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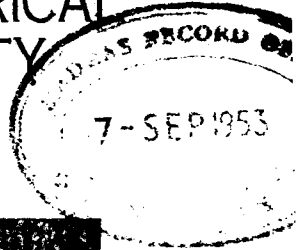


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Prof. R. Subba Rao Shashtipurthi Number

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**Sri R. Subba Rao M.A., L.T. M.E.S.,***Head of the History Dept., Govt. Arts College (Retd)**Hon. Gen. Secretary, Andhra Hist. Research Society**Member, Ind. Hist. Records Commission (Madras Region) & Delhi**Author, History of Kalinga (Tel), History of E. Gangas (Eng.)**Editor: Journal of A. H. R. S., Vengi & Kalinga Sanchikas, Etc*



Prof. R. Subba Rao Shashthipurthi Celebration Committee.

A Brief Biographical Sketch of Prof. R. SUBBA RAO*

By Sri N. Kameswara Rao, B.A., B.L. President,
A. H. R. Society and President of Prof. Subba Rao's 61st Birthday
Celebration Committee.

Prof. Rallabandy Subba Rao was born at Peddapur, E. Godavari Dt. Madras State, on 15-3-1891, the third son of Sree R. Venkayya, a rich landlord whose father Sri R. Venkataratnam migrated to the place from Guntur Dt. about 1731 as a business man and bought many lands. The Suka Nādi Grandham, a Palm-leaf Manuscript obtained from Vaidesvaram Koil, Tanjore Dt., gives the following particulars relating to his life, which are found to be true and correct. "He will be a Brahmin of medium complexion and skilful in work. With reference to his father, he will derive his income chiefly from lands and try to improve it. He will have a pretty large family. The native will have 4 brothers, of whom two will have Yoga to become Government servants and rise therein. The native will learn the language of the Rulers, experiencing failures therein and at some expense. There will be delay in completing it but still he will finish it with credit. His profession will be that of a teacher of youths.

Within the 25th year, he will attempt to get into service, but feeling difficulties in it, he will give it up. He will subsequently take up another service, relating to Education, the profession of his life in which he will prosper later and to which he will stick. He will now be leading a family life and a son endowed with long life will be born. The native will be modest and earn better than his brothers. Though income from lands will not diminish, still on account of debts, part of

*To celebrate Prof. Subba Rao's 61st birthday worthy of his contributions to Historical Studies, a List of which is published below, and of his meritorious and useful services to this Society for over quarter of a Century, the Managing Council of the Society formed a Committee with myself as President and Convenor to celebrate the Birthday and to present a Volume of Research articles to him in honour of the event. A full report of the Shashthi purthi Celebration is published at the end of this Volume. The Society's best thanks are due not only to all those who contributed funds and articles and made the function a success but also to the Chandra Printing Press for the care and patience and co-operation they have shown in printing this Volume.

Anantapur College in (1942-43) the same cadre. (M.E.S.) Everywhere he got a good name for his popularity, strenuous work and amiable disposition.

At the time of his retirement from Govt. Arts College Rajahmundry in March 1946, the Principal wrote in the College Administration Report thus:

"We shall soon be parting company with our good old friend Sri R. Subba Rao, who will be retiring from service on March 15th, after serving on our staff for over 23 years. He will long be remembered for his amiability, kindness, learning, and insatiable thirst and appetite for coffee, aerated waters, sweets and fiddies. For performing the vanishing trick with eatables, he has no equal.

On ceremonial occasions, resplendent in a black coat, a gold watch and chain, and a lace turban, exuding goodwill and amiability all round, he looks a perfect picture of sound benignity. In his big body is an equally big heart which beats in sympathy with his students and for all good causes. I wish Sri Subba Rao a very long and happy retired life. May his shadow never grow less and may the wings of Peace ever rest on his populous dwelling!"

After retirement in 1946, he was elected as Gen. Secretary of the Society. In 1949 he was invited by the Orissa Govt. to work as Head of History Dept. in the Ravenshaw College, Cuttack. In giving the offer, the then Vice-Chancellor of the Utkal University wrote thus:-

I came to Madras in connection with the meeting of the Inter University Board and I thought that I would be able to meet you here. To-day I met Mr. Nilakantha Sastri who told me that you might be at Rajahmundry. Accordingly I am addressing this letter to you.

The object of my writing this letter to you is that it is our desire to employ somebody in the History Department as its Head in the Ravenshaw College. I have heard your reputation as a scholar and shall be glad if you would agree to accept the offer. If so, please let me know your terms for giving your services for 5 years. On hearing from you, I will place the matter before proper authorities in the Government of Orissa.



11th Session of the I. H. R. C., held at Nagapur in 1928, was opened by H. E. Sir M. Butler, Governor of C. P. Sri R. Subba Rao, as a Delegate of the Andhra University, is seen standing behind him.



12th Session of the I. H. R. C. held at Gwalior in 1929. Senior Maharani Scindia welcomed the members. Deputed by the Society, and appointed by Govt of India as both Corresponding & Co-opted member, Prof. R. Subba Rao is seen in the centre behind H. H. Kumararajah Scindia.

A Brief Biographical Sketch of Prof. R. Subba Rao V

After working for an year he retired and reverted to his former post as Hon. Gen. Secretary of this Society which he practically refounded and fostered as his favourite child.

At the time of his retirement from the Fakir Mohan College, Balasore, Orissa, the then Principal wrote about him thus:

"I shall be leaving the College on the 15th., and therefore I shall not be here when the time for your own departure comes. I should however like to tell you how very much I share the sentiments of respect and affection you have evoked in the minds of the staff and students during your few months' stay here.

No one will be happier than I, if a way is found to retain your services as a Teacher of History in Utkal University. You came to us with nearly three decades of experience as a Teacher of University classes, and many Works of historical research to your credit. I considered it a matter of singular good fortune for this College that circumstances should have obliged the Department to post you here. I am afraid that the field we offered was too limited for your abilities, but that did not prevent you from putting your heart and soul into your work. You enthused even scoffers into a desire for historical studies. This, I deem is a very great thing in these days of academic indifference.

I hope you will keep me informed of your future activities. The world of learning has still many years of work waiting for you. Wishing you happiness and prosperity" V.V. John.

At the time of Shashti-purti Celebration, his work was commended as follows:-

It has given me great pleasure to go round the Library & see the various collections of inestimable value of The Andhra Historical Research Society, which is the only one of its kind, I learn, in Telugu Districts. This is as such an Institution of importance & value to the Province in general & to Telugu area in particular. Prof. Rallabandi Subba Rao, M.A., L.T. deserves all congratulations for the valuable services he has been rendering to the society. The society deserves all help and support.

Dr. G.V. Seetapathy.

I am highly delighted to visit the A.H.R. Society Buildings to-day. I heartily congratulate Prof. R. Subba Rao and his fellow-workers on the success so far achieved in building up the

Prof. R. Subba Rao Shashtipurthy Volume.

Library, Museum and other interesting organs of this very important and interesting Institution of our Andhra Desa. I am quite hopeful that with the sustained energy and enthusiasm of my friend Prof. R. Subba Rao this institution will develop into one of great magnitude and will attract scholars of distant places of this country and of other civilized countries to devote their precious time to a careful study of the Indian antiquities here. The materials so far collected—Books printed as well as unprinted and unpublished, Mss, Coins, Inscriptions and other things—are so many that they require special rooms and halls for a careful exhibition and organised classification and presentation. I hope that the Government of Madras will extend to this Society the encouragement it richly deserves.—B.S.Rao, Commissioner.

During the long, useful and successful course of his official career in Govt. Arts College here, he worked as the Foster Father of this Institution. Besides, he was representing the Andhra University and the Society as the official Delegate, at the various Conferences—Indian Historical Records Commission and All-India Oriental Conference and Indian History Congress—held in Nagpur, Baroda, Patna, Allahabad, Banares, Hyderabad, Mysore, Dehli and other places.

Thus, he was a wide traveller all over India and came into close personal touch with several distinguished scholars. His experience and knowledge helped the Society in all possible ways. As President of Board of Studies and as a Member of the Senate, Etc, he helped the A. U. and its academic interests. The University elected him for several years to deliver the Extension Lectures and he did so in almost all the Colleges extending from Nellore in the South to Berhampore in the North. He was also chosen to write an Intermediate Text Book on Indian History. His own book History of Kalinga was prescribed as a study book for South Indian History Students of B. A. and B. A. (Hons.) classes. Besides his work in the Arts College for its several activities and for the Society in its several phases such as holding Historical conferences and Exhibitions in different cities of Andhradesa and publishing History Books in Telugu and Research Journals in English, his work in the Town for other Organisations is praiseworthy. Thus, he

was a regular member of the Board of Management of the Commercial and Industrial Museum, an expert member of the Managing-Council of the Ramdas Co-op. Institute, a Director of Public Servants Co-op. Building Society, an Honorary Life Member and Patron Emeritus and Trustee of this Society, a member of the Council of I.H.-Congress, a Madras Govt. nominated member of I.H. Records Committee, an India Govt. nominated member of Research and Publication Committee of I. H. R. C., an Orissa Govt. nominated member of Research Council, Cuttack, Etc. In honouring him, the Society really honours itself.

List of Important Articles published by

Prof. R. Subba Rao in the Society's Journals.*

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14. do do Gwalior session of 1929 IV (3, 4) 203-212
15. do do Thirteenth Session of the—V (4) 239-248.

*Besides, he published several articles in Telugu & English Journals.

A.D. They were never a great power and their sporadic attempts at aggrandisement and expansion met but with temporary success in the midst of powerful kingdoms- the Chālukyas, the Kākatiyas, the Chōlas and the Velanāḍu Chōḍas. Joint rule was a regular feature of the dynasty and not less than ten generations of rulers ruled Kōnamandala. The Kōna Haihayas owed allegiance to the Chōlas and their representatives, the Velanāḍu Chōḍas throughout, though occasionally they were compelled to acknowledge Chālukya and Kākatiya suzerainty.

The political condition of South India and Vengi in the 11th Century:-

In the second half of the 11th century A.D. South India was divided between the Gangas in the east, the Chālukyas in the north and the Chōlas in the south. The Ganga rulers were Vajrahasta V (A.D. 1038-1070) Dēvēndravarmān Rājārāja I (A.D. 1070-1078) and Anantavarmānchōḍa Ganga (A.D. 1078-1146); and the Chālukyas of Kalyāni were Sōmēśvara I (A.D. 1042-1068), Sōmēśvara II (A.D. 1068-1076) and Vikramāditya VI (A.D. 1076-1126). The Chōla and Chālukyā kingdoms were united in A.D. 1070 when Rājēndra II of the Chālukyas of Vēngi, succeeded to the Chōla throne on the death of Adhirājēndra I, under the name of Kulōttunga I.

With Kulōttunga's accession, Vēngi was naturally included in the Chola empire and remained an important viceroyalty throughout his reign. While Kulōttunga was busy in the south, the kingdom of Vēngi was invaded by Yasahkarṇadēva of the Haihayas of Tripuri and Vijayāditya VII was defeated by him. After the death of Vijayāditya, after ruling for fifteen years, Kulōttunga appointed his own sons one after another as Viceroys of Vēngi-Rājurāja Mummaḍichōḍa (A.D. 1076-1077), Virachōḍa (1078-1083), Rājārājachōḍa Ganga (1084-1089), Virachōḍa for second time (1089-1093) and Vikrama chōla (A.D. 1093-1118).

Origin and rise of the dynasty.

According to the Pithāpur Pillar inscription of Mallidēva and Manmasatya II, ¹ in the race of Yadu, was born to Lord Hari a king named Haihaya. To Haihaya was born Kritavirya to whom was born Kārtavirya. Arjuna Kārtavirya and his capital Māhismati are mentioned in many records of the Kōna Haihaya dynasty and the two epithets, mentioning them form part of the prasasti of the Kōna Haihayas.

1. E. I. IV no. 10. p 89 v 6.

The earliest historical person of the Kōna dynasty was Kirtirāja of Haihayavamsa. ¹ The Pithāpur pillar inscription does not mention him and his relationship to Sahasrārjunā is not known. Kirtirāja's only inscription is from Drākshārāma dated A.D 1073 and the 13th year of Sarvalōkāsraya Śriviśṇuvardhana mahārāja. ² Rākuduru is prefixed to Kirtirāja's name and Kirtirāja's queen (mahishi) was Rēkidevi. From the inscription it is evident that Kirtirāja owed allegiance to the Chōla throne, for Viśṇuvardhana undoubtedly refers to Kulōttunga I mentioned by his Eastern Chālukya name and epithets; and 13th year must be taken to be an error for the 3rd year which corresponds to A.D 1073. ³ The mention of the Tribhuvanāmkūṣa measure at the end of the record supports Kirtirāja's loyalty to Kulōttunga I. Perhaps Kirtirāja came with Yasahkarṇa of Tripuri by A.D 1072-73 and stayed back in Vēngi. He appears to have been a General and chieftain of some importance like Gonka I serving Kulōttunga by A.D 1073. Probably Kulōttunga conferred on him a small principality round about Rākuduru as a reward for his services and this explains Rēkama being called a mahishi. Probably Rākuduru was his capital.

The next Kōna Haihaya ruler and the first after Kārtavirya, according to the Pithāpur pillar inscription was Mummaḍi Bhima I. Mummaḍi Bhima I's relationship to Kirtirāja is not known. His only record is from Drākshārāma dated A.D 1082 and C. V. 6 in which ⁴ he is mentioned as Kōna Mummaḍirāju. Mummaḍi Bhima received the insignia of sovereignty from Rājādhirāja Rājēndrachōḍa and became the lord of Vēngi. ⁵ The date of this conferment is not specified anywhere. Rājēndra Chōḍa II is Kulōttunga I and the conferment must have taken place after A.D 1073- the date of Kirtirāja and before A.D 1082 - the year by which Mummaḍi Bhima acknowledged Western Chālukyan suzerainty. Consequently the statement that the conferment took place about A.D 1063 ⁶ becomes worthless for it is not based on any evidence and Rājēndra II need not have made this conferment in the year of his accession to the Chālukya throne. in A.D 1063. By A.D 1082 Mummaḍi Bhima of Drākshārāma ⁷ recognised Chālukyan suzerainty under Vikramāditya VI. Mummaḍi Bhima, as the

1. 186 of 1893. S. I. I. IV 1011.

2. Do.

3. Prof. K. A. N. Sastri: The Chōlas II - II p 556.

4. 292 of 1893: S. I. I. IV 1161.

5. E. I. IV No. 10. p 89 11. 49-50.

6. Sewell: Historical Inscriptions of South India pp 77, 361.

7. 292 of 1893: S. I. I. IV 1161.

Saka and Vikrama years show, was one of the feudatories of Kulōttunga I who had to acknowledge Chālukyan yoke very early which must be attributed to the location of their kingdoms. This position of Mummaḍi in A.D. 1082 - transferring his loyalty from Kulōttunga I to Vikramāditya signifies the slow beginnings of the spread of Chālukyan power into Vēngi which was to reach culmination forty years hence after Kulōttunga's death and was to be but a temporary phenomenon. It is not known how long Mummaḍi Bhima I continued allegiance to the Chālukyas.

Mummaḍi contracted alliances of marriage with contemporary powers. in this period. His daughter Lakshmidēvi was mentioned as the wife of Peḍana Rājaparāja¹ probably a local chieftain of some importance. Mummaḍi had two sons-Venna and Rājaparēṇḍu I and was succeeded by Rājaparēṇḍu I.²

The Kōna records do not enlighten us why and how Rājaparēṇḍu I succeeded Mummaḍi Bhima I overruling the claims of his elder brother Venna. No inscriptions of Rājaparēṇḍu I have come to light. But from later records³ of the dynasty, it is clear that Rājaparēṇḍu had three sons-Mummaḍi Bhima II and Rājendra Chōḍa I by Lakshmi, and Satya or Satyāsraya I by Tondāmbika. Rājaparēṇḍu is mentioned as the lord of Kōnamandala. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, it may be assumed that Rājaparēṇḍu's rule lasted from A.D. 1082 - the last date for Mummaḍi Bhima I and A.D. 1138 - the earliest date⁴ for his son and successor Rājēndrachōḍa I. It is not possible to construct the political history of the reign for want of data and probably the hereditary loyalty to the Chōla throne and the forced allegiance to the Chālukyas were synchronised in the names of the two sons of Rājaparēṇḍu I Rājēndrachōḍa I and Satyāsraya I.

RĀJĒNDRA CHŌḌA I A.D. 1128-1135.

Rājēndrachōḍa appears to have been the greatest among the early Kōna Haihayas before the beginning of the dual kingship. His reign, though brief, seems to have been eventful. Here again, we see that though the second son of Rājēndrachōḍa succeeded his father overriding the right of Mummaḍi Bhima II just as Rājaparēṇḍu succeeded in spite of Venna. But in his turn Rājēndrachōḍa I was succeeded on the throne by his two brothers- the elder Mummaḍi Bhima II and the younger Satya- the first couple to rule jointly the Haihaya kingdom.

1. do 2.E. I. No. 10.
3. Do. P. 89. V. ii.
4. 283 of 1893: S. I. I. IV 1150.

Rājēndrachōḍa I is said to have ruled over Vēngi.¹ Remembering that his father Rājaparēṇḍu I was only the ruler of Kōnamandala, to have acquired this position, Rājēndrachōḍa I must have extended and consolidated his kingdom to embrace the Vēngidēśa but not confined only to Kōnamandala. This gathers support from his titles- politically significant-with the explanations given in the inscriptions. To begin with, the Pithāpur pillar inscription says that Rājēndrachōḍa I assumed all the insignia of sovereignty and acquired the surname Vikramarudra for having destroyed the enemies by his valour, Haihayāditya and Gaṇḍavēṇḍaḍuva- for having crushed the power of the enemies.² Rājēndrachōḍa's only record³ dated 1138 calls him Chōḍi alias Vikramarudra and the ornament of the city of Mahishmati. Rājēndrachōḍa was the first Kōna Haihaya to bear such titles which show that he must have had a busy time fighting the enemies to translate his ambition of raising Kōnamandala into the Vēngi kingdom, into a reality.

Rājēndrachōḍa and his opponents

Inscriptions do not mention the enemies of Rājēndrachōḍa I by conquering whom he acquired the titles-Vikramarudra and Gaṇḍavēṇḍaḍuva. But the great enemy of Vēngi and the chōlas in this period was none other than the Chālukyas of Kalyaṇi. The power of Vikramāditya VI in Vēngi, from its slow beginnings in the time of Mummaḍi Bhima I spread over the entire Vēngi by A.D. 1118 and almost all the subsidiary powers in Vēngi had to acknowledge Chālukyan suzerainty. Therefore most probably Rājēndra I's father Rājēndra I was subordinate to Vikramāditya VI.

The Kōnas and other dynasties in Āndhra and their lord Vikramāditya were awaiting to overthrow the Chālukyan sway in Vēngi. The opportunity came when Vikramāditya died in A.D. 1126. And soon after "the restoration of Chōla supremacy in the North"⁴ was effected. Undoubtedly in bringing about this desired result, Rājēndrachōḍa I must have assisted the Chōlas in fighting Sōmēśvara III and his generals in Vēngi and acquired the above mentioned titles indicating his valour and consequent defeat of the enemies. So Rājēndrachōḍa I by A.D. 1128⁵ by fighting on the side of the Chōlas had some successes over the Chālukyas like Velanāṇṭi Chōḍa I and other minor rulers in Vēngi.

1. E. I. IV No. p 89 v 12.
2. E. I. IV. No. 10. p 90, v 17.
3. 283 of 1893: S. I. I. IV 1150.
4. The Chōlas II-I p 47.
5. The date of this inscription.

Rājendra Chōḍa I and the Chōlas

He was loyal to the Chōlas as his name itself shows for he was named after Rājendra Kulōttunga, the suzerain of his grandfather Mummaḍi Bhīma I. As seen above, Rājendrachōḍa had a share in preparing the ground for the departure of the Chālukyas and the gradual restoration of the Chōla power in Vēngi.

Mummaḍi Bhīma II and Satya I. A.D 1135-1150.

Till the end of the reign of Rājendrachōḍa I, The Kōna Haihayas kingdom did not experience dual kingship. With the accession of Bhīma II and Satya, it launched on a career of joint rule which was to go on for a period of not less than four generations. Once again, in the succession of Bhīma II and Satya, we see that the claims of the five sons of Rājendra chōḍa I, the first two being Beta and Mallidēva were set aside, in favor of the brothers of Rājendrachōḍa I. Probably the political conditions at the time necessitated conjoint rule of Bhīma and Satya in Kōnamandala in the interests of self defence and preservation.

Mummaḍi Bhīma II and Satya were both strong rulers. Mummaḍi Rāja is mentioned thus in his records. The earliest inscription ² is from Drākshārāma dated 1135 A.D and C.V. Year 60. He is spoken of as the moon to the ocean, i.e. Haihayavamsa. Satya's earliest record ³ is from Drākshārāma, bearing the same date as the above. He is mentioned as Sattirāju, and lord of Kōnamandala. So A.D 1135 was the initial year of the rule of Bhīma and Satya which they began by recognising Chalukyan suzerainty. Their rule lasted for 15 years-up to A.D 1150 when they were succeeded by Lōkabhūpāla and Bhīma III. No inscriptions of Mummaḍi Bhīma II after A.D 1135 are known and his son is mentioned with regal titles in A.D 1150 ⁴ which must be considered to be the end of Bhīma's rule. As for Satya I, two of his records ⁵ dated A.D 1150 are from Drākshārāma. In one of them, the king's name is lost and both are dated in the 17th regnal year of Kulōttungachōḍadeva, i.e. Kulōttunga II. Thus Bhīma and Satya ended their rule as the subordinates of the Chōlas.

1. E. I. IV No. 10 14.

2. 289 of 1893; S. I. I. V 1156.

3. 234 of 1893; S. I. I. IV 1080.

4. 213 of 1897; S. I. I. VI 175.

5. 249, 250 A of 1893; S. I. I. VI 1102, 1104.

Their political relations

Mummaḍi bore the relations- Kōnakshmādhisvara, Māhishmativallabha, and was of Ātrēya gōtra ¹ and Satya had the epithets-māhishmatipuravarēsvara, and sahasra bahupratāpavirasampannulaina and mahāmandalēsvara. ² These titles and the Pithāpur pillar inscription saying that Mummaḍi Bhīma and Satya burnt their enemies by their valour attest the capacities of the two rulers in their wars. Bhīma and Satya had dealings with the Chōlas, the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi, the local Chālukyas, the Velanāṇḍu Chōḍas and others.

Bhīma and Satya and the Chōlas

Kulōttunga II, son and successor of Vikramachōla, was the chōla emperor in this period (A.D 1133-1150). His reign was "a period of peace, good government and prosperity."

Bhīma and Satya, deviated from the hereditary loyalty of the Kōna Haihayas to the Chōlas, in the beginning of their reign as their inscriptions at Drākshārāma were dated in C.V. era-60th year. This reflects the political condition of Vēngi at the time. Though the Chōla supremacy was restored in this southern half of Vēngi soon after Vikramādetya VI's death by A.D 1127 and the evidence from inscriptions bearing Chōla regnal years is plentiful still the restoration of the Chōla supremacy in the northern half was delayed by not less than a dozen years-A.D 1139 in spite of the best efforts of the Chōlas and their subordinate rulers in the areas. The records up to A.D 1139 dated in Chōla regnal years were all from other parts of Vēngi ³ and none from Drākshārāma. This shows the unavoidable subordination of the Kōnas to the Chālukyas in A.D 1135.

Kulōttunga II and Velanāṇḍi Gonka II-the Chōla and the Velanāṇḍu chōḍa rulers-continued the efforts of Vikramachōla and chōḍa I respectively to restore chōla powers in northern Vēngi and end Chālukyan sway. It is not unlikely that Bhīma and Satya joined and assisted them in this task. By A.D 1139 the Chōlas and their partisans crushed the Chalukya power in Vēngi by vanquishing them on the Gōḍāvāri and plundering their camp. ¹ This success of the Chōlas signalled the end of the Chālukyas

1. 213 of 1897; S. I. I. VI 175.

2. 250.A of 1893; S. I. I. IV 1104.

3. Prof. K. A. N. Sastri: The Chōlas II - I pp 72, 79.

in Vēngi, the completion of restoration of the Chōla power and the inscriptions after A.D 1138, of feudatory rulers and dated in chōla regnal years attest this and the Kōna Haihayas proved their loyalty to Kulōttunga II by dating their last records. A.D 1150 from Drākshārāma in the 17th regnal year of the emperor.²

Bhima and Satya and the Chalukyas

Sōmēśvara III up to A.D 1139 and Jagadekamalla II from A.D 1139 ruled the western Chālukyan kingdom with capital at Kalyā i. Sōmēśvara enjoyed the glory of possessing an extended empire which was the result of the efforts of Vikramāditya VI. But almost at the beginning of his reign he lost the southern half and towards the close, the northern half of Vēngi to the Imperial chōlas who won back their territories by constant fighting and consequent success.

Bhima II and Satya I do not mention Sōmēśvara's name though they dated their inscriptions at Drākshārāma in C. V. era 60 and A.D 1135. None of their records after that date mention the C. V. era, and towards the close, they became Chōla subordinates. Hence after A.D 1135, the Kōna rulers joined the side of Kulōttunga II and the Velanāṇḍus and others and assisted them in freeing Vēngi of the Chālukyan yoke- which was achieved by A.D 1139. The Kōna inscriptions are dated in the earliest and the latest years of Vikrama era at Drākshārāma the 6th and the 60th year. The Chālukyan power was at its highest between the C. V. 45 and 48 and after the 60th year, no records dated C.V. era are known in Vēngi. Thus Bhima and Satya were the last among the Kōnas to owe allegiance to the Chālukyas.

Bhima and Satya and other rulers:

The Kōna Haihayas and the Vēlanāṇḍus were on friendly terms in this period. Bhima and Satya and Gonka joined hands in defeating the common enemy-the Chālukyas of Kalyā i.

The Kōnas contracted marriage alliances with the Chālukyas, a local dynasty in Vēngi. For Kōna Mummaḍi married Rājādēvi, the daughter of Rājāditya alias Rāyabhūpa of the Chālukyan lineage.³ This measure would have strengthened the Kōna Haihaya kingdom.

1. Proceedings of 10th All India Oriental Conference p 319.

2. 249 of 1893: S. I. I. IV 1102. 250.A of 1893.

3. 299 of 1893 S. I. I. IV 1156.

Lokabhūpala and Bhima III A.D 1150-1168.

Mummaḍi Bhima II had a son Rājendra Kōna Lōka and 1 Satya I had two sons- Rājaparēṇḍu II and Bhima III.² Of the three brothers, the first and the last succeeded their fathers as joint rulers of the Kōna kingdom and the claims of Rājaparēṇḍu II, the elder brother of Bhima III were overlooked. Lōka and Bhima ruled jointly for eighteen years and in A.D 1168 Bhima died and was succeeded by Mallidēva.

Lōka and Bhima were the greatest of the Kōna Haihaya dynasty. They owed loyalty to the Chōlas and started on a career of conquest and annexation and attempted to throw off allegiance to the Vēlanāṇḍus. But they did not assess correctly the strength of the enemy and the prevalent political situation before they decided on aggression. So they failed disastrously and consequently for the rest of the duration of the Kōna kingdom, the Haihayas never made attempts at liberty and extension.

The earliest record³ of Lokabhūpala is from Drākshārāma dated A.D 1135 and the 10th year of C.V. era which is a mistake for the 60th year. The record was issued before Lōka assumed the sceptre and he had fifteen years of experience in the arts of war and peace when he became the ruler in A.D 1150. Lōka's earliest record⁴ after he became ruler, in the reign of Tribhuvana chakravartin Rājārāja dēva, is from Bāpaṭla dated A.D 1150 corresponding to the 4th year of Rājārāja II. In the record Lōka is mentioned as Rājendra Kōna Lōkarāja. The record at Drākshārāma,⁵ dated A.D 1153 and the 9th year of Rājārāja II belongs to Bhima III. The last date for Lōka is A.D 1175 from a Vēlanāṇḍu inscription of that year of Chōḍa II. and Bhima's last inscription bears the date A.D 1168 and is at Drākshārāma. The only Kōna record at Bapaṭla probably indicates Lōka's westward expansion.

Lōka and Bhima III and their political relations:

In their political career Lōka and Bhima III came into touch with the Chōlas, the Chālukyas, the Vēlanāṇḍus and other local powers, And Lōka lost his life in his attempts to extend the Kōna kingdom unwisely when the time was not propitious for it.

1. 213 of 1897: S. I. I. VI 175.

2. E. I. IV No. 10 p 90 v 21: 246 of 1893: S. I. I. IV 1098.

3. 234.A of 1893: S. I. I. IV 1081.

4. 213 of 1897: S. I. I. VI 175.

5. 246 of 1193: S. I. I. IV 1098. The S'aka and regnal years do not correspond. Either 9th year is a mistake for 7th year or the S'aka year is 1077 (A.D 1155)

Lōka and Bhima and the Chōlas:

Rājarāja was the Chōla emperor (A.D 1150-1163). His suzerainty in the Telugu country is attested by his inscriptions in Vēngi country up to Drākshārāma.

Lōka and Bhima began their rule by acknowledging Rājarāja's overlordship in their inscriptions dated A.D 1150-1153 in the 4th and 9th regnal years of the emperor from Bāpaṭla and Drākshārāma respectively.

Lōka and Bhima and the Chālukyas:

Jagadekamalla II was succeeded by Taila III and the latter by Jakadekamalla III. The Kalachurya usurpation was complete by A.D 1163 and Bijjala and his sons ruled till A.D 1184.

Lōka and Bhima do not appear to have come into conflict with the Chālukyas of kalyāṇi or the Kalachuris who were also of Haihaya descent.

Lōka and Bhima and the Velanāṇḍu Chōḍas:

Gonka II, and chōḍa II were the rulers at Tsandavolue. The location of Lōka's inscription at Bāpaṭla ¹ with date A.D 1150 probably indicates his advance so far. Though there is no evidence of his having come into conflict with Gonka II, it is probable that he was checked by Gonka II and his armies, and this accounts for his not attempting any conquests into Velanāṇḍu territory, so long as Gonks lived.

Soon after Gonka's death Lōka seems to have started out an aggressive warfare into the Velanāṇḍu kingdom and attempted to throw off allegiance to Chōḍa II. This venture on Lōka's part cost him his life in the end. For Chōḍa II sent a punitive expedition into the Kōna territory under Dēvanapreṣaḍa in A.D 1164 and 1165 ² which was a success for the Velanāṇḍus. Kōnamandala was subjugated and consequently Lōka and Bhima continued their loyalty to the Velanāṇḍus. Lōka made another attempt to throw off the Velanāṇḍu yoke some time about A.D 1175 and thus brought on himself and the kingdom the wrath of the Velanāṇḍus. For Prōlayanāyaka, a subordinate of Chōḍa II claimed to have killed Kōna Lōka ³ obviously Lōkabhūpāla.

1. 213 of 1897: S. I. I. VI 175.

2. 236 of 1893: S. I. I. IV 1083.

3. 329 of 1932-33.

Thus in this period the Kōna rulers especially Lōkabhūpāla harassed the Velanāṇḍu kingdom constantly and were subdued thoroughly by A.D 1175 as a result of two Velanāṇḍu expeditions in A.D 1165 and 1175 respectively. Much fighting would have taken place between the Kōnas and the Velanāṇḍu Chōḍas, though no information bearing on the matter is available.

Lōka and Bhima and other rulers:

The Kōnas and the Chālukyas were perhaps on friendly terms in this period. Perhaps Lōka contracted alliances with small powers like the many branches of the Chālukyas in Vēngi, the Kolanus, the Haihayas of Palnāḍ and Panchadhārāla prior to his opposition to the Velanāṇḍus.

Mallidēva and Vallabha A.D 1175-1182.

No sons of Lōka and Bhima are known. On Bhima III's death in A.D 1168, Vallabha, son of Rājaparēṇḍu II, the elder brother of Bhima III by Parvati succeeded to the throne and ruled jointly with Lōka till 1175 A.D and on Lōka's death in that year, his place was taken by Mallidēva second son Rājendra chōḍa I. Mallidēva and Vallabha ruled jointly till A.D 1182 when Vallabha, after reigning for fourteen years, died ¹ and was succeeded by Manmasatya II.

No inscriptions of the period of rule of Lōka and Vallabha A.D 1168 to 1175 have come to light. Undoubtedly Lōka and Vallabha acted together in their wars of aggression and defence which, as pointed out already, resulted in the death of Lōka and subjugation of the kingdom by the Velanāṇḍus. These seven years till A.D 1175 mark the last phase of Lōka's rule and the first half of Vallabha's reign. No inscriptions of Vallabha are known and he was overshadowed by Lōkabhūpāla.

Mallidēva joined Vallabha in A.D 1175. His earliest record is dated 1135 from Drākshārāma ² where in he is mentioned as Kōna mallerāja. No inscriptions of his while ruling with Vallabha are available. Mallidēva and Vallabha enjoyed a peaceful reign as the Pithāpur pillar inscription says that they ruled the earth undisturbed. ³ Vallabha's sons by Āchamāmbā were Manasatya II and Mahipālarēṇḍu. ⁴

1. E. I. IV No. 10. p 91 v 31.

2. 234-A of 1893: S. I. I. IV 1081.

3. E. I. IV No. 10 P 91 v 26.

4. do v 29.

Their Political relations:

Mallidēva and Vallabha from the experience of Lōka must have learnt the futility of aggressive warfare and preferred a reign of peace. They contracted alliances of marriage with the local rulers. For the first time in this period, we hear of the Unḍi principality and its ruler Kāma. Located in the West Godavari district the Unḍi principality and its rulers played an important role in the politics of the Telugu country in the 14th Century A.D helping Annadēva of the Telugu Chōḍas against the Redḍis.¹ Probably this Unḍi prince Kāma was a precursor of the later chiefs and his alliance was sought by the Kōna Haihayas. For Achamāmba, queen of Vallabha, was the daughter of Kāma.

The Chōla emperors in this period were Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttunga III and the Velanāṇḍu ruler was Chōḍa II. Mallidēva and Vallabha must have continued their loyalty to the Chōlas and the Velanāṇḍu Chōḍas which must have contributed for their enjoyment of a peaceful reign.

Mallideva and Manmasatya II. A.D 1182-1231.

Mallidēva and Manmasatya II exercised joint sway for a long period of nearly fifty years. In the succession of Manmasatya II to the throne for the first time in Kōna Haihayas history, we see the eldest son succeeding his father. Mallidēva and Manmasatya II owed allegiance to the Chōla monarchs and the Velanāṇḍu Chōḍas and had a peaceful and prosperous reign.

The earliest inscription of the reign is the Pithāpur pillar record dated A.D 1195. In this, the two rulers jointly called together people of Guddavādi to make a grant. It traces the Eastern Chālukya genealogy up to Mangiyuvarāja, mentions Rājārāja and praises Jayamahādēvi, mother of Prithviśvara of Velanāṇḍu Chōḍas. Two records of Satya II one dated A.D 1207² and another undated³ are from Palakolāṇḍ and Drākshārāma respectively. After A.D 1207, for the rest of the reign, no records are available till A.D 1231 when Mallidēva and Satya were succeeded by Mallidēva II and Bhīma IV.

1. Rajahmundry Museum plates of Annadēva Chōḍa. E. I. XXVI No. 2; Ravulaparti c. p. of Undiraja. C. Virabhadra rao: History of Andhras Vol. III pp 191-192 foot-note citation.

2. 517 of 1893; S. I. I. IV 139.

3. 307 of 1893; S. I. I. IV 1182.

Their Political relations:

Mallidēva and Satya followed their predecessors in preferring the blessings of peace to the glory of war. So they had no hostilities towards any of the contemporary rulers.

Mallideva and Satya and the Cholas :

The Chōla emperors in this period were Kulōttunga III (A.D 1178-1216) and Rājārāja III (A.D 1216-1246). The Pithāpur pillar inscription¹ traces the Chālukya-Chōla genealogy up to Rājārāja III, which is a positive proof of the Kōna Haihaya subordination to the Chōla emperor in A.D 1195. And this position continued for the rest of the reign of Mallidēva and Satya.

Mallideva and Satya and the Velanāṇḍus:

At Tsandavole Gonka III and Prithviśvara exercised sway in this period. After the subjugation in A.D 1175 and Lōka's death the Kōna-Haihayas remained subservient to the Velanāṇḍu Chōḍas. Mallidēva and Satya continued their loyalty as attested by the inclusion of two verses in praise of Jaya mahādēvi in their Pithāpur pillar inscription. It is likely that the Kōnas helped the Velanāṇḍus in their wars against the Fākatiyas, the Telugu Chōḍas and the Kalachuris in this period.

Mallideva II and Bhīma IV. A.D 1231-1254.

Mallidēva II was the son of Manmachōḍa II who was the elder son of Bēta, the elder brother of Mallidēva and Gangādēvi.² Bhīmarāja IV was the son of Manmasatya II. Mallidēva II and Bhīma IV ruled conjointly for a period of twenty-three years. They were loyal to the Chōlas. They seem to have had a peaceful reign at the end of which they were succeeded by Gaṇapati and Bhīmavallabha.

The earliest inscriptions of the reign are dated A.D 1231 at Drākshārāma. According to one record,³ Mallidēva was a mahāmandalēśvara and son of Kōna Rājendra Manmachōḍayarāju bearing the sahasrabāhu prasasti. Bhīmarāja figures in another record of A.D 1231 at Drākshārāma.⁴ Kōna Mallayadēvarāja, figuring in a Drākshārāma inscription⁵ dated A.D 1254 and the 38th year of Tribhuvanachakravarti Rājārājādēva is undoubtedly identical with Mallidēva II. Mallidēva II and Bhīma IV never attempted at extending the kingdom which retained its usual extent in this period.

