ śikh=ādhyā-
50 yana-nirata Śrī Nṛsimhasya-putraḥ | nityam Vishpōr-niyata
vihit=ārādhanaḥ Kā-

- 51 śyapā-namagrē gaṇyaḥ jayatu nitarām⁶ m-Aubhalāry-āgrahārē || [28*]
7⁷ivā-
52 ri polamōra sīnalū || Tūrpuna || Kōṇani-tippa-daggarana-punta ||
Dakshināna | Āvāpo-
53 lam daggiṇa pedda Kaḍanula nuṁḍi Chittī-cheruvukai-pōyi
dakshina-mukhamai jammi-mō-
54 chi atṭa pedda-arōntuvuna nuṁḍi mari-paḍumaṇai pedda-jammi-
mōchi Uttara-mukhamai Mū-
55 laṁgūramma Komaragiri-purapu-tūru-punta mōche || Paḍumaṇu ||
Veduru-poda-toṭi
56 ā punte || Uttarāna Dhattumallu-cheruvu-dakshinapu-gaṭṭu || Palana
sukru=⁸āpahara-

Third plate, Second side.

- 57 na dōsha-prakāśakāḥ purāṇa-śiṅkāḥ | Śatrunāpi kṛtō-dharmah
pālaniyah prayatataḥ | Sa-
58 trur-ēva hi śatru syāi-dharmaś-śatru-na-kasyachit || [29*] Tatāka-
nām sahasrēna ch-āśvamēdha śaiēnachah |
59 gavām kōṭi-pradānēna bhūmi hartā na-śudhyati || [30*] Na
visham visham-ityāhū Brahmasvarḥ visha-
60 muchyatē | Visham-ēkākinaḥ hanti Brahmasvarḥ putra-pautra-
kam || [31*] Datṛvachanam || Kartavyavit-Kāṭa-
61 ya-Vēma-bhūpaḥ kṛtāñjaliḥ prārthayātē nṛpān ēshayān bhavad-
bhīḥ pari pālani-
62 yō dharmō mam-āyam dayayā dhīyādaḥ || [32*] Śrī Rāma-
chandrēṇō-
63 py=ēvamāktam || Sāmānyōyam dharma-setur-nṛpanim kalē kalē
pālaniyō
64 bhavadbhīḥ | sarvān=ēvarḥ bhāvinah partthivēndrān bhūyō
bhūyō yāchatē Rāmacharḥ-
65 draḥ || [35*] Kṛtam Śrī Vallabhēn-nēdam śāsanam sad-
vikāsanam | Kaṇva-gōtrēṇa putrēṇa Lakshmi-
66 Śrī Vallabhāryayōḥ || Śrī Varāhō rakshatu || Vēmu-vrālu

3. Gopavaram grant of Kataya-Yema Dated Saka Samvat 1317.

This record is engraved on three copper-plates which measur⁹
9 inches by 3 ⁴/₅ inches. It runs in all into 63 lines. All the plates
like the previous charter contain writing on both sides; the first two
plates contain eleven lines on each side and the last plate contains

⁶ Read *nitarām Aubhalā*

⁷ Here the Telugu portion commences.

10 lines on the obverse and 9 lines on the reverse side. The seal and the ring which strung these plates together once are now missing. It was believed in the beginning that this record was fragmentary but since the above paper was sent to the press it has been found that this is a complete charter.

This grant contains the same formal preamble as the previous inscription and all the verses except the 12th are common to both of them. Verse 12 contains a description of king Ana Vōta (I) son of Vēma. It states in the usual panegyric style that Ana Vōta was a great king who destroyed his adversaries and caused grief to their wives.

This inscription is certainly more important and interesting to the historian than the preceding one. It mentions that Kāṭaya-Vēma bore the titles *Kaṭaka-charakārah* 'the capturer of Kaṭaka' i.e. Cuttack, in Orissa; *Pāṇḍya-rāja-gaja-simha*, "Lion to the elephant that was the lord of Pāṇḍya," *Jagarakshapālaka*, *Aniyamaṇḍali karagaṇḍa* and *Jagada-Gopāla*. It is not known how and under what circumstances Kāṭaya-Vēma acquired the surname *Pāṇḍya-rāja-gaja-simha*, which denotes that he conquered the ruler of the Pāṇḍya kingdom.

The inscription is dated. In the Śaka year (expressed by numerical expression śva = 7, indu = 1, guṇa = 3 and kshiti = 1) i.e. 1317 cyclic year Yuva on the occasion of Uttarāyaṇa, granted the village of Gōpavaram, situated in the neighbourhood of Rājamahēndranagara, to the god Gōpinātha who was established by Śuka-yōgi, for the enjoyment of the Lord, as long as the sun and moon endure. The village itself was called Taḍukalēṅu and was formerly granted as an *agrahāra* by Mummaḍindra, Lord of Mangipūṇḍi. Kāṭaya-Vēma purchased it for a price and renamed it Gōpavaram on the occasion of his granting it to the god. Gōpavaram and Tāḍēpalli, the localities mentioned in the record cannot be identified to-day. Similarly Mummaḍindra, lord of Mangipūṇḍi cannot be satisfactorily identified now; it is probable that he was the same as Mummaḍināyaka who ruled the province of Rājamahēndranagara that lay on the two banks of the Godavari, for a short period between circa 1350 and 1365 A.D. after the fall of the Kākatīya dynasty of Warangal. Mummaḍi or Mummaḍināyaka ruled his kingdom from his capital at Kōrukoṇḍa.

The date of the charter is important. The details of the date correspond to 27th December, 1395 A.D. By this date, the minister Kāṭaya-Vēma was already confirmed in the rulership of the kingdom of Rājamahēndranagara or the "Eastern Kingdom." Prince Ana Vōta (II) for whom Kumāragiri conquered the eastern kingdom had apparently died by that date, 1395 A.D. and, therefore, Kumāragiri bestowed the sovereignty of that kingdom upon his brother-in-law, Kāṭaya-Vēma.

See for further information about Mummaḍi-nāyaka, Srirangam plates of Mummaḍi Nāyaka (*E. I. Vol. XIV*, p. 83f, *Ep. Colln.* No. 44 of 1912 at Kōrukoṇḍa, *A.R.S.I.E.* 1912, p. 80 81, para 68.)

Text¹

First plate, Second side.

* * *

Verses 1 to 11 (lines 1 to 18) are the same as those in the previous charter.

8 yad-dhātīshv-ari-rāja rājavadanā
niryāṇa pa-
9 ryākulā sphāraṁ śrōṇibharaṁ pṛthustana-yugaṁ padau tadhā
kōmalau | nindanti prasabhaṁ prakā-
10 ma vipulē saṁdanti nēuē puna-svairam dūra palāyi jivita
nija-prāpēśvar-ālōkanāt || [12*] * * *

Verses 13 to 26 (lines 21—41) again are the same as those of the preceding charter.

Second plate, Second side.

2 * * * || [26*] Yaḥ Kaṭakachūrakārah prakhyātaḥ
P ā ṇ ḍ y a - r ā j a g a j a - s i m h a ḥ | Jagara-
3 kshapālakā-Niyamaṇḍali-karagaṇḍa Jagada-Gōpālah || [27*] Maṁ-
gipūṇḍi Mummaḍ-indra-prabhu-
4 dat(t)am | Taḍukalēṅu iti-khyātam | pūrv-āgrahāram-
ēsham kṛtvā mūlyēna tatra bhāgibhūḥ || [28*]

Third plate, First side.

5 Śākē śvē-ndu guṇa kshitau Yuva śara dṛk-ōyanē ch-ōttārē
kṛtvā Gōpavaram tam-ēva Śuka-sa-
6 d-yōgi pratisthapitē | grāmaṁ Rājamahēndra-nāma-
nagara-ēva prāsthitē Gōpikānāthāy-ā dita
7 Kāṭayēndra-tanayaḥ Śrī Vēma-pṛthvīpatiḥ || [29*] Āchamdr-
ārkam-imaṁ grāmaṁ Śrīmān Gōpījana-
8 priyaḥ | dēv-ōnubbhavatān-nity-ānam-a-bhōga prasanna (prasanna)
dhīḥ || [30*] Ivuri polamēra śimalu | Tūrupu-
9 na Kāṭrēni velamgala-puṁḥa || Āgōḇyāna | Tāḍēpalli-uttarapu
Jārukumṭa || Dakshināna ||
10 Sōmula-punta || Nairṭtini Erṭa-cheruvu Paḍumāṭi-kommu ||
Paḍumaṭanu ||
11 Mrōmka-Velamgala-punta || Vāyuvyāna | Nēla-metṭu-kaḍa Mūm-
kala-chimṭalu || Uttarā-
12 nanu | Ānupamrām-kula-puṁḥa || Īśānyāna | Dōma-la-guṁṭa ||
* * *

Lines 53 and 54 here and lines 55 to 63 of the Third plate, Second side contain identical imprecatory verses found in the preceding grant.

1 From the original plates.

REVIEWS.

Jogindu, his Paramātma-Prakāśa and other Works

[Author: Prof. A. N. UPADHYE, M.A., Rajaram College, Kolhapur. Sri Parama Sruta Prabhavaka Mandali, Bombay. Price Re. 1/-]

In this booklet of 88 pages, Prof. Upadhye gives a critical account of *Paramātma-Prakāśa*, or *Paramappapayāsu*, the earliest extant work on Jainism in the Apabhraṃśa language, by Yogīndu, or Joindu, who, as the Professor shows, flourished in the 6th century A.D. This critical essay is meant to be an introduction to the Second Edition of *Paramātma-Prakāśa* published in 1916, by Rāyachandra Jaina Sastramāla, with Brahmādēva's commentary and Daultram's *Bhāṣāṭīkā* rendered into modern Hindi by Manoharlal. Prof. Upadhye divides his essay into five sections. The first section is devoted to the study of the various aspects of *Paramātma-Prakāśa*. The professor's study of the MSS. of the text is as scholarly as it is critical. In the same section he gives so detailed a summary of *Paramātma-Prakāśa* that it may be called an English version of the text. Critical remarks are added on the literary, metrical and stylistic aspects and eclectic character of the work. Yogīndu's indebtedness to the earlier authors and his influence on the later authors are also discussed. The second section of the book is devoted to the study of Yogīndu's other works, namely: (1) *Yogasāra* (in Apabhraṃśa language) (2) *Naukāra-Śrāvakāchāra* (in Apabhraṃśa language) (3) *Adhyātma-Samāḥa* (in Sanskrit) (4) *Subhāṣita-Tantra* (in Sanskrit) (5) *Tatvārthaṭīkā* (in Sanskrit) (6) *Dohapahunda* (in Apabhraṃśa) (7) *Amṛtāṭīkā* (in Sanskrit) and (8) *Nijātmāṣṭaka*, of which Nos. (4) (5) and (6) are not found now. In this section is also found a discussion on Yogīndu's date. The third section deals with the commentaries on *Paramātma-Prakāśa*. The fourth section is devoted to a critical discussion of the mutual relation of the ten MSS. of *Paramātma-Prakāśa*. The fifth section contains a critical account of MSS. of *Yogasāra*.