1. E. I. IV No. 10. pp 87-89. 11-1-38. 2. 235 of 1893; S. I. I. IV 1082.

3. 394-E of 1893; S. I. I. IV 1315. 4. 377-A of 1893; S. I. I. IV 1236.

5. B345. of 1893; S. I. I. IV 1230.

Their Political relations:

Mallidēva II and Bhima IV maintained amicable relations with the contemporary rulers and do not seem to have come into contact with the Kākatiyas in this period.

The Chōla emperors were Rājārāja III and Rājendra III (A.D 1246-1274). The Kōna Haihaya loyalty to them is attested by the inscription of Mallidēva at Drākshārāma dated A.D 1254 and the 38th regnal year of Rājārāja III,¹

In this period, the Velanāṇḍu chōḍas were a decaying power. The chālukyas were replaced by the Hoysalas. The Kakatiyas under Gaṇapati were spreading their power in the Vēngi country and the south. Gaṇapati contracted alliances of marriage with many local powers in the southern half of Vēngi and his inscriptions in Kistna and Guntur districts attest his power. But he did not intrude into the northern half of Vēngi and so the Kōna Haihayas were spared from his invasions in this period.

Gaṇapati and Bhimavallabha A.D 1254-1300.

Gaṇapati and Bhimavallabha were the last set of the joint rulers of the Kōna Haihaya kingdom and appear to have been the successors of Mallidēva II and Bhima IV and not Mallidēva I and Manmasatya II as has been supposed by the Epigraphist. Gaṇapati was the son of Bhimavallabha by Anyamāmba. Bhimavallabha is stated to have been the son of Rājapareṇḍu and grand son of Gandavēṇḍara entitled the lord of Māhishmati. Most probably Gaṇapati is identical with Gaṇapati, son of Mahipālarēṇḍu and grandson of Vallabha as Rājapareṇḍu and Mahipālarēṇḍu are synonymous² expressions meaning the lord of kings, and if this is accepted Gandavēṇḍara becomes a title of Vallabha. Thus Bhimavallabha and Gaṇapati were father and son and ruled, for forty six years, together.

Their inscriptions appear in a continuous series from 1261 A.D to 1300; and both father and son are mentioned in contemporary inscriptions of other dynasties.³ One inscription from Pālakol dated A.D 1261 mentions Bhimavallabha and his wife Anyamāmbā. Another dated A.D 1262 from Drākshārāma mentions Gaṇapatidēva mahārāja and his mother Anyamadēvi. Gaṇapati is spoken of as a possessor of great valour and powers to whom all other kings bowed and his father is mentioned as Kōṇavanipati

1. do do 2. 509 of 1893: S. I. I. V 121.
3. A.R. 1933 para 10. 4. 509.A, 510 of 1893: S. I. I. V 122, 124.

in a record dated A.D 1275 from Pālakol¹ Rājavrolī Mallināyaka, a subordinate of Gaṇapati figures in a Pālakol inscription dated A.D 1176. Gaṇapati's queen Pina Odayamahādēvi figures in three records² from Pālakol dated A.D 1286, 1290 and 1306- all at Pālakol. Bhimavallabha and Gaṇapati seem to have ruled from Pālakol and had a peaceful reign.

Their Political relations:

Bhima and Gaṇapati did not acknowledge loyalty to the Chōlas. Neither there is any reason to suppose their loyalty to the Kākatiyas. But they allied themselves with some local contemporary dynasties and this added to their strength. For instance, Bhima's wife Anyama³ was the daughter of Indusēkhara of the Chālukyas; and Gaṇapati's wife Odayamahādēvi or Pina Odayamahādēvi was the daughter of Mahādēva chakravarti entitled Vishṇu Vardhana of the Chālukyas of Nidudāprōlu i. e. Nidāvole.

Bhimavallabha and Rāmanatha A.D 1300-1318.

Gaṇapati is not heard of after A.D 1300 and Odayamahādēvi does not mention him in her grant of A.D 1306. An inscription at Pālakol⁴ dated A.D 1318 mentions the sons of Rāmanāthadēvara, son of Bhimavallabha. So probably on Gaṇapati's death in A.D 1300, his younger brother Rāmanāthadēva joined his father Bhimavallabha in exercising sway over Kōnamāṇḍala. And after A.D 1318 neither Bhima nor Rāmanātha are heard of. So probably their rule extended in that year.

Their political relations:

It is likely that friendly relations between the Kōna Haihayas and the Chālukyas of Nidāvole continued in this period. By this time, Kākatiya sway extended into the Godavari district, as is seen from inscriptions. Prātāparudra was the reigning Kakatiya. None of the Kōna Haihaya inscriptions came from Drākshārāma and were mostly confined to Pālakol. Probably Bhima and Rāmanātha acknowledged Prātāparudra's suzerainty in this period.

Bhimavallabha A.D 1318-1364.

This Bhima is heard of from a record at Pālakol dated A.D 1364. Probably he was the grandson of Rāmanātha through one of his sons mentioned in a record⁵ from Pālakol with date A.D 1318 and whose names are

1. 509.B of 1893: S. I. I. V 123.
2. 511, 512.A, 510 of 1893: S. I. I. V 125, 127, 124.
3. 509 of 1893: S. I. I. V 121. 4. 510 of 1893: S. I. I. V 128.
5. 513 of 1893: S. I. I. V 128.

not given in the record. As has been suggested already¹ he was probably the successor of Bhimavallabha and Rāmanātha. If so, his reign must have lasted for forty-six years.

His political relations:

In his time, Kākatiya power ended and the Redḍis became their political successors. Vēma and his son Anapōta were the Redḍi rulers, with capital at Konḍaviḍu and their kingdom included the Godāvari deltaic area. Probably Bhima owed allegiance to the Redḍis in this period.

Other Kōna Haihaya rulers:

A Mallanasāmināyaḍu son of Mahāmandalesvara Kōna Mummaḍi Bhimarāja is known from a record at Āchanṭa dated A.D 1152.² Another record there with date 1172 A.D mentions Kōna Mummaḍi Bhimarāju and his sons Sōmināyaka and Lōkirāju.³ Probably Mummaḍi Bhima of the two records is identical with Mummaḍi Bhima III and Lōkirāju with Lōkamahipala. If so Sōmināyaka may be identified with Mallanasāmināyaḍu, the latter being the corrupt form of the former and Mallana (ma) may be the name of his mother. A Sōmayarāja is mentioned in a record from Gaṇapavaram with date A.D 1195.⁴ If Sōmināyaka and Sōmayarāja are identical he must be a provincial governor under Bhima III and ruled over Gaṇapavaram and Āchanṭa from about A.D 1152 to 1195 for forty-three years till the period of Mallidēva and Manmasatya II.

A Kōna Rājendra chōḍa Vennachōḍaya bearing the Kōna Haihaya prasasti and his wife Bimmaladēvi, daughter of Prēmkanṭi Virapa Redḍi are mentioned in a record from Drākshārāma dated A.D 1237.⁵ Vennachōḍa's relationship to the main line is not known. A Kōna Betarāja figures in a record from Kumāradēvam dated A.D 1247.⁶

End of the Kōna Haihaya dynasty:

The last of the Kōna Haihayas was Bhimavallabha. None of his descendants or successors are heard of. Probably the dynasty ended with him. By A.D 1369, Kōna mandala became an integral part of the Redḍi kingdom and twenty years thence, we find it forming a province of the

Rājahmundry Redḍi kingdom under Kātya Vēma and was ruled over by prince Anapōta Redḍi with his capital at Kshirārama-Pālakol. Even before that date in A.D 1384 during the time of king Anavōta's successor Anavēma, the king made some grants in Kōṇasthala to Brahmins which is positive indication of its having come under the Redḍis. And Kōṇasthal must have formed a part of Kōnamandala of Haihaya times.

The Haihayas of Panchadhārāla C A.D 1200-1403.

The Haihayas of Panchadhārāla ruled as a defacto independent power during the 13th and 14th centuries A.D over the Simhāchalam and Panchadhārāla regions in south Kalinga. The dynasty consisted of five kings who called themselves lords of Māhishmati and claimed descent from Arjuna Kārtavīrya. The name Kōna is forever fixed to the names of its rulers,¹ but the connection between these Haihayas and those of Kōnamandala is not known. Dr. Nobel prefers to call this "the second Kōndyansty."² In the midst of powerful kingdoms both in the north and in the south the Haihayas of Panchadhārāla, played a rather significant role in the history of South India for one and a half centuries. The political achievements of these rulers were remarkable and at one time their kingdom extended over the entire Madhyadēsa from the Vindhya to the ocean i. e. Bay of Bengal.

South India and Vengi in the 13th Century A.D:

Muslim rule in India became a permanent feature with the establishment of the Slave dynasty under Kutbuddin Iḅek in A.D 1206 at Delhi. Gradually the independent Hindu kingdoms in the north were replaced by muslim viceroys owing nominal allegiance to the Sultanate of Delhi. South India was divided between the Gangas of Kalinga, the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, the Hoysalas, the Chōlas and the Pāṇḍyas. Their rulers were Rājārāja III (1219-1235 A.D), and Ananga Bhima (A.D 1219-1253), Yādava Singhaṇṇa (1210-1247 A.D) and Krishṇa (A.D 1246-1260), Hoysala Ballala II (1173-1220 A.D), Narasimha II (1220-1235 A.D), and Sōmēśvara (A.D 1234-1254), Chōla Kulōttunga (A.D 1178-1216), Rājārāja II (1216-1246 A.D) and Rājendra III (A.D 1246-1277) and Māravarma Sundara Pāṇḍya I and II³ in their respective kingdoms.

1. 513 of 1893: S. I. I. V 128.

2. A.R 1933 para 10.

3. Sewell: List of Antiquities I.

4. do I. p 39

5. 280.A of 1893: S.I.I. IV 1145.

6. 249 of 1935-36.

1. Kōna is the surname of these Haihayas, whereas in the case of the Kōnamandala Haihayas, it was the name of the tract over which they ruled,

2. E. I. XIX No. 25 p 158.

3. Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri The pandyan kingdom p 259.

In Vēngi in this period, the chōla suzerainty had declined. The Velanāṇḍu chōḍa kingdom was in its decadent stages. The Telugu chōḍas were powerful, and the Kākatiyas under Gaṇapati (A.D 1198-1260) were making attempts to establish supremacy in the entire Telugu land. Southern Kalinga formed a part of the Kalingan empire and was ruled over by a cluster of small dynasties bearing south Indian names and tracing descent from dynasties in the south and owing nominal allegiance to the Eastern Ganga emperors.

Rise of the Haihayas :

The mythical part of the Kōṇa Haihaya genealogy is as follows:- From Viṣṇu's navel-lotus was born Brahma. Brahma's son was Marichi whose son was Kaśyapa, Kaśyapa's son was Bhānu and Bhānu's son was Manu and in Manuvamsa was born Ārjuna Kārtavīrya.¹ In the race of Arjuna Kārtavīrya was born king Chōḍa with whom begins the historical part of Haihaya genealogy.

Chōḍa I c. A.D 1242-1300 C.

Chōḍa I was the ruler of the Kōṇa Haihaya kingdom of Panchadhārala and it is not known how he came to be in possession of a kingdom. Probably he served the Ganga emperors and secured the kingdom as a reward or taking advantage of the lack of control by the Gangas over southern Kalinga, carved out a kingdom for himself independent of the Ganga authority.

His inscription dated A.D 1242 at Simhāchalam² and the Panchadhārala pillar inscription of Chōḍa III³ are the only material for Chōḍa I's reign. In the former Chōḍa is mentioned as Kōṇa Chōḍarāju born in sahasrabāhuvamsa or Kārtavīryānvaya, belonging to Ātrēya Gōtra and a man of great prowess. And the pillar record says that Chōḍa I ruled over the country between the Vindhya and the ocean. Some of Chōḍa's titles were-Māhishmati, adhipa, saubhadra, birudānkarudra, Ātrēya Gōtra gaṇḍaveṇḍa and manniya kshāmāpālimrigavēṇṭakāra.⁴

Chōḍa I's political career :

In extending and consolidating his kingdom, as a result of aggressive warfare, chōḍa I came into conflict with the chieftains of the hill tribes

1. E. I. XIX No. 25. p 159 verse 2. 2. S. I. I. VI 1181: 365.XIV of 1899.

3. E. I. XIX No. 25: 210 of 1899; S. I. I. VI 657. 4. E. I. XIX No. 25 p 159 v 4

on the north and west of his kingdom- in the region forming the boundary of Kalinga and Bastar area beyond. Chōḍa's title Manniyakshāmāpālimrigavēṇṭakāra means hunter of the mrigas i. e. (here) manne chiefs¹ who exactly these Manne chiefs were the inscription does not specify. But no doubt they were the hill chiefs on the Kalinga border who gave no end of trouble from time to time to the Ganga emperors, the local rulers in south Kalinga and the rulers in Vēngi by constant incursions into their kingdoms. So chōḍa I hunted them out of Kalinga which appears to have been an important achievement for it was on the results of this, his kingdom extended up to the Vindhya in the north and west.²

Probably Chōḍa maintained friendly relations with other rulers in Kalinga- the Chālukyas, the Matsyas, the Silavangas and others. As for his relations with the Ganga emperors, it is not known what exactly the position was. Chōḍa did not date his only record in Ganga era of regnal year of the Ganga emperors.

Upendra I A.D 1300-1353.

Upendra, son of Chōḍa I by Mallāmba succeeded his father about A.D 1300. We do not know for certain when Chōḍa's rule ended and Upendra's began. Upendra's reign was long and lasted up to A.D 1353. the earliest date for his son and successor Chōḍa II. None of Upendra's inscriptions are available and the Panchadhārala pillar inscription gives few details about him.

A peaceful reign:

Unlike his father, Upendra preferred the blessings of peace to the glories of war. He does not seem to have undertaken any expeditions of conquest, and Kalinga in this period was free from foreign invasions. The Manna chiefs as they were thoroughly subdued by Chōḍa I do not seem to have given any more trouble to Upendra. Upendra probably continued the policy of his father of maintaining friendly relations towards the other local rulers in south Kalinga and of silence towards the Ganga emperors. The pillar inscription says that Upendra ruled the inherited kingdom. Upendra was succeeded by his son Chōḍa II³ about A.D 1350.

CHōḌA II.

Chōḍa II was more enterprising than his father. None of his inscriptions have come to light and the pillar record and the Muslim histories

1. do II 21 & 22.

2. do v 3 II 16.17.

3. E. I. XIX No. 25. p 159 v 7.

form the sources of information for this period. Ghōḍa is said to have vanquished his enemies and ruled over the country Madhyadēṣa given to him by his father. ¹ Here Madhyadēṣa is the country between the Gōḍāvari and the Mahānadi and the Vindhya and the ocean. Consequently the explanation that Madhyadēṣa, though generally refers to the country between the Ganges and the Yamuna, here "it apparently denotes as the region lying between the two rivers Gōḍāvari and Krishṇa which in its natural condition bears a certain resemblance to the country between the Ganga and the Yamuna" ² does not hold good. The political achievements of chōḍa are recorded thus. "But this was unique (and) wonderful (deed) having set out to protect the harassed army of the Sultan of Paṇḍua, and having by the strength of (his) arm completely vanquished the ruler of Dilli, the king gave the goddess of victory together with twenty two great elephants to the king of Utkala and Turks to the excellent damsels of the gods." ³

Chōḍa's political relations :

His reign was eventful. He seems to have maintained friendly relations with other local rulers in southern Kalinga. Unlike his predecessors, Chōḍa seems to have owed allegiance to the Eastern Ganga emperors Bhānudēva III, son of Narasimha III, and his son and successor Narasimha IV the last of the Ganga emperors. The decline of the Ganga-dynasty became marked by the beginning of Bhānudēva III's reign and Muslim invasions into Orissa were frequent in this period. In Narasimha's reign ⁴ "Orissa continued to be the happy hunting ground of the neighbouring monarchs, specially the Mussalman kings."

The Pillar inscription says ⁵ that Chōḍa II, after defeating the armies of Delhi on behalf of the Paṇḍua Sultan, presented the spoil of war to the king of Orissa who is no other than Bhānudēva III. This must have happened in A.D 1353- the year of Firoz Shah's invasion of Bengal. ⁶ Thus Chōḍa was loyal to Bhānudēva III and Narasimha IV.

Chōḍa and Bengal:

Bengal was a Muslim viceroyalty under the Sultan of Delhi till the Middle of the 14th Century A.D. Fakriddin Sultan Sikhandar was considered to be the first sultan of Bengal and his reign lasted from

1. E. I. XIX No. 25. p159 v 8.
2. E. I. XIX No. 25. p 156.
3. do p 160 v 10: p163 v 10.
4. R. D. Benerji: History of Orissa I p 283.
5. E. I. XIX No. 25 p 160 v 10.
6. The Cambridge History of India Vol III p 176

A.D 1340-41 to 1342-43. His successors was Ilias Khāji Sultan shamsuddin Bhengara, who ruled from A.D 1343 to 1358. He invaded the dominions of the Rāja of Jainagar and compelled him to pay tribute and some elephants. In A.D 1353, when Firoz Shāh invaded Bengal, Haji Iliān left his son to defend the capital Paṇḍua and laid siege to Akdala. ¹ Firoz Tughlak took Paṇḍua and laid siege to Akdala. The siege was protracted. "The rainy season soon came on with great violence, peace was concluded and the king returned to Delhi without effecting his his effects. ² From this it is clear that Firoz did not succeed in subduing Ilias and Bengal. This gains support from the Panchadhārāla inscription which says that Chōḍa II set out to protect the harassed army of the Sultan identical with Kaji Ilias and killed the armies of the ruler of Delhi. Thus Chōḍa and his armies were powerful enough to protect the kingdom of Bengal against Firoz Shah Tughlak. He claims to have killed a number of Turks in the battle with the armies of Firoz Shah Tughlak.

Chōḍa and the Sultans of Delhi:

Chōḍa II came into conflict with Firoz Shah Tughlak, the successor of Muhammad Tughlak, when the latter invaded Bengal in A.D 1353. Probably the decisive battle between the armies of Bengal and Delhi Sultan took place near the walls of Akdala towards the close of the siege and when the rainy season set in Chōḍa II played the leading part in the battle field as the armies of Paṇḍua Sultan were fired after prolonged siege within the Akdala fort and so also the armies of Firoz outside the fort. Chōḍa II won the victory over Firoz, sultan of Delhi and presented twenty two elephants to Bhānudēva III, which were captured probably in this battle while the Sultan's armies were on retreat. ³

BHIMA.

Bhima, son of Chōḍa II by Attemāmbika, ⁴ succeeded his father on the throne. According to the pillar inscription, he was named Bhima by his father (because he said to himself) "he will be terrible in battle by (his) wrath to (his) enemies." ⁵ King Bhima is said to have gained some victories by his own arm. For want of details, it is not easy to see what those victories were and how and when they were achieved. It is not known how long Bhima's reign lasted.

1. Stewart: The History of Bengal p 84.
2. Briggs: Ferishta's History of Muslim power in India vol II p 448.
3. Cambridge History of India vol III p 176.
4. E. I. XIX no. 25. p 160 v 11.
5. E. I. XIX no. 25. 225 of 1899: S. I. I. VI 672.

CHŌḌA III.

Chōḍa III was the son of Bhima by Lakkamba. He was the last but the best known prince of the dynasty. He is mentioned as Bhimaya chōḍa and Lakkama chōḍa after the names of his parents Bhimaya and Lakkama. Two of his inscriptions ¹ one dated A.D 1403 and the other undated and incomplete are at Panchadhārāla. According to the former chōḍa was great in every respect, in displaying splendour, destroying enemies and helping people. His titles were- Godāvarimandanamandal-lēsvara, Sangrāma sahasrabāhu, birudānkarudra, mahishmativallabha and lord of Madhyadēsa. ² He appears to have extended his kingdom southwards in to the Godavari district.

His political relations:

The last date available for Chōḍa is A.D 1403. It is not known whether Chōḍa owed allegiance to the Eastern Ganga emperor Narasimha IV.

In extending the kingdom westwards and southwards Chōḍa came into conflict with the kings of Vijayanagar and the Reddis of Fājahmundry. Chōḍa III bore the epithet- Karnāḡagodhūmagharaṭṭa i.e. destroyer of the Karnāṡas. ³ As the Hoysalas ceased to exist by the time of Chōḍa III A.D 1403, here Karnata must refer to the kingdom of Vijayanagar ruled over by Harihara II (A.D 1377-1404) and his son Bukka II (A.D 1404-1406) and Dēvarāya (1406-1422 A.D). Where and when Chōḍa III came into conflict with the Vijayanagar armies, is not known. As early as A.D 1356, Sangama, a nephew of Bukka I defeated the king of Orissa, ⁴ probably in one of Vijayanagar expeditions into Southern Kalinga, in the early part of the reign of Harihara II, the Vijayanagar armies had a reverse at the hands of Chōḍa III and his generals and their enabled chōḍa to style himself the vanquisher of the Karnāṡa armies. And this must have happened after A.D 1377 and before A.D 1404 the first and the last dates available for Harihara II

Chōḍa III claims to have protected the rulers in Mahashat Kōna which has been rightly identified with Kōnasima and Kōnamandāla in the Godāvari delta. ⁵ By the middle of the 14th century A.D, Kōnamandāla constituted a part of the Redḍi kingdom of Konḍaviḍu and no Kōnamandāla

1. E. I. XIX no 25 p 160 v 11. 2. 222 of 1899: S. I. I. VI 672.

3. do

4. R. D. Benerji: History of Orissa I p. 292.

5. E. I. XIX No. 25 p. 157.

Haihayas are heard of after A.D 1364. So the local chiefs in Kōnamandāla after A.D 1364 probably refer to the Telugu Chola Annadēva and his son Virabhadra, and the Unḍirājas, whose territories were included in the Redḍi kingdom of Rajahmundry after 1385 A.D. How Chōḍa III came to protect the rulers in Kōnamandāla is not clear. Probably the rulers in Mahāshaṭkōna conspired to rebel against the Redḍis and shake off their yoke to the Redḍi throne at Rajahmundry, with the help of local rulers in Kalinga including Chōḍa III. When kāṭayavēma went to punish them, probably Chōḍa III came to their help. Chōḍa's title-Godāvarimandanamandal-lēsvara ¹ further shows his successful interference into Redḍi politics in this period. As the pillar inscription does not say that Chōḍa III vanquished the enemy of the Chiefs of Kōnamandāla, it is likely that by A.D 1403 Kāṭaya Vēma during his invasions into Southern Kalinga conquered not only the chiefs in Shatkoṇa but also Chōḍa III.

End of the dynasty :

No sons and successors of Chōḍa III are heard of. So the dynasty seems to have ended with his death, some time after A.D 1403. The Ganga emperor at the time was Narasimha IV in whose reign Orissa experienced frequent foreign invasions from all sides. Probably the Kōna Haihaya kingdom at Panchadhārāla was put to an end by the brothers Vēma Redḍi and Virabhadra Redḍi, under the rule of Allāḍa after Kāṭaya Vēma, during their expedition of conquest of Kalinga for which the Redḍi inscriptions and literature bear testimony.

The Gōna (Haihaya) of Vardhamānapura. C. A.D 1190-1294.

The Gōnas or Kōnas, also of Haihaya descent, flourished in the 12th and 13th centuries, ruling over the tracts about Raichur, at present included in Nizam's dominions, with capital at Vardhamānapura (i.e. Vaḍḍamāni). This family of local rulers owed fealty to the Kākatiya emperors which is evident from their inscriptions and the location of their territories. In common with the Haihayas of Kōnamandāla, Panchadhārāla and Palnād, the Haihayas of Vardhamānapura claimed descent from Kārtaviryarjuna and as in the case of the first two dynasties, had the prefix Gōṇa ² or Kōna prefixed to their names. Gōna or Kōna is the family name of these Haihayas as in the case of the Panchadhārāla Haihayas. Their names ended with Reddi or Nāyani. The relationship of these Gōna

1. 222 of 1899: S. I. I. VI. 672.

2. Raichur inscription. Kakatiya Sanchika App. No. 33

3. Inscriptions and Ranganatha Ramayana.

Haihayas to other Haihayas dynasties is not known. The Gōnas had some political achievements to their credit and contracted marriage alliances with the Malyāla family, another powerful feudatory family in the Kākatiya dominions.

Sources and Genealogy :

Material is scanty for the history of the Gōnas. The inscriptions of this and Malyāla family and the Ranganātha Rāmāyaṇa - Pūrva and Uttara - form the sources of the period.

As for the origin of these Hrihayas, they were of the Kōna stock claiming descent from Kārtavīrjuna¹ and perhaps also lordship over Māhishmati.² The earliest known historical member of the family was Gōna Kaṭabhūpati. Kāṭa's son was Buddha I whose son was Vithala or Ganna. Vithala's son was Buddha II and his sons were Kācha and Vithala. Such is the genealogy given in Ranganth Rāmāyaṇa,

According to the inscriptions³ of Gaṇapati of the Kākatiyas, at Būdāpur in Mahboobnagar district with dates A.D 1259 and 1263 respectively, Gōna Buddha had a daughter Kuppamāmbikā alias Kuppasānamma and her husband Malyāla Guṇḍa was a general of Gaṇapati. Guṇḍa had remarkable political achievements to his credit and was dead by A.D 1276.⁴ Incidentally it may be mentioned that from two records of Gaṇapati at Konḍiparti (Warangal district) dated A.D 1191 and 1240 respectively, Malyāla Chaundāsēnāni⁵ and Malyāla Kāṭa Chamūpati⁶ with their respective pedigrees are known. Thus Guṇḍa, Chaunda and Kāṭa were all of the Malyāla family and the first ancestor Danna was common to the families of all the three generals.

Whether Kuppama was the daughter of Buddha I or II is not clear. If she was the daughter of Buddha I. Buddha I's grandson Buddha II must have been born about A.D 1060 and wrote the Rāmāyaṇa about A.D 1290 or 1295. On the other hand, if she was the daughter of Buddha II, Buddha II must have been born about A.D 1216 and composed the Ranganātha Rāmāyaṇa about A.D. 1240.⁷ Most probably she was the daughter of Buddha II.

1. 151 A of 1899: S. I. I. VI 590

2. Probably this fact is in the damaged portion of the record.

3. Telangana inscriptions I Kakatiya Nos. 20 and 21

4. „ No. 36.

5. Telangana Inscriptions I - Kakatiya No. 8.

6. do No. 9. 7. Ranganatha Ramayana Introduction p 5.

In the Uttara Rāmāyaṇa, the authors Kāchā and Vithala, sons of Buddha II mention their grand father Vithala as Gannā Redḍi or Ganna Kshitindra. As has been suggested¹ either Vithala had a second name Ganna as is common among rich Redḍi families to have two names - one at home and the other outside, or Buddha had two fathers-Vithala and Ganna-one real and the other adopted; and the first view is more probable.

From the Raichur inscription² dated A.D 1294 Ganna, entitled Kākatiya Sannaharudradēva and Vithala-his inscription with those of Uttara Rāmāyaṇa is baseless and as they were grandfather and grandson according to Ranganātha Rāmāyaṇa, grandson could never have been Rājyarakshāmaṇi to the grandfather and so even if the two Vithalas were identical, Ganna could never have been so. But, it may be pointed out that both Ganna and Vithala could have been the grandsons of Vithala alias Ganna named after the two names of the grand father. Proceeding further on this assumption, we may say that Buddha wrote Ranganātha Rāmāyaṇa after the name perhaps "Pāṇḍuranga Vithalanātha", contracted into Ranganātha. Accepting this, Buddha had three sons - Ganna, Vithala and Kācha and the daughter Kuppāmbika.

Political history:

Vithala alias Ganna, father of Buddha II is said to have been bright like the sun, a moon to the ocean i. e. Kōnavamsa and a lion in destroying elephants i. e. enemies.³ His wife was Anyāmambā. He bore the epithets - Misara, Gaṇḍa and Arigaṇḍabhairava.^{3-a}

About Buddha II, we have no details. He may be identified with Būddhināyiniṅgāru of the Kunkalagunṭa inscription - unfinished and undated. Some titles show that Buddha was valiant, destroyed his enemies and was like a right arm to Velumgubhūpāla⁴ which must be Telugubhūpāla and may refer to Gaṇapati of the Kākatiyas. Buddha bore the epithets - Samastalakṣhaṇalakṣmi, Sampūrṇa, Pratāpalankēśvara, vairi-sandōhagaja panchānana and samarashadānana⁵.

Among Buddha's sons, from the Raichur inscriptions dated A.D 1294, Ganna seems to have been the eldest son and successor of his father. Ganna's many titles speak of his valour and political successes.

1. do p. 7. 2. Kakatiya Sanchika App. No.93 J.A.H & C II pp.1-6

3. Ranganatha Ramayanam introduction p 9. 4. do Text p 3

5. 151 A of 1899 S. I. I. VI 590. 6. Ranganatha Ramayana Text pp 4, 91

7. 151 A of 1899: S. I. I. VI 590.

Ganna and the Kākatiyas :

Ganna bore the epithets - Kākatiya Kaṭakasannāha and Rudradēva dakshina bhujaṇḍa.¹ At this time, the Kākatiya king was Pratāparudra. But mostly, Ganna's political victories were achieved during the closing years of Rudrama's reign when Pratāparudra was the crown prince and was mentioned as Kumāra Rudradēva in inscriptions. Ganna was a great general of Rudradēva as indicated by the epithets.

Ganna's other successes :

His title - Lāḍapikuvaraḥunpedāra indicates some victory of his over Lāṭa. Ganna seems to have come into conflict with the Telugu Chōlas, won a victory and assumed the titles - chōlajagājalavira. Ganna claims to have taken the heads of Kōsagi Maili, Uppula Manni, Akkināyaka, Maḍipali Kāchayanāyaka, Kandūri Kēsinayaka; vanquished Rāpāka Bhīma, Terāla Kāṭa. Eṇuva Tōṇḍa, and chōḍa chelukināyaka. Further he claims to have stolen the necklaces of Kōṭa. Permādirāya and the horses and Odayapaṭṭa of Boḍḍa and vanquished the lord of Kuḍu-putūripura.² Of these Kandūri Kēsināyaka probably belonged to the Telugu Chōlas of Kandūru, Eṇuva Tōṇḍa to the Eṇuva branch of the Telugu Chōlas, Kōta Permādirāya was perhaps a member of the later Kōṭa chiefs and Boḍḍa was probably a Telugu Pallava. Ganna must have achieved all these victories during the Kākatiya expansion in the reigns of Rudradēva and Pratāparudra.

Ganna's general is said to have conquered the forts of Āḍavāni, Tumbulam, Māluva, Hāluva, entered Raichur and built a fort for the protection of the people.³ All these forts taken by Vithala were situated in Kuntaladēva under the rule of the Seṇas or Yādavas of Dēvagiri. So Vithala, the younger brother of Ganna, secured these forts from the Yādava officers of Rāmachandra.

Gunḍaya's political relations :

Gunḍaya, son-in-law of Buddha II, was a good horseman, an expert handler of several weapons - asi, musala, Kārmuka etc.⁴ His title Peda mudduganḍa indicates some victory of his by A.D. 1269. By A.D. 1272, Gunḍaya claims to have defeated the Sēvuhā king i. e. Yādava ruler in the

1. Kakatipāsanchika App. No. 33.

2. Kakatiya-sanchika App. No. 33.

3. Kakatipāsanchika App. No. 33.

4. Telangana inscriptions-Kakatiya No. 20.

battlefield.¹ Thus in the conflicts between the Yādavas and the Kākatiyas in this period, Gunḍaya won a victory over the ruler - either Mahādēva (A.D. 1259 - 60 - 71 A.D.) or his successor Rāmachandra or Rāmadēva (1271-1309 A.D.) - probably the former for during the early part of his reign, he spread his rule in the greater part of the Telugu Country. Malyāla Gunḍa claims a victory over the ruler of Sankisapura,² which victory is claimed by Malyāla Kāṭa also.³

End of the Gōna family :

No sons and successors of Gonka, misaraganḍa Kācha and Vithala are heard of. But Bāchaya, Boppaḍu, and Gaṇapatidēva-sons of Kuppambika, sister of Kācha and Vithala are heard of from records. These princes no doubt belong to the Malyāla family. It appears that, so long the Kākatiya kingdom prospered, the Gōnas also prospered and ruled at Raichur till the end of Pratāparudra's rule. With the decline and fall of the Kākatiya kingdom the Gōna Haihayas also declined and are not known after the time of Pratāparudra.

The Haihayas of Palnāḍ. C.A.D. 1100-1481.

A branch of the Haihayas ruled over the Palnāḍ tract, at present forming the Palnāḍ taluq of Guntur district, during the 12th Century A.D. with its capital at Gurizāla alias Mādhavipaṭṭana.⁴ In common with the Haihayas of Kōnamāṇḍala, Panchadhārāla and Vardhamānapura, the Haihayas of Palnāḍ claimed to belong to Haihayavamsa, traced ancestry to Kārtavīryārjuna and were lords of Māhishmati. But unlike the other Haihaya dynasties of the Telugu area, they did not bear the epithet Kōna. They filled an important role in the contemporary south Indian politics consequent on the strategical position of their kingdom on the borders of the Chōla empire one the one side, and the chālukyan empire on the other. These Haihayas owed allegiance to the cholas and their representatives the Velanāṇḍu chōḍas. except when they were forced to accept Chālukyan suzerainty.

South India at the beginning of the 12 century A.D. roughly comprised three major kingdoms - the Kalinga, Chālukya and Chōla ruled over by Anantavarman Choda Ganga. Vikramāditya VI and Kulōttunga I respectively. The history of Vēngi, in main, was the struggle between the Chōlas and the Chālukyas for hegemony over it, in which success was with the Chōlas.

1. Telangana inscriptions-I Kakatiya No. 21.

2. do No. 7. 3. do No. 36. 4. do No. 21. 5. 596 or 1909.

Location of Palnād and sources for the period :

"Palnād lies on the right bank of Krishṇā commencing from a point 120 miles from the sea bounded on its north and west sides by 75 miles length of the river. Having its south and east sides shut in by hills and forest land . . . Palnād measures 1090 square miles in area."¹ Thus on the north and west, Palnād is separated from the Nizam's dominions by the Krishṇā, and the jungles on the south, divide it from the more open plains of Vinukonda, Narasaraopet and Sattenpalle taluqs of Guntur district.²

Inscriptions of the Haihayas and Palnāṭiviracharitra³ form the main sources. Some records of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi and the Velanāṇḍu Chōḍas form the supplementary sources. The Palnāṭiviracharitra of Śrinātha and Virabhadraḥavi are of much later origin written after two and seven centuries - respectively, after the battle of Kārempūdi and narrate only the details of the battle and the civil war. Recorded tradition is of indispensable help.

Origin and rise of the dynasty:

A palm leaf Ms⁴ of Viracharitra begins the ancestry of the Haihayas of Palnād with Brahma. Brahma's son was Nārada in whose lineage was born Kritavīrya. Kritavīrya's son was Kārtavīrya. Moon does not find place in this. But the Gurizāla epigraph⁵ of Bēta II says that Kārtavīrya was born in the lunar race. According to the above Virakāmeṇdra was sixth in descent from Kārtavīrya and the names of the five intermediaries are not mentioned.⁶

The time and the circumstances under which the Haihayas came and settled down in Palnād, it is not easy to see. But the close similarity between the introductory passage in the Bhṛigubāṇḍa inscription⁷ dated A.D 1118 describing the family of these chiefs, and that in the two inscriptions of Kōṇahaiḥaya Satya⁸ and the prevalence of joint

rule in Palnād as in Kōṇamaṇḍala perhaps point to the conclusion that the Palnād Haihayas branched off from the Haihayas of Kōṇa maṇḍala towards the close of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century A.D, though the exact relationship between the two dynasties is not traceable.

Bēta I. A.D 1103-1110.

The earliest historical manner of the Palnād Haihayas was Chāgi Bēta. His only inscription is from Satrasāla¹ dated A.D 1103 mentioning his subordinate Mandaḍi Rēvināyaka who bore the epithets- Māhishmatideśarattāḍi, Haihaya rājyapratishṭāchārya, Mallavṛolupura varādhiśvara, and Śānivarasiddhi. The only other reference to Bēta is an inscription at Gurizāla dated A.D 1137 belonging to his son wherein he is mentioned as Chāgi Bēta.² As the earliest inscriptions of Virakāma are dated A.D 1111, probably Bēta's rule ended in that year.

Thus in the founding of the Haihaya kingdom by Bēta I which was accomplished by A.D 1103, Mandaḍi Rēvināyaka had a predominant role as is evidenced by his titles and was rewarded with the lordship of Mallavṛolu in return for his services. The title Śānivarasiddhi perhaps suggests the political relationship that obtained between Haihaya Bēta I and Vikramāditya VI of the Chālukyas. Probably almost from the beginning of his reign, Bēta was on terms of alliance with the western chālukyas his powerful neighbour.

Virakāma I A.D 1111-1118.

Virakāma was the son and successor of Bēta I. He too had a brief reign of seven years. The extent of the Palnād kingdom in this reign is seen from the provenance of inscriptions. The earliest inscription is from Mācherla³ dated A.D 1111 and mentions Āditya. The record from Adigoppula⁴ mentions Komōra Dōcheya, son of Divākara preggāḍa, ruler of Adigoppula. It does not mention Virakāma but these chiefs must have acknowledged his suzerainty as Adigoppula was included in the Palnād kingdom. One more epigraph from Mācherla dated A.D 1111 mentions Āditya.⁵ Virakāma's reign must have come to a close in A.D 1118 which was the earliest date for his successors-Rājarāja I and Bēta II who ruled conjointly.

1. Sewell: List of Antiquities Vol I App. A. p 1. 2. Mackenzie: Kī-tna dt.manual p151
3. Four poets have dealt with the Story Sring tha Mudigonda Virabhadra who dedicated it to Sankara Ullaya (A.D 1860)3. Kondayya. 4. Mallayya Besides many versions in prose are in Mack Mss & Local records. 5. Śrinātha: P. Viracharitra Introd.p21.
6. 596 of 1909: do Text p 10 11 202-203 Anugu was born in Somavamsa.
7. Śrinātha: P. Viracharitra. Introd. p 21.
8. 263 of 1932-33. 8. S. I. I. IV 1102, 1104.