Except for a few pages the whole essay is devoted to a study of *Paramātma-Prakāśa* in its various aspects. The brilliant spiritual discourses in *Paramātma-Prakāśa* come out as a reply to a question put by Bhaṭṭa Prabhākara to Yogīndu.

The second part of *Paramātma-Prakāśa* which consists of 214 verses deals with the means of attaining *Mōkṣa* according to Jina.

The non-sectarian nature of the discussions in the work and the non-technical manner of presenting the highest philosophic truths have given the book the popularity, it enjoys. The two commentaries on this

work in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa, assigned to the 13th and the 14th century respectively speak to its popularity centuries back. To this day, the work is read and re-read by all the Jains, particularly by the Jain monks of the *Digambara* sect.

J. PURUSHOTTAM, M.A.,

Sri Jaina Sahitya Pradarsana Sri Prasasti Sangraha

[Editor: AMRITLAL MAGANLAL SAH; Publishers: Sindesa Virati Dharmaraghava Samaj, Ahmedabad. Price Rs. 5/-]

This is a valuable compendium giving the external particular, of the works on Jainism. The total number of books dealt with is 1439, of which 163 are on palm leaves and 1276 are on paper. The names of the work, author and patron and also the year, month and date of composition and publication of each book are given in detail. Indices of persons, places etc. occurring in the various works are also appended. The volume includes the full text of *Sri Ananda Lēkha* by Mahōpādhyāya Śrī Vinaya Vijaya Gani.

J. PURUSHOTTAM M.A.,

Bhasharatnam of Kanada-Tarakavagisa

[Edited with a New Commentary and Introduction by Pandit KALIPADA TARKACHARYA, Professor of *Nyāya*, Govt. Sanskrit College, Calcutta. Sanskrit Parishat Series No. 20, published by the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat, Shyam Bazaar, Calcutta, 1936. pp. 217. Price Rs. 3-8-0]

The author of this work seems to have made an honest and earnest endeavour to expound in brief all the fundamentals pertaining to the Kanāda's school of philosophy as propounded in his original (*Vaiśeṣika*) *sūtras* as well as Praśastapāda's commentary (*bhāṣya*). While dealing with each sub division of each category (*padārtha*) the author has well taken care to see that the three essential processes, ever adopted by the exponents of Sciences (*śāstrakārāḥ*)—viz., (1) enumeration (*uddṛṣṭāḥ*) (2) definition (*lakṣaṇam*) (3) examination (*parikṣā*) are properly employed for the sake of evolving logically the accurate ideas in relation to each concept. It may be said to the author's credit that the process of applying these three principles to the exposition of each concept, has been explained in a style which, though presenting slightly dull uniformity, is profound to render the underlying technical axioms and specific ideas quite intelligible to such students as would, with enough foundation, like to make a genuine study of the fundamentals of the Kanāda's school.

Wherever there happens to be disagreement between the ancient school as represented by Kanāda's system and the modern school as represented by Raghunātha Śrīrāmāṇi Bhaṭṭācārya, the points of difference are well brought out. Likewise, the difference of opinion (1) between the Naiyyāyika school and the Vaiśeṣika school (2) among the various

commentators relating to the modern school of Naiyyāyikas, has been elucidated in a simple and intelligible form.

It may as well be said that the author has also expounded in a simple and lucid style the divergence of opinion between the Naiyyāyikas and the Mīmāṃsakas in respect of such topics as are of utmost importance to the various branches of knowledge—viz., (1) the conception of sound (*śabdaḥ*) (2) the conception of the mind (*manas*) and (3) the criterion of truth (*prāmāṇyapramitiḥ*). The work is no doubt a useful contribution to the subject.

K. GOPALAKRISHNAMMA, M.A.

A Critique on Nanne-Chōḍa Deva's *Kumārasambhavam*

By Mr. Sreepada Lakshmipathi Sastri, Junior Lecturer in Telugu, Oriental Research Institute, University of Madras, 1937 (Madras University Telugu Series No. 6. Pages 210—Price Rs. 2—0—0).

Nanne-Chōḍa Dēva's *Kumārasambhavam* was first published in two parts in 1909 and 1914 by the well known scholar Mr. Mānavalli Rama Krishna Kavi, who propounded a theory that the work was older than Nannaya's *Bhārata* by about a century and that the author flourished in the first half of the tenth century and died in 940 A.D. in the wars with the Western Chāḷukyas.

Several reputed scholars published articles from time to time since the publication of the work refuting the theory of Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi that it was of the pre-Nannaya period. Many of them considered that Nanne-Chōḍa must have flourished in the 12th century between Nannaya and Tikkana while some others like Mr. Dēvarāja Sudhīmaṇi thought that he was even posterior to Tikkana.

The present work of Mr. Lakshmipathi Sastri purports to support the theory that Nanne-Chōḍa flourished during the 14th century after Tikkana, which was first advanced by Devaraja Sudhīmaṇi. On the strength of the internal evidence in the work, Mr. Sastri has attempted to prove that Nanne-Chōḍa must have existed in the early part of the 14th century, i. e., somewhat later than Tikkana and Kētana. While the little historical evidence found in the work and the inscriptional evidence so far procured have not been sufficient to fix the time of Nanne-Chōḍa conclusively, the method of sifting it adopted by Mr. Sastri is not the safest and, at any rate, not unimpeachable.

Nanne Chōḍa's work cannot be said to be altogether an independent *kāvya* as considered by Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi. Mr. Sastri has shown examples to prove that Nanne-Chōḍa read both Kālidāsa and Udbhaṭa and adapted them in his book. To substantiate his theory, Mr. Sastri has attempted to show by a few stray examples that Nanne-Chōḍa read also cantos 9 to 17 of the *Kumāra-sambhava* which were

a later production and adopted some of the verses therein in his work. The fact that the celebrated commentators, Mallinātha (12th century) and Aruṇagirinātha (13th century), omitted to write commentaries for the cantos 9 to 17 has been urged by Mr. Sastri as a circumstance to show that those cantos were not composed or at least were not read in South India by that time. If this were true it is quite improbable that Nanne-Chōḍa lived in the beginning of the 14th century as urged by Mr. Sastri. But the so-called-adaptation by Nanne-Chōḍa of these cantos 9—17 is so very meagre and limited as admitted by Mr. Sastri himself that it is very unsafe to draw any conclusive inference on this point.

As regards the Telugu works, Nanne-Chōḍa's work reveals the existence of some parallels from Nannaya's *Bhārata*, the works of Pāṭkuriki Sōmanātha (1170—1240), of Tikkana and Kētana. On the strength of some parallel passages in the war scenes, Mr. Sastri vainly urges that Nanne-Chōḍa must have evidently read Tikkana's verses depicting the Mahābhārata war and composed some of his verses in imitation thereof. This is too flimsy a view to be definitely asserted especially in view of the following facts Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi has stated in his preface that among the authors on Telugu prosody, Atharvaṇa is the earliest poet who referred to Nanne-Chōḍa's verses in his work. Further, the verse of Atharvaṇa that Tenkaṇādiya (a title of Nanne-Chōḍa which is also made mention of by him in *Kumārasambhava*) died in a battle for having commenced his work with a verse beginning with *ma-gaṇa* and *ra-gaṇa* is well known. But it is very regretful to note that like Nanne-Chōḍa's time, the time of Atharvaṇa also has not been established beyond doubt. Further, if Nanne-Chōḍa's verses are referred to in the work of Atharvaṇa who is generally considered to be a contemporary of Tikkana, Mr. Sastri's theory that Nanne-Chōḍa existed somewhat later than Tikkana is seriously affected. Mr. Sastri has not discussed this important point in his *Critique* and it is not known why he has avoided it. Unless this question is solved, it cannot be definitely stated that Nanne-Chōḍa followed Tikkana's verses and was therefore posterior to him. The material exhibited by Mr. Sastri in this respect is not strong enough to conclusively establish this point. Mr. Sastri's argument that the practice of using *shashṭhyamtamulu* in the beginning of Telugu works with a Telugu verse instead of a Sanskrit verse as was in usage before, was inaugurated by Tikkana only and that Nanne-Chōḍa followed only Tikkana's innovation is not convincing. The use of *shashṭhyamtamulu* is found even in some inscriptions of pre-Tikkana times and Pāṭkuriki Sōmanātha who is admittedly anterior to Tikkana commenced his works *Anubhavasāra* and *Chaturvedasāra* with Telugu verses only instead of Sanskrit verses.

As stated above, Nanne-Chōḍa dedicated his work to his preceptor Jangama-Mallikārjuna and exhibited unparalleled devotion

towards him throughout the whole work. If this Āchārya is correctly identified and his time ascertained, it would have been much helpful to fix the time of Nanne-Chōḍa. Mr. Sastri refers to the inscriptions which mention a certain Mallikārjuna-yōgi who flourished in the 12th century. Though these are helpful enough to fix the time of Nanne-Chōḍa about 1120—1150 A.D. Mr. Lakshmipathi sastri rejects the evidentiary value of these inscriptions to establish the time of Nanne-Chōḍa beyond doubt, without however properly discussing them.

It is disappointing to see that Mr. Sastri does not in his very elaborate and sometimes very prolix treatise acknowledge in fairness the opinions of the precious writers whose views he adopted. His *Critique* could easily have been curtailed to half of its present bulk. It is nevertheless valuable work. It exhorts scholars to take up immediately the work of exploring inscriptional and other unimpeachable evidence to fix the time of Nanne-Chōḍa with certainty. As observed by Mr. K. Ramakrishnayya in his preface, Mr. Sastri's *Critique* really brings out also the immediate necessity of having a new and revised edition of this important work, *Kumarasambhavam*, with correct readings and erudite notes.

B. TAMMAYYA.

Navanathacharitra by GAURANA (*Madras University Series No. 7*) edited by Mr. K. Ramakrishnayya M.A. Pages 281+39. Price: Rs. 3/-.

Among writers of Dvipadakāvyas in Telugu literature, Gaurana occupies a high place of esteem next to Pālakuriki Sōmanātha and Ranganātha. He flourished in the 14th century. His *Harischandro-pākhyaṇam* which was published long ago, and followed by Śankara Kavi and Vīraśarabha Kavi who wrote the same work in non-dvipada metres, has gained distinction as a dvipada-kāvya of high order. Another dvipada work of this celebrated poet is *Navanāthacharitra*. Manuscripts of this work are rare. A single palm leaf manuscript in a very torn condition and two paper manuscripts evidently copied therefrom only are available in the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. For want of better manuscripts the publication of this work has long been delayed. It is now gratifying that the Madras University has taken up the publication of the work and issued a neat and decent edition thereof under the editorship of Mr. K. Ramakrishnayya M.A., Head of the Telugu Department. The work deals with the adventures of nine Saivite saints—Siddhas—known as Navanāthas.

Gaurana describes at length in *Navanātha charitra* the pomp, grandeur and penitential austerities etc., of Śānta Bhikṣhā-vṛitti-yatīśvara and states that he had composed this *Kāvya* at his command, following the work of Śrīgiri-kavi and so dedicated it to Mallikārjuna. *Navanātha-charitra* seems to be anterior to *Harischandro-pākhyaṇam* which was also dedicated to Gaurana's *Iṣṭadaiva* Mallikārjuna. Gaurana's poetic talents reached perfection and sweet elegance in the later work. Like

many other saivite poets Gaurana did not make mention of any non-Saivite Telugu poets in this work and among Sanskrit poets he cited only the Śaivite poets like Kālidāsa and Bāṇa.

Gaurana followed the foot steps of the celebrated Vīraśaiva poet Pālakuriki Sōmanātha though he has not mentioned his name in his works. Like Sōmanātha he composed both his *kāvyas* in *dvipada* metre to gain popularity among masses and showed a predilection for 'jānu-Telugu' and for 'anuprāsa' among *Sābdālamkāras*. There are several Jānu-Telugu words in *Navanātha-charitra* some of which are not found in other works or lexicons. The correct meaning and philology of several Telugu words like బరిసెనము, వతారము, సాకసాక, used by him in the work require investigation by scholars.

The *prāsa-yatī* which is so much advocated by Sōmanātha is used by Gaurana in a few places in this work (statement of the editor in the preface that it has not been used is not correct) and like Sōmanātha he has taken the liberty of breaking down some worthless conventions of grammar and prosody, *Akhaṇḍa yatī*, *prāsa* between the two *rāphas* *sabhinḍu* and *nirbindus*, *ktvārthaka sandhi*, *ikāra*, and *akāra sandhis* between Sanskrit & Telugu words are freely used; and *vīri-samāsams* like పుడమిశుడు, అపనడి, ప్రవిమల పోగులు, నిత్యతీపు, and colloquial words like ఒనరి స్త్రీ, పండ్లెండొయేట, చాయనేర్పు, చాయంపవలె, బ్రాహ్మలు, పోదాము, చేతము (for చేయుదము) are not uncommon.

Gaurana's descriptions of nature are vivid and graphic. His picturesque depiction of the apparel and demeanour of persons of the low class like shepherds, fowlers and chucklers is really commendable. The stock of words displayed by him in the discourse between Gōraksha and Mīnanātha in reciting the names of several cattle diseases is worth reading.

Among the nine rasas, *hāsya rasa* is not much developed by the ancient Telugu poets. It is very pleasing to note that Gaurana is an exception. The parody employed by him in depicting the simulations of the *Vanchaka Purōhita* in *Navanātha-Charitra* and *Kālakaūśika* in *Harischandro-pākhyaṇam* entitle him to a high place among Telugu humourists.

In his preface to the work, the editor has not attempted to fix the time of the Navanāthas. If credence is to be given to the efficacy of the *Siddha Vidya* practised by them it may be considered that they lived for several centuries. But some of the historical personages mentioned in the work may be of some help to fix the time of the *Siddhas*. Gōraksha, the favourite and foremost disciple of Mīnanātha is described in this work as well as in *Prabhulingatīla* as having finally derived the knowledge of conquering *Māya* from the celebrated Vīraśaiva

saint Allamaprabhu. Again another *Siddha* named Vyāli is mentioned as having lost his life owing to the treachery of King Ballaha of Kalyan who in his own turn perished ere long together with his dynasty by the curse of that *Siddha*. Ballaha seems to be no other than King Bijjala who ruled at Kalyan from 1156 to 1168 A.D. Both Allamaprabhu and Bijjala were contemporaries of Basavēśvara and it is therefore evident that most of these Sidhas belonged to the 12th century.

Mr. Ramakrishnayya has, no doubt rendered inestimable service to the Andhra literature by bringing out an excellent edition of one of the finest *dvipāda kāvyas* in Telugu. His work, however, lacks completeness in as much as he has left out several readings of passages uncorrected. The literary value of his work would have been considerably enhanced if such errors and printing mistakes had been avoided.

B. TAMMAYYA.

Vaikhānasa Dharma Sūtra. With an Introduction & Translation by Prof. K. RANGACHARYULU, M.A., B.L., Maharajah's College, Vizianagaram. Published by the Ramanujachari Oriental Institute.

It is a translation of the *Dharma Sūtras* of the Vaikhānasas. In an exhaustive introduction and translation in which a detailed account of the Vaikhānasa hermits from the earliest times has been given. The term is now used to denote a sub sect amongst the Brāhmaṇa Vaishṇavas in South India. In the Vishṇu temples of South India, the priests or the *archakas* are of this sect and they follow *Vaikhānasa Kalpa Sūtra* in their *Śāstraka* and *Vaitānika* ceremonies. The *Vaishṇava Āgamas* deal with the cult and worship of Vāsudēva, Nārāyaṇa etc., showing that it was prevalent in South India from the early centuries of Christian era. The Vishṇu temples, according to *Tolkāppiyam* dated before Christ, were mostly located in forest regions. Evidently, Vishṇu, or Māyōn as he was called, was the first God and the Vishṇu worshippers or Vaikhānasas were leading the life of hermits. Thus, in the early centuries after Christ, the cult of Vishṇu or Nārāyaṇa became prevalent in the whole of South India and the *archakas* in these temples came to be called Vaikhānasas (forest hermits). Thus the sub sect of Vaishṇavas came into existence.

These people observed Vedic sacrifices and performed the several rites according to the Śranta and Grihya Sūtras. In this book, complete rules relating to the hermit life of this sect are given and they resemble closely those given in the law code of Bandhāyana. Some of the Rules relate (1) to the eating of cooked or uncooked food, (2) to the keeping or not keeping a wife (3) to suffer bodily mortification for controlling the senses (4) to live according to Nature and to move about with the beasts and birds and live like them.

This *Dharma Sūtra* consists of three *prasnas*, the first being divided into 11 *khaṇḍas*, the second and the third into 15 each. In the first *prasna*, the origin of caste, the rights and duties of the twice-born and the Sūdras, the position of the *Brahmacārins* and the *Grhastas* are described. The footnotes which are given at the bottom to explain the several technical terms used in the *Sūtra* are very useful.

The second *Prasna* deals with the life of a *sannyāsin* (a hermit in the forest)—his Śrāmapaka sacrifice, his ten *Niyamas* (Bodily practices) and his ten *yamas* (penances) and his meditation to realise the Supreme Soul. The life and duties of a student are then described. The third *prasna* deals with the ordinary duties of a house-holder and the moral rules he should observe. Castes and mixed castes and the professions they should take up are dealt with in the third *prasna*.

The author deserves congratulations on the scholarly way in which he has edited the work. The introduction which is nearly half of the work is very valuable as it gives an excellent historical narrative of the Vaikhānasas.

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

New Catalogus Catalogorum — Provisional Fasciculus. A complete and up-to-date Alphabetical Register of Sanskrit and Allied Works and Authors. Published under the authority of the University of Madras 1937.

Many important and valuable collections of Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS including Budhistic and Jaina MSS in recent times have rendered it necessary to issue a supplement if not a revised edition of the *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Dr. Aufrecht with which the research scholars all over the world are quite familiar, and which has become incomplete and defective in several ways. It is, therefore, gratifying to see that the need for a supplemental or revised *Catalogus Catalogorum* has been rightly recognised at the proper moment by the Madras University. Though Madras had in the past lagged behind in encouraging Sanskrit scholarship, it is gratifying to note that it is now forging ahead by taking up this stupendous cultural task of thoroughly revising, remedying the defects and publishing the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*. The University is to be congratulated on securing a very able Editorial Board which is presided over by the most distinguished veteran savant *Mahamahōpādhya* Prof. S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI and an able band of young and enthusiastic scholars to carry on the great task. In this colossal cultural work the University has fortunately secured the sympathetic co-operation of several learned societies, public and private libraries, Native States, Universities and individual scholars. The main plan of the present work is not materially different from the earlier *Catalogus Catalogorum* except for the additions which have become necessary to make a work of this magnitude and importance as valuable and indispensable to the research worker as possible. The *Provisional Fasciculus* before us promises to be a great work and we wish the University of Madras success in this venture.

Art and Archaeology Abroad. By KALIDAS NAG, M.A., (Cal.) D.Litt., (Paris) University of Calcutta, 1937. With a coloured plate (*Frontispiece*) and illustrations. Pp. 126.

This publication is a report intended primarily for the Indian students desiring to specialise in those subjects in the research centres of Europe and America submitted by Dr. Kalidas Nag to the University of Calcutta, as Ghose Travelling Fellow, 1935—37. The pan-Asiatic character of the Indian Art and the international trend of the ancient Indian civilisation are well demonstrated in this beautifully written book by a detailed description of the numerous museums and other centres of Art in France, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Greece and United States of America. In this work Dr. Nag has surveyed the institutions and schools of Europe and U.S.A., the special arrangements made and facilities afforded for the collection and co-ordination of data of arts and archaeology as well as the methods of teaching these subjects in some of the important centres so far as they favourably affect the line of training in our Universities in the field of art and archaeology. Beyond doubt these academies and museums of Europe and America present a gigantic field for study. One thing that any body who reads this very interesting report will not fail to notice is how utterly poor is our country in the matter of museums and art centres when compared with the countries of Europe. Invaluable treasures of art and antiquities from India were already removed to U.S.A. and Europe and still they continue to be removed from this country. Once they are removed, they are rarely replaced. India is helplessly exposed to foreign exploitation and unique specimens of art and antiquities permanently lost to India now adorn the Museums of London, Paris, Boston and New York. India should follow here the examples set by Egypt and Japan where the strict 'laws of national treasures' enforce the safe custody of such relics in the national sites and museums. A national awakening and healthy self assertion has to grow in this land of ours for preserving our treasures in this country. The University of Calcutta has done a very laudable thing in publishing so useful a book as this. This book is not merely instructive; it reveals the inestimable possibilities for enterprising Indian students. We look forward eagerly for the promised publication of our Author '*Monuments and Museums of the Far East*' with its wealth of illustrations.

B. V. KRISHNA RAO.

ERRATA.

Ante page 57. In "A Note on the Date of the Velicherla Grant", read in line 5 from above *Śukla* for *Paridhavi*.

THE XVI ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1937-38 OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Presented and adopted at the annual General Body Meeting held on 3-4-1938

The Managing Council of the Society begs to submit the following Report of the working of the Society during the year 1937-38.

At the annual general body meeting held last year on 3-4-1937 the following Office-Bearers for the year under report were elected.

President:

Sri Rao Bahadur A. Rama Rao Garu, B.A.,B.L.

Vice-President:

Sri Nyapati Kameswara Rao Garu, B.A.,B.L.

Honorary Secretary:

Sri Bhavaraju Venkata Krishnarao Garu, B.A.,B.L.

Treasurer:

Sri Pulapaka Kameswara Rao Garu, B.A.,B.L.

Librarian & Curator:

Mr. V. Appa Rao, (Resigned with effect from 28-1-38).

Mr. V. S. Ramachandramurti from 28-1-1938 to 31-3-38.

Ordinary Members of the Council

Rajah Sri K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur.

Mr. Rallabandi Subba Rao, M.A.,L.T.

Mr. D. Venkata Rao, M.A.,L.T., (Resigned with effect from 7-11-37).

Mr. K. Raghavacharyulu, M.A.,B.L.