1. 816 of 1930-31: A.R 1931.II para 20. 2. 596 of 1109.
3. 575 of 1909: J.A.H&CHI pp57-58. 4. 588 of 1909. 5. 576 of 1909: J.A.H&CHI p59

Virakāma's political relations:

His capital was Mācherla alias Mahādēvitaṭāka. The influence of the Western Chālukyas in the Palnād kingdom in this reign seems to have made rapid advance though it had only small beginnings in the previous reign. Āditya was undoubtedly a Western Chālukya general and one among the first generals who settled down in different kingdoms in Vēngi. Probably this Āditya is identical with Āditya dandānāyaka, son of Brammadevanāyaka and with Ādimayya father of Govindarāju figuring in two records¹ at Drākshārāma dated C.V. 45 (A.D. 1122) and 58 (A.D. 1133). If so, the earliest date for Āditya is A.D. 1111. Again the engravers of the record at Mācherla were Kanarese and recorded their names in Kanarese.² It is likely that Divākara Pregarāda and his son Komāra Dōchaya, were also Kanarese as their names seem to indicate. These, no doubt, show that Virakāma was witnessing passively the spread of the Chālukyan power into his kingdom though he did not acknowledge his subordination to Vikramāditya VI in his inscriptions.

Rājarāja I and Bēta II. A.D. 1118.

Rājarāja I and Bēta II were the first two among the four sons of Virakāma I and the names of the last two are unknown. They exercised joint sway like their brethren the Kōna Haihayas in Kōna maṇḍala for eleven years - up to A.D. 1129. After that year Rājarāja I is not heard of and Bēta II ruled alone for a few years till about A.D. 1134. The earliest inscription of the reign is from Bhṛigubāṇḍa i.e. Bikkibāṇḍa dated A.D. 1118 mentioning Pennamanāyaka and Kāmenāyaka of Tangedumpudi³ Rājarāja and Bēta bore the epithet mahāmaṇḍalēśvara and did not acknowledge Chālukyan suzerainty in the record though for certain the Chālukyan power must have been increasing in the Palnād kingdom. Towards the close of Rājarāja's reign A.D. 1129, Kalyāṇi witnessed the change of kings - as Vikramāditya was succeeded by Sōmēśvara III who inherited the vastly extended Chālukyan empire.

A.D. 1129 appears to have been the first year of Bēta II's independent rule. Bēta's record of that year⁴ from Gurizāla is issued in the reign of Bhūlōkamalla i.e. Sōmēśvara III (A.D. 1127-1138). Bēta II bore the title Birudānkarudra and shifted his capital from Mācherla to Gurizāla. His acknowledgement of Bhūlōkamalla's suzerainty was the

culmination of the drift towards that end in the relations between the Palnād Haihaya and the Chālukyas during the reigns of Bēta I and Virakāma I and Rājarāja I. Thus Western Chālukya suzerainty and Haihaya subordination were definitely established in this period. Consequently Bēta would have allowed the passage of Chālukyan armies into other parts of Vēngi through his kingdom and assisted in the spread of Chālukyan power in Vēngi for the rest of his reign.¹ The suggestion that all the Kshatriya dynasties helped the Chālukyas who afterwards destroyed them one after another with Bēta II being no exception to it² cannot be accepted for want of conclusive data.

No sons of Bēta II are heard of. There seems to have been a short gap in the history of Palnād after Bēta II and prior to the accession of Alukurāja. Neither the relationship between Bēta II and Alukurāja is known.

Anugurāja. 3

According to the palm leaf MS, Anugurāja was the son of Virakamēndra and had three younger brothers - Artharāju, Teppalirāju and Tējassurāju⁴ But Virabhadra mentions Anugu, as the son of Sundara chakravarti. It has been suggested that as Anugu's son was Virakāma, his grandfather's name must have been Virakāmēndra and not Sundaracharavarti.⁵ But probably Virakāma was the name and Sundarachakravarti a title and Virabhadra mentioned the title as the name of the king.

Anugurāja, is said to have ruled at Bālamāchāpurī^{5-a} alias Jambhānapuri in northern India. To free himself from the effects of sins of Kārtavīrya says Viracharitra⁶ Anugurāja started on a pilgrimage taking with him his armies, ministers and family deity. He reached Āndhradēśa and rid himself of the sins by bathing in the Krishna near Amarāvati. He married Mailāmba, daughter of the king of Tsandavolu and became the ruler of Palnād - given as dowry to Mailāmba - with capital at Gurizāla.

Chronology of Anugurāja may be fixed approximately with the help of inscriptions. The earliest date for his son and successor - Nalakāma is A.D. 1147⁷ which also must have been the latest date for Anugurāja. As for the lower limit of his reign, it must be after A.D. 1134, the last date

1. 331, 336 of 1893: S.I.I. IV 1212. 2. 575 of 1909: INS. MAD. PRES II. (4t)536.
3. 263 of 1932-33. 4. 596 of 1909: Proceedings of 10th All India Oriental Conference P421.

1. Till A.D. 1134-216 of 1927. 2. J.A.H.R. S XII p 32.
3. Virabhadra calls him Alugu.
4. Srinatha Palnativiracheritra intd. p 21. 5. 'do p 22.
5a. Sewell: Antiquities I App. A p 2. Identified with Macherla.
6. 'do p 7. Hist of Andhras V p 172. 7. 709 of 1926

for Bēta II. Two inscriptions¹ of Anugurāja, are at Kottapalle and Drōṇadula, with no dates, in which he is mentioned as mahāmandalēsvara (anugu) rāja and Pallināṭivira Anugudēva mahārāja respectively. Anugurāja was the lord of Kammanāḍu. The identity^{1a} of Anugu with Chāgi Bēta I is untenable on chronological grounds.

His political relations:

Anugu's father - in - law was Gonka II of Tsandavolu mentioned as Dhavalśankha by Virabhadra.² Anugu with Gonka's support, extended his kingdom from being the lord of five divisions³ in Palnād he became the lord of Kammanāḍu,⁴ towards the close of his reign. He does not seem to have been a friend of the chālukyas of Kalyāṇi. On the other hand he must have fought Śomesvara III and his generals in Vēngi on behalf of Gonka II and the chōlas - Vikramachōla and Kulōttunga II and had a share in ending chālukyan rule in Vēngi by A.D 1140. Thus Anugu owed allegiance to the chōlas and the Velanāṇḍus.

Anugurāja by Mailama had a son Nalakāma or Virakāma II three sons - Pedamallidēva, Pinamallidēva and Bālamallidēva by queen Viravidya⁵ and four sons-Kāmarāju, Narasingarāju, Jhaṭṭirāju and Perumālārāju by Bhūrāma. According to Viracharitra Ms,⁶ Kāmarāju and his three brothers were elder to Pedamalla and his brothers. Prior to the birth of all these sons, Anugurāja adopted Bādanāyaḍu alias Peddanna, son of minister Rēchara Doḍḍanāyaḍu and married him to Mukta-Lāvāmba, daughter of Krishnagandharva, a kshatriya lord of Kancherla⁷

Nala Kāma. A.D 1147.

Nalakāma succeeded his father in A.D 1147 and not in A.D 1170 as has been suggested by a previous writer.⁸ The chronicle says that Doḍḍa was bothered about his son's succession, resigned his premiership in favour of his son Brahmanāyaḍu, who killed both Doḍḍa and Alugu and then enthroned Nalakāma.⁹ The circumstances that led Brahma and Nalakāma to commit double murder are not known. Nalakāma's inscription^{9a}, dated A.D 1165 mentions his titles and mentions him as

1. 304 of 1930-31: 381 of 1915. 1.a. Hist of Andhras V p 173.
2. Sewell: List of Antiquities I app. Ap4. 3. do p 5. Viracharitra introdn. pp 46-47.
4. 381o/1915. 5. Vidyadevi. P. virach text. p10. 11 41, 42. 6. Introduction p 21. 7. do p 7: Sewell: Antiquities I App. A p 3. 8. J.A.H.R.S. XII p 96.
9. Sewell: Antiquities. I App. A p 5. 9.a. Terala. J.A.H. & C III p 16.

Mallādevikāmarāju. He is also known as Anugukāmarāju and of Aaihaya (Haihaya) vams'a. His rule lasted for 15 years as seen from records,¹ and for many more years according to tradition and the civil war in Palnād was fought in his reign.

Events leading to the war:-

Nalagāma and Brahma drifted apart in their policy and so Nāyakurālu alias Nāgamma became the premier of the king and Brahmanāyudu became minister of Pedamallidēva and his brothers. Brahma influenced Nalagāma to assign a small territory for his step brothers-Pedamallidēva and others. Nāyakurālu was against it.² So Brahma left Gurizāla with the princes and inhabitants of ninety villages and settled down at Mācherla on the banks of the Chandrabhāgā i.e. Chandravankā. Pedamallidēva became the ruler and married the only daughter of Rāyamurāri Sōvidēva (A.D. 1167 - 1177) of the kalachuris of Kalyāṇi.³ Thus this branch of the Haihayas in Palnād, allied itself with the Kalachuri Haihayas of Kalyāṇi as their predecessors with the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi.

The formation of a rival kingdom within the kingdom of Palnād roused the opposition of Nalakāma and Nāyakurālu. The minister sent men to plunder Mācherla, who suffered a defeat in the hands of Pedamallidēva's forces led by Kannamadās.

Brahmanāyudu proceeded to Gurizāla for a purpose when Nāyakurālu poisoned him with no effect; and then by a trick forced him to be a party for a cock fight, according to the terms of which wager, the vanquished must spend seven years in exile. Brahmanāyudu lost it, left Mācherlā, crossed the Krishna and settled at Manedaḍi, which is 20 miles from Gurizāla. Thus Brahma and Pedamallidēva were outside the precincts of Nalakāma's kingdom.

Once again Nāyakurālu sent robbers to plunder Mandaḍi and drive off their cattle. Pedamallidēva did not oppose the enemy. In the interests of safety in future, Brahma left Mandaḍi with Pedamalli and others, crossed the Krishna, proceeded towards Tripurāntākam, built Vira mēḍapi near Mārkapur and settled there.⁴ This locality was under the Bikshāvrittis of Śrīsaillam. at the time. After the period of exile and six months

1. 707 of 1926. 2. Antiquities I App. AP 6. Nāyakurālu even plotted to kill the princes.
3. P. Viracharitra. Introduction. pp 8, 30, 31, 142 - 143.
4. P. Viracharitra. Introdn. pp 8-9.

above were over, Brahma sent Alarāju alias Rāchamalla, son of Kāmma rāja, grandson of Virasōma, and son-in-law of Nalakāma¹ as ambassador to Gurizāla to ask for the Mācherla kingdom with six months tax due to them. But as prearranged Alarāja was killed in a Brahmin's house, on his way back. On this point of murder finally Brahma and Mallidēva declared war on Nalakāma, and proceeded towards Gurizāla with their armies.

The Date of the battle :²

The chronicle of Palnāḍu enumerates the names of many chiefs who participated in the battle, the identity of some of whom in South Indian History enables us to arrive at the date of the battle approximately. On Mallidēva's side were Komma, father of Alarāju, Allānarājulu, kings of solar race, and several subordinate chiefs whose family names are enumerated in Viracharitra.³ Nalakāma is said to have sent letters to many kings asking them to come and join him in the war with their armies to which most of them responded. Among them were Velānaticōḍa II, Bhīma II of Dharaṇikōṭa, ruler of Gōlanki, Uragasēna - probably a Nāga chieftain, Erukukāma, the ruler of the seven māḍes, kings of Pon nālla, Podile, Kaṭakādhīpati i.e. Baladēva Purushōttama, ruler of Orissa, Kalavarāya, Tēlugu princes of Dēvādri, king Pedabāhu, Bhīmasēna, the chōla prince Sūryakumāra, Jayadēva, Jayasinga, ruler of Chandrādri, Viraballāṇa i.e. Hoysala Viraballāla II (A.D 1173-1220), Aravasinga, rulers of Karnāṭa and Bangāla and Sāgi Pōtarāja of Guḍimeṭṭa, Komma was the son of Sōvideva (A.D 1167-76) of the Kalachuryas. Prātāpārudra is Rudra I of the Kākatīya s. Besides these, Kōṭakēta II⁴ son of Bhīma II, Genka III, son of Chōḍa II participated in the battle at Kārempūḍi and Rudra dēva invaded Vēngi in A.D 1186. A chātu verse⁵ gives the date of the battle as s' 1308 which is wrong.⁶ The battle must have been fought about A.D 1178 to 1185 as most of the kings mentioned above, lived at that time, or a little earlier from A.D 1176 to 1182.

Events of the battle:

Nalakāma's armies were commanded by his brother Narasimha and Pedamallī's by Bālachandra, son of Brahma. The battle lasted for three

1. do text. p 19. 11 46, p 55, 22. 11 200, 203.

2. Text. pp 4.5, 26-27, 34 Introdn. p 40 citation.

3. The date of the heroes and the battle is controversial. Wilson places the date of the wars between A.D 1080 and 1087 which, as remarked by Brown, is too early. Sewell place the heroes in the 14th century A.D which is too late.

4. Text. p 83, 1 99. p 84, 1 142, p 33, 1 102.

5. P. Viracharitra. Introdn. p 45 Antiquities I App. A p 2.

6. Also its modification. J.A.H.R.S XII p 42, fn 27.

days. Viracharitra describes the battle in its successive stages most graphically and the hero was Balachandra's death the command of Mallidēva's armies was assumed by Kalachuri Komma on the third day and he too was slain.¹ The detailed fashion in which the narrative is treated is realistic but its late origin and lack of contemporary inscriptional evidence lessen its value as a historical document. According to the Viracharitra, Brahma and his partisans were victorious, Nāyakuralu fled and Brahma enthroned Nalakāma once again. But tradition records that Nalakāma was victorious, Brahma was forced to make peace with him and Palnāḍ on a religious mission.²

Results:-

The civil war in Palnāḍ and the battle of Kārempūḍi resulted in the immediate destruction of the wealth of the country in men and money. The Haihaya kingdom in Palnāḍ ended thus though the heroes of war were immortalised in the minds of the masses, in literature and architecture of the country and were deified in course of time. This war hastened the fall of the Velāṇḍu kingdom and other minor powers in Vēngi and brought in its train the invasion of Rudradēva in A.D 1186.

The later Haihayas:-

For a period of fifty years the battle of Kārempūḍi from A.D 1185 to A.D 1235, no Haihayas are heard of, though tradition has it, that Nalakāma continued to rule after the battle. From an inscription, dated A.D 1235,³ a Anugudēvamahārāja is heard of. From the name he appears to be a Haihaya and probably was a son of Nalakāma. A Mallidēvarāja comes to light from an undated record at Tērāla.⁴ From his name, this prince may be taken to be a Haihaya.

The Kākatīya influence spread into Palnāḍ in this period. The inscription dated A.D 1222⁵ at Gāmālapāḍu mentioning Jayapanāyaka and the Mutukūru record dated A.D 1268⁶ mentioning Śrīpati Gaṇapati, a feudatory of the Kākatīyas as ruling from Gurindāla i.e. Gurizāla attest the suzerainty of the Kākatīyas over Palnāḍ.

1. Palnati Viracharitra. Introdn. p 9. 2. Sewell: list of Antiquities I APP.A.

3. 278 of 1905. 4. 81 of 1929.30.

5. 39 of 1929.30. 6. 87-A of 1929.30.

In the 15th century (A.D. in 1434)¹ Anugumandālēs'wara, the lord of Ayōdhya is mentioned in a record from Kārempūdi. As the inscription records the building of a temple for Virakōṭi, this Anugu probably of Palnāḍ Haihayas honoured his great ancestors.

Another record² from Kārempūdi dated A.D. 1475 mentions Jivaraksha Timmanna, son of Mācherla Chennuḍu, raising a tower where in Chilama-nāyūḍu, Jivaraksha Timmanna, Pedamalli dēvarāju, Vōbinēni, brother Mācherla Timma and his son are figured on the beam, some with spears in hands. Perhaps these chiefs were later members of the family to which Brahmanāyudu and his colleagues belonged.³

A Minugu Mallanāyaningāru⁴ bearing many titles is mentioned in a record dated A.D. 1481 from Charlaguḍipāḍu in Gurindālasthala.

Mahāmandālēs'wara Kumāra birudungamarāju is known to us from an inscription⁵ at Veludurti, with no date registering a grant to the temple Raddiguḥla at S'āsanapumbrolu. From the name this Kāmarāju appears to be a Haihaya, perhaps a grandson of Nalakāma and son of Anugurāja. (A.D. 1234)

Other Haihayas:-

Prince Nriparudra⁶ a brother of Vijayaditya II of the Chālukyas of Vēngi, was a descendant of the Haihaya race, Queen S'ridēvi⁷ mother of Nannichōḍa of the Telugu Chōlas at Koṇidēna and wife of Chōḍa balli was a princess of the Haihaya race. Chandalaḍēvi, wife of Mallapa II⁸ of the Chālukyas of Pithāpur was the daughter of prince Brahman, the ornament of the Haihayas and lord of Sagaravishaya. An inscription of Pernamiṭṭa⁹ (Ongole taluq) mentions Haihaya titles and seems to mention a Haihaya prince-

Cheruvāsāni, wife of mahasāmanta Kallayanāyaka was of Haihaya lineage and her mother was Jakkāmbika. She is heard of from a Chāḍi record at Amarāvati bearing the date A.D. 1260.¹⁰

The Inugāla gotra family had among its titles-mahishmatipuravarādhis'vara¹¹ The Kōrkanti family bore the epithets¹² Ayōdhyapura-lakshmisāmrajanirvāhaka and māhishmatipuravaradhis'vara. These titles are reminiscent of Haihaya rule in Andhra.

1. 557 of 1909. 2. 555 of 1909. 3. do INS. Mad. Pres. II (Gt) 525.
4. 591 of 1909. 5. 333 of 1930.31. 6. S.I.I. I pp 31 ft. 7. Nannichōḍa: Kumarasambhava part I. Canto v52. S.E.I. IV No. 33 v32. 9. Nell. Ins. III p 1099 0112.
10. 271 of 1897; S.I.I. VI 247. 11. Mack. Ms 15.4.3 p 84. 12. Mack. Ms. 15.4.5 p 107

CHAPTER III.

THE CHAGIS. A.D. 1100-1477.

The chāgis or Tyāgis were the rulers of the Natavāḍi and Vijaya-vāṭivishayas with capitals at Guḍimeṭṭa, Vijayavāḍa and Vinukonda, at different times for nearly three centuries and a half with interruptions some long, in the middle. The Chāgi dynasty owed nominal allegiance to the Chōlas, perhaps the Kākatiyas and the Gajapatis. The rulers were warriors and administrators and in fact independent for all practical purposes. Their kingdom was not small, political achievements not insignificant compared to other dynasties in Vēngi at the time, excepting the Velanāṇḍus and the Telugu chōlas. The family name of the chāgis was Vipparla.¹ The Chāgis had their own coinage and contracted diplomatic alliances of marriage with the Kākatiyas and the Kondapaḍumaṭis and were the originators of the Palnāḍ Haihaya² and Telugu chōla³ dynasties.

Early history:-

The caste of the Chāgis is uncertain. Some inscriptions call them S'ūdras, while others and Rāmāvilāsam by Ēnugu Lakshmaṇa kavi of a much later date, mention them as Kshatriyas. One inscription⁴ says that among the Kshatriyakulas was born Vipparlavamsa, in which were born great warriors and saints like Nāgārjuna. Chāgi Venkana was of the solar race.⁵ But many Chāgi records trace the ancestry to Durjaya and Durjayakula. Durjaya, according to some inscriptions,⁶ was born in a caste born from the feet of Vishnu and according to others he was born from Brahma and was the lord of the west (Paschimādhis'vara) and protector of the earth.⁷ A few records of the 13th century of the time of Gaṇapati of the Kākatiyas refer to him as of the lineage of Karikāla. It is not possible to see whether the Rājajaya, Rājadurjaya of Velanāṇḍu records and Tandivāḍa plates of Prithvi Mahārāja are identical for want of date and harder still to accept the suggestion of their identity with Durjaya.^{8-a} His son was Rājajaya according to the genealogy of the Sāgi family.⁸ Many a dynasty in Andhra-the Kākatiyas, the Kondapaḍumaṭis, the Parichchēdis, the Natavāḍis and others claim descent from Durjaya. But the historicity of this semi mythical personage is shrouded in mist as in the case of Karikāla and Trilōchanapallava.^{8-b} Hence on the basis of a single

1. 283 of 1924. 2. 316 of 1930.31. 3. Nell. Ins. O 92 Vol III App. n 1410. (p)
4. 283 of 1924. 5. Nell. Ins. O 92. 6. 313 of 1924; 253 of 1897; S.I.I. VI 218.
7. 300 of 1924; 294 & 296 of 1892; S.I.I. IV 748. 8. Bharati X part I p 273.
- 8.a. C. Virabhadrarao: History of Andhras Vol. vp 64.
- 8.b. The earliest reference to Durjaya is in the Drama "Urbhanga" by Bhasa mentioned as the son of Duryodhana. Mahabharata is silent about it. Evidently this Durjaya was born from poet Bhasa's imagination.

epigraph¹ mentioning Muppa as son of Durjaya which may just mean that Muppa is a descendant of Durjaya and nothing more as attested by other Chāgi records to say that allowing an average of twenty-five years for each generation it would appear that the family came into prominence under Durjaya some time about S'971² is incorrect.

The Chāgis were Sūdras to begin with and assumed Kshatriya lineage later on like the Reddis of Rājahmundry. According to the Rāma-vilāsa, the Chāgi ancestry is as follows: Brahma was born from the navel lotus of Vishnu and from him Marichi's son was Kaśyapa and his son was Bhāskara. Bhāskara's son was Vaivasvata whose son was Manu, and Manu's son was Ikshvāku. In the Ikshvākuvamśa was born Kakutsa, Raghu and Daśuratha. Daśuratha's son was Rāma and in Suryavamśa, Sāgavamśa became famous.³

MUPPA I.

Muppa is the first historical member of the Chāgi dynasty. None of his inscriptions are available and a few details are known from the records of his successors. Muppa had another name Araya or Ariya, was a warrior and received regal insignia from king Rājendra Chōḍa⁴ i.e. Kulōttunga I (A.D 1070-1118). Hence, it must be, Muppa served loyally Kulōttunga I in this wars like the early Velanāṇḍu Chōḍas, and was duly rewarded with royal ensigns and perhaps also some tracts to govern, which must have formed the nucleus of the Chāgi kingdom. This must have happened before A.D 1118- the end of Kulōttunga I's reign.

Dōra I. A.D 1118-1160.

Dōra was the son and successor of Muppa. He possessed great prowess and destroyed his enemies. He had the title Tyāgi as one inscription mentions him as Tyāgi Dōra,⁵ son of king Ariya. To mention him as Gonkadōraparāju is a mistake.^{5-a} He is said to have inherited the kingdom, extended it by the strength of his arms and received regal insignia from Rājendra Chōḍa⁶ i.e. Kulōttunga I. This fresh conferment must have taken place before A.D 1118 and is suggestive of a renewal of assertion of suzerainty, on the part of the Chōlas and subordination of the Chāgis and that Dōra was in the service of the Chōlas like Muppa I or else the conferment on Muppa is attributed to Dōra by the later inscriptions.

1. 310 of 1924. 2. A.R 1924: II para 57. 3. Citations in Bharati IX-II p.770 for 5.
4. 313 of 1924. 5. 300 of 1924: 335 of 1892: S.I.I. IV 975.
5-a. C. Vinabhadra Rao: History of Andhra Vol. V. p 415.
6. 253 and 271 of 1897: S.I.I. VI 218, 247.

Dōra I was a powerful king. His coins Tyāgigadyas are heard of as early as A.D 1126.¹ His only inscription² is from Guḍimeṭṭa with date A.D 1161. Other inscriptions of his time belong to his sons. The Satrasāla inscription³ dated A.D 1103 mentions Haihaya Dōraya Bēta. i.e. Bēta, son of Dōra I, the founder of the dynasty of the Haihayas of Palnād. Pōta, another son of Dōra I figures in an Amarāvati epigraph dated A.D 1147⁴ and his minister Kavaliya Singana Peggada is mentioned in it. Kallayanāyaka, son of Dōra by the daughter of Muchayanāyaka of Rāchūru, appears in a record from Amarāvati dated A.D 1150.⁵ Probably Pōta was the crown-prince from A.D 1147 and he and Kallayanāyaka governed over the Amarāvati tracts-the northern-most part of the Chāgi kingdom.

Dōra's political relations:

The Chōla emperors at the time were Kulōttunga I, Vikrama Chōla, Kulōttunga II and Rājarāja II. The Chāgi kingdom does not seem to have been affected by the Chālukyan invasions and Dōra I and his armies must have sided Vikramachōla and Kulōttunga II in bringing back Vēngi to Chōla rule. Dōra was on friendly relations with Muchanāyaka, the chief of Rāchūru.

Pōta I - A.D 1161-1190.

Pōta was the eldest son and successor of Dōra. He is described as a warrior, a Rājāsīmha, and protector of his kingdom and compared to Kumāra and Pradyumna. His two records⁶ are dated A.D 1161 and 1191 respectively. Pōta issued Tyāgigadyas referred to in a record of A.D 1171.

His political relations:

The Chāgi kingdom included Vijayavātivishaya in this period. Pōta must have owed allegiance to the Chōlas. His Velanāṇḍu Chōḍa contemporaries were Chōḍa II (A.D 1163-1180), Gonka III (A.D 1181-1185) and Prithvisvara (A.D 1186-1210). He was on terms of alliance with Chōḍa II which is attested by the mention of Tyāgigadyas in Velanāṇḍu records.⁷ He had friendly relations with Buddha of the Natavāḍis. The

1. S.I.I. IV 920. 2. 316 of 1924. 3. 316 of 1930-31.
4. 253 of 1897: S.I.I. VI 218. 5. 271 of 1897: S.I.I. VI 247.
6. 316 of 1924: 138 of 1897: S.I.I. VI 94. 7. 655 of 1920.

statement that his daughter Prōlamadēvi was married to Natavāḍi Durgarāja⁷ is wrong for Pōta had no daughter, Durga was anterior to him. Pōta is confused with Kōna Kandravāḍi Pōta.

Pōta, an ally of the Palnāḍ Haihayas, participated in the civil war and battle at Kārempūḍi (A.D 1178-1186) on the side of the elder line-Nalakāma. One version¹ of Palnāḍiviracharitra mentions that Sāgi Pōtamārāju, minister Satya Guṇḍamadēva and Gobburirāju and others with vast infantry (288,000) arrived to join Nalakāma in the war. Sāgipōta is king Pōta I. He must have met Chōḍa II and Gonka III, Kōṭa Bhima II and Kēta II, Natavāḍi Durga and the Kākatiya armies as allies. Pōta I survived the battle of Kārempūḍi² which is evident from the fact that his inscriptions go up to A.D 1190.

Tradition has it that Pōta captured the horse of Vemulavāḍa Bhima and died because of the latter's curse. The same verse mentioning the curse is attributed as referring to Lētavarapu Pōta by Turagā Rāma Kavi and by some to Bellūi Tirumalayya.³ Consequently much credit cannot be ascribed to this verse regarding Pōta's death.

Dorā II. A.D 1190-1199.

Son of Pōta I by Rājāmbika, Dorā II ascended the Chāgi throne in A.D 1190. He extended the bounds of his kingdom, transferred his capital to Vijayavāḍa and he is said to have ruled over the chagi kingdom for fifteen years.⁴ His earliest inscription mentions him as chāgi Dorayarāju.⁵ The next inscription of the reign is dated A.D 1197 issued by his son Pōta. In this Dorā bore the epithets - Nātavāḍivishayādhisvara and Tyāgirāja. He is mentioned simply as king Tyāgi in Pōta's record of A.D 1199.⁶ He improved the Nātavāḍi kingdom. His rule must have lasted up to A.D 1204 i.e. fifteen years from A.D 1190.

His political relations:

Dorā alias Tyāgi must have come into conflict with the local rulers in Vēngi in extending his kingdom. He must have taken advantage of the growing weakness of the Velanāḍu kingdom under Prithvisvara.

7.a. Elliot Colln II p 10 cited. Bharati IX-I p 773 for 27

1. Srinatha: P. Viracharitra. Quotation in Bharati IX p 774: P. Viracharitra from Ms. 12.334. Introdn. p 40. History of Andhras V p 420 Citation.

2. So he would not have died in the battle as is supposed in Bharati IX-II p 775.

3. V.P. Sāstri. Chatu Padyamanimanjari: viresalingam. Lives of Telugu poets I G.V Ramamurthi: Biographies of the Telugu poets.

4. 335 of 1892: S.I.I IV 795. 5. 330 of 1892: S.I.I. IV 790. 6. 300 of 1924.

Pōta II A.D-1199-1230

Pōta II ruled the kingdom for thirty years. He was associated in the governance of the kingdom from A.D 1197. The extent of the kingdom is seen from the provenance of inscriptions. The record from Bezvāḍa dated A.D 1199 mentions his grant of Jakkampūḍi in koṇḍapaḍumaṭi.¹ In the record dated A.D 1197, Pōta is mentioned as Narasimhavardhana Tyāgi pōta, ruler of Nātavāḍi and Vijayavāḍi vishayas. Pōta is spoken of as a valiant statesman and destroyer of enemies. His last records² are from Navab pēte with dates A.D 1230 and in them Pōta and Gaṇapati were mentioned together.

From A.D 1212 to 1230, Pōta II and Gaṇapaya ruled conjointly. This Gaṇapaya was the younger brother of Pōta II and son of Dorā II. What brought about this establishment of dual kingship in the middle of a reign, it is not easy to see - probably political exigencies of the time. Gaṇapaya's record from Amaravāḍi dated A.D 1216 mentions a grant by Chāgi Gaṇapaya mahārājulu.³ Gaṇapaya was the crown prince from the beginning of the reign of Pōta II and then became joint ruler issuing inscriptions by himself and in conjunction with Pōta II.

His foreign relations:

The Velanāḍu kingdom was in decadent condition, after Prithvisvara's death in A.D 1210. The Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi kingdom had ended as the last date for Maṇḍa III is A.D 1173. This explains Pōta's making grants in Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi tracts almost from the beginning of his reign. Nātavāḍi Rudra,⁴ Kōṭa II, Kōnakandravāḍi Bhima and Kēsava II of the Inanji Kandravāḍis were contemporaries of Pōta II. A grandson of Kōnakandravāḍi was Bhima Chāgi Pōta.

The Kākatiya contemporary of Chāgi Pōta was Gaṇapati. The Palnāḍ wars which affected adversely the kingdoms in Vēngi was followed by Rudra I's invasion of Vēngi. Gaṇapati continued Rudra's policy of expeditions and conquests. The Kākatiya influence in Vēngi was growing steadily though perhaps imperceptibly. From one of the last inscriptions dated A.D 1230 of Pōta II and Gaṇapaya, it is clear that a servant of

1. 294, 296 of 1892: S.I.I. IV 748. 2. 273, 274, 275 of 1924.

3. 255 of 1897: S.I.I. VI 221.

4. E. I. VI p 159. Sewell: Historical Inscriptions of South India. p 128.

Sōmaya sālini made gifts the very next year A.D 1231 at Navabpēt.¹ This is an unmistakable sign of Kākatiya encroachment into chāgi kingdom for Sōmaya sālini was none other than a general of Gaṇapati. There is no evidence showing either Pōta's opposition or submission to the invader. Joint rule with Gaṇapaya was a precautionary measure against the Kākatiya inroads.

Gaṇapaya and Dōra, III. A.D 1230-1257.

Gaṇapaya's independant rule began in A.D 1230 i.e. the last date for Pōta II. But nothing is heard of him till A.D 1240. His associate ruler in A.D 1240 was chāgi Dōrayarāju, his nephew and the eldest son of Pōta II. Dōra's identification with two persons named² Manmachāgi is mistaken. An inscription of that year at Chintapalle records a gift for the merit of Dōraya and Gaṇapaya.³ Manmarāju, figuring in a record at Adavirāvulapādu,⁴ was probably the son of Pōta II and grandson of Dōra alias Tyāgi and so was named chāgi Manma after him. He was the nephew of Gaṇapaya and probably the crown prince. Three epigraphs⁵ dated A.D 1246 at Tripurāntakam show the expansion of the Chāgi kingdom in that direction. They were issued by Gaṇapaya, Muppalaḍēvi Ammangāru and Dōraya respectively. Dōra is identical with Narasimha of Rāmāvilasm.

Their political relations:

The Chāgis must have come into conflict with the Kākatiyas and their subordinates in extending their kingdom especially in the direction of Tripurāntakam by A.D 1246. Inscriptions of Gaṇapati are already at Tripurāntakam by A.D 1245,⁶ those of his brother-in-law Natavādi Rudra and his sons by A.D 1248,⁷ and of his subordinate Gangayasāhini by A.D 1250.⁸ Perhaps the Chāgis met the Kākatiyas and their subordinates as friends at Tripurāntakam.

The last years of Gaṇapaya and Dōra:

Chāgi Manmarāju of the Muppalla inscription dated A.D 1246⁹ is identical with chāgi Manma of the record of A.D 1242 noted already and of the Tripurāntakam inscription of A.D 1230. Muppala mahāḍēvi, mother of Gaṇapaya bearing the epithet Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara is heard of from a

Bezwāda inscription dated A.D 1246. Gaṇapaya's last inscription is from Yenamalakuduru dated A.D 1250. No inscriptions of either Dōra, Gaṇapati, Muppala, and Chāgi Manma are available between the years A.D 1250 and 1257 the earliest date for the next set of joint rulers and also the last date for Dōra and Gaṇapaya. One feature of this period is the issuing of grants by four persons all bearing regal epithets throughout side by side.¹

Manma Pōta and Manma Gaṇapaya. A.D 1257-1268.

Inscriptions do not tell us the relationship between Manmapōta and Manmagāṇapati and their relationship to their predecessors Dōra and Gaṇapaya whom they succeeded on the throne. But the term Manma in their names shows that they were the grandsons of Pōta II and Dōra II alias Tyagirāja through their sons Dōra III and Gaṇapaya respectively. According to Rāmāvilasm Manmapōta was a younger brother of Mācha.

Manma Pōta's earliest inscription is from Muppalla dated A.D 1257 mentioning his generals - Komma and his son Mānka. A Manmachagirāju is mentioned in another inscription of the same year from Konḍanayanivaram² Mahamāṇḍalēsvara Tyagi manma Gaṇapatidēvarāja is first heard of in A.D 1259 from an inscription at Vēdadri³ The next inscription is of A.D 1260 from Anumandipalli mentioning a grant by Gaṇapaya. This mentions Manma chāgi Gaṇapati, as the son of Gaṇapati and Vennambika,⁴ which Gaṇapati was the son of Dōra by Muppama.⁵ Pōta is mentioned as the ruler of Natavadi kingdom.

The extent of the kingdom retained its usual dimensions. On The Kakatiya throne was Rudrama in this period. Records of her and her subordinates are at Tripurāntakam⁶ and in Palnad tracts.⁷ there is no evidence whether the Chāgis came into conflict with them.

Manma Chāgirāju. A.D 1268-1292.

No sons of Manmapōta Gaṇapa are heard of. Manmagāṇapa had a son Pōta III. Manmachagirāju who does not seem to belong to the main branch of the Chāgis, succeeded Pōta and Gaṇapa and exercised sway for some years. Perhaps Pōta III ruled jointly with him till A.D 1276.

1. 275 of 1924. 2. History of the Kammas II p 64. 3. 277 of 1934-35.
4. 254 of 1924. 5. 234, 235, 244 of 1905. 6. 245 of 1905,
7. 225, 227 & 228 of 1905. 8. 283 of 1905. 9. Ins. Mad. Pres. (Kt) 270.

1. 140 140 A of 1897; S.I.I. VI 96, 97. 2. 257 of 1924. 3. 309 of 1924.
4. 283 of 1924. 5. Wrongly mentioned as Dinnambika. C. Virabhadra Rao; History of Andhras V p42² 6. 194 of 1905. 7. 94 of 1917, 550 of 1909.

His ancestry:

Chagiraju's grandfather was Pedda Chagiraja, maternal uncle Peddaya, his father was Bhimaraja and mother Parvatidevi.¹ None of these persons figure in other Chagi records. The earliest inscription of Manmachagi is from Munagalapalle dated A.D 1268. An inscription from Bezwaḍa of A.D 1276 mentions chagi Pōta's servant Allāḍadevaraja. This Pōta's relationship to Manmachagi is not known. A.D 1292-the earliest date for Rudraya Chagi may be taken to be the last date for Chagi Manma.

Manma Chagi and the Kakatiyas:

The Chagis and the Kakatiyas did come into conflict with each other in this period. Of the initial year of Manma Chagi's reign is a record at Guḍimeṭṭa, the Chagi capital of Kakatiya Rudradēva maharaja, mentioning her general Paṭṭa saḥini Dadi Gannamanayaḍu.² Rudrama's inscriptions are found in continuous order in Kistna district from A.D 1268 till the end of her reign - A.D 1291. For instance in A.D 1290, Dadi Sōmayasahini and Reddaya saḥini, two generals of the Kakatiyas were donors to the same temple at Guḍimeṭṭa.³ Thus Kakatiya influence, if not the occupation, as has been suggested by the epigraphist⁴ which began with Gannama continued throughout Manmachāgi's reign.

Rudraya Chagi. A.D 1292-1305.

Rudra's only record is from Guḍimeṭṭa dated A.D 1292 wherein he is mentioned as Rudraya Tyāgi⁵. A record at Pedda Ambaṭipudi mentions the king Chāgirāja and Lakshmadēvi in A.D 1305⁶. If the king of this inscription is Rudraya Tyāgi, his rule may be extended up to A.D 1305.