Mr. C. Atmaram, elected on 7-11-37.

Mr. V. S. Ramachandramurti elected on 28-1-38.

Members.

The number of members on the rolls of the Society is happily on the increase. Though some old members have dropped out during the year under report as many 12 new members have joined the Society voluntarily and this is a matter for great satisfaction in as much scholars outside seem to appreciate the work of the Society. Last year the number on rolls was 125; this year we are glad to say that the actual number of active members is 132. The work of the Society is not widely known even in the Andhra districts for lack of propaganda for support. If the Society can depute at least two individuals to tour round the districts and enlist membership and support, it is hoped that there will be adequate response.

Subscribers of the Journal.

The number of subscribers for the Journal had fallen to 40 last year. But on account of the publication of the Journal during the year two subscribers have come back. The Government Arts College, which dropped out first has been good enough to buy the Journal (Vol. X) at subscriber's price. The D. P. I. has been pleased to restore Govt. Arts College to the list of subscribers under his control and the society tenders its thanks to him. Mrs. A.V.N. College has become once more our subscriber. Only the Maharaja's College Parlakimidi and Maharaja's College, Vizianagram could not be enrolled once more as subscribers. There seems to be some difficulty about that. Those two institutions claim to have paid money for the Vol. X and therefore demand the supply of the Journal. The matter is still under investigation and correspondence. With the auditing of accounts we will be able to find out whether the two institutions named above had paid their subscriptions. We are hopeful that with the amicable settlement of this matter with these two Colleges, they will once more become our subscribers. At any rate there is hope that the Maharaja's College Vizianagaram will come back into the list.

Exchange List: Our Exchange list has been varying during the last three years. Journals like the *Mysore Economic Journal*, *The Journal of Economics* and such others have fallen off from the Exchange list. Some journals like *Journal of the Bombay Historical Research Society* have not been regularly received by the society. During the year several new periodicals have been added to the Exchange List and they are:

- 1 *Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*, Colombo.
- 2 *Bulletin, (Brahma Vidya)* of the Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras.
- 3 *Oriental Literary Digest*, Poona.
- 4 *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, Leipzig.
- 5 *Indiana*, Benares.
- 6 *Poona Orientalist*, Oriental Book Agency, Poona.
- 7 *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London University.

The most satisfactory feature in this that the importance of the work of the Society and the high standard of our Society's Journal are being recognised more and more by the renowned research institutions in India and outside.

Patrons.

We are sorry to say that one of our old Patrons, the Zamindar of Chemudu has discontinued his patronage and we request that he will renew his support to the institution as usual.

The Maharaja of Jeypore, Maharajah Sree Vikrama Deo Varma Maharajulungaru. D. Litt., has with his usual generosity sent us a donation of Rs. 100 during the year. Last year he granted Rs. 50/. Though there is reason to believe that the Maharaja Sahib gave the sum

of Rs. 100 for the Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu 75th Birthday Celebration Commemoration Volume, we are not any less hopeful that he would not continue his patronage for the Society in the years to come. He is a patron of culture and himself an erudite scholar, and as such it is hoped that he will sympathise with the Society and help its activities in the usual manner.

During the year, the Secretary at his own expense interviewed the Rajah of Challapalli and the Zamindar of Vuyyur for their generous patronage. Both of them promised sympathetic consideration of the matter. It seems necessary that the Secretary assisted by another office-bearer of the Society should once again interview the gentlemen and persuade them to patronise the Society.

During the year the finances of the Society have not improved to the extent the Council hoped. The receipts from the members' subscriptions and the subscribers' subscriptions are very slender. To some extent the sale proceeds of the Telugu publications and the back volumes of the Journal and their parts have contributed towards the stable working of the Society. But the sale proceeds or any substantial part of the publications ought to go, in the normal state of affairs, into the permanent fund. But in the case of our Society, there has not been till now a permanent fund and no endeavour to keep a permanent fund has been made. Thus what ought to go really into the Permanent Fund is being spent away for the maintenance of the Society. The situation must be tackled with and remedied. The Society is unable to fulfill its functions to the extent to which it hoped for want of funds. For want of funds many things are not done. The Society's work is daily growing and to do the work satisfactorily there is the urgent need for a regular paid clerk who will be able to keep the records of the Society in a regular fashion so that there may not be any sort of complaint from any member, subscriber or contributor. The need for a regular office cannot also be more strongly emphasised as an urgent and imperative necessity.

Through the sale of publications and some unexpected donations which were obtained by the Hony. Secretary, the Society during the year had been able to discharge its functions properly to some extent. During this year we have been able to discharge a sum of Rs. 74 out of the debt due on promissory note to Mr. N. Kameswara Rao, Vice-President. It was also able to pay off the sum of Rs. 50 borrowed on a promissory note from M.R.Ry. Raja Sree K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur. It has still to pay another promote debt of Rs 75 to the same gentleman, and the balance of debt outstanding on the promotes executed by the former secretaries in favour of Messrs N. Subbarao Pantulu and N. Kameswararao.

For want of adequate funds, the work of the Society had been greatly hampered. If it had enough money on hand, the Council would

have gone on in October last year with the printing of Vol. XI, parts 1 & 2 promptly and finished or rather would have been able to issue Vol XI completely by this time.

The need for public help is now very urgent. Except the timely and munificent grant of Rs. 100 annually from the Municipality, we have no other source of income from outside. This sum is hardly sufficient for the maintenance of the Society. It is time we approached the other local bodies for support and financial assistance so that we may secure funds for the purposes of maintaining a regular clerk and office attender and for taking on lease decent premises for the location of the Society's Library, Museum and Reading Room. We need at least a sum of Rs. 500 for this purpose. The following is a rough estimate.

A clerk on Rs. 20 and a peon on Rs. 10. A room or suite of rooms on Rs. 15. Total Rs. 45 $1 \times 45 = 540$.

The Society tenders its most grateful thanks to the donors who have out of sympathy gave the following donations. The gentlemen are :

1	Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar, Kt.	Rs. 50
2	Sir K. V. Reddi Nayudu, K.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.	20
3	Sri D. K. V. Raghava Varma Garu, B.A., B.L.	5
4	Rao Babadur Sri M. Narasimham Pantulu Garu	5
5	Mr. S. Azeemullah	5
6	A sympathetic gentleman	100
7	Mr. J. Sreeramamurti, B.A., B.L.	50

Journal:— During the year we were able to issue Vol. X as a consolidated part of all the four quarterly issues. Vol. X strictly speaking ought to have been issued for the year 1935-36. But it could not be done for various causes already mentioned. Vol. IX, which should have been issued in the year 1934-35 was issued over two years between 1934 and 1936. Vol X which should have been published in 1935-36 was not therefore published during that year. So it was decided during the year under report to publish Vol. X as one consolidated Volume of all the four parts together for the year 1936-37 passing over the year 1935-36. Already 1937-38, too had expired and yet we have been behind in respect of Vol. XI. If we are to keep abreast of times we should be able to publish Vol. XI as well as Vol. XII before 1938-39 rings out. We are glad to announce that the combined issue of Parts 1 and 2 of Vol. XI is nearing completion and will published on or about the 15th April. Soon after its publication, the new Council will, it is hoped, endeavour to give to the press Vol. XI, Parts 3 and 4 as well as a consolidated part and issue the same by July. In this connection we have to point that we could not obtain enough co-operation from the press.

Reddi Empire Day Celebration and Reddi Samchika:— We are glad to announce that we are able to see signs of our endeavour to celebrate the Reddi Empire Day and publish the Reddi Sanchika fruiticing

into realities through the kind intervention of Dr. C. Ramalinga Reddi, Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University, who has been elected by the Council as Chairman of the Reception Committee Reddi Empire Day Celebration. H. H. the Maharani Saheba of Gadwal, the ruler of the only surviving Reddi state in Andhradesa, has been graciously pleased to be the Parton-President of the Reddi Empire Day Celebration and donated a generous sum of Rs. 500 for the publication of the Reddi Sanchika in Telugu as the leading item in the programme of the celebrations. It has been now definitely decided to celebrate the Reddi Day at Rajahmundry, the ancient capital of the last illustrious dynasty of Kāṭaya-Vēma.

The celebration has been originally fixed for the 23rd and 24th April 1938. But as it is too short an interval for the Reception Committee to make necessary arrangements for the celebration and to bring out at least a portion of the Reddi Sanchika in print by that date, the Council has resolved to celebrate the Day in the 3rd week of July 1938.

Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu 75th Birthday Celebration.

The most notable event of the year was the celebration of the 75th birthday of Mr. Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu, a former President of the Society and the Publication of a Commemoration Volume. It will be remembered that by a resolution of the Council dated 7-4-35 the birthday event was resolved to be celebrated by the Society in a fitting manner: and by another resolution dated 27-3-36 all the four parts of Vol. X of the Journal were intended to be brought out as one consolidated volume under the name *Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu 75th Birthday Celebration Commemoration Volume*. It was thought that Mr. C. R. Krishnamachari, B.A., Supt. for Epigraphy, Southern Circle would be the most suitable person for presiding on that occasion. And it was a piece of good fortune that we were able to invite the learned Epigraphist to conduct the proceedings of the celebration. The 22nd of August 1937 was fixed for the celebration of the birthday. An elaborate programme was arranged for evening and invitations to a large and distinguished circle of friends and admirers of Mr. Ramayya Pantulu and scholars and institutions outside were sent. In the evening the meeting was held in the Govt. Training College. The meeting commenced with the reading of messages after the President and the Chief guest had taken their seats amidst Vedic chants. (svastivachakam). The President then in the course of the opening remarks stated that it was the desire of the assembled scholars, Pandits and Poets assembled under the auspices of the Society to honour Mr. Ramayya Pantulu in a suitable manner, for the services rendered by that gentleman to the cause of Epigraphy, Telugu Language and Literature. On the motion of Mr. Vaddadi Subbaraya Kavi (since deceased) the veteran poet of Rajahmundry, which was seconded duly by Mr. Chilakamarthi Lakshmi Narasimha Kavi (the blind bard of Andhra) the assembly

conferred unanimously the title of *Andhrabhāshāvāchaspati* on Mr. Ramayya Pantulu. Thereafter Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A. L.T., Lecturer in History, Government Arts College, Rajahmundry moved and Dr. M. Rama Rao, M.A., Ph. D., Lecturer, in History, Hindu College, Guntur duly seconded the motion that the title *Āndhraśasanoddhāraka* be conferred upon Mr. Ramayya Pantulu for the services rendered by him to Epigraphy in particular. These two motions were unanimously supported by those assembled and thereupon, Mr. Ramayya Pantulu rose and suitably acknowledged them. Thereafter, the Hon. Secretary of the Society read the address of the Society in English and Mr Vaddadi Apparao read the Sanskrit Address of the Society to Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu. The Hon. Secretary on behalf of the Society then presented to Mr. Pantulu beautiful shawls of Khaddar stuff of red, orange and pink colour and charming borders. The presentation of the shawls was done in the traditional fashion of the ancient courts on the suggestion given by the President. After presentation was over, Mr. Krishnamachari, as a token of his great regard and affection for the renowned scholar, presented him with a large portrait of the late Dr. Georg Buhler, C.I.E., Ph.D., with whom, he said, the distinguished guest of the Society had many traits in common. The President then delivered his address. Towards the end old Mr. Ramayya Pantulu was visibly moved at the great honour done to him by the Society and the distinguished gathering of scholars, pundits and poets of Rajahmundry and Andhradesa. He was so moved that at one stage his voice failed and tears of joy flowed down his aged cheeks. The meeting came to an end with a Vedic incantation and *mangalam*.

During the year Council deputed the following gentlemen to represent the Society as delegates at the Ninth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference that was held at Trivandrum in the last week of December.

- (1) Mr. R. Subbarao,
- (2) Mr. K. Raghavacharyulu,
- (3) Mr. Vaddadi Apparao,
- (4) Mr. V. S. Ramachandramurty,
- (5) Mr. Bhavaraju Venkata Krishnarao.

Of these five gentlemen Mr. V. S. Ramachandramurty contributed papers to be read in the history section of the Conference. Except the last gentleman (Hon. Secretary) the rest were not able to attend the Conference.

For the last three years, from 1935—36, 1936-37 and 1937-38 the accounts of the Society were being checked and passed by the Council from time to time but it was thought desirable to get them audited by a certified auditor as the Society was getting a grant from the Government. The accounts were audited for the year 1934—35, the

auditor's report and balance sheet prepared by him will now be published. It is hoped that when the audit reports for the financial years 1935-36 to 1937-38 are published and forwarded to the government, the Educational officers would be pleased to recommend the library grant to the Society once more.

The Council at its meeting held on 1—3—38 resolved that the Library and Reading Room of the Society might be shifted to Innespeta as soon as a suitable place is found.

During the year in question large number of Society's publications were sold. And this is a happy augury that Society's publications are widely appreciated and studied.

During the year the Hon. Secretary requested the Andhra University its publications to the Society for purposes of reviews. But the University turned down the request. It is a pity that the Andhra University has not shown any consideration for the institution and its Journal. While it could send its publications for reviews to other periodicals, journals and magazines, it could not do so to the *JAHRS*. This is really disappointing.

There have been altogether nine meetings of the Council in this year. Mr. Vaddadi Apparao who was elected to be the Librarian and Curator of the Library resigned on 28—1—38 and in this place Mr. V. S. Ramachandramurty, B.A., (Hons.) was elected. Mr. Damerla Venkatrao, who was elected to the membership of the Council resigned the place on his transfer to Anantapur with effect from 7—11—37 and in his place the Council elected Mr. C. Atmaram.

B. V. KRISHNARAO,
Hon. Secretary.

THE XVI ANNUAL REPORT OF THE HON. LIBRARIAN
FOR THE YEAR 1937—38.

This report covers the period from 11—5—'37 on which Mr. V. Apparao, B.A., B.L., took charge from the previous librarian, Mr. Janakiramayya to 15—4—1938. On 1—2 38 I took charge of the office from Mr. V. Apparao.

The Library is located in the premises of the Theosophical Lodge. It is resolved by the Managing Council to remove the Library to Iunespeta if a suitable place is found.

Additions:—During the year there are about 250 additions including periodicals and books for review etc. Among books received mention may be made of the following:— *Ep. Indica, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, Anl. Rep. of Archaeological Department, Anl. Rep. of S.I. Epigraphy, Anl. Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, The Publications of the Baroda Oriental Series, and Mysore Oriental Series, and Travancore & Mysore Archaeological Publications* etc. New exchanges have been placed on the List and they have been mentioned in the Secretary's report

About 80 Periodicals are on the Exchange List. About 30 volumes are given for binding.

The average number of visitors to the reading room is 7 per day.

An attempt is made to check the Library and the list of missing books and volumes is being prepared. A fresh catalogue is absolutely necessary and the numbering of books to facilitate reference is being done.

If the Library is to function as an efficient unit it is absolutely necessary that a separate boy should be appointed for Librory work.

*Number of Readers and Visitors to the Library	}	896
and Readin Room during the year 1937—38		
No. of books read	...	1679

V. S. RAMACHANDRA MURTY,
Librarian.

* This information is supplied by the Hon. Secretary.

THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJAHMUNDRY.

, RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS A/C FOR THE YEAR COMMENCING FROM 1-4-34 TO 31-3-35.

Receipts.		Rs. A. P.		Payments.		Rs. A. P.	
To	Opening Balance of cash	12	1 0	By	Printing and Paper	445	3 0
	On hand	27	9 6		Purchase of Books	122	6 0
	At Bank				" " Book cases	60	0 0
					" " Postage a/c	100	10 3
	Donations		39 10 6		" " Advance repaid	231	9 3
	" Municipal Grant		200 0 0		" " Salary	125	0 0
	" Life subscription		200 0 0		" " Lighting A/c	24	0 0
	" Subscriptions		25 0 0		" " Travelling A/c	10	0 0
	" Sale of books		364 4 0		" " Stationary A/c	3	14 0
	" Advances		33 5 0		" " Miscellaneous	0	3 0
	" Miscellaneous		517 10 3		" " Closing Balance		
			0 4 0		On hand	206	10 9
					At Bank	50	9 6
						257	4 3
						1380	1 9

Sirs,

I have checked the above statement with cash book and vouchers and found it agreeing. In addition to the above, he society has a stock of books, whose cost as per the estimation of the Secretary is Rs. 3105. The society is requested to maintain a ledger on the above lines, keep stock accounts for each published volume and maintain property accounts. The municipal grant of Rs. 200 is utilised in the purchase of books and book cases as shown on the payment side and recovery of advances made in the previous year towards the same A/c. Subject to these remarks the statement is correct.

RAJAHMUNDRY, }
19—9—1935.

(Sd.) D. KAMESWARA RAO,
Registered Accountant.

THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJAHMUNDRY.

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS A/C FOR THE YEAR 1-4-35 TO 31-3-36.

<i>Receipts.</i>		<i>Rs. A. P.</i>		<i>Payments.</i>		<i>Rs. A. P.</i>	
To	Opening Cash balance	206	10 9	By	Salary to peon	120	0 0
"	Do. S. B. account.	50	9 6	"	Advance made to peon	10	0 0
"	Subscription from members	118	12 0	"	President's advance paid	59	0 6
"	Do. Institution	203	8 0	"	Printing A/c	349	2 6
"	Advances to peon received	15	0 0	"	Binding A/c	133	0 0
"	Advance to Secretary	14	0 0	"	Postage A/c	112	15 0
"	Grants and Donations	100	0 0	"	Deposits in S. B. Account	200	0 0
"	President's advance A/c	135	0 6	"	Loans cleared	100	0 0
"	Withdrawn from S. B. A/c	200	0 0	"	Lighting charges	24	0 0
"	Sale of books	172	12 0	"	Miscellaneous	1	14 0
"	Interest A/c	0	1 9	"	Books etc.	18	14 0
		1216	6 6	"	Paper	35	9 0
				"	Closing cash on hand	1	4 3
				"	Do. S. B. Account	50	11 3
						1216	6 6

I have examined the above statements with the cash book and found them correct to the best of the information and explanations given to me.

(Sd.) D. KAMESWARA RAO,
Registered Accountant,
30-4-38.

THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJAHMUNDRY.

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS A/C FOR THE YEAR 1-4-36 TO 31-3-37.

<i>Receipts.</i>		<i>Rs. A. P.</i>		<i>Payments.</i>		<i>Rs. A. P.</i>	
To	Opening Balance	1	4 3	By	Travelling	26	10 3
"	Savings Bank A/c	10	11 3	"	Peon's salary	107	8 0
"	Subscription from Members	133	8 0	"	Printing and Paper	508	3 0
"	Do. from institutions	45	8 0	"	Postage	72	9 3
"	Sale of books	276	7 0	"	Binding	32	6 0
"	Contributions and Donations	421	0 0	"	Loans cleared	50	0 0
"	Postage	19	0 0	"	President repaid	76	0 0
"	Loans	125	0 0	"	Lighting	2	0 0
		1072	6 6	"	Library Grant refunded	57	8 0
				"	Closing cash balance	66	14 9
				"	Do. Savings Bank a/c	50	11 3
						1072	6 6

I have examined the above statement with the cash book and found it correct to the best of the information and explanations given to me.

(Sd.) D. KAMESWARA RAO,
Registered Accountant,
30-4-38.

21 NOV 1938

THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJAHMUNDRY.

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS A/C FOR THE YEAR 1-4-37 TO 31-3-38.

<i>Receipts.</i>		<i>Payments</i>	
To	Rs. A. P.	By	
Opening Cash Balance	66 14 9	Travelling	190 15 0
" Savings Bank A/c	50 11 3	" Peon's salary	86 8 11
" Subscriptions from members	300 0 0	" Printing and Paper	448 9 0
" Do. institutions	231 9 0	" Postage	109 1 6
" Sale of books	99 10 0	" Stationary	26 14 6
" Contributions and Donations	380 0 0	" Sundry expenses	22 1 3
" Interest on S. B. A/c	3 8 11	" Purchase of Books	12 8 0
	1132 5 11	" Binding	37 4 0
		" Loans cleared	74 0 0
		" Lighting	26 0 0
		" Closing Cash Balance	165 3 7
		" Do. S. B. A/c	104 4 2
			1132 5 11

I have examined the above statements with cash book and found them correct to the best of the information and planations given to me.

(sd.) D. KAMESWARA RAO,
Registered Accountant.
30-4-38.

THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJAHMUNDRY.