A.D 1305-1477.

No Chāgis are heard for one and a half centuries after A.D 1305. Undoubtedly the chāgi kingdom came under the Kakatiya suzerainty under Pratāparudra by A.D 1305 and remained thus till about A.D 1330 when it came under the Redḍi dynasty and constituted an integral part of the Redḍi kingdom of Konḍaviḍu till its break-up about A.D 1440. Next, these tracts were occupied by the armies of the Gajapatis and by A.D 1455 Konḍapalli was the seat of a Gajapati viceroyalty in the reigns of Kapilēsvara⁷ (A.D 1430-1464) and Purushōttama (A.D. 1464-1496). About A.D 1477 we hear of some chāgi rulers at Vinukonḍa.

1. 259 of 1924. 2. 314 of 1924. 3. 318 of 1924.
4. A.R. 1924 II para 61. 5. 317 of 1924. 6. 366 of 1915.
7. I. A. XX p 390; Ins. Mad. Pres. II Kistna 60.

The Chāgis of the Vinukonḍa.

How these Chāgis are related to the Chāgis of Guḍimeṭṭa is unknown though the common surname Chāgi, certainly suggests their belonging to a common stock. The ending Nāyaka or Nāyuḍu of the names of the Chāgis of this branch indicates their giving up of the Kshatriya lineage and levelling themselves with the Chaturthānvayas i.e people of the fourth caste definitely.

Early history:-

In the fourth caste was born Annamanāyaka. His son was Peda Ganna. His son was Gāda, Gāda's son was Sāgi Ganna or Gannama nāyaka. Gannama bore the titles-Karavāla bhairava, Puliyamārkoḷuganḍa and Gaṇḍabhērūṇḍa.¹ He issued two inscriptions from Vinukonḍa, his capital. From the first of them, the following genealogy is given in the Kaifiyat of Vinukonḍa.²

Sāgi Kommanāyaka.

Tippa.	Gātha-Tippamba.	Chenna.
Pedatippa.	Ganna (Donor)	Chinnatippa.

The second inscription mentions Ganna's mother as Tammasāni and the genealogy in inscription differs from that in the Kaifiyat. From inscriptions it is as follows:-

*Annamanāyaka.**Pedaganna.**Gade. Tammasāni**Ganna (Donor).**The political relations of the Chagi of Vinukonḍa:*

Of this family only Ganna of A.D 1477 was a man of some consequence and ruled at Vinukonḍa, formerly a fortress of importance under the Redḍis. He is said to have been a governor under Purushōttama and

1. 527, 528 of 1913 pp 2.3 of App for Kondaviti Samrajyam.
2. 15.6.21 Ms. p 14 No. 1.

constructed the hill fortress.¹ This Ganna owed allegiance to the Gajapati viceroy Gāṇadēva at Koṇḍapalle and through him to Gajapati Kapilēswara and Purushōttama. No sons and successors of Chāgi Ganna are heard of.

Other Chagis:

A Chāgi Manmapōta the lord of Brihat Kānchipura (i.e. Penuganchi prōlu) is heard of from an inscription dated A.D 1257.² A record from Ongole dated A.D 1087-88 gives the genealogy of a family of Telugu Chōlas beginning with Chāgi Venkana of sūryavamsa.³ This Venkana does not find a place in Chāgi Pedigree. This Chagi prince must have lived in the middle of the 10th century A.D.

A family with the surname Vipparla was in the service of the Chāgis of Guḍimeṭṭa. Its members are known from three inscriptions.⁴ Peddamallanāyaka's son was Dōra prōlenāyaka of Mannakula. prōla's son was Mallināyaka or Malnāyaka who was in the service of Dōra. As the family name of the chāgis was Vipparla, it is likely that Vipparla family is related to them. Meckenziē Mss give a long list of the titles⁵ of the Vipparla family which do not seem to refer to the Chāgi kings or their later descendants. They perhaps are of some other family with the surname Vipparla.

An undated epigraph at Penuganchiprōlu,⁶ mentions Dōra son of Bhimarāja ruling over the Natavādi country and granting lands on the Munna. Probably this Dōra was a brother of Manma Chagirāju of A.D 1268 whose father was also Bhimarāju.⁷ If so Dōra must have ruled in conjunction with Manmachāgi about A.D 1268. About A.D 1215 a Velānāṇṭi Sāgi Dōrayarāju is heard of from an epigraph at Yenamalakuduru. The prefix Velānāṇḍu is significant probably indicating some victory of Dōraya over Velānāṇḍu Prithviśvara and annexation of some tracts to the chāgi kingdom. The identity of this Dōra, whose date falls in the reign of Pōta II and Gaṇapaya (1199-1230 A.D) is not known.

An inscription at Kanchela,⁸ dated A.D 1185 mentions mahāman-ḍalēśvar sāgi rāja. This sāgirāja's subordinate Mallināyaka figures in another record at Rompicherla,⁹ with date lost as a subordinate of Dōra. As Sāgirāja's date falls in the reign of pōta I (1161-1190 A.D), he must

have been a prince of the royal family, if not identical with pōta I. Dōra may be the same as king Dōra I (A.D 1118-1160 or Dōra II (A.D 1190-1199

An inscription from yēnikapādu,¹ with date lost mentions mahāmandalēśvara chāgi Dōrayarāja. Probably he is identical with Dōrayarāja of the Kancherla epigraph.² If so, Dōra figuring in all these inscriptions is probably Dōra II, father of Pōta II, and Dōra of Chintapalle inscription,³ is perhaps Dōra III, son of Pōta II Dōrabhupa, son of Pōta II figuring as king in a Guḍimeṭṭa inscription, with no Date is identical with Dōra II. The record from Muppāla, with date lost mentions a servant of the chāgi family.

Like the second Kolanu dynasty Induluri family, a family of the Sāgis of Vipparla gōtra was in the service of the Kākatīyas from the time of Ganapati. Like the Kolanus, the sāgis distinguished themselves in the wars of the Kākatīyas. A few records of the Kākatīyas and Mārkaṇḍēya-purnama by Mārana and Muslim histories give us the history of the Sāgis, whose relationship to the main branch at Guḍimeṭṭa is not known.

The earliest member known so far is general Malla⁴ born in the fourth caste. He is described as valiant and charitable. His son was Nāgadēva or Nāgabhupati who lives towards the close of the reign of Ganapati and beginning of Rudrama's. As feudatory of the Kākatīyas, he ruled Pākanāḍu. His sons by Mallamāmbikā, daughter of Mēchayanāyaka, a talavari of Ganapati, were Gannamanāyaḍu, Ellayanāyaḍu and Mēchayanāyaḍu.⁵ of them, Ganna was the minister and general of Pratāparudra. A distinguished warrior and administrator entitled Nitiyugandhara Nāgayaganna was bestowed with regal insignia by Pratāparudra.⁶ Some of his epithets, show that his services in protecting the kingdom and the capital, Katakā⁷ against the Muslim invaders were of all in importance. But during the last Muslim invasion on warangal, it is said, that along with Pratāparudra, he too was taken prisoner and forced to take to Islam. Taking the name Mallik Makbul. he served Muhammad Tughlak, as governor of Multan by about A.D 1334. When he was posted to the rulership of Telingāna. After suffering a defeat in the hands of kāpayanāyaka, he was appointed to the viceroyalty of Gujarat. He served Firozshah as premier and was given the title khanikahan. He seems to have died about A.D 1372.⁸

1. Sewell: List of Antiquities I p 67.

2. 257 of 1924. 3. Nell. Ins. O 92. 4. 262 & 264 of 1924; 295 of 1915.

5. Meck. Ms. 15.4.3 Ms pp 77-78. 6. 279 of 1924. 7. 259 of 1924.

8. 262 of 1924. 9. 295 of 1915.

1. 159 of 1913. 2. 264 of 1924. 3. 275 of 1934-35.

4. Marana: Markandeyapurana I. 5. do. 6. do.

7. Kakatikshmapalakatakadhisu-here kataka does not mean Dhanyakataka and that Ganna governed it as is wrongly supposed. History of the Kammas II, p 108.

8. Bharati 16 part I no. 2

Of Baichāraju and Devārināyaningāru, the two sons of Ganna, the former was a warrior of great merit. From a few *chātu* verses¹ about him, some of his achievements are known. Some of his titles were, mānagōvindarāya rāyarahuttaminda, puliyamārkōluganda, gaṇḍabhērunda ballasuratrāṇa etc. He won a victory over a Muslim chieftain-Gunamal kala secured the title Gaṇḍabhērunda from the rulers of Vellanki by vanquishing them in the battle. A *chātu* verse says that Gannaya Sāyi Baicha with valour took prisoner Mādaya of Vellanki and protected Rāma, probably also of Vellanki. Probably the Rāma is same as Seṭṭipale-Rāghava, by subduing whom, Baicha took the title Ballasuratrāṇa. He too seems to have accepted Islam with his father and served Firozshah. Devārināyani was the viceroy of Pratāparudra in Palnāḍ.² Ellayanāyaka and Mēchayanāyaka, brothers of Ganna, were generals under Pratāparudra as seen from Markandēyapurāṇa.

Sāgi Mādha, younger brother of Manmapōta of the main branch and his descendants, do not find mention in *chāgi* records but only in Rāmāvilasa dedicated to Vatsavāyi Gōparaju, Mācha's son was Erapōta who in his turn had two sons - Telugu raja and Ramaraju. Teluguraja and Ramaraja were in the service of Pratāparudra respectively.³ Rāmāvilasa says⁴ that Ramaraja conquered many many kings in the battlefield and was presented with mast elephants, kamkhana, rubies and dancing women by them.⁵ As Rāmāraja made Vatsavaya his capital, the name Vatsavaya came to be attached to S'agivamsa.⁶

1. Velgotivarivamsavali Ms 15.5.32 in Or. Mss. Lib.1. 2. Kakatiya inscriptions.
3. Ramāvilasa-History of Andhras V p 74. 4. Cited on p74 of Hist. of Andhras V.
5. Ramāvilasa.

CHAPTER IV

THE KONDAPADUMATIS. A.D 1100 - 1282.

The Giripāschūmaśāsanas or the Kondapadumatis held the Kondapadumaṭi or S'ailapāschātya vishaya, the country to the west of the Kondavīḍu range of hills - corresponding to the eastern portion of Sattenapalle taluq of Guntur district for one and a half centuries. They had their capital at Mādendla not far from Tsandavōle, the Velanāndu capital. To begin with, they were subordinate to the Chālukyas of Vēngi and later on owed allegiance to the Chālukya chōlas. The Kondapadumatis secured an important military success over the Kalingas and the Telugu chōlas and were allied to the Velanāndu chōlas by marriages. A branch of the Kondapadumaṭi family was the Pārichchedis of Kolliṭṭāka. There is no evidence for the statement that the Kondapadumatis were connected by blood with the Telugu chōlaa and the Pallavas.¹ It is not correct either to say that all the Velanāndu queens were of the lineage² of Buddha of the Kondapadumatis.

Origin and early history :-

These of the kondapadumaṭi records² except the chebrōle one, giving the early history of the dynasty trace the chālukya genealogy up to Kubjavishu and then pass on to Buddhavarman the first ancestor of the dynasty. But the chebrōle inscription³ says that Brahma was born from the navel lotus of Vishnu, and in the caste born from the feet of Vishnu was born Buddhavarman who was valiant, served Mukkanti Kaduveṭṭi faithfully and secured Omgērūmārgatrāya from him. According to other inscriptions Buddhavarman, an ornament of the fourth caste, was to Kubjavishū, as Ājanēya to Rāma, Vainatēya to Vishu, served like an armour, his lord in the battlefield, and received from him the country to the west of the hill which contained seventy three villages along with royal emblems. As Kubjavishū, the founder of the chālukyans of Vēngi flourished between A.D 615 to 633, his subordinate Buddhavarman must have flourished in that period. Buddhavarman's allegiance to Mukkanti Kādūveṭṭi does not help us to fix his chronology for the historicity to Trilōchanapallava-though the epigraphist⁴ ascribes him to the 6th century of A.D-is still a pro-

1. Nellore Gazeteer p. 41. 1-a. C. Virabhadra Rao: History of Andhras V pp 363.364.
2. 214, 239, 241, 233 of 1892: S.I.I. IV 662, 690, 692, 683. 247 of 1897: VI p 275.
No.4, p 277 No 9 & 12. 3. 246 of 1897: S.I.I. VI 103. 4. A.R 1915 II para54,

blem in South Indian History. Buddhavarman's kingdom-Giriparśchima vis'haya comprising trisaptati villages-formed the beginnings of the Kondapadumati kingdom. Probably Ongerumārgataya formed part of the Kondapadumati kingdom.

No immediate successors of Buddhavarman find place in the kondapadumati records till we come to Manda I. The Tsandavole inscription says "after some ancestors had passed away, there was born from that family king Manda I, the crest ornament of the rulers of Provinces." Similar statements are found in other records of the dynasty. Perhaps the insignificant intermediaries between Buddhavarman and Manda I continued in the service of the Chālukyas and as rulers of Kondapadumati and Ongerumārgatraya.

Manda I. A.D. 1114-1118.

During the five centuries between A.D. 633 and 1114-the last and the first dates of Buddhavarman and Manda I respectively-South India and Vengi experienced great political changes. The Chōla and the Eastern Chālukya crowns were united by A.D. 1070 in Kulōttunga I and by the time of Manda I Vengi was a chōla viceroyalty under Vikrama chōla.¹ Naturally the Kondapadumatis were loyal to the Chālukya-chōḍas in this period.

The earliest record² of Manda I is from Pākalapāḍu, with date A.D. 111, and the 45th year of Tribhuvanachakravarti Kulōttunga chōḍadeva. It mentions the king as the lord of Kondapadumara, who is Manda I though his name is lost in the record. Manda's inscription from Bāpaṭla dated A.D. 1117 mentions a Redḍi of Kondapadumati Māvundala and the Gandhavāraṇamāḍas.³ The last inscription of Manda's reign is from Chēbroḷe⁴ wherein he is mentioned as Eṅgamanda and his premier was Sūra, who and his brothers acquired some important victories over Bēta-maṇḍalikasaṅghamu, and the enemy at Bezavāḍa and over some hill tribes. The record mentions lord Panda whose identity and relationship to Manda I is not known.

Manda I's political relations:

The kingdom of Manda I is mentioned as Sāma rājya and he issued coins by A.D. 1117 for, Gandhavāraṇamāḍa is after one of his epithets Gandhavāraṇa. By A.D. 1118, Sūra claims to have won victories over a conspiracy of kings headed by Bēta at Bezavāḍa and was rewarded with palanquin etc. by the king.⁵ This Bēta may be Beta or Betma of the Kākatiyas a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI of the chālukyas of Kalyāṇi on whom Hanuma Kōḍa was conferred in A.D. 1117.⁶ More probably Bēta is chāgi Bēta⁷ the founder of the Palnad Haihaya dynasty whose reign lasted from A.D. 1103 to 1110 and whose successor Virakāma (A.D. 1111-1118) was the strict contemporary of Manda I on the Haihaya throne. As there is no evidence of Bēta's death in A.D. 1110, he could have headed the enemy of the Kondapadumati at Bezavāḍa before A.D. 1118. Why this battle occurred and who the associates of Bēta were is not known. As this was the period of the expansion of the western chālukyan power into Vēngi under Vikramāditya and his generals and as the early Haihayas Bēta and Virakāma were allies of the Chālukyas, the chālukyan armies with the Haihaya and perhaps Chāgi and Natavāḍi rulers, on their march, were obstructed at Bezavāḍa from entering the Kondapadumati kingdom by Manda I, Panda, Sūra and his brothers and were vanquished. It is likely that Genka I and Chōḍa I participated on the side of Manda I. The Kunṇulu and Pandalu defeated by Sūra, probably refer to some forest tribes. As Manda is not heard of after A.D. 1118, probably he died in the battle, and the figure of Sūra-the hero of the battle was carved by a sculptor.⁸ According to a Velanāṇḍu inscription⁹ dated A.D. 1132, Kāpa, lord of Tūmbarti was in the service of Eṅgamanda, and at his command defeated the enemy kings at Mannēru and was rewarded with the title-Mandanagandhavarana, and lordship of Tūmburru and Ātukūr. Entitled Annyanka bhama and Chatburtha kulakēsari, Kāpa had secured another victory at the instance of Manda, while Singana, Sēvara, Jagadēva, and Chōḍa were witnessing. The place of the victory is not mentioned. These successes of Kāpa must have taken place prior to A.D. 1118 along with those of Sūra. The victories of Kāpa and Sūra formed a single campaign in which the battles at Bezavāḍa and Mannēru were won by A.D. 1118. Of the four chiefs-Sēvana, Singana, Jagadēva, and Chōḍa who sided Manda, Chōla is either Vikrama chōla or Velanāṇḍi chōḍa I. Sēva was a yādava ruler perhaps of Devagiri and Jagadēva probably a Telugu-chōla. Sindapanāyaka an ancestor of Kāpa received regal ensigns from Buddhavarman, the ancestor of the Kondapadumatis.

1. E.I. VI No. 26. 2. Prof. K.A.N. Sastri. The Colas II. I p. 32.
3. 327 of 1932.33. 4. 232 of 1897; S.I.I. VI 195.
5. 157 of 1897; S.I.I. VI 117.

1. 157 of 1897; S.I.I. VI 108. 2. Sewell: Historical inscriptions of S. India. p. 96.
3. 316 of 1930.31. 4. 157 of 1897; S.I.I. VI 117. 5. 441 of 1915.

King Maṇḍa I was a subordinate of Kulottunga I and his earliest inscription is dated in the 45th year of the emperor.¹ His loyalty to the chōlas continued throughout his reign which is evidenced by his fighting and vanquishing the chālukyas and their subordinates at Bezvāḍa.

[Buddhavarman and Gaṇḍa A.D 1118-1125.]

Maṇḍa I had two sons Buddhavarman entitled Eladāyasimha, and Gaṇḍa or Gaṇḍana. These two sons seem to have succeeded Maṇḍa and ruled between A.D 1118 - the last date for Maṇḍa I and A.D 1125 - the earliest date for Maṇḍa II, son of Gaṇḍa. No inscriptions of this reign are available. Buddhavarman is mentioned as Buddhanarēndra and is said to have been valiant. Buddha's son was Manda and Gaṇḍa's son was Dēsaṭi Paṇḍa, the ruler of Shatsahasrāvani.²

Maṇḍa's father according to one inscription,³ was Buddha. He bore the Kondapaḍumaṭi prasasti-some of the titles being-mahāmaṇḍalēsvara •kulōttunga-chōḍa-divyasripāda padmārādhaka, Eladāyasimha, sāhasōttunga, Ananka Bhīma, moon to the milk ocean i.e. Durjaya family and Giripaṣchimaśāsana.

Manda II. A.D 1125-1130.

The earliest inscription⁴ of Maṇḍa is from Mādala dated A.D 1125 and mentions Maṇḍa's subordinate Maṇḍanāyaka and his two younger brothers Paṇḍanāyaka and Sāḍenāyaka. Another record at Mādala also dated A.D 1125 mentions king Maṇḍa and his subordinate Maṇḍanāyaka. So Maṇḍanāyaka is not king Maṇḍa as has been supposed by the Government Epigraphist.⁵ Maṇḍa's record dated A.D 1125 mentions Māhanamināyaḍu, lord of Māvundala and Cānchipura and bearer of some of the Kondapaḍumati epithets.⁶ Maṇḍa's next inscription dated A.D 1129 is from Mādala and his latest inscription is from Nāḍenḍla⁷ dated A.D 1130 mentioning the king as Maṇmamanda, a vassal of Kulottunga. Maṇḍa II had the epithet Aniyankabhīma, vanquished the armies of the Ganga king of Kalinga and presented to Rājendra chōḍa, the elephants captured in the war.⁸ The Tsandavole inscription refers to the valour of Maṇḍa II.⁹

1. 327 of 1932-33. 2. 146 of 1897: S.I.I. VI 103.
3. 227 of 1892: S.I.I. IV 677. 4. 289 of 1932-33.
5. 305 of 1932-33. 6. 348 of 1937-38. 7. 227 of 1892: S.I.I. IV 677.
8. 214 of 1892. S.I.I. IV 662. 4. E.I. VI No. 26.

Manda II's Political Relations:-

The chōla emperor was Vikrama chōla and Manda's loyalty to him is attested by his inscriptions. In one of his records he appears as a vassal of Kulōttunga, and in another he is said to have presented spoils of war to Rājendra chōḍa. Here Kulōttunga and Rājendra Chōla refer to emperor Vikramachōla. (A.D 1120-1133).

Manda came into conflict with the armies of Anantavarman chōḍa Ganga (A.D 1078-1146), the Ganga emperor of Kalinga. "Having torn up like a mound the army of the Gānga (King) of Kalinga, having consumed like straw the warriors of the bold enemy and having cut off (like) lotuses, their heads-the mighty rutting elephant mandalika Manda is roaring. Having defeated the army of the enemy he gave to Rājendra chōḍa mighty elephants which had been captured there and whose temples were bright with rut.¹ This battle between the Kondapaḍumatis and the Gangas must have taken place prior to A.D 1130 - the last year of Maṇḍa II. Towards the close of the 11th century and the beginning of the 12th, Anantavarman was making efforts towards expansion into Vēngi and he was assisted in his object by Vikramāditya VI² morally if not materially and the condition of Vēngi under Chōḍa I, after the departure of Vikrama chōḍa from Vēngi for the chōla country was also convenient. By A.D 1128 Anantavarman and his queens visited Drākshārāma and made gifts to Bhīmēsvara.³ So at Drākshārāma Chōḍa I had to face the enemy about A.D 1128. By this time the chōlas and the Velanāṇḍus were recovering the tracts north of the Gōḍāvari which they lately lost to the chālukyas. So it was here in the battle at Drākshārāma that Maṇḍa II distinguished himself by routing the enemy and capturing their elephants which he presented to his overlord Rājendra chōla i.e. Vikramachōla who must have been present on the battle at the time. Rājendra chōḍa cannot refer to Velanāṇḍu chōḍa I who was also a subordinate of the chōlas and was fighting on their behalf as Maṇḍa II was, and consequently the statement "Maṇḍa was a military officer under Velanāṇḍi Rājendra chōḍa and who on behalf of his master appears to have fought a battle with the Gangas of Kalinga,"⁴ falls to ground. Besides, Maṇḍa who vanquished the Gangas is not Maṇḍa I as supposed by the epigraphist but Maṇḍa II. So this war with Kalinga was defensive led by Vikrama chōla and chōḍa I of the Velanāṇḍus, in which as subordinate of the chōlas, Maṇḍa I took a leading role.

1. 214 of 1892: E. I. VI p 275-No. 4: S.I.I. IV. 632.
2. Prof: K. A.N. Sastri: The Colas II.I p 45.
3. J.A.H.R.S. VII p 58: Kalingadesa charitra p 597. 4. A.R. 1915. part II para 54.

Besides the Nāyaka chiefs who were in the service of Maṇḍa II, the Maṇḍaī chiefs also were dependents of Maṇḍa II. Prōla, second son of Koṇḍagaḍi Kōṭa malla, and grandson of Maṭṭa claims to have obtained the chieftainship of the Giripaṣchima district through the favour of Maṇḍa, i. e. Maṇḍa II.¹

Buddharāja. A.D. 1130-1132.

Son of Maṇḍa II and Kandāmbika,² Buddharāja had a brief reign of two years from A.D. 1130-the last year of Maṇḍa II. No records of his are available, and the records of chōḍa, his son by Bādāmbika, are known from A.D. 1132.

Choda Raju. A.D. 1132-35.

Like his father's, chōḍa's reign too was short. His earliest inscription³ dated A.D. 1132 is from Nādenḍla, wherein he is mentioned as Mahāman ḍalēsvara chōḍarāja. Chōḍa bore the usual Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi praśasti in another record dated A.D. 1132 also from Nādenḍla.⁴ Another record of his also of the initial year of his reign is at Nādenḍla. The last inscription of chōḍa is from Irlapadu⁵ dated A.D. 1135 and gives the praśasti which is exactly the same as in one of the Nādenḍla inscriptions noted above, except that chōḍa is mentioned here as a bee at the divine feet of Kulōttunga chōḍa-dēva and a sāhasōttunga where as in the others it is said that his (chōḍa's) hair is covered by the dust of the divine feet of Kulōttunga chōḍadēva.

Choda's Political Relations:-

Nothing of significance had occurred in Chōḍa's reign. the Chōla emperor was Kulōttunga II to whom chōḍa's loyalty is seen from his inscriptions dated A.D. 1132 and 1135 giving his praśastis. The Velanāṇḍu contemporary of chōḍa was Gonka II, the most celebrated of the Velanāṇḍu kings with whom chōḍa must have maintained amicable relations. The Kōṇamandala was under Rajendra chōḍa I, Mummāḍi Bhima II and Saṭṣaṭṭi with whom chōḍa does not seem to have come into conflict.

Mummamāḍa III. A.D. 1135-1139.

Mummamāḍa III was the son of Buddha by Gaḍiyamadēvi, daughter of Moḍa and Meḍamāmba. His earliest inscription⁷ dated A.D. 1135 is

1. 7 of 1908: A.R. 1903 part II.
2. 233 of 1892: S.I.I. IV 683.
3. 219 of 1892: S.I.I. IV 683.
4. 215 of 1892: S.I.I. IV 663.
5. 111 of 1893: S.I.I. IV 928.
6. 289 & 234 of 1893
7. 109 & 110 of 1893: S.I.I. IV 926, 927.

from Irlapāḍu registering some gift by his officer Sōmanapreggaḍa. It mentions the king as maṇḍalika Maṇḍa who belonged to the family of the Durjayas and was the lord of the country west of the hill. Maṇḍa's next inscription is from Kāvūru¹ in Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi country, with date A.D. 1137. His record at Nādenḍla is dated A.D. 1138 and the records² there dated A.D. 1139 were issued in the last year of his rule. In one of his records of A.D. 1139 Maṇḍa is mentioned as the subordinate of Kulōttunga chōḍa i.e. emperor Kulōttunga II.

Maṇḍa's Political Relations:-

Maṇḍa was loyal to Kulōttunga II and was an ally of Gonka II of the Velanāṇḍus. He must have assisted Kulōttunga II and Gonka II in their efforts to end the Chālukyan away in Vēngi.

Mallerāja A.D. 1139-1149.

Son of Maṇḍa III and Kundāmbika, Mallerāja ruled the koṇḍapaḍumaṭi kingdom for a decade from A.D. 1139. The earliest inscription³ of the reign is from Nādenḍla dated A.D. 1143 and mentions Buddharāja, brother of Maṇḍarāja, and his wife Gundamādevi. From a record dated A.D. 1145 at Chebrole Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara Paṇḍya and his father Bhimarāja are known. The relationship of this father and son to Mallerāja is not known. A record from Yaḍḍavalli dated A.D. 1145 mentions Koṇḍapanāyaka, lord of Tanirumbariti and his father Maddenāyaka. In his record⁴ from Nādenḍla dated A.D. 1147 Mallerāja bore the usual Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi praśasti along with the title-Giripaṣchimasāsana.

His political relations:-

Mallerāja's reign lasted up to A.D. 1149-the earliest date for Maṇḍa IV. Probably Malla associated Buddha in the governance of the kingdom from A.D. 1143. This Buddha is heard of from another inscription at Nādenḍla, dated A.D. 1148, as Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi Buddha-rāja.⁵ Like his predecessors, Mallerāja probably continued his allegiance to Kulōttunga II the chōla emperor and maintained friendly relations with Velanāṇḍu Gonka II.

1. 404 of 1915.
2. 222 of 1892: S.I.I. IV 672, 393 of 1915.
3. 233 of 1892: S.I.I. IV 683.
4. 241, 239 of 1892: S.I.I. IV 692, 690. The date A.D. 1139 is a mistake for A.D. 1147.
5. 228 of 1892: S.I.I. IV 673, 327 of 1919.

Manda IV and Buddha IV A.D 1149-1173.

Buddharāja continued to rule and Mallerāja's place was taken by his son Maṇḍa IV. From two records at Mādala one dated A.D 1149 and the other undated, a Maṇḍanāyaka is heard of.¹ No doubt he was a subordinate of the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi kings-Maṇḍa and Buddha. King Maṇḍarāja and his wife Kundama figure in the Nādenḍla inscription dated A.D 1150. The next record of the reign is dated A.D 1152 from Mādala. Koṇḍapanāyaka of Tanirumbariti is mentioned in the Vaḍḍavalli epigraph dated A.D 1156. King Buddharāja made grants at Drākshārāma in A.D 1165 and the 20th year of Rājarāja.² The subordinate chiefs-Narāyaṇa, son of Pedaprolināyaḍu, lord of Sirivolu, and brother of Maṇḍaḍi Prolināyaka, Reḍḍi lord of Verūr and Nāmāna made some grants in the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi country. Buddha and his brother Maṇḍarāju made grants at Nādenḍla in A.D 1171.³ An inscription of that year mentions Gundamadēvi, the agramahishi of Buddharāja. His inscription at Tsandavōle⁴ dated A.D 1171 is of political significance for it records that Akkama, sister of Buddha, was the wife of Velanāṇḍi Rājendra Chōḍa II. Maṇḍana, the amātya and Dandanātha of king Maṇḍa IV and son of Sōmanapreggaḍa figures in a record at Lingamgunṭa, dated A.D 1172.⁵ The last record of the reign is that of king Maṇḍa dated A.D 1173 from Nādenḍla.⁶

Political relations of Buddha and Maṇḍa :-

Buddha IV and Maṇḍa IV had a reign of twenty-five years-the longest in Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi history. The contemporary chōla emperor was Rājarāja II and the loyalty of the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭis to him in this reign is evidenced from the only record of the dynasty at Drākshārāma dated A.D 1165 and the 20th year of Rājarāja II.⁷ The Velanāṇḍu chōḍa ruler was chōḍa II whose wife was a sister of Buddha. Besides, chōḍa II had the title-Durjayakulaprākāra and the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭis were Durjayas. So peaceful relations must have prevailed between the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭis and the Velanāṇḍus in this period which is attested by Buddha's inscription at Tsandavole, the Velanāṇḍu capital. The Kaifiyat of Tsandavōle⁸ attributes the persecution of Mallikārjuna Panditārādya to

King Buddha, which Sōmanātha attributes to chōḍa II. The friendship between Buddha and Chōḍa II is further supported by the existence of the records¹ of the latter in the former's kingdom.

Kōṭa Doḍḍa Bhima² and Rāchūra Dārāparāju in A.D 1166.³ had the epithet-Buddha-kulakuddāla i.e. the axe to the race of Buddha. The epigraphist says "this...title suggests that the chief must have exterminated the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi chiefs who claimed descent from Buddhavarman."⁴ This seems to gain support from the fact that no immediate sons and successors of Buddha IV and Maṇḍa IV are known for about fifteen years after the end of the reign. This event perhaps marks the beginnings of the decline of the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi kingdom which was ultimately to be replaced by the Kōṭa dynasty.

A.D 1173-1186.

No descendants of Maṇḍa and Buddha are known and no Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi inscriptions are found during the period from A.D 1173- the last year for Buddha and Maṇḍa and A.D 1186- the earliest date for a Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi Maṇḍa.

Maṇḍa. A.D 1186.

An inscription at Chēbrōle⁵ dated A.D 1186 mentions king Maṇḍa's parents-the ruler of Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi and Bimbāmba. It is not known how this Maṇḍa is related to the main branch of the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭis and how long his rule lasted.

Panda. A.D 1213.

A Panda seems to have been ruling about A.D 1213. None of his records are available. He is known from a Kōṇa kaṇḍravāḍi record in which Bhīma had the title-paṇḍiyanirjita.... Buddhavarmanvayavidya-the rest of which is mutilated. So Panda, of the lineage of Buddhavarma, was vanquished by the Kōṇḍakaṇḍravāḍi chief Bhīma. Perhaps, this Panda was a son of Maṇḍa of A.D 1186.

1. Ins. Mad. Pres II (Gt) 778, 782.

2. 216 of 1893: S.I.I. IV 1050: The Colas II.II p 656. 3. 394 of 1915.

4. E.I. VI No.26. 5. 286 of 1932.33, 6. 234 of 1892: S.I.I. IV 685.

7. 216 of 1893: S.I.I. IV 1050. 8. S'ivatatvasara Introduction p 19-L.R.19p 433.

1. 287 of 1932.33: 119 of 1917.

2. 272.A of 187: S.I.I. VI 249.

3. 217.B of 1893: S.I.I. IV 1053.

4. A.R 1933.Part II Para 18

5. 394 C of 1893 S.I.I. IV 1813.

Betarāja. A.D 1242.

Kondapadumati Bētarāja and his servant are heard of from an inscription, dated A.D 1242.¹ The king was a subordinate of Kulōttunga chōḍa dēva. The chōḍa emperor in A.D 1242 was Rājarāja III. So Kulōttunga here, must refer to Rājarāja III, provided that the epithet is not a simple repetition from the Kondapadumati prasasti. As the earliest date for Bēta's successor was A.D 1250, Bēta's reign may have extended till that year.

Ganapamadēva Muharājā. A.D 1260.

We hear of a Mahāmandalēṣvara Murāri Gaṇapamadēva mahārāja of the Kondapadumati family from an epigraph at Tripurāntakam dated A.D 1250.² The identity of this prince is not known.

Later Kondapadumatis. A.D 1252-1282.

A Manmarāja of the Kondapadumatis is heard of from an inscription dated A.D 1252. A Gaṇapama of Venukulagōtra³ and her husband figure in a record at Velpur dated A.D 1262. In A.D 1282 Dēvināyari Erramanāyadu grandson of Buddhavarman and his nephew Pōtināyadu are known from a record at Mādala.⁴ This Buddhavarman is called the guardian of kāñchīpura, bore some of the Kondapadumati epithets and belonged to Valaraṭṭa gōtra. From another record of A.D 1282 at Mādala,⁵ Erramanāyaka and his cousin Chōḍināyaka, who were descendants of Buddhavarman are heard of. Perhaps Erramanāyadu and Erramanāyaka are identical. But the identification of Buddhavarman of these records with the early ancestor of the Kondapadumatis does not stand the test of chronology.

From two records⁶ dated A.D 1277 and 1286 some Durjaya chiefs bearing Kondapadumati titles are heard of and they were in the service of Kākatiya Rudrama, styled in one of her records as Pratāparudradēva mahārāja.⁷ S'urapa, Pōtaya and Mārāya, were the sons of Pōtināyadu; and Pōtaya and Mārāya had the titles-ornament of the Durjaya family of Velaratla gōtra protector of Kāñchi, demolisher of Kataka, the lion to the elephant Gajapati, the bee at the lotus feet of the chālukyas of Vēngi and the central pillar in the administration of the chālukya kingdom.

1. 826 & 326.A of 1893: S.I.I. IV 780, 781.

2. 721 of 1920. 3. 226 of 1905.

4. 849 of 1937-38. 5. 346 of " " " 6. 809 of 1932-33.

7. A.R 1915.16. Part II para 52 Nos. 333 & 367 of App. A

The descent of Paṇḍa of A.D 1145, referred to already is as follows: Ganda was born in the family of Buddhavarman who secured Ōngēru mārgatrāya from Mukkanṭi-kāḍuvetti. Ganda's son was Dēsati paṇḍa. His son was Bhima who received Panchinikurru from the lord of Andhra, probably of the vēngi chālukyas-Bhima's son was Ganda, whose son by Mēdamā was Manda whose son by Būrama was Bhimarāju. Bhima's son by Eriyāmbā was Paṇḍaya, a mahāmandalēṣvara.¹ This family has been confused² with the Parichetēdis.

Some of the Kondapadumatis who are yet unidentified are as follows: Mahāmandalēṣvara Buddharāja is mentioned in an undated inscription at Nādendla,³ Manmamandayarāju,⁴ subordinate of Kulōttunga Chōḍa, chōḍa rāja⁵ Manmachōḍa rāja,⁶ are mentioned in three undated inscriptions at Nādendla. Besides, a son of chōḍabhupa, a descendant of Buddhavarman is heard from a record at Bezvada. Manmamanda and his younger brothers Chōḍerāju, Buddharāja and Maleerāju, the father of Mandarāju were all vassals of Kulōttunga chōḍa. A Kondapadumati Rudradēva⁷ was allied with kakatiya Gaṇapati by marriage alliance.

End of Kondapadumatis:-

The Kondapadumati as a power ended with Buddha and Manda in A.D 1173 though some Kondapadumati princes were ruling in parts of the kingdom till A.D 1250. The kingdom was lost to the kōṭas of Dhānyakataka. The kondapadumatis had their own coinage⁸ and were independent for all internal purposes. The later Kondapadumatis were subordinate to the kākatiyas to whom the Kōṭas probably owed allegiance. The Kondapadumatis were also referred to simply as the Padamati or western chiefs and their kingdom was the country to the west of the Krishna in its course southward to the sea.⁹

1. 401 of 1914. A.R. 1915 II para 52. 2. 146 of 1897 P.S.I.I. VI 103.

2.1 History of the Kammas II pp 93-94

3. 397 of 1915. 4. 398 of 1915; 5. 220 of 1892: S.I.I. IV 670.

6. 279 of 1892: s.i.i. iv 780. 7. 221 of 1892: s.i.i. iv 671.

8. 232 of 1897: s.i.i. vi 195.

CHAPTER V

THE KOTAS. A.D 1100 - 1270.