Members on Rolls for the year 1936-37

Serial No.	Name of Member.	Profession & Address
1	Mr. Appa Rao, Duriseti, Bar-at-Law, Registrar, High Court, Madras	
2	" Appa Rao, Vaddadi, B.A., B.L., Vakil, Innespeta, Rajahmundry	
3	" Appa Rao, Vissa, M.A., L.T., Principal, University College, Waltair	
4	" Avadhani, V. V. S. B.A., B.L., Retired Sub-Judge, Masulipatam	
5	" Achyuta Rao, Tekumalla, M.A., L.T., Pithapuram	
6	" Atmaram, C. B.A., B.L., Vakil Innespeta, Rajahmundry	
7	" Banerjee, S. M.A., Lecturer, Goyt. High School, Mirzapur (U. P.)	
8	" Bhagavantam Gupta, T. Rao Bahadur, Retired Collector, 'Satyanilayam,' (Theogarayanagar, Cathedral P.O.) Madras	
9	" Dr. Bhandarkar, D.R. M.A., Ph.D., 4-1 Old Baleygunge Road, Calcutta	
10	" Bhujangarao, T. M.A., B.L., Dewan Bahadur, Retired District & Sessions Judge, Basavanagudi, Bangalore	
11	" Brown, J. B. M.A., I.C.S., Collector, Trichinopoly	
12	" Dr. Coomaraswami, A.K., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, U.S.A.	
13	" Coleman, Rev. Missionary, Luthergiri, Rajahmundry	
14	" Gopala Rao, K.J. B.A., B.L., Zamindar, Rajahmundry	
15	" Iswara Dutt, K. B.A., L.F., Auditor, Coconada	
16	" Henry Heras, M.A., S.J. Professor, St. Xavier's College, Cruikshank Road, Bombay	
17	" Jagannadhaswami, P., M.A., L.T., Head master, B. H. School, Challapalli, Kistna Dt.	
18	" Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil, G., Professor, Pondicherry	
19	" Kameswara Rao, D. Ch., B.A., Rajahmundry	
20	" Kameswara Rao Nyapati, B.A., B.L., Advocate, Rajahmundry	
21	" Kameswara Rao, Pulapaka, B.A., B.L., Advocate, Rajahmundry	
22	" Kurshed Ali Sayad, B.A., Director, Dewan Mahal, Hyderabad (Dn.)	
23	" Justice Lakshmana Rao, K. P., Dewan Bahadur, Judge, High Court, Teynampet, Madras	
24	" Lakshmi Narasimham, Prabala, B.A., B.L., Advocate, Vizagapatam	
25	" Makody Govinda Balavant, Lobia, Bazaar, Gwalior	
26	" Mitra, Kalipada, M.A., Head-master, D.J. College, Monghir (Bihar)	
27	" Narasimham Vajjhula, M.A., B.Ed., Teacher, Board High School, Chicacole	
28	" Narasimharaju, D.L. B.E., B.Sc., (Lond.), Engineer, Vizagapatam	
29	" Narayana Deo, B. V. S. Manager, Bissumkatak Estate, Dubashi Palace, Virala	
30	" Narayan, D.L., B.A., B.L., Vakil, Brodipeta, Guntur	
31	" Dr. Narayana Rao, C. M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer, C.D. College, Anantapur	
32	" Paramandacharya, Archaeologist, Mayurbhanj State, Baripada, (Orissa)	

33	Mr. Perraju Sri Krittiventi, Proprietor, Cocanada
34	„ Prakasam, Bulusu, M.A., B.L., Advocate, Amalapuram
35	„ Purnayya Pantulu, V. B.A., B.L., Retired Dt. Judge, Vizagapatam
36	„ Potdar, Datta Vaman, M.A., Professor, 182, Shukravarpet, Poona
37	„ Radhakrishnan, Sir, S. M.A., Kt., Professor, Oxford University, Oxford, From Nov. to May, Calcutta University
38	„ Ramana Rao, Y. V. M.A., B.L., Supt. H. R. E. Board Cathedral P. O. Madras
39	„ Raghavachari K., M.A., B.L., Advocate, Cocanada
40	„ Rajguru Hemraj Pandit, Dhokatole, Nepal
41	„ Ramachandra Rao, B. M.A., L.T., Principal, Hindu College, Guntur
42	„ Ramakrishnayya, K. M.A., Oriental Research, University of Madras
43	„ Ramamurthy, Pratapagiri, M.A., Professor, Wilson College, Bombay
44	„ Ramarao, A., Rao Bahadur, B.A., B.L., Advocate, Rajahmundry
45	„ Ramakrishnarao, T.V.S., B.A., B.L., Vakil, Rajahmundry
46	„ Rama Rao, M., Dr., M.A., Ph.D. Lecturer Hindu College, Guntur
47	„ Ramadoss Pantulu, G., B.A., Ramachandra Vilas, Jeypore
48	„ Ramesem, Sir, Vepa, Kt., B.A., B.L., Edward Elliot's Road, Mylapore, Madras
49	„ Ramayya Pantulu, J., B.A., B.L., Mukteswaram, Tottaramudi P. O.
50	„ Rao, P. S. M.A., I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Akola C P
51	„ Dr. Ramalinga Reddi, C., M.A., D.Litt., Vice Chancellor, Andhra University, Waltair
52	„ Russel Fink, J. Rev., S.J., Missionary, Rentachintala, Guntur Dt.
53	„ Sambasiva Rao, Mylavarapu, Pleader, Rajahmundry
54	„ Sankara Rao, Adivi, B.A., L.T., Teacher, V H School, Rajahmundry
55	„ *Seetharamayya, P., Clerk, D.C.O., Kharapur, B. N. Ry.
56	„ Seetharamayya, S. B.A., B.L., Advocate, Elore
57	„ Dr. Seshagiri Rao, B., M.A., Professor, Maharajah's College, Vizianagram
58	„ Somasundara Desikar, S., Pandit, 1/70 Amman Koil Street, Mylapore, Madras
59	„ Sri Gopinath Harichandan Jagadeb, Rajah Saheb of Tekkali, Tekkali
60	„ Sri Lakshmi Narayana Harichandan Jagadeb, Rajah Saheb of Tekkali, Tekkali
61	„ Sreenivasachari, C. S. Rao Saheb, M.A., Professor, Annamalai University, Chidambaram
62	„ Srinivasagopalachari, S. T., Advocate, Vepery P. O., Madras
63	„ Shresthi, V. V., Vetapalem
64	„ Subba Rao Pantulu, Nyapati, B.A., B.L., Advocate, Rajahmundry
65	„ Subba Rao, Rallabandi, M.A., L.T., Lecturer, Govt. Arts College, Rajahmundry
66	„ Subba Raju, P. Tahsildar, Galdepur, Jaunpore Dt. U.P.
67	„ Subrahmanya Sastry, S. B.A., B.L., Advocate, Vizagapatam

Serial No.	Name of Member.	Profession & Address.
68	„ Venkata Krishna Rao, B. B.A., B.L., Pleader, Rajahmundry	
69	„ Venkataratnam, T. M.A., L.T., Lecturer, Andhra Xian College, Guntur	
70	„ Venkataramaraju, Rudraraju, Malkipuram, Razole Tq., E G. Dt.	
71	„ Venkata Rao, Damerla, M.A., L.T., Lecturer, C. D. College, Anantapur	
72	„ Venkatarangayya, M. M.A., Reader, Andhra University, Waltair	
73	„ Venkata Rao, Gurty M.A., Lecturer, Andhra University, Waltair	
74	„ Venkateswara Sastry, Vavilla, Srotriendar, Tondiarpet P. O., Madras	
75	„ Thompson, M. S. H., Inspector of European Schools, Bangalore	
76	„ Raj, V. B., M.A., I.C.S., Sub-Collector, Sholapur	
77	„ Govindarajachari V., B.A., B.L., Advocate, Mylapore P.O. Madras	
78	„ Sri Ram, V., Head of the Department of Police, Lucknow University, Lucknow	
79	„ *Srinivasa Jagannadha Rao, Bahadur, Sree Rajah Kandregula Zamindar, Rajahmundry	
80	„ Raghavachari, N., M.A., L.T., Lecturer, Govt. Arts College, Rajahmundry	
81	„ Ramachandra Murty, V. S., B.A., (Hons.) Innespet, Rajahmundry	
82	„ Dr. Saletore, B. S., M.A., Ph.D., Poona.	
83	„ Dr. Venkataramanayya, N., M.A., Ph.D., Reader, University of Madras, Madras	
84	„ Dr. Subrahmanyam, K. R., M.A., Ph.D., Professor, M.R. College, Vizianagaram	
85	„ Lakshmikantam, Pingali, M.A., Andhra University, Waltair	
86	„ Janakirama Choudari, G., B.A., (Hons.), Collectorate P. O., Cocanada.	
87	„ Narayana, K. V., B.A., Bar at-law, Rajahmundry	
88	„ Sankara Rao, Chaganti, No. 8 Bonala Vengopal Street, Triplicane, Madras	
89	„ Sanyasiraju, C., Representative, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., Rajahmundry.	
90	„ Chintamani, C. V., Editor, 'Leader', Allahabad	
91	„ Visweswara Rao, R., B.A., (Hons) B.T., Teacher, Nidadavole	
92	„ Vijayarangam Naidu, S., B.A., Dy. Supt. of Police, Tanjore	
93	„ Raghavareddi, A., B.A., Municipal Commissioner, Cocanada	
94	„ Appalaswami Reddi C., Rao Saheb, Merchant, Rajahmundry	
95	„ Krishnamurthy, Guda, Maddurru, Peda-Vadapalli P. O., Via, Kovvur, West Godavari Dt.	
96	„ Subba Rao, Rebbapragada, B.A., B.L., Advocate, Rajahmundry	
97	„ Sir Alladi Krishna Swamy Aiyar, Advocate-General, Mylapore, Madras	

Serial No.	Name of Member.	Profession & Address.
98	Mr. Rama Rao, Jandhyala, Accounts Officer, E. B. Ry.,	3-Kollaghat Street, Calcutta
99	„ Anna Reddi, Mallidi, M.A., LL.B., Advocate.,	Rajahmundry
100	„ Venkatachari, S., M.A., LL.T., Lecturer, Govt. Training College,	Rajahmundry
101	„ Sreramachari, M., Main Road, Rajahmundry	
102	„ Sandilya, D., M.A., (Oxon), Modern Hotel, Bombay	
103	„ Pusalker, A.D., M.A., LL.B., 324 Vittalbhai Patel Road, Bombay	
104	„ Dr. Muzumdar, R.C., M.A., Ph.D., Vice-Chancellor, Decca	University, Post Ramna, Decca
105	„ Dr. Dinash Chendra Sircar, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer, Department	of Indian History & Culture, Calcutta University, Calcutta
106	„ Bhavayya Chowdari, Kotta, President, Panchayat Board,	Sangam—Jagerlamudi P. O., Guntur District
107	„ Lakshmipati Sastry, Sreepada, Telugu Pandit, Department of	Oriental Studies, Madras University, Triplicane, Madras
108	„ Rajanna Dikshitulu, Durbha, Pleader, Rajahmundry	
109	„ Viswanatha Sastry, M.A., B.Ed., Advocate, Rajahmundry	
110	„ Anantaraman, K. N., I.C.S., Sub Collector, Rajahmundry	
111	„ Mirashi, V. V. M.A., Head of the Department of Sanskrit,	Nagpur University, Nagpur
112	„ Ramaswamy, P., M.A., Principal, P. R. College, Cocanada	
113	„ Narasimham, Manda, Teacher, Arasavilli, Chicacole P. O.	
114	„ Venkata Rao, K., Headmaster, S. T. V. N. High School,	Pentapadu, W. G.
115	„ Lakshmi Satyanarayanayya, Daddanala, Editor, <i>Padmanayaka</i> ,	Bommidi a/w Tadepalligudem, W. G.
116	„ Benzi, W. T. Rev., U. L. C. Mission, Peddapur	
117	„ Satyanarayana, V., B.A., B.L., Advocate, Bhimavaram	
118	„ Narasimham, M., Vakil, Loyed's Road, Royapet, Madras	
119	„ Subrahmanyam, M., B.A., LL.T., Retired Headmaster,	Innespeta, Rajahmundry
120	„ Satyanarayana, Parupudi, Shorthand Reporter and Journalist,	Cocanada
121	„ Raja Rao Chowdari, K., Advocate, Innespeta, Rajahmundry	
122	„ Satchidananda Rao, K., B.A., (Hons.) B.Ed., Teacher,	Board School, Dowlaiswaram
123	„ Rajah Saheb of Dharkota, Darkota, Ganjam Dt., Orissa	
124	„ Goswald, A., Rev., Missionary, Bhimavaram	

1936-37

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, 1936-37.