The Kōṭas ruled over the Shat-sahasra-the Velanāṇḍu six thousand country on the southern bank of river Krishṇa¹ as a defacto independent power for over a century and a half - from the beginning of the 12th to the last quarter of the 13th century A.D. They were the political successors of the Kōṇḍapaḍumaṭis and their kingdom was larger in extent, greater in resources and strength than the Kōṇḍapaḍumaṭi kingdom. The main branch of the Kōṭas ruled with its capital at Dhānyakāṭaka² and as many as four collateral branches exercised sway contemporaneously and not as rivals with capitals at Yenamadala,³ Tripurāntakam, Tāḍikōṇḍa and Drākshārāma. All the Kōṭas bore a common prāsasti claiming to be the rulers of Shat-sahasra, lords of Dhanyavāṭi and devotees of Amarēśvara at Amarāvati. At its highest, the Kōṭa kingdom touched Tripurāntakam on the west, Drākshārāma on the east and Nellore district on the south. The kōṭas owed allegiance to the Chālukya chōlas in the beginning and to the Kākatīyas towards the end. They held an important place in South India of the times and Vēngi in particular. The kōṭas acquired important political victories and their prāsasti is imperialistic. The popularity of the kōṭa rule is attested by recorded tradition, besides the permanent marks of their rule left in the form of records, literature and architecture.

The Sources and importance of the Kōṭas:

Inscriptions in abundance-all stone records except the single copper plate grant⁴ bearing the kōṭa seal-form the main source for the political history of the Kōṭas. Recorded tradition, strong lines in literature and inscriptions of the contemporary dynasties are valuable as corroboratory evidence.

The supreme importance of the kōṭas may be gauged by the eagerness with which the Kākatīyas, the Chāgi, the Velanāṇḍus, the Kōṇakandra-vāḍis, the Kōṇḍapaḍumaṭis and the Haihayas of Palnāḍ sought alliances of marriage with them. The prefix Kōṭa, borne by all the members of the

dynasty is after the chief capital, the celebrated Dharanikōṭa, popularly known as Kōṭa. The Kōṭa seal bore the crest-Gaṇḍabhērunda.¹ It may be noted that tradition has stamped the Kōṭas as the Jain kings or Jain kinglets of Amarāvati which is a mis-statement.

Origin of the dynasty:

In the fourth caste i.e., chaturthānvaya² born from the feet of Viṣṇu is said to have been born prince Dhanamjaya. His birth is compared to that of the moon from the Ocean, Brahma from the Lotus and Kalpa tree from mount Mēru.³ Nothing more is known of Dhanamjaya except that he was the conqueror of the armies of the terrible enemies, who are not specified. But as the kōṭas claim to have been born in Dhanamjaya gōtra, Dhanamjaya may be taken to have been an eponymous ancestor of theirs invented from the Gōtra. Consequently the statements firstly that Dharanikōṭa Dhanamjaya was a contemporary and feudatory of Trilōchanapallava⁴ and secondly that he was one of the kings who ruled at Dharanikōṭa in the 13th Century A.D.⁵ are valueless.

One of the titles in the Kōṭa Prāsasti⁶ means that the kōṭas were the lords of Shat-sahasra on the southern bank of the Krishṇa conferred on them by the king Trinayana Pallava. It is not possible to see who this Kōṭa prince was that served Trinayana Pallava of doubtful historicity or whether he too was a semi-mythical figure.

Bēta I. C. A.D 1050-C 1081 or 1091.

Bēta is the first Kōṭa king we hear of, after Dhanamjaya. The Pedamakkēna⁷ inscription says that in Dhanamjaya gōtra, after several kings, was born prince Bēta. The only record of Bēta is at Vunguṭṭr⁸ with no date, mentioning him as mahāmaṇḍalēsvara Bēta and records some victories of his subordinate Kāmabōyi. The epigraphist⁹ mentions Bēta of the Pedamakkēna inscription as Pōta.

His political relations :-

Bēta may be placed about A.D 1050 as the earliest date for his son Goṇḍa seems to be A.D 1081⁹ and the definite date for his grandson

1. The epithet. S'rimatrinayana pallava prasada sodita krishna vennanadidakshina shatsahasravani vallabha - in the kōṭa prāsasti.
2. Kōṭa prāsasti-epithet. S'ridhanya katakapuravaradhisvara.
3. Mahishamurdhanagiri.
4. C. P. 5 of 1915-16; it consists of 6 plates. The text is published in part on p 9 of contents of kondavittisamrajyam by M.G. Sarma

1. Gandabherunda is a title in Kōṭa prāsasti. 2. The statement that the kōṭas were of lunar race-chandrayansa is baseless. K.B. Chandary: History of the Kammas I p 77. 3. D. Pichayya sastri: Chatupadya ratnakaram. p 147. 3-a. History of the Kammas I p 283. 4. D.P'sastri: Chatupadyaratnakara p147. 5. Kōṭa inscriptions. 6. 330 of 1932-33: A R 1933PartIIp 47. 7. 181 of 1917. 8. A R 1933 part II para 47. 9. SOG of 1922.

Bhima is A.D 1108¹ we do not know how Bēta came in possession of a kingdom. But he seems to have had some troubles in asserting his power in the beginning. The Pedamakkēna inscription says that Kamabōyi went with Parvaḍi Rēva to the open ground of Gārlapāḍu, threatened Bommā Redḍi, killed Bhīmarāju and died after fighting with great prowess. Bhīmarāju and Bommā Redḍi must have been some local rebel leaders who were subdued by Parvaḍi Rēva, a general of Bēta and Kāmabōyi at the cost of the life of the latter at Gārlapāḍu. Bēta does not seem to have experienced any more trouble for the rest of his reign which may be taken to have lasted till A.D 1081 or 1091 when he was succeeded by his son Gaṇḍabhūpati.

Gaṇḍa C A.D 1081 or 1091-C 1108.

Gaṇḍa was the son of Bēta, according to the Pedamakkēna inscription. No dated records of his reign are available. His only inscription is from Vengipuram² in which only the last digit-3 of the date portion is legible. Provisionally the date may be taken to be s(100)3 or s(101)3 corresponding to A.D 1081 or 1091 respectively. Gaṇḍa's reign may have lasted up to A.D 1108-the earliest date for Bhima. No political achievements of Gaṇḍa nor any events of the reign are known.

Bhima I A.D 1108-A.D 1127,

With Bhima alias Mummaḍi Bhima, according to the Pedamakkēna inscription, the chronology of the Kōṭa dynasty becomes more definite. Bhima's earliest inscription from Velpūr,³ dated A.D 1108, mentions Kōṭa Bhima and Gonka and refers to the former's conquest of the Kalingan king whom he subordinated to chōḍa. The relationship between Bhima and Gonka is not apparent. Another inscription, damaged and undated, seems to refer to king Bhima.⁴ His reign may have lasted till A.D 1127-the earliest date for his successor, Bēta. The suggested identity of Bhima with Mummaḍideva of Drākshārāma branch of the kōṭas is untenable on chronological grounds for both are separated by a century.

His political relations :-

Bhima's Kalingan conquest was achieved by A.D 1108-the date of his Velpūr inscription. This must have occurred when he participated in the

first Kalingan war against Anantavarman chōḍaganga undertaken by Vikrama Chōla in A.D 1090-the chōla viceroy of Vēngi in the reign of Kulōttunga I. The chōḍa to whom Bhima claims to have made the king of Kalinga a subordinate refers to either Kulōttunga I or Vikrama chōla to whom the Ganga king, consequent on the Chōla victory, appears to have become a subject for a time¹ as attested by this Kōṭa as well as some Ganga records at Drākshārāma. Thus Kōṭa Bhima owed allegiance to the chōla emperor Kulōttunga and loyally served his master and distinguished himself in the Kalingan war along with many other local rulers in Vēngi. His assistance to the Chōlas in subduing Kalinga may be a reference to his part in the first or the second war.² Nothing is known of any events in the latter part of his reign.

Betarāja II. A.D 1127-1148.

Bēta succeeded Bhima on the Kōṭa throne but his relationship to either Bhima or his son Gaṇḍa is not known. His earliest inscription, dated A.D 1127³ comes from Chinnagārlapāḍu in Palnāḍ taluq of Guntur District. It records that Guṇḍi Redḍi, an ornament of Panchamānvaya and bearer of some titles and his son Nallapayya died at Paṭṭadlaviḍu after securing victory for Bētarāja. An inscription at Amarāvati dated A.D 1129 mentions Kāmāna preggāḍa of Rāyūru. Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara Kōṭanāyaka figuring in a Mādala inscription dated A.D 1129 is probably Beta.⁴ Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara Kōṭarāja figures in a record at kollūr dated A.D 1148, which consequently must be taken to be the last year for Bētarāju.

Beta's political relations:-

The Victories of Guṇḍi Redḍi and Nallapayya the servants of Bēta over the enemies at Paṭṭadlaviḍu remind us of the victories of parvaḍi Rēva and kāmabōyi at Gārlapāḍu in the reign of Bēta I. In the present instance the enemies are not specified; perhaps Bēta's armies attacked the Chālukyan armies, manned by great generals, and supported by some of the local rulers in Vēngi, on their onward progress and vanquished them. Probably Paṭṭadlaviḍu is identical with Paṭlavīḍu in the Palnāḍ taluq (Guntur District) The kōṭa victory secured at the cost of the lives of the father and son, was significant as it prevented the chālukyan armies from intruding into the kingdom.

1. 567 of 1925. 2. 809 of 1922,
3. 567 of 1925. 4. 568 of 1925.

1. The colas II.I p 37. 2. The colas II.I p 38. 3. 29 of 1930.31.
4. Ins. Mad. Præ. II. Gt. 774.

THE HAIHAYAS

In this period a branch of the kōṭas is found ruling the tract about Drākshārāma. Bēta's contemporary there, was kōṭa Vinjampōtarāju whose date is A.D 1140.¹ Perhaps Bēta was on friendly relations with this kōṭa prince whose relationship to the main line is not known.

Kēta I A.D 1148-1156.

The relationship of this Kēta to Bēta whom he succeeded on the throne is not apparent. His earliest inscription is from kollur,² dated A.D 1148 mentioning him as mahāmandalesvara ketarāja. None of his records issued after that date are available. But the upper limit of his reign may be fixed as A.D 1156, the earliest date for his son and successor Bhima. Kēta seems to have had a peaceful and eventless reign, for by his time the chōla suzerainty was completely restored in Vēngi and the local kingdom had no trouble from the Chālukyas.

Bhima II A.D 1156-1182.

Bhima was the first wellknown ruler of the dynasty of the kōṭas. Most of the records of his son kēta begin with Bhima omitting the earlier kōṭa rulers. Bhima's earliest inscription is from Velpur,³ dated A.D 1156 mentioning Bhima and Rājendra Chōla. Two inscriptions⁴ at Guḍipudi dated A.D 1160 mention Kōṭappanāyaka. Mahāmandalesvara kōṭa Gaṇḍaparāja and his wife Bhuramādēvi figure in a record at Pedamakkēna, dated A.D 1160.⁵ In another record there, dated A.D 1175 the achievements of Gaṇḍapa over general konima Uddandarāja, Yoddiya Bēta kaṇḍiya, Siddhi chōḍa and Mallachōḍa are enumerated.⁶ This Gaṇḍapa was the chief resident of Intēru in Velanāṇḍu Viśaya. In an undated record at Amarāvati, Bhima is mentioned as kōṭa Doḍḍa Bhimarāja bearing the kōṭa praśasti which includes many politically significant titles.⁷ Though no records of Bhima are available after A.D 1175, his reign may have lasted up to A.D 1182 the first year for his son kōṭa. Bhima II is taken to have been the same as his grandson Bhima III by some, which is wrong; and also as son of Kōṭa I.

Bhima's relationship to Gaṇḍa is not apparent. Perhaps, Gaṇḍa the son of a chōḍarāja was a prominent person in the kingdom from A.D 1160 and associate ruler till A.D 1175 and played a significant role in the

affairs of the state. Bhima, in later records, is compared to Indra and is spoken of as a great warrior, and destroyer of enemies, their armies and forts.¹ His popular rule is attested by records and local kaifiyats of Pulivaru, Vallūr and Pedaganjām.² Bhima and Kēta are mentioned in an undated record at Amarāvati.

Bhima's political achievements :-

As noted already, Gaṇḍa had significant achievements by A.D 1175. Doḍḍa Bhima in Bhima II's praśasti has the following epithets—Kommanadanda-nāyaka-sīrahechedana, Chidpuliavadhūmangalasūtraharaṇa. Chaundarāyachāṇūramurāntaka, Yuriyabētamatta-Mātāngasimha, Chōḍa-kaṭaka-sāmantavenkōlva, Siddhi chōḍa mriga sārḍūla, Mallayachōḍa mastakāsūla, Buddhakula kundḍāla pregnant with political significance—besides others referring to his capacities as a warrior.³ Putting together the successes of Bhima and Gaṇḍa, it appears that Bhima in extending the bounds of his kingdom and in defending it from enemies, came into touch either as a friend or as an enemy with the contemporary kingdoms, defeated some and allied with others.

Bhima's political relations:

The Chōla emperors in this period were Rājārāja II (A.D 1150-1163) and Rājādhirāja II (A.D 1163-1179). Bhima's allegiance to the Chōlas is evidenced from his inscriptions. His earliest record mentions Rājendra chōla probably identical with Rājārāja II. The Kaifiyat of Pedaganjām mentions that "Kōṭa Bhima ruled over those parts but his kingdom was conquered by Kulōttunga, chōla king. The chōla king ruled till s'1099." The date of the conquest is not given. It is not possible to see how Bhima, a subordinate of the chōlas brought on himself the wrath of the chōla emperor, resulting in the occupation of his kingdom, Kulōttunga was probably Kulōttunga II whose rule began in A.D 1178. Much value may be attached to this invasion of Kulōttunga into the Kōṭa territories as it is supported by inscriptions. Probably Bhima rebelled and was subdued by Kulōttunga III and remained loyal to the chōlas for the rest of his reign. His loyalty to the chōlas is attested by his title—Chōḍakatakasāmantavenkova.

1. S.I.I. IV. 1242. 2. 300 of 1934.35.
3. 571 of 1925. 4. Ins. Mad. Pres. II Gt 784, 785.
5. Bhutamadevi is a mistake for Bhurama-C.V.Rao. History of Andhra V p 358
6. Mack. Ms. 15.4.41 Ms. p 148. 7. 272.A of 1897; S.I.I. VI 247.

1. 262 of 1897; S.I.I. VI 230, Velpur inscription of Kōṭa s' 1104—J.A.H & C I P 94.
2. Mack. Mss. 15—6—44.
3. 272. A of 1897; S. I. I. IV 249. His praśasti begins with Svasti samadhiḡata panchamahāsabha. etc. 4. Mack. Mss. 15—6—44.

Bhima and the Velanāṇḍu chōḍas :-

The contemporaries of Bhima at Tsandavole were Gonka II, chōḍa II and Gonka III. The Kōṭas and the Velanāṇḍu chōḍas were on terms of political alliance strengthened by marriage alliances. Sabbama, wife of Bhima, was the daughter of chōḍa II and sister of Gonka II, not daughter of Chōḍa I and sister of Gonka II as has been wrongly supposed.¹ This fact is found repeated quite often in the Kōṭa as well as Velanāṇḍu chōḍa inscriptions. At the close of Chōḍa II's reign and the beginning of Gonka III's, Bhima took part in the civil war in Palnāḍ along with the Velanāṇḍus. It is likely that Bhima enjoyed the support of the Velanāṇḍu chōḍas in the campaigns especially against the Telugu chōḍas and others; as in earlier days Bhima and his pre-decessors helped the Velanāṇḍu chōḍas against their enemies.

Bhima and the Konḍapaḍumatis :-

The Konḍapaḍumatis contemporaries with Bhima were Buddha III and Maṇḍa IV—the joint rulers the last dates for whom were A.D 1172 and 1173 respectively. One of the titles of Bhima is Buddhakulakuddāla² which implies his extirpation of the Konḍapaḍumati dynasty. This is supported by the fact that Buddha and Maṇḍa are not heard of after A.D 1173 and no sons and immediate successors of them are ever heard. This expedition of Bhima into the Konḍapaḍumati kingdom must have taken place before A.D 1175 in which probably he was assisted by Rāchira Dārāparāju, who also bore the epithet-Buddhakulakuddāla.³ The expedition resulted in the annexation of the konḍapaḍumati territories permanently to the kōṭa kingdom. Thus the kōṭas became the political successors of the konḍapaḍumatis and two princesses of the konḍapaḍumatis were queens of Kēta, son of Bhima, and the Konḍapaḍumati kingdom was merged into the kōṭa kingdom.

Bhima and the Haihayas of Palnāḍ:-

The Haihaya ruler in Palnāḍ was Nalagāma in this period. The Civil war between him and his step brothers lasted from A.D 1178 to 1185. Bhima and his son sided Nalagāma in this war. Probably reason for this was that Bhima was related to Velanāṇḍu Chōḍa II and Gonka III, who were related, in their turn, to Nalagāma. The kōṭas and the Haihayas were

political allies. For, Bhima was one of the kings to whom invitations were sent by Nalagāma to come and join him at kārempudi with their armies.⁴ Bhima promptly responded by sending armies under the lead of prince Kēta. Kēta was one of the ambassadors sent by Nalagāma to Pedamallidēva. Bhima does not seem to have survived the battle of karempudi as his last date was A.D 1182.

Bhima and the Telugu chōḷas:-

The Telugu chōḷa contemporaries of Bhima were Nanni chōḍa II (A.D 1151-1160) and kāmana chōḍa (A.D 1160-1187) at konidena, Sōmē-svara (A.D 1157 and Mallidēva III (A.D 1157) and Mallidēva IV at Pottapi, and M.P. C. Siddha (A.D 1175-1192) at Nellōre. Bhima and the Telugu chōḷas were enemies to one another. Bhima and Gaṇḍa claim successes over the Telugu chōḍa princes and their kingdoms which must have been achieved by A.D 1175⁵—the date of Gaṇḍa's inscription mentioning them. The Telugu chōḷas were the enemies of the Velanāṇḍu chōḍas in this period. Bhima came into conflict with them in extending his kingdom and his expedition into their kingdom was a great success though not followed by acquisition of territories as in the case of his konḍapaḍumati expedition.

One of the titles of Bhima implies his conquest of Ghiḍpuli.⁶ And it has been proved by Professor S'āstri that "Ṣitpuli was a district in the southern regions of the Eastern Chālukya kingdom.... (and) Ṣitpulināḍu (was) between Venkatagiri and Guḍḍur (Rāpur taluq) (under) the Telugu chōḍas." "So Bhima invaded Chidpulināḍu evidently included in the Nellōre chōḷa kingdom under siddhi-perhaps provincial Governor and killed its ruler whose name is not mentioned. Yurlya Bēta of Bhima's inscriptions and Yoḍḍiya Bēta of Gaṇḍa's record are probably identical and may refer to a Telugu Chōḷa prince whom Bhima and Gaṇḍa vanquished. If so, this Bēta may have been the ruler of Chidpulināḍu and identical with Bēta, the younger brother of king Siddha and lost his life in the Kōṭa hands. Again, both Bhima and Gaṇḍa claim to have vanquished Siddhi chōḍa.⁷ This Siddhi chōḍa, undoubtedly a Telugu Chōḍa has been identified with Siddhi, son of Bijjana of the Telugu chōḷa

1. C. Virabhadra Rao: History of Andhra. V p 359.
2. 272—A of 1899: S.I.I. VI 249. 3. S.I.I. IV 1053.

1. Srinatha: Palnativiracharitra Text. p 26. 11 176—177,
2. Mack, Ms. 15—4—41 Ms. p 148: Local records Vol. 48; the inscription is cited in part on pp 277—279 of the History of the Kammas I.
3. 272—a of 1897: S.I.I. VI 249. 4. The colas I pp, 153, p 21.
5. Mack, Ms. 15—4—111 p 148: 272—A of 1897: S.I.I. VI 249.

family.¹ But he may be more reasonably identified with Chōḍa siddhi, the eldest son of Mallidēva I of the Pottapi chōlas. Kōṭa Bhīma and Gaṇḍa also claim to have vanquished and killed Mallachōḍa who may have been one of the six persons wearing the name Malladēva-eg. Mallidēva I, II, III, IV and two princes-all of Pottapi chōla line. In this successful expedition into the Telugu chōla territories undertaken and accomplished by A.D 1175 by king Bhīma and prince Gaṇḍa, the Kōṭas must have been helped by the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭis, the Haihayas of Palnāḍ, the Chāgis, the Pariechēdis and other local powers in men and resources besides the Velanāṇḍu chōḍas.

Bhīma and the Kakatiyas:-

The Kakatiya contemporaries, of Bhīma were Prōla II (A.D 1117-1163) and Rudradēva I (A.D 1163-1196). Even from the time of Prōla II the Kākatiyas were interested in leading expeditions of conquest into Vēngi. Rudradēva continued Prōla II's policy vigorously. He did not miss a single opportunity to invade Vēngi. Palnāṭivāra Charitra² says that he sent vast armies to help Nalagāma in the Civil war of Palnāḍ. It appears that the Kākatiya armies, during the battle of Kārempūḍi, also invaded the Kōṭa territories, before returning home and killed Bhīma though it did not result in adding territories, to the Kākatiya kingdom.

Thus the Kōṭas and the Kākatiyas were on terms of hostility. Bhīma and Prōla do not seem to have come into conflict with each other. But Kōṭachōḍarāja of the Drākshārāma branch had the title the fire to the forest i.e. Kākati Prōla.³ So Prōla II must have advanced as far as Drākshārāma where he was attacked by Chōḍa II of the Velanāṇḍus and lost his life in the battle, and Kōṭa chōḍa participated in that campaign. We do not know whether Bhīma came into contact with Rudradēva in the early part of his reign. The armies of Bhīma and Rudra fought side by side in the battle of Kārempūḍi and it is not possible to see why Rudra directed his armies against the Kōṭa kingdom suddenly. Either Bhīma and Rudradēva were riven apart or it was Rudra's ambition to conquer kingdoms or most probably his desire to wreak vengeance for his father's death in Kōṭa hands by ravaging the Kōṭa kingdom and killing Bhīma. The family praśastis⁴ of the Rēcharla, the Vipparla, the Dēsātla and the Komaravelli

families have the title- Dannālakōṭa pariveshtitakadana, Dōḍḍavabhimuni-garvāpaharaṇa, Dannālakōṭarāyavēsyābhujanga, and Dōḍḍa-vabhimuni-srirahachēdana respectively. Of these families perhaps the Vipparlas were the descendants of the Chāgis who fought side by side with Bhīma in the war in Palnāḍ. The titles for certain show that Dhara ikōṭa was surrounded by the enemy, King Dōḍḍa Bhīma was killed, and the enemy claims to have become the lord of Dhara ikōṭa. Dōḍḍabhīma is identical with Bhīma II.¹ It is likely that the members of the Rēcherla, the Vipparla, the Dēsātla and the Komaravelli families-who were in the service of the Kākatiyas were the leaders of the Kākatiya armies which participated in the Civil war in Palnāḍ. After the war, they invaded the Kōṭa territories and surrounded the capital Dhara ikōṭa. No doubt Bhīma offered resistance. Consequently a battle must have ensued near the walls of the fort. The Kōṭas suffered a severe loss as their king was killed, and the country subjugated as the title Dannālakōṭarāyavēsyābhujanga indicates. This fatal battle must have taken place about A.D 1182-the last date for Bhīma II and this definitely proves that Bhīma did not die in the war in Palnāḍ as has been supposed by some.² On the other hand, perhaps, Bhīma II had to leave Palnāḍ to defend his kingdom against the Kākatiyas, who seem to have attacked it even while the war in Palnāḍ was being fought.

Other achievements of Bhīma:-

Bhīma and Gaṇḍa claim to have killed a Kommanadanāyaka by A.D 1175.³ Kommarāja, the Kalachuri prince was the commander of the armies of the Pedamallidēva, after the death of Balachandra, in the civil war in Palnāḍ. But this Komma could not have been the victim of the kōṭas, for the Kōṭa victory was prior to the battle of Kārempūḍi. So the identity of general Komma is yet to be known. Gaṇḍa claims to have vanquished Uddandarāya and Bhīma, to have defeated Chaundarāja.⁴ Chōḍa II of the Velanāṇḍus also claimed a victory over Chaundarāya. Probably General Komma, Uddandarāya, and Chaundarāya, as their names suggest were generals of the Chālukyas or Kalachuris of Kalyāṇi, and Komma and Chāvunḍa descendants of Kommaya and Chāmunḍa, the generals of Sōmēśvara I,^{4.a} who were among the leaders of Chālukya forces into Vēngi, sent soon after Sōmēśvara's accession and were defeated by the chōla armies led by Rājādhirāja, in the reign and Rājendra I, by A.D 1044, during the second stage in the war.

1. 272.A of 1897: S. I. I. VI 249. 2. J. A. H. R. S. II p 37.

3. 272.A of 1897: S. I. I. VI 249: Mack. Ms. 15-4-41 Ms. D 148.

4. 272.A of 1897: S. I. I. VI 249: Mack. Ms. 15-4-41 Ms. p 148.

4.a. Prot. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri. Chalukyas of Kalyāṇi (Ms) pp 29-30. Sōmēśvara I's temporary mastery over Vēngi is seen from his records.

1. AR 1933 part II para 18. 2. Text. n 34 11 130-133.

3. S. I. I. IV 1242. 4. Mack. Mss. 15-4-41 Ms. pp 74, 77, 93, 100, 101-102.

Kēta II A.D 1182-1231.

Bhima II had two sons Chōḍarāja and Kēta. Kēta's succession suggests that his elder brother died before his father and shows that no interval of twenty years lasted between A.D 1160 and 1180 i.e. Gaṇḍa II and Bhima II that Kēta was a brother's son of Gaṇḍaparāja cannot be accepted for want of data. It may be noted that as Gaṇḍa did not rule independently and had a son Mummaḍi bhimaḍavarāja the idea that Kēta succeeded him as he had no issue does not stand.¹ For the first time in the Kōṭa history, the actual day of the enthronement of a king is given. Kōṭa kēta II ascended the throne at Dhānyavāṭi in 1104 in the month of Māgha on sukla dasami, Thursday² and signalled the event by issuing a number of grants on that day. In one of his records of the initial year, Bhima is said to have inherited the kingdom by the usual order of succession. The fact of his inheriting a well extended kingdom shows that the kākatiya expedition did not materially alter its destinies. As has been suggested already^{2a} Kētarāja, the ancestor of the Dāmtla, Dantlūri, and Jampani families among Rāchavāru i.e. Āndhra kshetriyas figuring in the works dedicated to members of these families is probably Kēta II.

Extent and extensions of the kingdom:-

Of all the Kōṭa kings, Kēta II issued the greatest number of inscriptions, which by their location and contents prove the extent of the kingdom. Of the records of his initial year A.D 1182, one is from Amarāvati, in another, besides the usual prasasti, he bore the title-samprāptarājyasakalaguṇanidhi. Kēta granted some villages in the districts of Kōṇḍa nātavāḍi, Deḍḍi Kaṇḍravāḍi, Kōṇḍapaḍumati and Kaṇḍravāḍi districts.³ His inscriptions also dated A.D 1282, from Velpūr records his grant of ten villages on the day of his crowning^{3a}. Kēta's record from Mādala dated A.D 1189 mentions Nārāpanāyaka and Brahma nāyaka of Valaraṭṭakula and Brihat kānc̐hipura. His Amarāvati inscription of A.D 1197 is important mentioning his five queens and indicating his political relations with the Oṃgerumārga chiefs, the Kōṇḍapaḍumatis, Kōṇa Kaṇḍravāḍis and the Kākatiyas.⁴ His records from Amarāvati and Mukkāmala dated A.D 1200 and 1208 respectively

mention Appanapeddi, governor of the Country to the east of Rāyūru, and Vipparla koṇḍapanāyaka and Guṇḍapanāyaka. The Ippatam record¹ at A.D 1211 mentions Kōṭa Mummaḍi dēvarāja, son of Gaṇḍabhūpati making grants for the merit of his parents in the reign of Kākatiya Gaṇapati dēva mahārāja. This Mummaḍi's relationship to Kēta II is not known. Kēta's panidem record dated A.D 1231 mentions him as mahāmaṇḍalēśvara kōṭa Doḍḍagētarāja.² A record at Velpūr, dated 1216 mentions Kōṭa Bhimarāju and Rudrarāju, the two sons of Kēta are available after A.D 1231, it must be taken to have been the last year of his reign. In an undated record, Kēta is mentioned as Dānnāḍa kēta.³ Vankyarāju kāmārāju and minister Prōla figure in two records of Kēta.

Chronology:-

Col. Mackenzie⁴ mentions two Kōṭa Kētarājas-with dates A.D 1182 and 1209 respectively. But inscriptional evidence shows that the two Kētas are one i.e. Kēta II whose reign extended from A.D 1182 to 1231. In the light of this fact, the statement that Kēta's last inscription is dated 1213 A.D (1135) and that he died before 1138 the earliest date for his sons falls to ground.⁵ By A.D 1211 Mummaḍi dēva of the kōṭas, was ruling as a subordinate of Gaṇapati of the Kākatiyas.⁶ Probably this prince was governing in a part of the Kōṭa dominions, like his father in the reign of Bhima II. His acknowledgement of the Kākatiya suzerainty, must have been due to political exigencies of the time. In A.D 1218 Bhima and Rudra the sons of Kēta II partitioned the Kōṭadēśa and the record mentioning it also mentions Kākatiya Gaṇapati. But Kēta's inscriptions after A.D 1218 do not mention any suzerain. So the Kōṭa dēśa of Bhima and Rudra, must have formed another part of the kingdom and they like Mummaḍi had to recognise Gaṇapati's overlordship. Thus Kēta II ruled the entire Kōṭa kingdom consisting of Shatsahasra, Kōṇḍanātavāḍi, kaṇḍravāḍi, Deḍḍikaṇḍravāḍi and Kōṇḍa paḍumati districts from A.D 1218 with three governors of the royal family under him- Mummaḍi Rudra and Phima for the rest of his reign. Kēta II is wrongly mentioned as the son of Bhima III and brother of chōḍarāja^{6a} and thus mistaken as Kēta III.

1. J.A.H.R.S. II p 37. 2. His records of the year from Amaravati and Velpur.
2a. Śrīrajanarēndra pallabhi-hēka sanchika p 101.
3. 269 & 270 of 1897: S.I.I. VI 245. 3a. 562 of 1925.
4. 261 of 1897: S.I.I. VI 228.

1. 88 of 1917. 2. 317 of 1934-35: Ins. Mad.Pres. II. Gr 798.
3. 589 of 1935. 4. Krishna district Manual p 7. Nos. 2 and 4.
5. J.A.H.R.S. II p 40. 6. 88 of 1917. 6a. History of the Kammas II p 97.

Kēta's political relations:-

Kēta II and the Chōlas:- The contemporaries of Kēta II on the chōla throne were Kulōttunga III (A.D 1178-1216) and Rājaraṇja II (1216-1246). None of Kēta's records are dated in chōla regnal years. Nevertheless Kēta had the title-Chōḍakatakasāmanta benkolva which might imply the continuation of the Kēta loyalty to the chōla throne in this period.

Kēta II and the Chālukyas:-

In this period the Chālukyan sovereignty which was lost to the Kalachuris was restored under Sōmes'vara IV. A record from Dāchēpalle, dated A.D 1213 mentions mahāpradhāni who had a number of high sounding titles and his sons Vimala Vikramāditya and Kāmanāyaka. It mentions Gaṇapati who is probably Kākatiya Gaṇapati. Probably, the father Mahāpradhāni and his sons were some Chālukyan generals, as the name Vikramāditya suggests, in the Kēta kingdom and had to acknowledge Kākatiya authority in A.D 1213 along with Kēta Mummaḍidēva.

Kēta II and the Chālukyas:-

The Telugu chōla kings contemporaneous with Kēta II were Siddhi (A.D 1175-1192), Nallasiddha (A.D 1187-1214), Erasiddhi alias Gandiṇḍa (A.D 1195-1217), Manmasiddha alias Nallasiddha II (A.D 1198-1213), Tammusiddha (A.D 1205-1209), Tikka I (A.D 1204-1248) at Nellore, Mallidēva III, Mallidēva IV and Ōpilisiddhi (A.D 1224) at pottapi and Kannāra chōḍa (A.D 1160-1187) and Balli chōḍa (1211-1222) at Kōḍena. The Telugu chōlas, generally loyal to the cholas were growing strong in this period. Their attempts at independence were curbed by the cholas. "Nallasiddha's career as an independent ruler, was soon cut short by Kulōttunga's occupation of Kāneli about A.D 1196....For the rest of his reign Kulōttunga had no trouble from the Telugu chōlas."¹

Kōṇa Bhīma inflicted severe defeats on the Telugu chōlas. But Kēta II does not seem to have had any conflict with them. Mallidēva III made a grant in the Guntur district in A.D 1227. So perhaps the Ketas and the Telugu chōlas were on terms of alliance in this period.

1. The Cholas II—1 pp 140—141.

Kēta II and the Kōṇḍapaḍumaṭis:-

The Kōṇḍapaḍumaṭi kingdom formed an integral part of the Kōṭa kingdom from the beginning of Kēta's reign or even earlier. Among the queens of Kēta II, Sabbama was the daughter of Kōṇḍapaḍumaṭi Buddha by Sūrma. Buddha is obviously Buddha III and queen Komarama was the daughter of Kōṇḍapaḍumaṭi Maṇḍa, identical with Maṇḍa III, the joint ruler with Buddha, by Ganga. So king Bhīma II, when ending the Kōṇḍapaḍumaṭi dynasty married the princesses to his son. Sabbama daughter of Kēta II by Komarama figures in a record at Amarāvati dated A.D 1197.¹

Kēta II and the Kōṇakandravāḍis:-

Probably the Kōṇa Kandravāḍis were on terms of subordinate alliance with the Kētas. Pārvati, queen of Kēta II, was the daughter of King Pōta of Kōṇakandravāḍi by Vinjamāmbā. Evidently, Bhīma II subdued the Kōṇakandravāḍis and married princess Pārvati to Kēta II. Kēta II's daughter by Pārvati was Lakshmi.

Kōṭa II and Ōmgerumārga chiefs:-

King Malla of Ōmgerumārga was an ally of Kēta II. This may be gathered from the fact that Vinjama, queen of Kēta II was the daughter of Malla by Chimama. Probably Malla was subdued by Kēta Bhīma II, father of Kēta II.

Kōṭa II and the Kākatiyas:-

The Kākatiya contemporaries of Kēta II were Rudra I. A.D (1163-1196), Mahādēva (A.D 1195-1199) and Gaṇapati (A.D 1199-1260). Rudra and Mahādēva were the sons of Prōla II, and Mahādēva's son by Bayyāmbika was Gaṇapati. The extension of the Kākatiya kingdom into Telingāna was one of the main objects of the Kākatiyas. In A.D 1185 Rudra I granted a village near Kōṇḍapalle to Tripurāntakēs'wara at Tripurāntakam.² Rudra's invasions were repulsed by chōḍa II and Gonka III of the Velanāṇḍus. As a preliminary measure for his conquest of Vēngi, Gaṇapati contracted alliances of marriage with the local rulers in Vēngi. By A.D 1201 Natavāḍi Rudra I was the brother-in-law of Gaṇapati.³ Between A.D 1213 and 1231, Gaṇapati seems to have

1. 261 of 1897: S.I.I. VI 228. 2. 273 of 1905.

3. Ins. Mad. Pres. II Kistna 31, E.I.VI 159.

become supreme in Vēngi for in A.D 1213 he granted Chēbrōle to general Jaya who in his Gaṇapēs-varam inscription of A.D 1231¹ mentions Gaṇapati ruling over that tract of country. Kōṭa Kēta II did not come into conflict with Rudra I. Probably he did not feel strong enough to avenge his father's death in the Kākatiya hands. According to the Amarāvati inscription of A.D 1197² one of the queens of Kēta II was Nāgama, the daughter of king Kākati Kēta and Kundama. This Kēta is unidentified and was undoubtedly a prince of the Kākatiya dynasty.

Records in some parts of the Kēta kingdom, dated A.D 1211, 1213, 1216 and 1223 mention Gaṇapatideva of the Kākatiyas. The Kaifiyat of Pedaganjam says that Kēta held the country as ruler for sixteen years till A.D 1193 and then the Gaṇapati subdued the country.³ Kēta's rule of sixteen years gives the date of A.D 1198 and Gaṇapati refers to Kākatiya Gaṇapati, for the Kākatiyas are frequently mentioned as the Gaṇapatis in recorded tradition. But in Kēta's inscriptions—even in those of his last years—Uyyamdonā record of A.D 1226 and the Paṇḍidam record of A.D 1231, no mention is made of Gaṇapati of the Kākatiyas. But it has to be conceded that though Kēta II owed no allegiance to the Kākatiyas in records the Kākatiya influence was spreading into the Kēta kingdom. The Kaifiyat of Vallūru says⁴ that under the Kākatiya kings, kōṭa kēta was the governor over the prince with capital at Dharaṇikōṭa. But much value cannot be attached to this statement for want of inscriptional evidence. Here it may be noted that the various remarks of the epigraphist with regard to the Kākatiya subjugation of the kōṭas, that it happened before s.1133 or in Rudra's reign and that "Kēta appears to have named his son after his Kākatiya overlord as a token of loyalty to his master"⁵ do not bear out.

Kēta II and the Velanāṇḍu chōḍas:-

The Velanāṇḍu chōḍa rulers, Gonka III, Prithvisvara, and his successor Manma Gonka were the contemporaries of Kēta II. There is no reason to suppose the prevalence of any hostilities between Kēta II and the Velanāṇḍu chōḍas. Kēta was the nephew of Gonka III and not Gonka II.^{6a} It is likely that Kēta II assisted the Velanāṇḍus in

1. 131 of 1893: E.I.VII. 82.

2. 261 of 1897: S.I.I. VI 228.

5. A.R. 1924 part II Para 27.

3. Mack. Mss. 15.6.44. 4. do do

5a. History of the Kammas II p 97

resisting and preventing the Kākatiya intrusions into Vēngi though ultimately both were destined to submit to the inevitable Kākatiya suzerainty at a later date.

Bhīma III A.D 1231-1234.

Bhīma III, the eldest son of Kēta II, succeeded his father and ruled with his capital at Dhānyavāti. His reign lasted only for three years. Bhīma's earliest inscription is from Kollūru dated A.D 1233¹ mentioning him as Mahāmandalēsvara Eṇabhīmarāja and his wife Akkamadēvi. In that year their four sons—Kētarāja, Prōvrāja, Tripurarāja and Rāmarāja made some grants. No more of Bhīma's inscriptions are available and his grandson Gaṇapati-son of Manmāgēta was ruling at Prattipāḍu in A.D 1234.² Therefore, Bhīma's rule ended in A.D 1234 which may be due to that he was too old when he assumed the reins of Government.

His political relations

Bhīma did not owe allegiance either to the Chōlas or to the Kākatiyas. He must have maintained friendly relations with the Velanāṇḍu Chōḍa princes of the time. Bhīma finds mention in local records. His kingdom does not seem to have experienced any trouble from the Kākatiyas. Bhīma was probably on terms of alliance with his brother Rudra who was ruling in a part of the Kēta kingdom with capital at Yenamadala.

Kēta III and Gaṇapati A.D 1234-1240.

Kēta or Manmakēta III was the eldest son and successor of Bhīma. As the inscriptions of his son Gaṇapati, are found from the beginning, it may be inferred that as crown prince or joint ruler with Kēta III, Gaṇapati was associated in the governance of the kingdom. The earliest inscription of the reign is that of Gaṇapati dated A.D 1234 from Prattipāḍu. Kēta is mentioned as Mahāmandalēsvara Manmakēta rāja in his Amarāvati inscription of A.D 1235.³ Gaṇapati's record at Bejatapuram dated A.D 1238, mentions his mahāpradhāni Uddanāyaka Prōlināyaka with his brothers danāyaka Kētināyaka and Dasināyaka and their parents—Uddanāyaka and Gundasani.⁴ The c.p. grant of A.D 1240⁵ mentions the king as Manmakēta, lord of the city of Dhānyakataka. In the Velpūr

1. 299 of 1934—35. 2. 141 of 1917.

3. 484 of 1913—now preserved in the Central Museum, Madras.

5. C.P. 5 of 1915—16.

4. 65 of 1917.

inscription of A.D 1240 king Gaṇapaya is said to have been the son of Doḍḍakētarāja.¹ Unless Manmakēta was also known as Doḍḍakēta which name is generally applied to Kēta II, Gaṇapaya of this inscription cannot be identified with Gaṇapati, the son of Kēta III. Bayyaladēvi,² the queen of Kēta III and her daughter,³ and several members of the royal family⁴ figure in the records of Kēta III.

The political relations of Kēta III and Gaṇapati:-

The contemporaries of Kēta III and Gaṇapati in this period were Rājārāja III of the Imperial chōlas, Gaṇapati of the Kākatiyas, Tikka I of the Telugu chōlas and Rudra I of the Natavāḍis. The Kākatiya inscriptions in a continuous series in the Telugu country show the further advance of Gaṇapati. But neither kēta nor Gaṇapati owe allegiance to the Kākatiyas in their records. Probably the kētas were allies of the Kākatiyas in this period.

Gaṇapatideva A.D 1240-1262.

Kēta III is not heard of after A.D 1240 and Gaṇapati exercised independent sway for twenty-two years from that date. Gaṇapati's record from Tāḍikondā dated A.D 1247 mentions him as Kōṭa Iṣmaḍi Gaṇapayarāja.⁵ From a record at Rāṅgulapāḍu dated A.D 1251, a Mahā-maṇḍalesvara Kōṭa Gundarāja, whose relationship to Gaṇapati is not known is heard of. In A.D 1254, the queen mother Bayyaladēvi and king Gaṇapati acknowledged the Kākatiya suzerainty, for a record of theirs⁶ of that year at Velpūr mentions Kākatiya Gaṇapati.⁶ In the Mādala record dated A.D 1256, the king is mentioned as mahāmaṇḍalesvara Jagamechchuganda Gaṇapati Dēvarāja.⁷ Gaṇapati's last record is from Tripurāntakam⁸ and mentions Māchināyadu brother of queen Komaramāmbika. One of his records undated refers to his son.

Gaṇapati's political relations:-

Towards the end of his reign, Gaṇapati's kingdom extended as far as Tripurāntakam in the west. Gaṇapati does not seem to have waged any wars and maintained friendly relations with the Kākatiyas. the Kōṭas of Yenamadala, the Natavāḍis and other local rulers.

1. 556 of 1925. 2. 141 of 1917: E.I.VI. No. 15-B—She was the daughter of Natavadi Rudra inscription A.D 1234. 3. J. Andhra History and culture Vol I. p 162 ins. No. 8. 4. do do 5. 175 of 1917—Sewell confused him with Kākatiya Gaṇapati. Historical inscriptions of S. India p 146. 6. 564 of 1925. 7. 302 of 1932—33. 8. 218 of 1905.

Gaṇapati and the Kākatiyas:-

The influence of Gaṇapati of the Kākatiyas in Vēngi politics was growing from strength to strength in this period. In A.D 1244, he issued the Mōṭupalli charter.¹ His records of A.D 1249 are found in Conjeevaram, Juntur and Kurnool, districts and of A.D 1254 in Kistna district. In A.D 1260 i.e. the sixty-second year of his reign, Gaṇapati was ruling in Kurnool and Nellōre districts.² and was succeeded by Rudrama, who bearing the title Rudradēva Mahārāja, ruled the well-extended kingdom.

An undated inscription at Nāyanipalle³ mentions that during the course of a digvijaya, Kākatiya Gaṇapatidēva Mahārāja conquered enemy territories, burnt Nellōre in the south, killed Pratihāri Bayyana Tikkana and other enemies, captured Kulōttunga Rājendra chōḍa in Chōlamandala, and accepted a tribute of elephants from the king of Nellōre. Recorded tradition⁴ and literature⁵ not contemporary-speak of the usurpation of the kingdom of Nellōre from manmasiddhi, of the Telugu-chōlas by Akkana and Bayyana, the deputation of Tikkana sōmayāji to Gaṇapati, of the Kākatiyas requesting him to restore Manmasiddhi to his ancestral throne, Gaṇapati's promise to comply with the request and the consequent kākatiya expedition into Telugu country resulting in the restoration of Manmasiddhi and the subjugation of the country. The Nāyani-palli inscription gives the details of the digvijaya. As for the date this conquest must have taken place between A.D 1249—the date of Gaṇapati's Conjeevaram inscription and A.D 1254 when Gaṇapati was recognised as suzerain by the Nellōre chōlas.

As for the relations between Kōṭa Gaṇapati and Kākatiya Gaṇapati not much is known. The only Kōṭa record mentioning Kākatiya Gaṇapati is at Velpur bearing the date A.D 1254.⁶ This evidently was the consequence of Gaṇapati's successful expedition into Vēngi and the Kōṭas were forced to acknowledge the Kākatiya sway. Manmasiddha II had to pay tribute to the Kākatiya sovereign.⁷

Gaṇapati and other rulers:-

Kōṭa Gaṇapati was on terms of alliance with the Kōṭas of Yenamadala. In the Vallūru Kaifiyat,⁸ he is mentioned as Gaṇapati, the ruler of Dharāṅkikōṭa.

1. E.I.XII p 118. 2. Sewell: Historical inscriptions of south India. 154. 3. J.A.H. and C I p 27 no. 2: 769 of 1922. 4. Mack. Ms. 15—4—5 Ms. p 45—46: Andhra Patrika weekly Vol. 37 no 17: 81—2—44 p 2—Ekaś'īanagaravrittantamu. 5. Sōmadēvarāja's fame—Pratapacharitra—See citations on p 489—92 Lives of Telugu poets Vol. I. 6. 564 of 1925. 7. The Nāyanipalli insn. J. A. N. & C I p 27 no. 2. 8. Mack. Mss. 15—6—44.

Bhima IV. A.D 1262-1268.

Son of Kēta III, and brother of Gaṇapati, Bhīma had a brief reign of six years. His records are few. The earliest inscription is from Velpūr,¹ dated A.D 1264 mentioning the king as mahāmaṇḍalēsvarakōṭa....dēvarājulu. The damaged portion in the record must have contained the word, Bhīma. The record from Rompicherla, dated A.D 1265 mentions Bhīma. The local ruler was Mallapanāyaka, the son of Jāyapanāyaka. Bhīma's reign must have lasted up to A.D 1268-the earliest date for his successors, Dēvarāja and Mummaḍirāju.

His political relations:-

The supposition² that Bhīma and his queen were ruling jointly is baseless. Bhīma's contemporary on the Kākatiya throne was Rudramaḍēvi. The kākatiyas were supreme in the Telugu country and almost all the local dynasties including the Telugu chōlas owed allegiance to Rudrama. In one of her records dated A.D 1267, Rudma is mentioned as Pratāparudra.³ Her records are found in Guṇṭūr, Kistna and Nellore districts bearing the dates A.D 1264 and 1268. Bhīma IV followed his brother Ganapati, in acknowledging the Kākatiya suzerainty as attested by his Velpūr record of A.D 1264⁴ mentioning Kākatiya Rudradēva mahārāja. Bhīma IV must have continued the Kōṭa policy of friendship towards the Kōṭas of Yenamadala.

Dēvarāja and Mummaḍirāja. A.D 1268

Sons of Ganapati, Dēvarāja and Mummaḍirāja succeeded Bhīma IV on the Kōṭa throne and seem to have ruled together. Their only record is from Kollūr dated A.D 1268 mentioning grants by mahāmaṇḍalēsvara Dēvarāja and Mummaḍirāja for the merit of their father kōṭa Ganapati dēvarāja.⁵ The upper limit of the reign cannot be fixed for want of data. The statement that "if Ganapati had been alive at the time of the gift, the period of his rule would be extended to s1190"⁶ cannot stand for it is certain that Ganapati was succeeded by Bhīma IV and Bhīma by Mummaḍi and Dēva. Dēva and Mummaḍi appear to have been the last among the rulers of the main branch, as no sons and successors of them are heard of. And it is likely that the Kōṭa territories came under the Kākatiya rule.

The Kōṭas of Yenamadala.

Rudradēva, the second son of Kēta and younger brother of Bhīma, was the first ruler of the Yenamadala branch of the Kōṭas. The Kingdom originated in the partition of the Kōṭadēva in A.D 1218 between Bhīma and Rudra.¹ These kōṭas had their capital at Yenamadala and owed allegiance to the Kākatiyas from the beginning which becomes clear from the fact that Ganapati figures in the record of the position.

Rudrarāja A.D 1216-c 1241.

No inscriptions of Rudrarāja are available. Besides the Velpūr inscription, the only other record mentioning Rudra is the Yenamadala inscription of Ganapāmba. It speaks of Rudra as the son of Kēta II and says that his son was Bēta, the husband of Ganapāmba.² As the earliest date for Bēta is A.D 1241, Rudra's reign may have extended up to A.D 1241.

Rudra's political relations:-

Rudra no doubt acknowledged the suzerainty of Ganapati of the Kākatiyas and was on terms of alliance with Bhīma III and Kēta III of Dharanikōṭa, Rudra of Natavāḍi and other local rulers.

Betarāja and Ganapamba A.D 1241-1251

Betarāja was the son and successor of Rudradēva. His earliest inscription is from Yenamadala³ dated A.D 1241 mentioning him as mahāmaṇḍalēsvara kōṭa kētarāja. From another inscription at Yenamadala⁴ mentioning Bēta and Ganapamadēvi, it appears that Ganapāmba was ruling with Bēta from the beginning. The next inscription of the reign is from Narasaraopet registering gifts to Attalūri Bhimēsvara for the merit of kōṭa Bētaya mahārāja.⁵ Ganapamadēvi figures in a record from Kākāni, dated A.D 1246 issued in the reign of Kākatiya Ganapati. In the Mādala record of A.D 1247 figures Sādamurāja, the lord of Amutunūripura and subordinate of Bēta. The last record⁶ of Bēta's reign is from Yenamadala, at present preserved in Guntur, dated A.D 1251 mentioning Bēta as ruling at Mahishamūrdhanagari i.e. Yenamadala. As Bēta was not heard of as king after A.D 1251 and Ganapamba was ruling singly, Bēta must have ceased to rule in that year and died soon after.

1. 565 of 1915. 2. J.A.H.R.S. II p 45.
3. Nell, Insc. III. p 1135. Historical insns of S. India p 158.
4. 565 o. 1915. 5. 301 of 1934-35. 6. A R 1934 part II para 30.

1. 585 of 1925. 2. E.I. III No. 16. 3. 116 o. 1893 : S.I.I. IV 938.
4. 122 of 1893 : S.I.I. IV 939. 5. J.A.H & C.I. p 29. 6. 142 of 1913.

The political relations of Bēta and Gaṇapama:-

The Kōta loyalty to the Kākatiyas in this period is borne out by the records of Bēta and Gaṇapama mentioning Gaṇapati of the Kākatiyas. Gaṇapama, the queen of Bēta, was the daughter of Kākatiya Gaṇapati. This marriage must have taken place in the reign of Rudra and assured permanently the allegiance of the kōtas of Yenamadala to the Kakatiyas and the protection of the Kākatiyas to the Kōtas against their enemies.

Bēta and Gaṇapama must have maintained friendly relations with the Kōtas of Dhānyakataka and the Natavādīs besides other local rulers. The Yenamadala inscription says¹ that Bēta was a great warrior and dispelled all the enemies by his splendour. Victorious Bēta died after ruling with Gaṇapama and acquiring everlasting fame.¹ As has been suggested already, probably he accompanied Gaṇapati of the Kākatiyas in the expedition to Kānchi and there lost his life fighting the enemy.¹

Gaṇapamadēvi A.D 1251-1264.

Queen Gaṇapamadēvi was at the head of the state for a period of thirteen years from A.D 1251 to the last date for Bēta. She assumed the entire kōta prasasti and imperialistic titles. Her earliest inscription² is from Nādala dated A.D 1256 which records her remitting of some taxes for the merit of her father Gaṇapadēvamahārāja. The Īpuru inscription of A.D 1257 mentions queen Gaṇapama as mahāmandalēsvara kōta Gaṇapamadēva yammangāru.³ In the Mādala inscription dated A.D 1261,⁴ the queen is mentioned as Gaṇapamadēvi yammangāru. Gaṇapama's reign lasted up to A.D 1264, the earliest date for her successor. The statement that her records are found up to A.D 1274 is not supported by evidence.

Her political relations:-

Chronology makes it definite that Gaṇapama assumed the reins of government of the Kōta kingdom of Yenamadala, at a much earlier date than her sister Rudramadēvi at Warangal. Gaṇapama's contemporary on the Kākatiya throne was Gaṇapati to whom her loyalty is borne out by references in her inscriptions. As Rudrama reigned towards the close of Gaṇapama's reign, whose last date is A.D 1264, the presumption⁵ that

Ganapama was the queen referred to by Marco Polo reigning in her 40th year at the time of his visit is wrong, for Marco Polo's visit was long after Ganapama's reign in A.D 1293.¹ Ganapama's contemporaries at Dharanikōta were Gaṇapati and Bhima IV with whom she must have maintained friendly relations.

Dēvarāju A.D 1264.

Mahamandalēsvara Kōta, dēvarāju remitted some taxes in Velpūr in A.D 1264 in the reign of Kākatiya Rudradēva mahārāja.² No details regarding the full name of the king, his relationship to Gaṇapama and the duration of his rule are available. No sons and successors of Dēvarāja or Gaṇapama are heard of.

The Kōtas of Tādikōṇḍa.

Some kōta chiefs were found ruling about Tādikōṇḍa.³ Their relationship to the Kōtas at Dhānyakataka, and Yenamadala is not known. But as they bore the usual Kōta epithets, they undoubtedly belonged to the same stock as the other kōtas. The earliest mention of the kōtas of Tādikōṇḍa is A. D. 1176.⁴ A record of that year gives the genealogy of some chiefs in the fourth caste. Manmapōta was the first ruler of this line. After his death, his wife Paṇḍāmbika succeeded to the kingdom.

From an inscription at Tādikōṇḍa dated A.D 1261,⁵ Vennaladēvamamma is known. A kōta Vennamadēvi bearing the epithets the lord of Dhānyakataka and worshipper of the lotus feet of Amareśvara is mentioned in a mutilated inscription⁶ at Tādikōṇḍa. One may agree with the epigraphist when he says "if the latter were identical with the former this lady chief will have to be connected with the time of the Kākatiya Gaṇapati. What her position was with reference to the royal family is not known."⁷

Vennaladēvi and her descendants ruled in a portion of the Kōta kingdom with capital at Tādikōṇḍa. An undated epigraph at Tādikōṇḍa records that Prorrāju and Bayyarāju, the grand-sons of Vennamadēvi were ruling. These chiefs called themselves the lords of Dhanya Katakapura and worshippers of God Amareśvara. The record also mentions Pinakomma rāju, the son of Prorrāju and Annaladēva, the son of Pērrāju.⁸

1. E.I. III No. 16. 1.a. E.I. III No. 61 vv. 16 & 17.

1.b. B.V. Krishna Rao : Āndhradēsamu ; videsayatrikulu p 117.

2. 303 of 1932-33. 3. 535 of 1918. 4. 304 of 1932-33,

a. History of the mammas II, p 99.

1. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta sastri : The Foreign notices of S. India. pp 157-174.

2. 565 of 1925. 3. In Guntūr Taluq in Guntur district.

4. 172 of 1917. 5. 174 of 1917.

6. 171 of 1917. 7. A. R. 1917 part II part 41. 8. 171 of 1917.

The Kōtas of Tripurantakam.

Chōḍerāja, the elder brother of Kēta II married Vinjamadēvi and had by her two sons-Mummaḍipōtarāja and Rājayya. Mummaḍipōta was an officer under Caṇapati and accompanied him in all his campaigns. He bore the regular Kōta prasasti. In A.D 1248, at Tripurāntakam,¹ Mummaḍipōta made grants for the merit of his parents and younger brother.

The Kōtas of Drāksharāma

A kōta Gaṇḍabhūpati and his wife Bhūramadēvi, mistaken² as Bhūtama.Dēvi by Sewell are known from some inscriptions. His descent is as follows: In the lineage of Dhanamjaya, after many famous kings had passed away was born Chōḍerāja. His son was Gaṇḍa, a great warrior. His son was Mummaḍi Bhima; his son was Gaṇḍa II whose wife was Bhurama. Gaṇḍa II's titles are similar to those of Rāchuva Dārāpa. His records dated A.D 1160 and 1175 are at Peddamakkēna. His son was Mummaḍi-dēvarāja figuring in the record of A.D 1211 Kōta Mummaḍi Nondarāju, Chodarāju, and Gaṇḍaparāju figuring in a Velpūr record³ were probably the sons of Mummaḍi, the son of Gaṇḍa.

Another branch of the Kōtas comes to light from a few inscriptions at Drākshārāma. The members of this branch had the epithet Kōta prefixed to their names, though their relationship to the other branches of the Kōtas is not apparent. The earliest mention of these Kōtas is in A.D. 1140 in an inscription at Drākshārāma. Bhimarāja was the first prince of the family. His son by Vinjāmbika was Pōtabhūpala. A record of Pōta at Drākshārāma dated A.D 1140 and the 13th year of Kulōttunga Chōḍaḍēva⁴ mentions him as Gōta Vinjama pōtarāju and his subordinate Vuyyūri Rājānāyani. Probably Pōta's rule lasted up to A.D 1179 when his son chōḍarāja was found ruling. King Pōta was a feudatory of the chōla emperor Kulōttunga II and would have maintained friendly relations with the Kōtas of Dhānya kataka.

Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara Chōḍarāja was the son and successor of Dannaḍa-vaḍa Kōta Vinjamapōtarāja. His prasasti is different from the usual prasasti of the Kōtas and has the epithets-chālukyarājyasamuddharapa-siddhi-mastaka, parabalarādhakasi-rahdchēdaka, Gaṇḍaroluganda, sangrāma

1. 248 of 1905.
2. Sewell: *Life Antiquities* I. P. 65; C. Virabhadra Rao *History of Andhra* p. p. 250 *History of Kammas* p. p. 99.
3. 582 of 1925: *Local Records* Vol. 48 Citation on p 278 of the *History of the Kammas* II.
4. S. I. I. IV 1160: 291 of 1898.

kanthirava, parachakrabhairava and kākati prōlanirdhahana.¹ His record dated A.D 1179 is issued in the reign of emperor Rājārāja identical with Rājārāja II of the Imperial Chōlas. This Kōta chōḍa, was thus a subordinate of the Chōlas, and must have maintained friendly relations with Chōḍa II of the Velanāṇḍus. He must have achieved his victories fighting on the side of the Velanāṇḍus, over the Telugu chōlas, the Kākatiyās and others. No sons and successors of chōḍa are known.

Other Kōtas:-

From a record at Kunkalaguntā² dated A.D 1275, a Kākatiya Rudrarāju is heard of. He was probably the grandson of Rudra of the main branch of the Kōtas of Dhānyakataka. An inscription at S'rikā-kulam³-undated mentions Pōchaladēvamavāru, the wife of Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara Kōta manma Gaṇapaddēva rājulu who bore the usual Kōta prasasti beginning with Svasti chatassamudra mudrita etc. Perhaps this Manma Gaṇapati is a grandson of Kōta Gaṇapati, son of Kēta III, of the main branch of the Kōtas.

A Kōta Permāḍirāya is heard of from a record at Raichur.⁴ A Kōta Gaṇḍarāja is known from an undated inscription at Rāmālapadu.⁵ Perhaps he is identical with Kōta Gaṇḍharāja of Mack. Mss.⁶ Besides the local rulers mention that Kōta Kētarāja and Bhima were ruling at Dharanikōta under Kākatiya suzerainty, till the time of Pratāparudra in A.D 1320. But from inscriptions, was know that Kēta and Bhima of the main line ruled at a much earlier date and no Kōtas were heard of so late as 1320, unless this Kēta and Bhima were some local princes of the Kōta lineage exercising local away under Pratāparudra's suzerainty. But the Kōta kingdom as such came under the Kākatiyas at a much earlier date than the reign of Pratāparudra. Dantulūri Gaṇabhūpāla ruling the tracts about Dharanikōta about A.D 1400 was of Kōta lineage. He is described as the lord of Dhānyavātipura and Krishnavēpnājala Kridāvinōḍa. None of his records are available. His descent is clear from Murtitrayōpakhyānam dedicated to him and some Reddi inscriptions. Among his ancestors figure Kōta Kētarāja II and Harikrishṇa^{6a} Ganna, s daughter was Sūreṃba^{6b} the queen of Pedakōmati vema Reddi of the Reddis of Kondavidu. Obviously Ganna must have recognised Reddi suzerainty.

1. 351 of 1898: S. I. I. IV 1242. 2. 152 of 1899: S. I. I. VI 591.
3. 153 of 1898: S. I. I. IV 976.
4. Annual Report of Nizam's Archaeological department. 1925.86. p 34.
5. Elliot: *Telugu inscriptions*. Ms 15.6-26 Ms p 41 No. 23. Ins. Mad Pres. II Kt. 292.296
6. Mack. Mss. 15-6-31. Ms. p No. 6(a)
- 6a. *Local Records* Vol. 48: Citation on p 278 of the *History of Kammas*. Part II.
- 6b. Phirangipuram inscription of p. k. Vema.

Prof. R. Subba Rao Shashtiurti Volume.

The Kōṭas of Dhanamjaya gōtra,¹ appear as the second among the four important branches of Kshatriyas in Telugu land, even to this day. The lords of Kōṭa appear among the feudatories of Rāchirāju Tammarāju of the Pūsapāṭis in the 17th Century A.D.² Their names are not known.

CHAPTER VI.

The Parichchēdis C.A.D. 1040-1290.

The Parichchēdis were a collateral branch of the Konḍapaḍumaṭis and exercised sway over the Shaṭsahasra and the Kollipāka 7000 for over two and a half centuries from the middle of the 11th to the close of the 13th Century A.D. Their capitals were Kollipāka, Virarājapuri and Vijayavāḍa. The Parichchēdis owed allegiance to the Chālukya-chōlas and their representatives, the Velanāṇḍu chōḍas in Vēngi, generally, except when they were forced to submit to the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi. The Parichchēdi prasasti is imperialistic like that of the Konḍapaḍumaṭis and the Kōṭas. The term Parichchēdi prefixed to the names of the rulers of the dynasty indicates perhaps their separation from the main branch of the Konḍapaḍumaṭis. The country over which they ruled included also the Omgerumārḡa tract.

Sources, origin and rise of the dynasty:-

A few inscriptions—all stone records—form the material for the history of the Parichchēdis. Short references in the records of contemporary dynasties are useful as corroboratory evidence. With the few sources available no continuity in the genealogy and chronology of the Parichchēdis is possible. Consequently many a gap is found in Parichchēdi history.

The Parichchēdis, like the Konḍapaḍumaṭis, belonged to the fourth caste and were of Durjaya descent.³ The earliest known historical member of the dynasty was Bhimarāja.⁴ Paṇḍaya is mentioned immediately after Bhīma and the relationship between the two is not known. The epigraphist says “if it is presumed that they were son and father, the antiquity of the family and its lordship over Omgeru mārḡa (district) would date at least from S'900”.⁵ So perhaps from about A.D. 978, the Parichchēdis were a ruling power and must have owed allegiance to the Chālukyas of Vēngi.

SIYA TEMPLE OF CHIDAMBARAM

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The worship of the phallic form of S'iva in association with the five elements (Earth, Water, Light, Wind and Ether) is special to the Indian mind and places of such associative sanctity exist in South India. Chidambaram, the seat of Natarāja is famous for the worship of S'iva in the form of Ākāśa or Ether. S'iva as Natarāja is a great Master in the Art of dancing. The *Bharata Nāṭya-Sāstra* refers to a hundred and eight kinds of dances and S'iva is said to have performed all these dances at Chidambaram. All these 108 kinds of dances are sculptured on either side of the Eastern and Western Gopuras or Gateways of the S'iva temple at Chidambaram, with their description in Sanskrit as they are found in the *Bharata Nāṭya Sāstra* engraved below each one of them. In all S'iva temples a separate place is assigned to S'iva as Natarāja which is known as *Naṭana-Sabha* or *Sabha*. The most important is the *Sabha* of Chidambaram. Chidambaram, known from time immemorial as “The Temple” (*Kōyil*) has also other names such as Tillai, Siṅṅambalam, Puliūr and Chitrakūṭa, and lies on the South Indian Railway route between river Vellar on the north, the Koleroon on the South, the Virāṇam tank on the west and the Bay of Bengal on the east. The Natarāja image is installed in what is called the *Sabha* but is separated from the *Sanctum-Sanctorum* by a veil which is removed only on special occasions of worship. Behind the veil is revealed space (Ākāśa) out of which the Dancing Natarāja is said to have emerged and danced for blessing two great devotees Patañjali and Vyāghrapāda. The *Sabhā* where S'iva is said to have danced is located within the temple enclosure in the position of the *heart* in the *Human body*, supposing a man is lying with his head to the south. The resemblance of the Indian Temple to the Human form was already pointed out in my talk on the Kailāsa Temple of Ellora. The *Sabhā* by its position, replaces the *Sanctum* in other temples. The Chidambaram temple is longer from North to South while most temples are longer from East to West. The Temple was famous even in the middle of the 7th Century A.D. when the great S'aiva Saint, Jñāna Sambandha visited it and sang Natarāja's praises. The God in the temple at Chidambaram had been the family deity of the Cola kings of Tanjore who were strong followers of S'iva and had covered the *Sabhā* with gold, thereby giving the *Sabhā* the name “Kanaka Sabhā” or the “Golden hall” and to the image of Natarāja the grand name of “Kanaka Sabhāpati.”

1. C. Virabhadra Rao: History of Andhras V. p 70.

2. Sri Rajaraja Narendrapattābhishekasānchika-pp 100-101. The chatu verse is cited.

3. 431 and 432 of 1915 4. 83 of 1917 5. A. R. 1917-II para 42

The Chidambaram temple or to speak correctly the temple-complex is elaborate with an arrangement of four Courts, surrounded by *Prākāras* or High Compound walls and with four *Gopuras* or Gateways against the cardinal points. The *Gopuras* are massive, exemplifying the later Cola style of Architecture in which gate-towers are either as large as the *vimanas* of the early Cola period, or actually dwarf the shrines (*vimanas*). One can also notice that during this later Cola period of Architecture, the vertical band of the bracket of a pillar or pilaster developed into a small pendant without as yet approaching the lotus in form. The Chidambaram *Gopuras* rank among the temples of the Madura (Mathura) class or show the style of Architecture that matured under the Pāṇḍya rulers of Madura. The members of the four Courts of the Temple are briefly, *Parvati Shrine* which is supported by bracketing shafts tied with transverse purlins till 9' space is all that is left to be spanned; the *Nritta Sabha* which is a porch of 56 pillars, 8' high, delicately carved resting on a stylobate, ornamented with graceful dancing figures and with wheels and horses at the sides, the whole being intended to represent a Car; a *thousand-pillared hall*, 350'X260', which gives a good view of the surrounding minor shrines; shrines of Śiva and other deities; the *Kanaka-Sabha* inside the *Nritta-Sabha*, covered with a golden roof; a tank called the *Siva-Ganga* tank, 175'X100', with an attractive colonnade around it, the shrine of Goddess Śiva-Kāma-Sundari with Purāṇic legends represented on its roof; the shrine of Subrahmanya with beautiful carvings, while on the South-West of the temple there is a shrine of a huge Gaṇeśa. Thus the entire family of Śiva is accommodated. Within the innermost *Prakara* of the temple, curiously enough, there is a shrine for Viṣṇu called *Govinda-Raja* who is said to have witnessed the dance of Śiva. The East *Gopuram* was put up by a great Pallava chief called Ko-Peruñjiṅga in the 13th century A.D. and the north *Gopuram* was built by the great Vijayanagara King Krishnadeva-Rāya in the 16th Century A.D. in commemoration of his victory over the king of Orissa. It is on the West and Eastern *Gopurams* that the 108 dance modes from Bharata's *Nāṭya Sastra* are engraved with suitable verses from the texts, serving as labels. Students of dancing will do well to study them on the spot.

Beautiful Sculptural representations of Vyāghrapāda (tiger-footed) and Patañjali (snake-bodied) for whom Natarāja first danced here, of Śiva as *Chandesa-mūrti* blessing his devotee Chāṇḍesa with axe in his hands, Śiva as Tripurāntaka in battle-array, Sūrya with three faces composed according to the *dhyana* of *Virinchi Narayana*, and Saṅkara seated on a chariot drawn by seven horses and of the eight deities of the cardinal

points are a few of the many that greet the eyes of the visitor. This temple is also famous for having carvings relating to the lives of the 63 Śaiva devotees called *Nayanmars*. Special mention must be made of the carving of the Paraiyah devotee of Śiva "Nanda" who from out of his ardent devotion to Śiva made the bull move out of its place, so that he could behold the *Liṅga* standing within the "Confines of his paraiah limitations." There is such a wealth of inscriptions on the temple walls declaring that the temple was an important Art Collection, a Treasury, a Registration Department, etc. nay a veritable "Sermon in Stone."

The *Nadanta* is the special kind of dance that Natarāja is said to have performed in the "Golden Hall" of Chidambaram and this dance forms the *motif* of the South Indian Bronze images of Nataraja that have beautifully filled most Museums and Art-galleries of India and abroad. The legend behind this dance centres round the forest of Tāraka where Śiva proceeded to confute certain heretical Rishis, accompanied by Viṣṇu disguised as a woman and Ādisesha. The Rishis attempted to destroy Śiva by Their incantations. A tiger was their first creation and Śiva peeling off its skin wrapped it around himself, Then the Rishis created a poisonous serpent which Śiva caught and entwined around his neck. Then Śiva danced to the consternation of the which was a dwarfish Rishis. The sages now set on him *Muyalaka* or *Apasmara Purushah* monster. Natarāja put his foot on the monster and breaking the dwarf's back made him writhe upon the ground. Thus with all the foes controlled Śiva danced the famous *Nadanta* dance. The story goes that Ādisesha worshipping Śiva sought another opportunity to behold the dance. Śiva promised him the dance again in *Tillai* (Chidambaram), the *Centre of the Universe*.

THE KAILASA TEMPLE, ELLORA.

by

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The Indian Temple is but a reflection of the human form. The material such as rock, sand-stone, marble, etc. is the skeleton; the Architecture is the flesh, shape and the form of the human body. Sculpture, imagery, paintings, etc. with which the temple is decorated would compare with jewellery, drapery, complexion and beauty of the human body. Even as in the case of the human body endowed as above one has to search for the imperceptible soul, the God or the presiding deity whose abode is in the interior of the temple is not readily cognizable. But all that the general visitor to a temple derives is spectacular gratification, while only a select few visualise the God. To get over this defect great temple builders have fitted into great temples scenes drawn from the divine deeds of Gods called *Lilas*, principally on the Brahminical side of the three major Deities *Brahma* the creator, *Vishnu* the preserver and *Siva* the destroyer. Nowhere else are these so picturously set up as in the Kailāsa Temple at Ellora, in Hyderabad State. Like other sister temples in South India such as the great temple of Brihadiśvara in Tanjore and the Temple of Natarāja in Chidambaram, the Kailāsa Temple is a repository of the Art traditions of the times, a veritable Art or Sculpture gallery and a fitting abode with suitable back-ground for the worship of the God in favour, in the present case of *Kailasanatha* or *Śiva* on Mount Kailāsa. As in Pallava Rock-Architecture of South India, the high quality of figure sculpture impresses the visitor to the Kailāsa temple which is not only the most stupendous single work of Art but also an unrivalled example of Rock-Architecture. The visitor, while studying the temple gets the feeling that he cuts through time and space and peeps into another world, a world of spiritual devotion expressed by a wealth of Artistic creation hewn out of the living rock. Gradually the visitor contemplates on the conception of the temple, the labour spread over 100 years which materialized it, the sculpture and its plastic decoration that crown it. *Siva's* paradise in Kailāsa is at once a supreme mono-lithic representation and a fitting illustration of a *grand moment* when human minds, hearts and hands worked harmoniously towards the consummation of *Purushartha* or supreme ideals. Such a consummation was possible because of the patronage that the monument had of a Ruler of immense power and Artistic ambitions. This Ruler has been identified with Krishna II (757-783 A.D.) of the Rāshṭra-Kūṭa Dynasty that succeeded the Chālukyas in western Deccan in 753 A.D. and made their capital at Malkhed, in Hyderabad State.

Excavated in the latter half of the eighth century under the patronage of a Royal Artist, the Rāshṭra-Krishna II, the Kailāsa temple stands as

a proud monument of sculpture and architecture on a grand scale in mutual complement and blend. It is a model of a complete structural temple, not unlike the contemporary Virūpāksha Temple of Pattadak. The scheme of the Kailāsa temple consists of a *Linga*- Shrine with *Śikhara* of the *Draviḍa* style, a flat-roofed *Maṇḍapa*, 70 feet X 62 feet, standing on sixteen pillars, a *Nandi* Shrine, 20' side and 50' high, surrounded by a court, entered through a low gate-way. There are cloisters surrounding the courtyard. Five detached shrines are found on the edge of the *Pradakshina* path of the *Vimāna*. In one corner of the court is a chapel for the worship of the three River Goddesses, with their images in relief. There are two flag-pillars (*Dhwaja-Stambhas*.) These as well as other columns are in the Northern style, everything else is Dravidian. Thus in Kailāsa we observe a combination of styles for which early Chālukyan Architecture was noted.

The complete excavations of the Kailāsa temple-complex cover an area roughly 300X175 feet and more than 100 feet high. The Main Temple, Nandi-Shrine and gate-way are in the same alignment from east to west. The Main temple, 164'X109'X96' (height), is placed on a plinth 25' high bearing carvings of life-size elephants and lions. Above the plinth arose the ground superstructure modelled after early South Indian temples. The Tower rose in three tiers and was surrounded by a *Śikhara* (height 96'). Flights of steps from the west lead on to the interior of the temple which consists of a porch, pillared hall, vestibule and shrine.

The Kailāsa temple contains some of the boldest and finest sculptures of India. The figures are tall, well-built, reflecting physical power and spiritual strength. The scene of Rāvaṇa attempting to throw down Mount Kailāsa, the abode of *Śiva*, is a magnificent and energetic study. Here, the shaking of the mountain is experienced by Pārvati turning to *Śiva* and catching his arms while her maid is running away. *Śiva* unmoved presses down his foot on the rock which exhibits Rāvaṇa below pitting all the force of his twenty arms against the sides of his subterranean person. This scene also occurs in the cave-shrine of Elephanta near Bombay which is a proto-type of Ellora. In no other Art geotectonic conceptions have been realised with any such power as in this scene relating to Rāvaṇa's humiliation. Other fine, relief Panels at Kailāsa include *Śiva* as Tripurāntaka, *Siva* as Gaṅgādhara, *Vishnu* on garuḍa and once again Rāvaṇa shown as offering his 10 heads to *Siva*. The last scene represents Rāvaṇa in the act of cutting off his tenth head. The other nine heads which he had cut are placed like a garland around a *Śiva*

Linga. According to the Rāmāyana and early versions of the story, it was to Brahmā that Rāvaṇa offered his cut heads. But, we find Kālidāsa actually referring to Rāvaṇa as offering his cut-heads to Śiva (*Īsvara*). This literary version seems to have been adopted by the ancient Artists of India, and Ellora is no exception. The sculpture of Ellora has only translated into stone, the Poet's description of Rāvaṇa's sacrifice in which Śiva in the form of a *Linga* replaces Brahmā. The sanction of this ingenuity is probably in the fact that the Kailāsa Temple is out to proclaim the greatness of Śiva as the Lord of Mount Kailāsa.