MINUTES of the General Body meeting held on 12-4-1936 at 8 A.M. in the Hindu Samaj Hall, Innespet, with Rao Bahadur A. Rama Rao, B.A., B.L., President of the Society in the Chair.

1. The report read by the Honorary Secretary Mr. V. Apparao is accepted and carried unanimously.

Proposed by Mr. C. Atmaram and seconded by Mr. P. Kameswara Rao.

2. The report of the Treasurer and the Balance Sheet are read and unanimously accepted.

Proposed by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao and seconded by Mr. K. Raghavachari.

3. It is resolved to have the Society's accounts audited by a Registered Accountant before the Annual General Body meeting next year.

4. The Report of the Librarian & the Curator on the working of the Library and the Museum read by Mr. T. V. S. Ramakrishna Rao is accepted unanimously.

5. The following Office-Bearers for the year 1936-37 are elected unanimously.

President: Rao Bahadur A. Rama Rao

Vice-President: Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu, K.H.G.

Secretary: B. V. Krishna Rao

Treasurer: P. Kameswara Rao

Librarian & Curator: G. Janakirama Chowdari

Members of the Council: T. V. S. Ramakrishnarao

V. Appa Rao

N. Kameswara Rao

R. Subba Rao.

PROCEEDING OF THE MEETINGS OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL
HELD DURING THE YEAR 1936-37.

MINUTES of the Meeting held on 21-4-36.

1. The Secretary is authorised to issue an appeal to collect Funds for the Society.

2. Resolved to sell a set of the two books, *Kalinga Samchika* and *Kakatiya Samchika* (Telugu Publications of the Society) for a consolidated sum of Rs. 5/- as an urgent measure for three months.

6. Messrs M. Somasekhara Sarma and Chilukuri Veerabhadra Rao are elected as Honorary Corresponding members for a period of three years.

... ..

8. The following gentlemen are admitted to the ordinary membership of the Society.

1. Mr. Nandivada Satyanarayana, M.A., Sub-Registrar,
Chintalapudi, W. Godavari Dt.
2. Mr. Buddhavarapu China Narayanamurthy, B.A., B.L.,
District Munsiff, Rajamundry
3. Mr. Chaganti Sanyasi Raju, Representative,
Messrs. Macmillan & Co. Ltd., Rajahmundry.

MINUTES of the Meeting of the Managing Council held on 26-5-1936.

1. Resolved to admit the following gentlemen to the ordinary membership of the Society:

1. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Editor, *Leader*, Allahabad.
2. Mr. S. Bhima Sankara Rao, Pleader, Rajahmundry.

MINUTES of the Meeting of the Managing Council held on 2-6-1936.

1. The following gentlemen are elected to the ordinary membership of the Society:

1. Mr. Rampalli Visweswara Rao, B.A., (Hons.), Nidadavole.

2. Resolved to postpone the celebration of the *Reddi Empire Day* and the publication of the *Reddi Samchika* till December 1936.

3. Resolved to remove the *Reading Room, Library and Museum* of the Society to Innespet from 1st July 1936 into a convenient premises on a monthly rent not exceeding Rs. 10 (ten).

MINUTES of the Meeting of the Managing Council held on 23-7-36.

1. The following are admitted as ordinary members of the Society:

1. Mr. Ganti Viswanatha Rao, B.A., B.Ed., Rajamundry.
2. Prof. S. Venkatachari, M.A., L.T., Training College,
Rajahmundry
3. Mr. A. Raghava Reddi, B.A., Commissioner,
Rajahmundry Municipality.
4. Mr. S. Vijayarangam Naidu, B.A.,
Deputy Superintendent of Police, Rajahmundry.
5. Mr. M. Anna Reddi, M.A., LL.B., Advocate, Rajahmundry.

6. Rao Saheb C. Appalaswami Reddi, Chairman,
Municipal Council, Rajahmundry.

7. Mr. Mahankali Subrahmanyam, B.A., L.T.,
Retired District Educational Officer, Rajahmundry.

8. Mr. Lakkaraju Subba Rao, Advocate, Cocanada

6. Read the Correspondence between the Saraswati Power Press and the Secretary of the Society dating from 5-5-1936 to 9-7-36.

Resolved to pay Rs. 100/- (one hundred) only to the Proprietor, S. P. Press towards part payment of the amount due under his Bills amounting to Rs. 190-6-6 and to request him to wait for payment of the balance for two months.

Resolved further that a sum of Rs. 50/- (fifty) only be paid to the Proprietor S. P. Press towards advance for printing Vol. X of the Journal of the Society (Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu 75th Birthday Celebration Commemoration Volume), the representing a donation by Mr. J. Sreeramamurthy Pantulu, Sub-Judge Guntur.

Resolved to place on record Society's cordial thanks to Mr. J. Sreeramamurthy Pantulu for his generous donation for the publication of the J. R. P. 75th Birthday Celebration Volume.

MINUTES of the Meeting of the Managing Council held on 30-9-1936.

... ..

2. Resolved to celebrate the 75th Birthday of Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu on the Sunday following the penultimate Saturday in Nov. 1936.

3. Resolved to invite Mr. C. R. Krishnamachari, B.A., Superintendent, for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, to preside over the 75th Birthday Celebration of Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu.

... ..

9. In view of the discouraging financial condition of the Society, resolved to issue an appeal for funds in the Press under the signatures of the President, Vice-President and the Secretary.

MINUTES of the Meeting of the Managing Council held on 10-11-1936.

1. Read the correspondence between the Proprietor, S. P. Press and the Secretary.

Resolved to terminate the contract with the Proprietor, Saraswati Press, Rajahmundry for printing the *Journal* (Vol. X) of the Society. Resolved further to pay the balance of the amount due to him forthwith. Resolved to print the *Journal* henceforth in the Kazan Electric Press, Rajahmundry, on the old terms of business.

2. The J. R. Pantulu 75th Birthday celebration is postponed to the penultimate Saturday in January 1937 as the printing of the Commemoration Volume is not finished.

3. The following gentlemen are admitted to the ordinary membership of the society:

1. Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar, Kt., Advocate General, Madras
2. Mr. Kebbapragada Subba Rao, Advocate, Rajahmundry.

9. Resolved to admit the following periodical to the Exchange List of our Journal:

Mīmāṃsā Prakāśika, Poona.

MINUTES of the Meeting of the Managing Council held on 12-1-1937.

1. In view of the financial stringency through which the Society has been passing for sometime past, it is hereby resolved to sell all the three Telugu Publications of the Society for a consolidated sum of Rs. 10 (ten) only for one year from 12-1-1937 and to raise funds for carrying on the work of the Society.

2. The Secretary's action in paying Rs. 200 only, to the Proprietor, S P. Press, (the sum representing the two years' donation by the Zamindar of Chemudu,) by virtue of the resolution No. 1 dated 10-11-1936 towards part payment of the Bills Nos. 274 etc., due to him.

... ..

4. The Secretary is authorised to raise a loan of Rs. 75 only for the purpose of a final settlement of the bills of the S. P. Press, Rajahmundry.

... ..

6. The Secretary is also authorised to redeem the loan (resolution No. 4 above) as soon as funds are available with the Treasurer.

7. The Secretary is authorised to pay an advance of not exceeding Rs. 50/- to the Proprietor, Razan Electric Press for the work on hand. He will inform the Treasurer to enter it in the Account; he is further authorised to pay for the paper as soon as he gets it.

MINUTES of the Meeting of the Managing Council held on 26-2-37.

1. Resolved to hold the annual general body meeting on 4-4-1937.

... ..

3. Resolved to appoint Mr. D. Kameswara Rao, B.A., G.D.A., R.A., to audit the accounts of the Society for the years 1935-36 and 1936-37 before 21-3-1937

... ..

7. The gentleman mentioned below is admitted as an ordinary member of the Society.

Mr. J. Rama Rao, M.A., Accounts Officer, E. B. Ry. Calcutta.

1937-38

PROCEEDINGS of the Annual General Body Meeting held on 4-4-1937

Resolutions:

1. The Annual Report of the working of the Society read by the Secretary is accepted and passed unanimously.

2. Mr. P. Kameswara Rao, placed the Income & Expenditure Account before the assembly. It is adopted subject to the accounts being audited by Mr. D. Kameswara Rao before end of May 1937.

3. The Report of the working of the Library was not before the meeting owing to the absence of the Librarian.

4. Resolved unanimously to add the words "and Museum" after the word "Research" in Clause (e) of the OBJECTS of the Society.

5. Resolved to elect the following Office-Bearers for the Society during the year 1936-37.

President: Rao Bahadur A. Ramarao Pantulu

Vice-President: Nyapati Kameswara Rao Pantulu

Hon. Secretary: B. V. Krishnarao

Treasurer: P. Kameswara Rao

Librarian & Curator: V. Appa Rao

Members of the Council:—

1. Sree Raja Kandregula Srinivasa Jagannatha Rao Bahadur.
2. D. Venkata Rao, M.A., L.T.,
3. K. Raghavachari M.A., B.L.,
4. Rallabandi Subba Rao, M.A., L.T.,

MEETINGS OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL

MINUTES of the Meeting of the Managing Council held on 18-4-1937.

1. The Honorary Secretary's work in connection with raising funds for the Society at Madras is placed on record with appreciation. The expenditure amounting to Rs. 19-15-0 incurred by him in this connection is approved.

... ..

3. Resolved to elect Mr. B. V. Krishnarao, B.A., B.L., as the Editor of the Journal Vol. XI.

The following gentlemen are elected to the Editorial Committee of Vol. XI.

Mr. V. Appa Rao, B.A., B.L.

Mr. N. Kameswara Rao, B.A., B.L.,

4. Resolved to celebrate the 75th birthday celebration of Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu early in July 1937.

7. Resolved to celebrate the Reddi Empire Day in September 1937. Mr. Vaddadi Appa Rao, B.A., B.L., is empowered to do everything in connection with the celebration of the *Reddi Empire Day* and the publication of the *Reddi Samchika*.

MINUTES of the Meeting of the Managing Council held on 1-8-1937.

1. Resolved to fix the 22nd day of August 1937 for the celebration of the 75th Birthday of Mr. Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu and the publication of the Commemoration Volume (Vol. X).

2. The following gentlemen do constitute a committee to draft an address for presenting Mr. Ramayya Pantulu on the occasion of his 75th Birthday celebration:—

1. Mr. B. V. Krishnarao, (Hon. Secretary),
2. Mr. V. Appa Rao and
3. Prof. R. Subba Rao.

It is resolved that there should be addresses both in Sanskrit and English as well.

... ..

6. The following Journals and Reports are placed on the Exchange List of the Society's Journal:

1. Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Colombo
2. Bulletin of the Adyar Library, (*Brahmavidya*), Adyar, Madras

7. The following gentlemen are elected as delegates to the Ninth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Trivandrum, December 1937 to represent the Society.

1. Mr. V. Appa Rao
2. „ B. V. Krishna Rao
3. „ K. Raghavachari
4. „ V. S. Ramachandra Murty and
5. „ R. Subba Rao

MINUTES of the Meeting of the Managing Council held on 21-8-1937.