Such a magnificent excavation which has made the Kailāsa cave temple an unrivalled gem of Indian Architecture and sculpture was meant to create a heavenly retreat, a world of *Moksha* where mortals are associated momentarily with Gods and their glory rooted in the *Lilās* and the Puranic stories of the lives of Gods and Goddesses and thus "far from Man

TEMPLES OF BHUVANESWAR AND JAGANNATH PURI

by

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Bhubaneswar, in District Puri, has been deservedly selected as the new Capital for the Province of Orissa. The modern town has a glorious past and presents a vista of History ranging from the 3rd century B. C. to the 16th century A.D. and a variety of monuments and temples devoted to different faiths, viz, Buddhiam, Jainism, Saivism, Vaishnavism and the cult of Gaṇapati (*Ganapatya*). Scholars have shown that the History of its monuments covers practically the history of Orissa. The Temples of Bhubaneswar are, according to M.M. Ganguly who first surveyed them, as many as 500. They are covered with a wealth of sculpture spreading over a long period, presenting at once a challenge and the occasion for critical research. The temples are either located in difficult places or are lost amidst the houses. There is such a variety of them as would certainly entitle the city of Bhubaneswar to be called a Temple-Town.

The temples of Orissa belong to three groups, according to their date and style. They are (1) Early (750-900 A.D.). (2) Middle (900 to 1100 A.D.), (3) Later (1100 to 1250 A.D.). The most representative examples of the middle period are two temples of gigantic proportions, viz, the Lingaraja Temple at Bhubaneswra (A.D. 1000) and the temple of Jagannath at Puri (A.D. 1100), both ranking as the foremost architectural productions of the country. The Lingaraja chronicled as built during the reigns of 3 Kings, Yayati Kesari, Ananta Kesari and Lalatendu Kesari, is the quintessence of the Kalinga style of temple architecture and giving an impression of great height. As one views it from a distance the effect of its height is brought into good relief by the vertical lines of the strongly drawn ribs, of which two on each side show miniature replicas of the whole. The top (Sikhara) is crowned by a ribbed Amalaka (myroblan) over which rests a pot-shaped Kalasa. The temple of Jagannath in Puri is similar to this but somewhat inferior in design and detail. The Temple of Lingaraja stands amidst a number of smaller temples in a spacious compound measuring 520'X465' and enclosed by a high wall, the inner face of which contains a platform so that it could be patrolled and defended also. Within the enclosure many subsidiary shrines were put up from time to time by devotees as acts of merit. The Lingaraja consists of four structures, viz, (1) the Deul or *Sri Mandir* which corresponds to the *Vimana* of the South Indian Temples, (2) the *Jagamohana* or the

hall (*Mandapa*), (3) the *Kata Māndir* or the dancing hall (4) the *Bhoga Mandapa* or *Bhoga Mandir* which is the hall of offerings. The last two are later additions when the Ganga Kings were ruling the country. The *vimana* rises upto a height of 127' from the ground. Within it is the Sanctum-Sanctorum (*Garbha-griha*), 19' square, but instead of a ceiled chamber it continues upwards like a chimney forming a hollow space throughout the entire height. Within is enshrined a *Svayambhu* or self-established Linga, the phallic form of Siva. While the interiors are devoid of ornament and the ceilings are equally simple, the exterior wall surfaces display rich decorations and figure compositions of an intricate nature. The outer plastic decoration is very systematic. The multiplicity of detail, the fertility of invention and the richness and ingenuity of patterns arrest the attention of the visitor. It is wholly in stone from the base to the apex. Every individual stone and every inch of surface of it has a pattern carved upon it. The tower *Vimana* has won the rapture of one and all. Indeed Fergusson is right when he says "It is perhaps, not an exaggeration to say that if it would take a sum-say a lakh of rupees or pounds to erect such a building as this, it would take three lakhs to carve it as this one is carved". Some of the best specimens of decorative art and fine scroll works implying years of labour can be noticed in the sculptures on the tower, among which *Parvati* and *Kartikeya* are worth special mention. The height of the tower which elicits our wonder especially when we remember that it was put up in 1000 A.D. when modern machinery was unknown is explained thus :- While the *Vimana* was being raised, the indigenous process required it to be buried in earth as it progressed and the stones were mounted up by dragging to the desired height on an inclined path (*chara*). The Jaina hill of *Khandagiri* nearby was the quarry of stones and the inclined path proceeded from the western side of *Khandagiri*. In proof of this some broken mounds on the *Khandagiri* west side are pointed out even to-day and the last point in the inclination is specified by a small temple called *Chara Narayanan* "*Chara*" means "inclined path" (compare South Indian *Sara* or *Chara* which means the same or scaffolding). The *Jagamohana* built at the same time as the *Vimana*, is an oblong 72'X56' rising to a height of 100' from the ground. Like the *Vimana* it is composed of a series of recessed chases. Though there are many temples at *Bhuvaneshwar* such as the *Parasuramesvara* of the early period, *Muktesvara* and *Lingaraja* of the middle period and *Raja-Rani* and *Ananta Vasudeva* of the later period, the crowning achievement in temple architecture and sculpture is witnessed in the *Vimana* of the *Lingaraja*. Verily the *Lingaraja Vimana* represents "a

appearance and by means of its dignified proportions, balanced stability and breadth of treatment this ideal has been accomplished."

The other notable example is the Jagannath Temple at Puri, on a Branch on the Madras-Calcutta line. It is larger than the *Lingaraja* and was erected a century later by the Ganga King Ananga Bhima Deva (1182-1223 A.D.) The holy city of Puri is to the Vaishnavs what Kasi is to the Saivas or Brindavan (Mathura) is to the devotees of Krishna. It is on the coast of the Bay of Bengal and a sea bath here is considered highly sacred. Pilgrims visit the shrine in large numbers all the year round. The temple is dedicated to Jagannath or Krishna, whose figure exists with those of his elder brother Balarama and sister Subhadra. Other Puranic names given to this Holy City are *Sriksheṭra*, *Sankha-kshetra*, *Neelachala* and *Purushottama-kshetra*. The Puranas account for the sanctity of the place as follows: In days of Yore, an image of Vishnu made of sapphire named *Nilamadhava* existed in Puri which was coveted by king *Indradyumna* of *Avanti*. He sent several Brahmins in search of it. One of them, *Vidyapati*, found it in the country of the aboriginal *Savaras* and informed the king. The king set out with evident vanity and pride, accompanied by a large army of wood cutters to fetch the blue image. But the image had disappeared, to curb his pride. The repentant king had to perform a thousand *Asvamedha* or horse-sacrifices before he would be blessed by the sight of the God, who appeared not as the Blue image but as log of wood with certain marks on it, that came floating in the sea. The king installed it with great eclat in the present site of the great temple. When the king attempted to fashion the log into an image of the God the chisels broke. One old carpenter *Ananta Maharana* (who was the God himself) offered to make the image in 21 days and was shut up for the purpose in a room with the log. The impatient king opened the room prematurely and found nobody but three unfinished images. After King *Indradyumna* had waited for ages, *Brahma* came to Puri. The images were brought in cars (*ratha*), placed on a throne and duly consecrated by *Brahma*. The most popular event at Puri even to-day is the grand *Ratha-Jatra* (Car festival) in the months of July-August when the God bathed in the sea on the full-moon day, remains in-camera for a fortnight and thereafter is taken in a car of 16 wheels to a place called *Indradyumna* named after the King. There, within a garden the God rests for 8 days and thereafter is taken back to the temple. Quite a large number of people visit Puri to drag the car and the car is world-famous as the 'Jaggernaut car'. Built on the same principle as the *Lingaraja* at *Bhuvaneshwar* the *Jagannath Temple* consists of a suite of four buildings standing in a line. From east to west

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they are the *Bhoga mandap* put up between 1465 and 1495 A.D., the *Jagamohan* (1100 A.D.) the Mukha-sala or the audience hall (1495-1532 A.D.) the Bada Deul or the *Vimana* (1100 A.D.) The extreme length of these four Buildings is 310 feet, with a width of 80'. The *Vimana* is nearly 200' high. Except for its impressive proportions this temple is just an arid replica of the Lingaraja. The effect also suffers from extensive renovations done a century ago when the stone masonry decayed. Among the exotic structures here mention may be made of a sixteen sided chlorite pillar which supported Aruna, the charioteer of Surya. This originally belonged to the sun temple at Konarak, in District Puri, and was removed to this place by the Maharattas in the beginning of the 18th century.

THE RAMESVARAM TEMPLE.

by

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Ramesvaram, in the island of Pamban at the extreme southern corner of the Indian Peninsula, lies on the Indo-Ceylon line of the South Indian Railway. It derives its name from Sri Mana, the hero of the Ramayana. The sanctity of the place is due to Rama installing a Siva-Linga or phallus on a sacred hill called Gandhamadana on which Ramesvaram stands. According to the Puranas Sri Rama was advised by sages that nothing short of the consecration of a Siva-Linga by himself on the Gandhamadana hill will purge him of the sin of brahminicide committed by him by killing Ravana, the son of Brahmin, though through a Rakshasi woman. Rama commissioned his devotee, Hanuman to get a Linga from river Narmada. As Hanuman could not return by the auspicious time fixed for the consecration of the Linga, Rama to avoid delay, made a Linga out of the local sand and installed it for worship under the name "Ramalinga" or "Ramanatha". Hanuman arrived too late with a Linga from Narmada; his disappointment and grief were so intense that Rama advised him to instal his Linga a little to the north of the sand Linga which he had himself consecrated. Giving to it the name of "Hanumat-Linga" Rama gave to the Linga brought by Hanuman every precedence in worship. The story goes that Hanuman was not satisfied but tried to displace the *Rama Linga* by his own Linga but failed. In proof of this, the priests at Ramesvaram show certain marks on the Rama-Linga. Eleven important Lingas are associated with the Ramesvaram Temple. Two are believed to have been installed by Hanuman and Rama (already discussed) and the other 9 by Sita, Lakshmana, Sugriva, Angada, Nila, Jambavan, Nala, who built the Setu Bridge, Vibhishna and Indra respectively. There are also 24 *Tirthas* or sacred waters associated with the island of Ramesvaram, of which fourteen are in the form of wells and tanks within the temple precincts and great sanctity is attached to them. Here is an important shrine sacred to Vishnu locally called Setu-Madhava. This shrine is visited by pilgrims all the year round. A bath in the sea at Ramesvaram at the confluence of the Indian ocean and the Bay of Bengal is very sacred to the Hindu community. Though the Hindu Sastras prescribe sea bathing only on special occasions, one can always bathe in the Setu of Ramesvaram. Again while bathing in other seas is believed to appease the spirits of the dead, Setu-bath is recommended for the prosperity of the living.

The Ramesvaram temple consists of three courts (prakaras). Its original walls were of lime stone, renovated subsequently by black granite. Colonnades and pillared corridors called *Paudumandapam*, constitute a source of attraction to visitors to the Ramesvaram temple and the piers bear statuary representing the Setupati Kings of Ramnad of the 17th Century A.D. who constructed parts of the temple and endowed the temple richly and their Ministers. The pillared corridors (Pudi-mandapam) extend to nearly 3000 feet in length; the breadth of these passages varies from 17' to 21' and their height is about 25'. Richly decorated pillars continue along the entire length, each pillar 12' in height, standing on a moulded platform 5' high. In almost every direction there is an unending perspective of pillared halls, those on the North and South being over 700' long. The corridors run for the most part around open space and have light admitted through the back walls. Their ceilings and the colonnades were once painted but the painting is fading or has faded. The general scheme of the Ramesvaram temple is of a double shrine within three concentric perimeter walls. Like the Madura temple, it appears to have been constructed within one period on an ancient sacred site, the remains of which are now represented by a small shrine or vimana on the west called Gandhamadanesvara which stylistically may date from the 12th century A.D. The temple has the usual high gateways (Gopurams) on the four sides, the eastern Gopuram being in 11 storeys and about 150' high. This Gopuram was begun about 1640 and then left unfinished. The northern and southern Gopurams were meant to be much larger but only their lower storeys were finished. Perhaps they were expected to be completed within modern times.

James Fergusson, the author of "The History of Indian and Eastern Architecture" wrote as early as 1886 that the Ramesvaram temple was an unique example of the South Indian temples that exhibited all the beauties of the Dravidian style in their greatest perfection, at the same time one that exemplified all its characteristic defects of design. While according to him, the Brihadisvara temple or the Great Temple at Tanjore produces an effect greater than is due to its mass or detail, the Ramesvaram temple, on the other hand, produces no effect externally and internally and can only be seen in detail, so that its component parts do not aid one another in producing the desired effect. This would almost amount to admitting that a lot of patient and intricate work, industry and labour has been thrown away or wasted for want of a design. This charge is as hasty as it is

severe and cannot be maintained if the back-ground of the component parts of the Ramesvaram temple or for the matter of that of any big South Indian temple is correctly understood or appreciated.

The structural expansion of the South Indian Temple followed a corresponding expansion of the temple ritual. When the ceremonies and temple festivals (*Utsavas*) elaborated, there was a corresponding reaction on the arrangement of the building in which they were held. The main deity (Mula-vigraha) of the temple, which is worshipped, has a spiritual as well as a temporal capacity and the increase in the temple structure was in proportion to the increase in the powers or capacity associated with the God worshipped. In his spiritual capacity the God reigns supreme in the Sanctum-Sanctorum, in the darkened mystery of a shrine called the Garbha-griha where he receives passively the worship of his devotees (bhaktas). For such a God of abstract spiritual potentiality, is provided the inner part of the temple, reserved and secluded as the sacred resort of the God. The temporal capacity of the God is manifest on certain occasions called "Utsavas" and Pujas when the God issues from His retreat (from the Mula Vighraha embodiment) and goes out in procession in a physical form called "Utsava-vighraha", not unlike the monarch of the land. When the God goes out in procession taking part in festivals of a semi-mundane character, the temple precincts correspondingly expand. Thus the South Indian temple resolves itself into an inner, closed and sacred part and an outer open public and less sanctified part. The inner part generally rectangular, usually consists of two flat-roofed courts one within the other. The Sanctum-Sanctorum lies in the inner - most court and can be made out by its vimana which (usually richly gilt) may be seen projecting over the flat roofs and demonstrating the focal centre of the temple-scheme. The outer part of the temple consists of a concentric series of court-yards enclosed within high walls and in these courtyards are located halls, pavilions (Mandapas) and buildings connected with the secular aspect of the temple ceremonial.

Interestingly indeed the sequence of Dynasties that ruled South India expanded the structural formation of the temple so as to suit the growth of temple ritual. While cave temples (cut-in and cut-out) were carved by the Pallava Kings in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D., structural temples with very high vimanas springing over the Sanctum-Sanctorum came up during the rule of the early Cola Kings of Tanjore (850 A.D. to 1070 A.D.). Huge Gopuras or Gateways such as at Tiruvannamalai and Chidambaram came up in the later Cola period (1070

to 1350 A.D.) Kalyana-Mandapas and halls were erected under the Vijayanagara Kings (1350 to 1565 A.D.). And great corridors or corridor halls (Pudu Mandapas) such as in Madura and the Ramesvaram temples which, typify the latest style of temple development came up after 1600 A.D. If this Dynastic evolution of temple-style is remembered against the back-ground of an expansion of the temple ritual which in its turn is dependent on the popular ascription to the God enshrined, of a spiritual unmanifested (Avyakta) capacity as opposed to a temporal or manifest (Vyakta) capacity, then and then only the design of the Ramesvaram temple, nay any great South Indian temple, can be correctly appreciated.

THE MIRACLE OF THE DYING SUN

by

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At all climes and in all ages the human race began to study the sickle shape of the moon and the lustrous rising and setting of the sun. The primitive man was so much anxious to account for their study that he began to experiment the mysterious element of the Sun and the Moon who were followed by each other. Story tellers have satisfied their passion by way of saying that the Sun is the husband of the Moon. Thus the primitive man tried to study the cause of eclipses, the process of day and night and the existence of the stars in form of beautiful tales which have often indicated the sense of the Scientific ages.

Mythology interprets that the stars are the children of the Sun and the Moon, and the sexual science was originated from that moment. The Sun became more brilliant than the Moon but both had human parts and passions. The Elda¹ certifies as if the Sun and the Moon are brother and sister. The Greenlanders² expressed in their culture about the Moon as pursuing his sister, the Sun, with incestuous lust. According to the Japanese³ the Sun-goddess went once to her brother, the Moon in order to direct him to the Earth to see Ukemochi, the goddess of Food. She offered some food vomitted from her mouth to the Moon who felt insulted at the undesirable action of the goddess of Food and killed her. The Sun-goddess became very much angry at her brother's attitude to the food and said unto him, "Thou art a wicked deity. I must not see thee face to face". Thus the Sun and the Moon appear alternately and the day and night were caused.

The Pinte⁴ Indians of California had a beautiful tale of the appearance of the Sun and the Moon where the former was the father and ruler of the heavens and the latter was his wife. Due to conjugal love they had a large number of children who were eaten by the Sun during their motions. This action was objected greatly by the Moon who had a love and affection of motherly heart towards her children, the stars. She expressed her delightful body at the company of the Stars, her children and thus this typical account of creation has established the theory of day and night. The Minitra⁵ of the Malayan Peninsula establishes a theory quite peculiar to others and says both the Sun and the Moon were beautiful women. The stars are the children of the Moon, and the Sun had a large number too. Both feared about the mankind

1. Grimm, Teutonic Mythology.
2. Grimm Teutonic Myth.
3. Frazer, Worship of Nature.
4. Andrew Lang, Myth, Ritual and religion vol. 1
5. Tylor, Primitive culture.

who might not tolerate the great lustre, and made a promise to eat up their own children. The Sun acted according to the bargain they made already but the Moon kept all in a secluded place. At this the Sun became furious and chased the Moon to bite her and from that date the solar eclipse occurred.

The Nagas, of Upper Burma attributed the quality of a beautiful woman to the Sun who has no courage at all to move at night, while the Moon moves at night as a leader of the male sex.

The above primitive cosmological myths have described carefully the Sun as less brilliant than the Moon, but the Hindus have taken exception to it, though there are still a great number of theories propagated by the Arabs, the Garos² of Assam, the Metheis³ and the Mexicans⁴ on the equal brightness of the Sun and the Moon. The story of Gautama and Ahalyā bears testimony about the violation of the chastity of Ahalyā, wife by Gautama by the man, as Indra appeared before her to run her chastity in a disguised form and became successful at last. No doubt this is a story of imagination overflowing with emotion of the Hindus but the theory of day and night is involved in it. Indra has been derived from the root *Ind* or *Indra* explaining the wealth of the earth and heaven and therefore Indra is the Sun-God and Ahalyā is the Night, as it is derived from the root '*Li*' or *Li* to coincide, and the word may be treated as a compound word as such *Ahanilayate Jā Sā* while Gautama had the symbolical meaning of the Moon. Indra has a large number of Synonyms such as *Sahasrākshya*⁵ *Sahasrasīrsā* *Purusas*. The only interpretation is possible if the word *Akshya* denotes *Margas*, *Path* or *orbit* or *rays* and thus the word *Sahasrākshya* clearly indicates as the sun. *Purusas* is the creator of the creation and has been endowed with thousand heads which is nothing but the thousand-rayed sun. The line *Sūryāditeyam*⁶ adds the great glory to the function and formation of the sun who is known as the son of the sage *Aditi*, and therefore he is worshipped as *Adityā* or the Sun-god. The same sun is worshipped by human race and gods like the Lord of gifts.⁷ He is *Mittra* and has got every sense of understanding the difficulty of the people. He is *Danpati*⁸ and the whole sky was illuminated due to the lustre of the sun who is known as *Nāka*⁹

1. J.H. Hulton, The Angami Nagas. 2. A Playfair, The Garos.
3. Hodson, The Metheis. 4. Encycl of Religion and Ethics.
5. Vedic culture. 6. Nirukta (2.16) 7. Ibid. 8. Ibid. 9. Ibid.

Gou¹ Lobhas, Prushn¹ etc which are attributed to him as Synonyms. This reveals the supernatural power of Him in the Hindu culture-

A brief survey of the Vedic hymns reveals the most prominent place of the sun among all other Vedic gods. Hindu society knew the art of greeting a friend and for entertainment to gods Soma juice is prepared and offered to them. The word Soma phylogically has been changed from one meaning to the other though the original form of the word remained as before. During the first decade of the Vedic civilisation, from Soma creeper it was changed gradually as water, rain and the energy of the sun. *Savitri* meant the same. *Brāhṃṇas* say² "Āpa is *Sāvitri*, *Bāk* is *Savitri*" may be designated with the soul of *Sāvitri*. *Vāk* gives an idea of revealing the inner ideas and the sun reveals the external world in which the internal Phase of nature is coherently connected. Thus the full energy of the sun is revealed.

The Vedas have profusely described the natural phenomenon and established the benevolent relationship with the different forms of *Surya*. *Sayan* unlocked the hidden treasure of the Vedic lore and examined the hymns dedicated to the sun or the *Auroreaborealis* in respect of honouring his splendour and active energy. The Vedic poets were very much particular of estimating the beautiful and deep quivering of the beams of the *Surya* in many emotional words such as *Gabhira Vepah*³ and *Dhruvasah*.⁴ The *Sukta Ākrishnena rajasā vartamano nivesayānna-mritam martyamcha Hiranyeua savita reyēna dēvo Yāti bhuvanāni pashyan* has been attributed by *Sayan* to the *Surya*, appearing again and again in this world to dispel darkness, and to establish place among the gods and the human beings for growth of life. The word *Amrit* was translated by the European scholars as the Gods while this may be interpreted according to *Sayana* as the nectar or *Aditya* who is sun and thus he is known *Amritam* or *Adityam*.⁵ The *Sukta*⁶ (10-49-7) certifies that the sun has a considerable number of steeds of different colours and from the detailed description the down ward and upward paths refer his afternoon and forenoon course respectively with a hiatus of twelve hours. No remarkable difference is evident from it than the so called *Aroraborealis*. The ancients had a conception of the adorable, and the multinued *Savitar* who has mounted a large golden and multiform

1. Ibid. 2. *Āpa Savitri*, *Jai* 3 (4-27-3), *Vak Savitri*, go pu *Jai* 3 (4-27-3)
3. 154.3 4. Ibid. 5. *Sayan Bhasya*
6. *Aham Sūryasya pariyamya subhi pretasobhivahaṃṇa* *ōjasā yamāśavo manusha*
aharnishiridhakkushe dāsa krinvadhāi.

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chariot and clearly expressed the universal figure, "Vishwarupa". He is also known as Chitrabhanu, and, Savita. These statements are supported by the Sukta (1-35)¹ in which it is interpreted as the fashion and movement of the Savita a word declined in the first case ending of Savitir meaning the originator of the created beings in the solar system. He is again differently portrayed and has spread his rays throughout the world by moving on a golden chariot. Parallel descriptions in support of the Aurorabulolis were quoted from the "Forces of nature and Ency-Britanic" by Dr. V. Ramaya and who has established oneness between Savitar and Aurorabulolis but this argument as it appears is not tenable.

Puranas describe Yama as the son of the Sun but the Sukta 1-35 has the word "Yamasyabhuvane" which denotes the house of Sun who moves on all the three luminous worlds i.e. the Sun, the Moon and the Starry world. Science has told these to be as the higher, middle and lower regions respectively. The evidence from Sayana Bhasya² 10-135-1 strengthens the idea of Surya as Yama. Stapath Brahmana³ (7-1-10) certifies the Sun as Yama, and the whole universe is heated by him. In due course of time the Hindus abbreviated the long words into shorter form in connection with yamasya Bhuvane and this was vidently known from Yamasya Dwayasha Susheya where Surya is nothing but Yama.

A sukta⁴ (1-35-9) in the Rig Veda again adduces a very controversial measure of illumination as if a research scholar may find fault with the clear understanding of the meaning. The dilemma may not be easily solved as Sayana comments on the Sukta (1-35-9) as if Savitar and Surya may represent one and the same deity but the phenomenon described is different manifestations of the two separate bodies, which is supported by other scholars have translated "The golden-handed, Savitar, of various sight goes between earth and heaven". But my humble opinion seeks the only possibility of attributing all the meanings to the Sun who is golden handed, and travelling always with Various-sight between the heaven and the earth to dispel all possible diseases and ills. I do not find why a scholar will find two different deities in form of Savitari and Surya.

1. Abhivritam kusanairviswarupam hiranyasamyam yajatovrihantaman. Asyadrayam savita chitramanuh krishnarajsim tavisheem dadhanah.

2. a Tisro dhavah saviturdva upasym eka yamasya bhuvane virashah etc.

3. Yamini yakshe shpatase "evaih samapivate yamah 1 Sa. Bha 10.93 y 9.

4. Esho vai yama ya eshah suryah tapatyeshahedem sarvam yamapatyenedam sarvam yataim. Sha-Vra (6.2.9-90)

From these arguments it is clear that the Sun is Vicharsani,¹ Hiranyapani (hands the always ready for help). In the Sukta (1-35-10) the Surya has the term Asuras who is a good guide and giver of happiness and for this he is also wellknown as Sunyayaha.

Scholars are of opinion that Veetihetra is a nocturnal God and may be accepted as agni or Moon to do their gift of light to the human world at night. The description of Agni in the vedic culture is of the same type as that of the Sun with only the difference of time. But night follows the setting of the Sun who brings state of rest or happiness to the entire world. This idea about the Sun may be the same with the people of north and south people due to the relative position of the observer and the Sun. Agni like the Sun cannot have natural energy without the impeller and judging from all circumstances the aim of the poet perhaps will be to have the all-pervading² Sun who may bring peace and tranquility to the natural world only by his appearance in the Sukta (2-38-1) Vitihoton is known as Agni and Surya. Therefore Suryaviprapti "Acquires the function of the Sun" is not the rational explanation at all, but Veethotr himself is the Sun.

The Vedas have abundant use of the words Asva, Vaji, Arva, and Sapti meaning a horse. Sir John Marshall traced the historical background of the Aryans who came on horse back to India at about 1500 B.C. and there he has expressed the meaning of horse as a swift-footed animal, but the Vedas describe differently the birth³ of the horse from the ocean. It is a peculiar animal. Sometimes it is a flying⁴ bird and very often it is identified⁵ with the Sun while in many R K verses it is well described as a creature⁶ with horns. (Rv 1-162-9) Grammar derives the word Asva from the root as meaning to pervade and this has got its natural meaning as "One that does not stay for the morrow." Judging both the meanings of Asva as a pervading animal and the animal that does not stay for the morrow, the astounding conclusion is that the Asva is no other than the sun.

1. Hiranyapanih savita vicharsanikable dhava antareeyate aameevam Vadhate vet soryamabhikrishnena raja-ghamrinotil. Hiranyahasto asurah suneeyah sumaleekah swavam yatavangam- 90.

2. Ayabhajadeetrihotram swastau. 3. Apasu yOni rva ashvah joi 3-8-43.

4. Ashvameet Vrihat. 5. Prof: Maxmuller: Science of Language Vol-I.

6. a "By the golden hands of the Asva" (Rv. 8-7-27) 6.b "We are joinink (to the Yupa) the giver of food Asva, who is the first Aruna of Usha" (Rv.1-92-15)

But the historians of the West have concluded that the horse was known in the later Vedic period by the Aryans and was brought to India by the Turanians. In spite of this statement the word Asva may have its figurative meaning horse but primarily it may mean as the sun. Prof. Maxmuller¹ says "The Aryans would have seem to choose this name for themselves as opposed to the nomadic races the Turanians, whose original name Tura implies the swiftness of the horse." So it may be supposed that Turaga was the name given by the Turanians and perhaps this name became Turāsāh which is equivalent to Turāsāt in Sanskrit. This word of the Turanians and of the Vedic people means respectively as "The Lord of the Turas" and "Indra" and thus both being the same, Turaga or Turāsāh or Turāsāt means Indra, but the Vedic culture undoubtedly certifies Indra as the Sun. Moreover the word Asva has been used thousand and one times particularly in two sukta of the first Mandala in which it is evident that Asva is the Sun and the Sukta reads "May Mitra, Varuna, Āryaman, Ayu, Indra, Rikuksha, and Maruta spread light on all sides, so that we may recite the hymns in praise of the prowess of the god Sapti (fire or sun) the Vaji (giver of food) (Rv. 1-162-1). All the Rk names are nothing but the synonyms of the sun. The Upanishadic idea is that the fire or sun is called as Saptarchi "seven-flamed or "Sapta-Jihva" seven-tongued. The sun ripens the food of the world by his rays and the world "Paripaka" meaning ripened is an attribute to him.

The RK verses have a very wide application of the meaning of the Asva. We read some of the Vedic verses as given below.

Ye Asva who came out of the ocean or out of the womb of the Earth uttered the sound. Thou wearest the wings of the Syena and hands of the deer. Ye, the offspring of the earth art profitable with hymns (R. V. 1-162). Here the Asva or Arva is born either from beneath the sea or beneath the earth. So it is no other than sun.

"This Arva is given by the Yama to the Trita Indra the first Gandharva rests on it. Receiving light from the Sura Asva rests on the Vasus" (Rv. 1.163-2). Thus the Sukta describes Indra as the Sky God, the Asva or the sun illuminates the sky on its three places and hence the

6.c The golden handed Savita (S.V. 2-101-33)

6.d The beautiful tongued and golden handed Savita (Rv. 1-38-9, 8-54-111)

6.e The Asvas are the charioteers of the Fire's chariot. (Rv. 8-75)

Indra or sky is called Trita Indra. Therefore Gandharva is the sun that rests on the sky.

Asva has got an established tradition as the sun in the Hindu culture of all ages. Many stray¹ Rk verses even indicate Asva none but as the sun. The Brahmanic¹ conception of Asva is not the horse but the sun. The Bṛihadāranyaka Upanishad clearly expresses Asva as the sun who rises from the eastern ocean and sets on the Western ocean and this theory has been undoubtedly voiced that the ocean is the friend² of Asva and also its birth place. Therefore the word Asva occupies in the Rigveda, Yajurveda, Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads as the sun who was adored in different ways by the Vedic people. Colebrookes says in connection with borrowings of the Hindus from the Arabs in Astronomy, "The adoration of the sun, of the planets, and of the stars, in common with the Worship of the elements had a principal place in their religious observations enjoined by the Vedas".³

The Vedic people were mainly entrusted with Sun-God theory, Dawn Theory and the storm Theory. The Nirukta of Yaska explains the triumph of light over darkness or the conquest of the storm-god over the dark clouds that imprisoned the fertilising waters and the lustre of the sun. The Rg vedic story of Vrit and the cloud was explained such as "Tat ko vritra, megha iti Niruktah- Tvastro asura iti aitihasikah etc."

The Nirukta⁴ school offers an explanation of Vṛira as the cloud or Asura or Trāstra, who is known as Indra, the releaser of the water from the clouds. But Asura has got a Vedic meaning as the sun. The cloud is formed and dispelled by the scorching heat of the sun. Moreover, Trāstra has been interpreted as the sun. Therefore it may be accepted as the sun theory instead of naming as storm theory. In Aitareya⁵ Brahmana a love story of Prajapati with his daughter has attracted the mind of the orientalists. Prajapati is the sun and his daughter may be the dawn or the heaven above. The dawn or heaven is created by the movement of the sun and therefore he is called as father. As there is a flying race going on everyday by the sun with dawn or heaven, the love of Prajapati

1.a The Prajapati has made the Asva from the sky." (Sat. 1-5-2-6)

1.b The Asva is born of the Water. (Tait 8-8-1-8) and (Sat. 7-5-2-8)

1.c Indra is Asva (Kau. 15-4) 1.d "Aditya is Asva" (Taj 8-8-28-2)

1.e "The fire is Asva" (Tai 1-6-3-4)

2. "The Samudra is its friend, Samudra is its birthplace."

3. Hindu Algebra P XXII 4. Nirukta (II. 16) 5. Aitareya Brahman a (III 38)

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with his daughter is only possible and justified. Kumarilla extends this theory to the case of Indra and Ahalya as already explained.

The Dawn seemed to the orientalist to open golden gates for the sun to pass in triumph and as soon as those gates were opened, the eyes and minds of the ancient gazers and thinkers realised as if they had the power to pierce beyond this finite world to some spiritual one where the mind can conceive the Infinite, the Immortal, the Divine and thus the name of the Dawn became rather poetic and philosophical. A Vedic legend says that the Saranga who had twins from Vivaswat, ran off from him in the form of mare. Vivaswat followed her in the shape of a horse. The only scientific explanation is tenable if we shall approach from the view point of the sun's movement and origin of the day and night.

The marriage of the Surya with Soma and of Vrishakapi whose oxen morning Vapor were swallowed by Indra or Aditi, giving birth to Adityas, is said to be an aspect of the origin of day and night. The valuable story of Pururavas who called himself as Vanitha in the brightest one, and Urvasi brings another testimonial for the relationship of the Sun with day and night, as Urvasi says to Pururavas that she is gone away. The Vedic culture is overflowed with the beautiful description of the sun, the day and night, and it may be concluded that the ancients thought as if "Everything is Dawn and everything is the Sun."

Chaldean¹ Epic bears the evidence on the conquest of Marduk over Apsu and Tiamat. Dr. Jensen² has critically examined the various interpretations of the word Apsu or Abzu in the Chaldean literature, but this word may be discussed from the standpoint of the Vedic Literature. The word Tiamat occurs in the Atharva Veda V. 13. It is a sort of hymn to avert the evil influence of snake poison and the verses³ 6, 7, 8 and 10 are described as following:-

Asisasya Taimāsasya babhrorapodakasya Cha, Sārasahasyāhsm manyorāva jyāmiva dhanvano vi mujnachāmi rathyamiva Aligee cha

1. Hibert Lectures pp 379—384, Chaldean, S.N. Series Chap. vi.
2. Jensen's Kosmologie der Babylonier, pp 273—288.
3. I release thee from the fury of the black serpent, the Taimata, the brown serpent, the poison that is not fluid, the all conquering as the bow string (is loosed) from the bow, as chariots (from ho.v. Both Aligi and Villigi, both father and mother, we know you kin everywhere. Deprived of your strength what will ye do? VII. Tabuvam (or) not Tabuvam, thou (o serpent) art not Tabuvam. Though Tabuvam thy poison is here't o' force. 10.

viligee'cha pitā cha mātā cha Vidma vah sarvatah vanghwarasāh Kakaristiyaha cheta tabhuvamnu Dhanvamhsai Vishmaha.

These verses have been translated into English by Bloomfield,¹ Whitney, Griffith and other scholars, but the word was not properly studied from Philological aspect and thus it remained unexplicable as it was before like Greek or Latin to an Indian. The two words Tāhuvam and Tiamat are same but have slight difference in sound due to its foreign origin. Atharva Veda V 18-4. has also the use of Tiamat and it is clear that this word has crept into the Vedic culture, and obtained some tangible change in the real shape of the word. With Apsu or Abzu the similar change may be like Tiamat, who is regarded as the husband of Apsu. Vedas represent the fight of Vritra and Indra which is quite similar with Tiamat and Marduk struggle. The former fight explains only Indra as the conqueror of water, and thus he is known as Apsujit² who is the sun. Etymologically the word Apsu may be derived as ap-water, su-to be get or from psu which according to Nighantu III.7 means shape or form. The word Apsu-jit may be translated as the conqueror of the shape or the conqueror of water. Hence no difference is marked between Apsu or Abzu which was conquered by Marduka, the Chaldean Indra.

Rig Veda reads in a Mantra the beautiful conception of the Sun as 'Udvayam Tamasapari Jyotish Pashyanta-ruttam, Devam Devatra Suryam Aganma-Jyotiruttam.' and Wilson translates "Beholding the upspringing light above the darkness we approach the divine Sun among the gods. the excellent light." (Rv- 1-50-10) This mantra is recited in mid-day and depicts the velocity of light of the Sun, Uttamam has got the opposite word as Uttaram and the meaning is that the light is seen later. Aganma Yotir means the serpent like rays of the light. The lustrous body that is the Sun has risen before the longer period. Therefore it is an example of wonderful action of the Sun mediated by the Hindus in one form of the Tri-Sandhya.

The motion of the Sun was clearly discussed by our ancients as is indicated from the word 'Tarani' derived from the root Tr which means to fly rapidly. The actual flight of the Sun's rays is 186,000 miles per second or 3000,000 kilometres per second. Sayn explains the rapid movement of the Sun in connection with the Rk verse (1-50-4 given below.

1. S. B. E. Series Vol XLII. P. 28.

2. do do

Taranirviwadrsita jyotishkridasi Surya viwamā bhāsirochanam Hay
Sūryas twaxtaranih taritā anyena gantumāsako muhato adhwano ganto
asi tayācha smaryate-yojanānām sahasre dwe dwe sate dwe cha yojane
ekēna nimishāryena kramamāna namō asue te.

Taranim is going fast and no body could go faster. Sayan quotes a
sloka from Smṛiti in connection with measuring the velocity and thus it
is proved that the Sun has a wonderful power to see the whole world even
in a second. The explanation of Sayan has similarity with Paul Karlson
described "The greatest velocity possible in our universe."

Natural scientists have observed the sun with the relative position of
the natural position of plants. These plants and the human being have
only one soul as described in the Rig Veda that is the Sun,¹ who created
the universe and so also in the Yajurveda (7-42). There are some other
interesting passages which trace clearly the origin of Photo-
synthesis. Charaka (Sutra than 1-7-72) gives a detailed account of all the
plants such as Vanaspati, Vānaspatya, Oshadhi, Virudha etc and these
plants are created by the Sun and developed by its rays.