1. The programme for the 75th Birthday celebration of Mr. Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu, prepared by the Secretary is approved.

2. The following expenditure is sanctioned:

1. Payment of Rs. 80 in part satisfaction to the Printer, Mr. C. Nagaraju, B.A., Proprietor, Razan Electric Press.

2. Purchase of Khaddar Shawls for presentation to Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu.

3. Purchase of camphor garlands and flower garlands worth about Rs. 1-14-0.

MINUTES of the Managing Council meeting held on 7-11-1937.

1. The resignation of Mr. D. Venkatarao of his membership of the Council consequent upon his transfer to Anantapur is accepted.

Mr. C. Atmaram is elected in his vacancy (by 4 votes against 2).

2. The names of the following gentlemen are struck off the rolls of membership of the Society:

1. Nandivada Satyanarayana, M.A.
2. S. Bhima Sankara Rao, B.A.
3. Davuluri Ramakrishnarao.
4. B. Ch. Narayana Murthi, B.A., B.L.
5. T. Sivasankara Sastri

... ..

4. The following gentlemen are admitted as ordinary members:

Mr. P. Ramaswami, Principal, P. R. College, Cocanada.

Mr. V. Satyanarayana B.A., B.L., Pleader, Tanuku.

5. The action of the Secretary in giving a loan of Jirjingi plates of Indravarman and the Pamulavaka Plates of Ammaraja II to the Superintendent for Epigraphy Madras is approved.

... ..

7. The following periodicals are added to the Exchange list:

1. Oriental Literary Digest, Poona, 4.
2. Indiana, Gandhinagar, Benares City.
3. Golconda Patrika, Troop Bazaar, Hyderabad
4. Orientalistisches Literaturzeitung, Leipzig.

8. Read letter from the Secretary, Indian History Congress, Allahabad University, Allahabad.

Resolved to send the following gentlemen as delegates to represent the Society at the Session:

1. Mr. C. Atmaram, B.A., B.L.
2. Mr. B. V. Krishnarao, B.A., B.L.
3. Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T.

9. Resolved to postpone decision on the proposal to remove the following from the Reference Library and transfer them to the ordinary lending section.

1 *Indian Antiquary*

2 *Epigraphia Indica*

3 *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*

4 Annual Reports of the Director-General of Archaeological Survey of India

5 Annual Reports of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, South India

6 Annual Reports of the Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad (Do.)

7 Annual Reports of the Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore

10. Resolved to purchase one more almyrah for the Library.

... ..

12. Resolved to pay Rs. 150 (fifty) only towards the debt due to Mr. N. Subba Rao Pantulu, in respect of the promissory note executed by the former Secretary, Mr. C. Atmaram.

... ..

15. Resolved to fix the date, place and President of the celebration of the *Reddi Empire Day* in consultation with Dr. C. Ramalinga Reddi, M.A., (Cantab) D.Litt., (Hon.) Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University.

MINUTES of the Meeting of the Managing Council, held on 28-1-1938.

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2. Resolved to celebrate the *Reddi Empire Day* at Rajahmundry on the 23rd and 24th of April 1938.

Heard Messrs V. Appa Rao and B. V. Krishnarao, (Hon. Secretary, about their interview with Dr. C. R. Reddi at Rajahmundry station on 8th November 1937.

3. Resolved to appoint a committee consisting of Messrs R. Subba Rao, B. V. Krishnarao and V. Apparao, the latter as *convener* to be in charge of all arrangements regarding the Reddi Empire Day Celebrations and to form the Reception Committee for the purpose. Further resolved to request C. Ramalinga Reddi to be the Chairman of the Reception Committee and Her Highness the Maharani Saheba of Gadwal to be the Patron-President of the Celebration.

... ..

6. Resolved that the Hon. Secretary be authorised to revise the *rules* of the Society and bring them up-to-date for publication.

7. Resolved to admit the following gentlemen to the ordinary membership of the Society.

1. Mr. S. Lakshmipati Sastri, Telugu Pandit, Department of Oriental Studies, Madras University.
2. Mr. D. Rajanna Dikshitulu, B.A., Pleader, Rajahmundry.
3. Mr. B. Viswanatha Sastri, M.A., B.Ed., Advocate, Rajahmundry.
4. Mr. K. N. Anantaraman, M.A., I.C.S., Sub Collector, Rajahmundry.
5. Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A., Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Nagpur University.

8. The work done with regard to the Reddi Empire Celebrations and the Publications of the Reddi Samchika: The resolution was talked out.

9. Read letter dated 17-1-1938 from the Secretary of the Reddi Jana Samgha, Thyagarayanagar, Madras.

Resolved to accept the contribution of Rs. 100/ (One hundred) with thanks and to request the Samgha to remit the sum as soon as possible.

Further resolved to earmark the above sum for the publication of the Reddi Samchika and the Reddi Empire Day Celebration.

10. Resolved to appoint Mr. R. Subbarao and Mr. B. V. Krishnarao (Editor) to prepare a list of Exchanges of the Society's Journal which may be discontinued for want of accommodation.

... ..

12. Resolved to accept the resignation of Mr. V. Apparao as Curator and Librarian.

Further resolved to elect Mr. V. S. Ramachandra Murthi, B.A. (Hons.) as Librarian and Curator in the vacancy.

MINUTES of the Managing Council meeting held on 1-3-1938.

1. Resolved to admit the following gentlemen as ordinary members of the Society.

1. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph. D., Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University, Ramna, Dacca.

2. Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sirkar, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer, Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, Calcutta.

3. Kotta Bhavayya Chauthari, Singam Jagarlamudi, Guntur Dt.

4. Musunuri Sree Ramachari, Proprietor, Modern Typewriting Institute, Rajahmundry.

... ..

4. Resolved to pay Rs. 39/- to the Proprietor Razan Electric Press in full payment of the bill for printing Vol. X and close the account, for that.

5. Resolved to delete the following from the Exchange List

1. Journal of the Bombay Historical Research Society

... ..

8. Resolved to fix the 3rd April 1938 for holding the annual General Body Meeting.

9. The Secretary has reported that there has been some confusion about the payment and collection of subscriptions from the local members about 1934 onwards, and that there is a necessity to appoint a committee of the Treasurer (Mr. P. Kameswara Rao), Secretary (Mr. V. Krishnarao) and Mr. N. Kameswararao (former Treasurer) to examine the accounts from 1933-34 up-to-date and report to the council before the next meeting of the Council. The Council resolved accordingly.

MINUTES of the Managing Council meeting held on 11-3-1938.

As it was not possible to hold a meeting with such short notice the following resolution was adopted after circulation.

It is hereby resolved to invite Professor M. VENKATARANGAIYA, (A.. Reader in History and Politics. Andhra University, Waltair, to preside over the annual General Body Meeting of the Society which will be held on 3-4-1938 and deliver an address.

MINUTES of the meeting of the Managing Council held on 31-3-1938.

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2. Read the letter from the Librarian, Library of the School of Oriental Studies, London University, London.

Resolved to place the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London University on the Exchange List.

The Secretary is authorised to request the Librarian of the School of Oriental Studies Library to present their *Bulletin* of all the volumes from 1926 in exchange for supply of the *JAHRS* from the beginning.

3. Resolved to postpone the Reddi Empire Day Celebration to the 23rd and 24th July 1938.

...
7. Read Letter from Dr. C. R. Reddy, Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University. Resolved to inform Dr. C. R. Reddy garu that the Managing Council regrets their inability to accept the suggestion to dedicate the *Reddi Samchika* to the Maharani Sahiba of Gidval, for they feel extremely delicate to approach other gentlemen also for donations while the *Reddi Samchika* is dedicated to the Maharani Sahiba

ON OUR EXCHANGE LIST

- 1 Academie des Beaux-Arts, Institut de Francais Paris
- 2 *Acta Orientalia*, Leydon
- 3 Andhra Sahitya Parishat Patrika, Cocanada
- 4 Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona
- 5 Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, Kern Institute, Leydon
- 6 Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, Delhi
- 7 Annual Reports of the Archaeological Department, Travancore State
- 8 Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Colombo
- 9 Annual Reports of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior
- 10 Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department, Mysore
- 11 Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of H. E. H. The Nizam's Dominions Hyderabad, (Dn)
- 12 Annals de Musee Guimet, Revue des Arts Asiatique, Paris
- 13 Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, Madras
- 14 Annual Report of the Smithsonian Society, Washington, U. S. A.
- 15 Bharata Itihasa Samsodhaka Mandala, Poona
- 16 Bharati, a Telugu Monthly Miscellany, Madras
- 17 *Bibliographie Bouddhique*, Librairie d'Amerique et d'Orient, Paris
- 18 Bangiya Sahitya Parishat Patrika, Calcutta
- 19 Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, U. S. A.
- 20 Bulletin of the Sri Ramavarma Research Institute, Trichur, Cochin
- 21 Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution
- 22 Calcutta Oriental Journal, Calcutta
- 23 *Djava*, (Journal of the Java Institute) Jokjakarta
- 24 *Epigraphia Indica* and Record of the Archaeological Survey of India
- 25 *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*,
- 26 Grihalkshmi, A Monthly, Royapettah, Madras
- 27 The Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta
- 28 Government Museum, Madras; Publications of:
- 29 India and the World, Calcutta
- 30 Indian Culture, Journal of the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta
- 31 Journal of the Annamalai University, Annamalaiagar
- 32 The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna
- 33 Journal of the Assam Research Society, Gauhati
- 34 Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay
- 35 Journal of Philosophy and Religion, Amalner, East Khandesh Dt.
- 36 Journal and Annual Report of the K. K. C. Oriental Institute
- 37 Journal of the Anthropological Society, Bombay
- 38 Journal of Indian History, Mylapore, Madras
- 39 Journal of the Karnataka Historical Society, Dharwar
- 40 Journal of Oriental Research Madras
- 41 Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University
- 42 Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta

- 43 Journal of the Bombay University, Bombay
- 44 Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, Allahabad
- 45 Journal of the Geographical Association, Cathedral P. O., Ma
- 46 The Mahabodhi, Journal of the Mahabodhi Society, Calcutta
- 47 Karnataka Sanitya Prashat Patrika, Bangalore
- 48 *Man in India*, Ranchi
- 49 Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, Delhi
- 50 The Modern Review, Calcutta
- 51 Le Monde Oriental, Uppsala, Norway
- 52 Nagari Pracharini Patrika, Benares
- 53 Oriental Institute, Baroda, Publications of the:
- 54 Orientalische Literaturzeitung, Leipsic
- 55 Prachina Karnataka, Dharwar
- 56 The Poona Orientalist, Poona
- 57 Publications of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, Ben
- 58 Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore
- 59 Prabuddha Karnataka, University of Mysore, Mysore
- 60 Record Office, Madras, Publications of,
- 61 Sanskrit Sanitya Parisat Patrika, Calcutta
- 62 Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, Leip
- 63 Papers of the Kerala Society, Trivandrum
- 64 Triveni, Madras
- 65 The Philosophical Quarterly, Calcutta
- 66 Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Gotting
- 67 The New Indian Antiquary, Bombay 2
- 68 Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, Leipsic

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