The English word cow is some what the corrupted form of 'Go'.
The root 'Go' appears to be the same in case of both the words Gou and
cow. Rig Veda describes in a mantra Latragavauburayashya Tasaha
where the cow became full of rays is go means a star. This 'Go' has been
used in different meanings to such an extent that a Rik verse (4-44) aswinā-
msangati explains that the horses are attached to chariot of the Sun and there-
fore the word 'Go' may be Asva or the rays. This statement is substantiated
by Aghasu Hanyate Gabah which is translated as rays of the sun or
draught oxen. Go is always regarded as the Devata in Rik the verse,
(4-58-10) "Go Devata". Thus it is now evident that 'Go' is not only
the rays but also the God of lustre (ie. the sun),

Yaska has realised as a devotee the universal power of the Sun and
enumerated the day, night, the fire and other things originated from
light as a part and parcel of the Sun. The 'Sukta'² Ahach Kṛṣṇamahā-
rajanam ch hi bartate rajasi bedyabhis, Baiswanaro jayamano na

1. "Surya atma jagatah tasya cha" and Yajurveda (7-42)

2. Ahachakrishnamaharajanam chavivartate rajase vedyabhis vaeswanaro tavamano
nam rajaviratirjyotishagnistamasī N 2-21

rajahatirayotisagni stamansi" (2-2) the translation of which may be that
the dark night and the white day are seen and they are rolling in a
different manner. Imparting their colour to all things they roll on with
their distinctive marks being born like a king and drove off darkness.
From this typical description the poets of the Vedic age have accounted
for their study of formation of days and nights which are the offshoots of an
illuminated king who may be conceived as the Sun.

The three feet of Gayatri or the Sun gave scope for various
conceptions regarding the function of the supreme deity. Mythological
conception of Bāmana, the incarnation of Vishnu who covered the three
worlds in the earth, the under-world and the heaven by his three strides
equally considered by the scholars with the three steps of Vishnu as
Brahmā, Vishnu and Rudra, who are the three aspects of the Sun.
Brahman¹ is the symbol of fire, Vishnu² is the wind and Rudra³ himself
the Sun. The worshippers of Chandi have represented the Sun in its three
diurnal phase. Thus the statements are quite convincing and from them
the conclusion may be the Fire, Vayu and the Sun, as three forms of the
same solar deity.

The female aspect of the Sun is Gayatri who is greeted as Brahmani
in the morning, Vaisnavi in the noon and Rudrani in the evening. Even
to-day the modern descendants of the Aryans greet her by saying "Let
the effulgent light of Savitr, that reveals the three worlds Bhu, Bhuvā
and Sav, be meditated upon; let its effulgence enlighten our intellect."

The Vṛṣṭsarga rites are performed by a group of five Yupas even in
modern times. 'The Vṛṣava,⁴ is the Sun.' The Vṛṣava⁵ of the sky is
the revealer of the earth. Not only the use of the twentyone Yupas was
fully estimated but also they trust that the sun and the Fire are identical.
The seven twigs represent the seven rays of the Sun mentioned in the
Brahmanas- "The Aditya⁶ is the seven rayed Vṛṣava". In another
seal the figure of the female goddess is remarkably seen as if she is Aditi,
mother of the Aditya or the Sun. This peculiar idea is revealed in
Mahenjodaro⁷ painting and thus the solar story is an unquestionable one of
the Dravidian culture.

1. Prathama charitrasya vāchmarushi agbī aswam, chandee.

2. Madhvama charitrasya vishnurushī vyastatwam,

3. Uttara charitrasya rudrarushī surya-tatatwam.

4. Vṛṣabhō divaha rajaso ethivya, Rv. 8.57.8, Av20.148.9. 5. Vṛṣabhō dyomnavan
asi. Rv. 5.28.4 6. Sa esha adityaha Saptarāmi vṛṣabhaha. Jv.1.28.2

7. Sir John Marshall, Mahenjo Daro and Indus Civilisation Vol.II.

8. Suparna angaha savitru garutman. Rv. 10.194-3

Rig veda gives evidence about the eagle as Sakunta, Syena, Suparna and Garutman and even in Vedic culture Kapinjala is known as Indra who is the solar deity. Puranas allegorically represent the matter in the form of a story of Garuda's Amrita Harana. Garuda had a battle with Indra at the time of snatching away the nectar. The twentyseventh Sukta of the Rigveda further voices as the syena was put in bondage by iron fetters which are compared with night, and pierced through it. Therefore Garuda or Syena is acting like the Sun by way of offering light to the human world. Egypt has a similar story of osiris shut up in a box and thrown in to the river Nile. The comparison may be very appropriate if the box is the night and the river Nile is the western ocean. From this it may be concluded that the Syena is Aditya. The beautiful feathered Garutman is the body of the Sun¹ and thus Garutman is clearly identified with the Sun.

The word Asvaka denotes the little Asva of the Sun. The wife of the sacrificer remained vigilant for a whole night near the fire and invoked Agni to have bliss for her husband and children. The Sun had its Mundane representative in the fire. That is the ample evidence of worshipping the little Sun or Asvaka from the Sukta². "No one is taking me to the Asvaka, Savadra of Kampilya city is sleeping near the Asvaka," uttered by the wife of the Sacrificer.

The word Dyaus is primarily connected with the Sun as Dyon. Prithivi and Dyon Rodasi are jointly worshipped by the Hindu seer. The meaning of Dyon is the sky which was later on conceived as the father of the solar deity but which is a vast lake according to ancients. Purāṇas call it as Kshirodagar. The Egyptians named it as Taeret Lake. The word Taeret is a corrupted form of Kshiroda pronounced as Xiroda. It is again connected with Prithivi, the mother of the Sun. Aditi has been known as Prithivi from whom Daksha is born. Thus Daksha is Varuna or the Sun.

We praise that the western astronomy definitely gives the idea of having thousands and thousands of solar systems. But the ancients have

already pointed out in connection with the Cycles of Eclipses the multiform numerous suns. The passages of the Suryaprāgnapti give some definite proofs and their translations³ are given below:-

"How many moons and how many suns light, heat and illuminate the whole world? What should be said about this? About this, there are twelve opinions, About this some say.

(i) That one moon and one sun light the whole world, heat it and illuminate it. Some others are of opinion.

(ii) That three moons and three suns light, heat, and illuminate the whole world. With the same repetition of words. Others' opinion should be understood. Others say.

(iii) That three and half moons and three and half suns light, heat, and illuminate the world. Others say.

(iv) That seven moons and seven suns light, heat and illuminate the whole world. Some others say.

(v) That ten moons and ten suns

(vi) Twelve moons and twelve suns.

(vii) Seventytwo thousand moons and seventytwo thousand suns light heat and illuminate the world.

From the above extract the conclusion may be drawn as if the Sun is a magician and may transform his figure from place to place in every moment and Taitareya Sanghita and Tait. Āranyak have this type of exception also about the Surya.

Hindus have studied this speculative art by concentrating their minds throughout the life. The speculations and suggestions have established the divine wisdom which is the essential force of studying the entire universe. Mundaka Upanishad⁴ (2) reads the discussions as follows.

Atharvena jam pravadat brahmaharsha tam purohachāngire brahmavidyam.

1. Amb ambike ambalike namo nitya kirtana samasti ambakam subhadrakam kampilyavasinē v. 23-1c.

2. Takkā nam chandrasūrya caryāyam obhasanti njoyeti taveti prabha eti vidi totti vācige. Tulya bhūmimāva bhavānjanivativō panatavo tatygo vābhābān, at chandrasūrya Sūrya caryāyam obhasati njoyeti taveti prabha eti vācige.

1. Atharvena jam pravadat brahmaharsha tam purohachāngire brahmavidyam. Sa bhadravajra satyavajra peśa bhadravajroṅgirāśi puravaram, M.V. 2.

2. (P. 11) Evamīdān ege pūna evamīdān u tatāt chanda teni sūra savvaloyam jñobhasati. Vavattāram chandaachrasam Vavattāram surasahasam savvaloyam obhasati ojoyeti taveti pravasati.

Sa Varadwājāya Satyabāhāya prāh Varadwaja angiraso parabarām. "The sage Atharvan learnt this art from Brahman and the Science of the Brahman was learnt by the Angiras. He learnt the truth from Vāradwāj who unveiled the secret of Parā and Aharā Vidyā." This was primarily hinted by the seer that there are two types of lore such as material and spiritual, but Scientists have got from the above description the clue of the physical and celestial plane.

The Sun is the main supporter of the creation of Brahman. He is the space, the father, the mother, and the son. He is the producer of food and has got his luminosity from all the resplendent figures. The Sun stands not only for the highest soul of the human generation but also for the entire creation. His ṛi is Praskanna of the Kanva family. The mantra Siyopasthahana recited daily and the Rik Verse given below (1-89-10) say the Various shapes of the Sun.

Aditiridyōnuditirantareekhamaditi mati, sapita Sa putrah viswedeva, Aditih pajnachajanā aditijntimaditirjanitwam.

The sun may have any shape at times of necessity and therefore he is called as the invisible Paramatma in the Universe. The words Aditya and Rayi have different treatment from the root Ad to eat or to take food. And Aditya finally means the power or some visible body who is the food generator of the world. He is a body of light, but the word Rayi denotes wealth. The word Chandra is derived from the root Chandī= to enjoy and it is only a power of interpretation of animate and inanimate objects and this has been known later on in the Upanishads as Prakrit and Purusha. All these have shapes or not shapes but these are either different transformations of an object or the various forms of one object at end.¹ The Upanishadic philosophy has praised the energy of the Sun in the following:-

"Aditya vai prāuo rayireva Chandramā rayirvā etat sarvam yannurtam Chāmritam Chr tasmān bhurtireva rayih."

Sankaracharya has propagated the theory of Prana as the Sun and Ramanuja has voiced this super-natural force as Rayi or power.

1. Pr. Up 1. 6-5.

The Sun reveals the entire universe by his multi-hued rays and the world is the manifestation of the Divine energy and there is no distinction of sex or symbol or sign of energy. The verse¹ says that the seer of this Mantra is the sage Saunahotra Angirasa who was known afterwards as Vargaba Grtsamada Saunak and this is the Sun of the Vedic Culture.

The philosophical reflections certified the apparent motion of the Sun who moves throughout the entire world and offers energy and life to all. The various types of motions of the planets independently voice the saying, 'Bahatdēvānāmasuratwamekam which means "the essential spirit of the various deities is virtually one". The Sun is worshipped as Vaiswanara, universal frame and the life full of inspirations. The people of the Dravidian Culture were satisfied by the Mantra:-

Sa śhā vaiswānarō viswarupah prānāgrirūdayate tadetat rūchābhi putakam. 1-7 Viswarūpam harinam jātavedāsam parāyanam jyōtīrekam tapantam. Sahasrarasmīh satadhra vartamānah prānah prajānāmuda yatyēsha sūryah. 1-8. The above mantra like the one before has got many synonyms revealing new ideas about the Sun, and this is only the mere repetition of the Vedas.

The Rik Verse "Aham manurabhavam sūryāchāham" (4-26-1) voices that the Ṛi is the great sage Vāmadeva who expressed his sentiments in those words after realisation of seeing his soul in all created beings and feeling the one-ness of them with his own self. Its summary has been established in the BrhadĀranyaka Upanishad² Aham, Brahma, Assi. I am Brahman in which the Brahman himself is the Sun.

The Rik verse (4-40-5) "Hamsah suchishad vasuranthareekaha sadhōta vedishadetithi dureenomat- Nrishadvarasadatasaad vyōmasadwajū goja rutaja adrija rutam vrihat" has been quoted in the mantra (2-5-2) of Kathopanishad, whose purport is known as Hamsabati Mantra. The meaning of the verse is that He is Hamaa. He is the Sun that seems to revolve round the globe scattering His Light that illumines the vast expanse. He is the light of knowledge that dispels the darkness of the ignorance from the minds of men. That is the reason why His name, as revealed in the Hamsabati Mantra gives the identity of the individual soul (Soham)

1. Rv. 2-1, 1-11.

2. Rk. 8.55.11 Twamagne aditirdeva da-bushe Twam hotra bharatoevardhavaṇṇa Twamita -ratihimasi dakabhe Twam vritraha vacupate Sarasvateo.

I am he. Krishna the Yadav God is described in Bhagavat Gita as the giver of energy and so to say He is known as *Soham* or the dark dispelling Sun. The Gita says.¹

“Agni jyotirahah suklah shanmāsa Uttarāyanam Tatra prayātā gachhanti vrahma vrahma vidō janāh. Dhumō rātrissathā Krishnah shanmāsa Dakshināyanam Tatra chandramasam jyotiryōgee prapya nivartate”. Agni is known as the light half of the month and the other is known as dark one. The Brahman attained the Sainthood by his spiritual power, and became an ideal to the world. This path is generally known by the learned as ‘Archiradi Marga’ and thus Kṛṣṇa is understood by the word *Aham* and thus known as the Sun. The Rgveda² has a large number of verses to coincide with this theory and there it is an admitted fact that Arjuna and Krishna are the figure-head of Light.

Philosophical reflections are abundant in Mantras about the Sun who³ was a turning, and a shining light. He has been taken as if “In⁴ Him was Life and the Life was the Light of man. The microcosm that dwells in the heart of all, is like a radiant flame. “The sun is omnipotent and omnipresent, He may be in the world and the world may be created by Him, but His world may not know his power. It may be absurd to hear but it is possible in the case of a supernatural power as described “He⁵ who pervades the world and yet is apart from it, whom the world knoweth not,”

Hindu Philosophers have named the relationship with this supernatural power as the all-powerful God and tried to have a short spray of light for emancipation in and after this world. Those, who believed in this Metaphysical doctrine and worked during their life-period some religious work out of mere belief, were known as devotees but the astronomers have established only the theory of light, creation of the human and plant world and their development, and thus the God of the Philosophers became known as the multi-hued Sun who was invoked by them as “Lead,⁶ unto the light, from the encircling Gloom. That which is born

1. Brhad Aranyaka Upanishd (1—4—10) 2. Bhagavat Gita (Ch VIII, 24, 25)
3. Ahashcha Krishnamaharargunam na partate vayasee vedyabhih
4. Tejomayo jyotimidam purushah 5. Amgushamatrah prosho jyoti-rivadhumakah sada jananam hridisannivishtah.
6. Brihadaranyaka Upanishad 3—7—3 Yah prithiviyam tishtan prithiviyam anjaro ya prithiveem na veda.
7. Tamaso ma jyotirgamaya asato ma sadgamaya.

of the flesh, and that which is born of the spirit is spirit.” This spirit lives in a body of unreality and attains the power of eternity, but this spirit is known as *Mande Purush* (Person in special form) in the Vedic civilization.

The Gita¹ says, “Oh Arjuna, the God moves and remains in the hearts of all animals and resides in *Māyā* like a climber on a machine” but this sloka may be interpreted as if every thing in the animal world is grown due to continuous light from a body who may not be other than the Sun. Like the Vedas, the Upanishads describe the various shapes of the Sun, as “This Agni² heats, This is Surya, This is the cloud, This is Indra, Vayu, Earth, Rayi, Nectar.” This voices the principle of diversity in unity and unity in diversity. This enlightened idea moved like a lightning very quickly in the mind of the Hindus and ultimately it formed the expression of the *Isa Upanishad*. A regular fight continued in the mind but at last they realised as if the Sun is the restrainer of all the worlds and has established the senses in the form of the essence of thousands of objects. The relationship is compared with the affection of the son to his mother. This is voiced in *Prsna³ Upa* 2-12. The idea in Upanishad is not a new one. It has come down from generation to generation and occupied still a prominent place in the *Rig Veda* 6-47-18, “as the one universal symbol of the various forms of the universe, Indra takes up different shapes in different bodies and reveals himself differently in those diverse forms. Though He is essentially one yet through *Māyā* He presents himself in various forms to the devotee, This is also applicable to Rudra or Siva and the real devotees have perceived Him beyond the thick screen of the powerful *Māyā* as the Lord of Destruction. Bliss-nay, the quintessence of Bliss is to be felt only in perfect oblivion of all externals and hence He is the effacement of all out-side stimuli of the sense world.

The Hindus are ordinarily so much connected with the powerful Sun that they decided even to worship him daily in all forms of ceremonial life. They thought that without the Sun for a moment even they are quite unable to move on in the path of darkness. The dark

1. Eswarah sarvabhutanam hrideshojjuna tishtati Brahman sarvabhutani Yantra-rudhani mayaya. 2. Eshogvistaptyesha Surya esha purjunomaghavanesha vayuresha prithiveerayirdeva sadasachamritam cha yat.
3. Pranasyedam vasa sarvam tridive Yatpratishtitam mateva putranakshaswa shreescha prajnam cha vidhehi

path is conceived by them in body, mind and actions. The symbol of the real love to the Sun is expressed by them "Namah savitre jagadēkacha-kshushē jagat prasutisshitināṣahētavē Trayeemayaya triguṇātmadhārine viranjchinārāyanashamkāratmanē" The translation is "My Pranam is to Savitari or the Sun, who is the eye of the world, the cause of the creation and destruction of the world, who has three powers, who carries three different types of soul and who is Brahman, Narayan and Siva." This mantra carries all the essence of the Sun in nut-shell from the view-point of scientists and that of the realisation of the immanent Transcendent Absolute or the Divine ground of all existence to the Philosophers and prophets, In conclusion the function of the supreme Being as the Sun speaks the message of the Vedas, Brahmanas, Upanishads to all the saints of the world and by the bye it is a challenge to the world of the West, the source of all modern scientific inventions and therefore the theory of the Sun is a mystery in reality.

Om S'āntih S'āntih S'āntih.

The Sumandala Copper-plate Inscription of Maharaja Dharmaraja of the time of Sri Prithivi Vighraha (Gupta Era 250 or A.D. 569-570).

Sri Satyanarayana Rajaguru, Asst. Curator, Bhuvaneswar Museum.

Pandit Sri Ananta Tripathi M. A., M. L. A. (Orissa) obtained a set of copper-plate inscriptions, discovered from Sumaṇḍala, a village in the Khallikōṭa Taluk of Gaṇjām.* I was told that Pandit Vasudeva Nanda of Khallikōṭa secured the plates in the year 1948, from Sumaṇḍala which is situated near Jaugada, where is preserved one set of the Rock Edicts of Aśōka that preach the solemn principles of Buddhism to the people of Kalinga. It is also not far from Buguḍā, where there is an old temple of Viranchi-Narayana, the Sun-God, which probably was the family-deity of Mahārāja Dharmaraja, the donor of the present C. P. grant, and whose emblem is found on its seal. Many years back Dr. Hultsch edited the plates of Mādhavarāja alias Sri Sainyābhita of the Śailōdbhava dynasty of Kōṅgada who happened to be a subordinate Chief under one Sasanka and lived in the Gupta Era 300 or A.D. 619-20.

The plates are three in number, each measuring 6 2/5" x 2 4/5". They are hinged in a copper-ring which bears a seal, oval in shape, about 1 1/3" in diameter. It contains an emblem, which is quite new in shape to the localities of Kalinga, Kōṅgada and Tōshali and it resembles the image of the Sun-God, seated on a chariot. A similar emblem is found on the seal of Anjaneri plates of Gurjara king Jaya Bhatta (III) of A.C. 709-10 (Vide Ep Ind. Vol. XXV Pp. 292-6). There is a line of writing just under the said chariot, which could not be deciphered owing to its mutilated condition.

This grant was made by one Maharaja Dharmarāja of "Abhaya" dynasty, who happens to be a subordinate ruler of Sri Prūthivi Vighraha who was the ruler of Kalinga Raṣṭra (kingdom of Kalinga). The above mentioned "Abhaya" dynasty may be the same as the Śailōdbhava dynasty of Kōṅgada, because the suffix "Abhita" attached to the name of each ruler of the Śailōdbhava dynasty is nothing but a synonym of the word "Abhaya". Secondly, Dharmaraja is a familiar name of the Śailōdbhavas and thirdly the locality from which the plates were discovered is within the kingdom of Kōṅgada, and only 50 years after this grant, the famous

*I wrote an article on this Inscription in the Sanskrit Journal „Monorama" edited by Pandit Tripathi. (Vide Vol. I. No. 1 P. 18-24).

grant of Madhavaraja alias Sri Sainyābhita of the time of Śaṣāṅka Raja was made from the same Taluk of Ganjam. If the above conjecture is correct, then we have to search a place for Dharmaraja in the pedigree of the Śailōdbhavas. Most probably he was one of the predecessors of of Mādhavaraja of Gupta era 300. (Vide Ep. Ind. Vol. VI Pp. 143-6). Therefore he may be taken as Ayasobhita (I), father of Madhavaraja or Sri Sainyābhita (I), his ancestor or one living between Ayasobhita (I) and Sri Sainyābhita (I), as per genealogy shown by me in one of my recently published articles on "the two copper-plate charters of the Śailōdhava rulers of Kōṅgada" (Vide J. K. H. R. S. Vol. II, No 1, P. 68).

The present document is very important so far as its date and family epithets are concerned. The date is written in words and the script is so legible that it leaves no doubt in our mind about its correctness. Therefore, if the Gupta Samvat commenced from A.D. 319-320, then our present grant should be assigned to. A.C. 569-570. And the most interesting fact is that at that time Sri Prithivivigraha was the ruler of the kingdom of Kalinga. Many scholars have decided that the Ganga era started in the last part of the 5th century A.D. and Mr. G. Ramadas goes even a century earlier to the above period. Under such circumstances, I fear they have to give up this old notion with regard to the time of commencement of the Ganga rule in Kalinga as we find that for about 400 years they were the uninterrupted rulers of the Kingdom of Kalinga. So, how can we account for Prithivivigraha's designation as "the ruler of Kalinga-Raṣṭra" in A.C. 570 unless we shift from the period as stated above? In my paper on the "Ganga Era," I assigned the time of commencement of that era between A.C. 626-27 (Vide J. K. H. R. S. Vol. I. No. 1 P. 29-50). I hope the present inscription is strongly supporting my contention.

Now coming to the royal Prasasti of Prithivi Vighraha, I have the pleasure to present to my readers the following paper on "The Vighraha dynasty and the dark period of Orissa," which I read at the twelfth session of the Indian History Congress, held at Cuttak on the 26th December, 1949.

THE 'VIGRAHA' DYNASTY And the Dark Period of Orissa (From 570-620 A.D.)

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The dark-age in the history of Orissa begins after Khāravela (2nd. cent. B.C.) and extends till the advent of the Śailōdbhavas of Kōṅgada and the Eastern-Gaṅgas of Kalinga, commencing from the early part of the 7th. cent. A.D. In the time of Aśoka the limits of Kalinga were not confined to the Districts of Gañjām and Vizagapatam, but touched the banks of the Hōḡly towards the North-east. The two edicts of Aśoka, which refer to the Governors of Dhauli or Tōshali on one side and that of Kalinga on the other, were located within a close range between the Dayā and the Rishikulyā in the Districts of Puri and Gañjām, indicating the administrative importance of this tract. The capital forts of these Divisions may be identified with Śisupāla-Gaḍa and Jau gaḍa, the ruins of which are traceable at present in the Districts of Puri and Gañjām. Presumably during the time of Khāravela-Aira of the 'Chaitia' Dynasty the Divisions of Tōshali and Kalinga were ruled under one family though administered from two different centres. The system seems to have been in vogue up to the end of the 'Vighraha' dynasty, (i.e. 620 A.D.) when, at last, the Śailōd-bhavas and the E. Gaṅgas came to rule over them independently. Since then Tōshali and Kalinga received recognition as distinct territorial units until they were amalgamated by Chōḍagaṅga Dēva in the 12th. century A.D.

For administrative convenience Tōshali was divided into two halves under two Sub-Divisions namely 'Uttara-Tōshali' and 'Dakṣhiṇa-Tōshali', and Kalinga into three, and hence known as 'Tri-Kalinga'.

Up till now, we had been in the dark about the 'Vighrahas' who must have played an important role in the annals of Orissa. Fortunately, two sets of C.P. inscriptions came into my hands very recently which throw light about the 'VIGRAHAS', clearing partly the obscurity which had shrouded the history during the 6th and 7th centuries A.D.

The first set was discovered from Kapāḡo, a village in the Puri Dist., and was deciphered by me in the year 1947, for a contribution to the Journal of the Kalinga-Historical-Research- Society, now in the press. It records the grant of a village called Ūrdhva-Sṛu ga in the Saṭida-Vishaya of Dakṣhiṇa-Tōshali, made in favour of the God Maṇi Nāgēśvara

by the Ruler, Bhaṭṭa Mahā Sāmanta Śrī Loka Vighraha, who styled himself as 'Parama Daivatādhi Daivata' and the lord of the eighteen Tōshalis. This grant was made in the Gupta Samvat 280 or A.D. 599-600, which date is mentioned both in words (which are not distinct) and in numerical symbols (which are distinct).

The second set of plates was discovered from Sumaṇḍala, a village in the Khallikōṭa Taluk of Gaṇjām, located near the Chilkā lake. This grant was made in the Gupta Samvat, 250 or A.D. 569-570, described as ("Vartamāna, guptarajyē varsha Satadvayē panchāśaduttarē by one Dharmarāja of 'Abhaya' dynasty, who styled himself as a devout worshipper at the feet of (his over-lord) Mahārāja Śrī Prithivi Vighraha, the ruler of the 'Kaliṅga-Rāshṭra'. This inscription was edited by me in 1949 in the Sanscrit Journal 'Manōrama', published from Berhampur, Gaṇjam Dt.

As there is no indication of the name of the Dynasty to which Śrī Lōkavighraha and Śrī Prithivi vighraha belonged, I propose to call it the 'Vighraha dynasty', since the names of the Rulers end with the suffix of 'Vighraha'. As the phraseological order of the 'Prasasti' or the family epithets as used in both the grants is one and the same, we can unhesitatingly say that Śrī Lōka vighraha of Tōshali and Śrī Prithivi vighraha of Kaliṅga Rāshṭra belonged to the same dynasty. We may also presume that the former might be the son or grand-son of the latter, as the difference between their reigning periods does not exceed 30 years. To supplement this, there is another set of plates found in Gaṇjām, where we get the same 'Prasasti' as used for Śaśāṅka, who happened to be the over-lord of Mādhavarāja of the Śailōdbhava dynasty of Kōṅgada, and who lived in the Gupta Samvat, 300 or in A.D. 619-620 (Vide Ep. Ind. Vol., VI, P. 143-6). These plates were also discovered from the same Khallikōṭa Taluk where the Sumaṇḍala plates of Śrī Prithivi Vighraha have been found. The style of writing of all the three grants is the same; and each inscription bears the date in the Gupta-era, ranging from 250 to 300. So, within a period of 50 years (i.e. from 570 to 600 A.D.) Śrī Prithivi vighraha, Śrī Lōka vighraha and Śrī Śaśāṅka, or, more appropriately, Śrī Śaśāṅka vighraha ruled the country of Kaliṅga, comprising of Tōshali and Kōṅgada.

For a comparative study of their Royal-Prasastis, we quote below the epithets used in each of the aforesaid documents:-

(No. I. The Sumandala Plates)

Om svasti chaturudadhi mēraṇalāyāmsadviparvata sarit pattana bhus-
hañāyām Vartamānē Guptarājyē varshasata dvayē panchāśaduttarē
Kaliṅgarāshṭramanusāsati Śrī Prithivi Vighraha Bhaṭṭārakē.

(No. II. The Kanasa Plates)

Om Svastirjaladhisalilavichi.....pavatāyām Vasumdhārāyām Vartai
mānē Guptakālē Varshasatadvayē sōtduttarē Tosala Yāyashtrā dasadh-
rājyayāparama Daivatādhi Daivata Śrī Loka Vighraha Bhaṭṭa Mahāsāmanta

(No. III. The Ganjam Plates)

Om Svasti chaturudadhi salila vichi nilimāyām sadvipagiri pattana
Vanyām Vasundharāyām Goptāvadevarsha sata trayē Vartamānē
Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Śaśāṅka Rājyē sāsati dharañitālē.

It is a fact known to every student of Indian-History that each Ruling dynasty of Medieval-India had adopted a distinct 'Prasasti' of its own, distinguishing its separate entity, which Prasastis are invariably converted into family insignia of conventional nature denoting some dynastic glories and achievements, having been used by each successive Ruler of that dynasty, from generation to generation, irrespective of any individual credit or merit, capacity or valour. Therefore, it is easy to recognize any dynasty by a mere examination of its 'Prasasti'. Here too we apply the same test to the above mentioned rulers of the Vighraha-dynasty whose 'Prasasti' as translated by Dr. Hultzsch runs thus:-

"While the Gupta-era 300 was current (and) while the Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Śaśāṅka Rāja was ruling over the earth, surrounded by the girdle of the waves of the water of four Oceans, together with Lands, Mountains and Cities,....."

As a matter of fact the present inscriptions of Kañāsa and Sumaṇḍala will decidedly change the outlook of those scholars who believe that Śaśāṅka of the Gaṇjām-grant was the Ruler of the same name of Karnasuvarna. It has also been suggested that he was the great rival of the Mahārāja Harsha Vardhana of Kanauj. According to the Buddhist literature like 'Bōdhisatva-Pitakāvatansaka' and 'Manju-Śrī-Mūlakalpam' Harsha defeated Śaśāṅka and compelled him to confine himself to his own kingdom and prevented him from moving towards the South.

From the above mentioned C.P. Grants of the Rulers of the Vighraha-dynasty it is amply clear that their empire extended from the Kalinga-Rāshṭra to the 18 Sub-Divisions of Tōshali, and several petty Rulers were living under them as Subordinate Chiefs. The Midnāpur Charter No. 1 of Śrī Sāmanta Mahārāja Sōmadatta of Daṇḍabhukti and Utkala; and No. 2 of Mahā Pratihāra Śubhakirti of Daṇḍabhukti admit the over-lordship of Śaśāṅka over Ōdra, Utkala and Daṇḍabhukti (Vide J. R. A. S. B., Vol. XI, P. 1-9). The following Śloka is mentioned in the said charters :-

Kāmārāti s'rō bhrasṭu [Gangōghadhvasta] Kalmashām Śrī Śaśāṅka mahipatī chaturjaladhī mēraṇalām Dr. D.C. Sircar translates this as given below :-

“While the illustrious Śaśāṅka is protecting the earth, whose girdle is formed by the four Oceans; whose sins are washed away by the Ganges fallen from the head of the enemy of the cupid i.e. the Śiva.....”

From the above epithets of Śaśāṅka which tally with those of the documents of the ‘Vighrahas’ there is no room for doubt in our mind for the view that Śaśāṅka of the Ganjām-plates is no other than the Śaśāṅka of the Midnapur-plates. He was the over-lord of Mādhavarāja of Kōṅgada as well as Śubhakirti and Sōmadatta of Ōdra, Utkala and Daṇḍabhukti, that formed the Sub-Divisions of Tōshali. In the circumstances it is simply erroneous to say that Śaśāṅka-Narēndra Gupta, a Mahā-Sāmanta of Karnasuvarna of the Districts of Murshidābād and Burdwān of W. Bēṅāl. was the over-lord of these chieftains of the Ōrissa-Coast. While recently editing two sets of C. P. Inscriptions of the Śailōdbhava dynasty in the J. K. H. R. Society (Vide Vol. II, No. 1, P. 71,) I suggested that the epithets used in the Ganjām-plates “render a picture of the country that was ruled by Śaśāṅka. Kōṅgada, the kingdom of the Śailōdbhavas, which is surrounded by the picturesque-Chilkā-lake and the Bay of Bēṅāl is the capital place on the East-Coast which fully tallies with that description.” It should be borne in mind that Karnasuvarna is a hinterland, about 300 miles far away from the sea.

I have already stated that ancient Kalinga was divided into two administrative Divisions, namely Tōshali and Kalinga, and the whole country was ruled by one dynasty upto the time of Śaśāṅka of the ‘Vighraha’ dynasty. In this connection I like to quote the opinion of Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, who, while editing a Pracrit Inscription found from the

Budhist site of Nāgārjunikōṇḍā in the Madras-Presidency, has rightly observed that “it is very interesting to meet here with the name of Tōshali. It will be remembered that Aśoka's two separate Rock-edicts of Dhāuli are addressed to the Governor and the Magistrates of Tōshali. This enables us to locate Tōshali in Kalinga” (Vide E. I. Vol. II. P'8.)

Although the ‘Vighrahas’ had maintained a powerful suzerainty in Tōshali and Kalinga, the extreme South of Kalinga was under the ‘Mātharas’ or the Vāṣiṣṭhiputras, who continued to rule independently between their despotic and aggressive neighbours viz. the Vākātakās to the West, the ‘Viṣṇukundins’ to the South and the ‘Vighrahas’ to the East. In the first part of the 7th. century A.D. all the above named dynasties suddenly disappeared from history, and their places were occupied by the Eastern Gangās, the Sailōdbhavas, the Eastern Chālukyas and the Pāṇḍuvenśis. What mysterious mishap caused their sudden extinction has not so far been unveiled. I, therefore, venture to sum up all available facts from different sources which may lead us to form some idea in this connection and to arrive at some conclusions on a tentative basis.

Huen Tsang visited the Ōrissa-Coast between A.D. 638-639. Mr. Watters says that “at the time of pilgrim's arrival in these parts, as we learn from the life, this country had been invaded by Silāditya (Harshavardhana), king of Kanauj, and it was then apparently a part of that great sovereign's kingdom.” And again it is known that when he was at Nālandā in A.D 642 and 643 he heard of Harsha's return from his invasion of Kōṅgada (Vide Watters' translation). Harsha's campaigns towards the East-Indian regions are remarkably associated with the name of Śaśāṅka, his great powerful rival.

We know that the king of Mālawa an ally of Śaśāṅka, had attacked Kanauj and killed its king, the husband of Rājyaśrī, the daughter of Prabhākaravardhana. So, Rājyaśrī, the sister of Harsha, escaped to the Vindhyaṭavi. Incensed at wrongs done to his sister, Rājyavardhana led an expedition against Mālawa and annexed it to his dominion. He then proceeded to the conquest of East-India, where he was treacherously murdered by Śaśāṅka. This caused Harsha to march against his enemy. He was crowned with the success of attaining full subjugation of Śaśāṅka's territory. After this he turned his attention to the Deccan, where he faced a great opposition from the Chālukyan Monarch-Satyāśraya Ballabha Mahārāja-Pulakeśin (II) of Bādāmi. A great battle was fought

between the two Indian heroes on the banks of the Narmadā, in which Harsha was defeated and thus the Narmadā formed the southern boundary of his kingdom.

Before this, Pulakēsin led an expedition to the coastal-tracts of Ōrissā, i.e. Kōngada, by the sea-route, with 100 boats and defeated the king of that country.

Considering these events of political importance the sudden extinction of the royal dynasties, namely the Vighrahas, the Māṭharas, the Vishnukundins and the Vākāṭakās from Tōshali Kalinga, Vēngi, and D. Kōṣala respectively, we have ample reason to believe that they were interlinked and exterminated by some catastrophic causes. I give a plausible explanation of the aforesaid events as follows:-

1. That in A.D. 620 the country lying between Midnāpur and Ganjām was under Śaṣāṅka, a powerful monarch of the 'Vighraha' dynasty, who was the over-lord of many subordinate chiefs like Sōmadatta and Subhakti of Dandabhukti and Utkala and Mādhavarāja of Kōngada of D. Tōshali.

2. That for some reason or other Śaṣāṅka, king of the northern half of the East-Coast and Pulakēsin of the South became hostile targets of Harsha and in consequence the latter marched over Kōngada on such a scale that the invasion could not escape the notice of the Chinese pilgrim on or about A.D. 642.

3. That Kōngada being the centre of administration of Śaṣāṅka and his predecessors, the activities of the ruler of Thānēswar were concentrated in that part of the dominion-

4. That the Śailōdbhavas, at first the subordinate chiefs of Kōngada were secretly won over as diplomatic allies of Harsha and after encompassing the ruin of the 'Vighrahas', were rewarded by being raised to the status of independent Rulers.

5. That Pulakēsin II started an invasion of the Ōrissā-Coast probably towards Kōngada after preparation on a large scale and brought with him 100 boats on the Sea-route. It is likely that the contemporary Māṭharas of Kalinga and the Vishnukundins of Vēngi obstructed the marching of his gallant-army through their lands. Since Pulakēsin (II) and Śaṣāṅka were the common enemies of Harsha, they had friendly

relationship with each other. Presumably, Pulakēsin's march over Ōrissā just after the defeat of Śaṣāṅka may be taken as a retaliatory measure against the hostile conduct of the Śailōdbhavas against his friend Śaṣāṅka. But, as Harsha's activities in central India were threatening his own liberty, Pulakēsin could not afford to stay in Kōngada for a longer period to complete the fall of the Śailōdbhavas, but left that country in a chaotic condition by creating bad-blood between Mādhavarāja and Dharmarāja, the two brothers of the Śailōdbhava family, who waged a civil war for the throne.

6. That in order to protect the interests of Mādhavarāja, Mahāśiva Tivara Deva of Dakṣhiṇa Kōṣala took active part in that battle, but sustained a heavy defeat at the hands of Dharmarāja, who afterwards celebrated Vājapēya and Āsvamedha to symbolise his independent regime. Most probably the Vishnukundin king Mādhavarāja of Vēngi collaborated with Dharmarāja to avenge the wrong done by Tivaradēva, and therefore invaded the capital of Dakṣhiṇa-Kōṣala.

It is necessary to mention here that the Vākāṭakās were ruling over the kingdom of Dakṣhiṇa-Kōṣala when the Pāṇḍuvamśus possessed a status no more than that of Subordinate chiefs. From the Nāgpur-inscription of the Vākāṭakas or Śarabhapūrians of D. Kōṣala (vide J.H.Q. Vol. XXI. No. 4. of 1945) it is learnt that Nannadēva, the grandfather of Tivaradēva of the Pāṇḍu Dynasty was only a feudatory chief under Mahā Sudēvarāja, just like Mādhavarāja and Dharmarāja under the 'Vighrahas'. These Vākāṭakas had matrimonial relationship with the Vishnukundins. The Chikkula plates of Vikramēndravarmān (II) of the Vishnukundin dynasty narrate that the said king was an offspring of the two royal dynasties namely the Vishnukundin and Vākāṭaka.

Vishnukundi Vākataka Vamśadvayālamkṛta janmanah Śri Vikramēndra Varmanah. (Vide Ep. Ind. Vol. VI. P. 193, ff.)

So, Madhavavarman, father of Vikramēndravarmān, must have married a Vakataka Princess for which reason he became hostile to the Pāṇḍuvamśi king Tivaradēva who established himself in the D. Kōṣala by betraying the Vakatakas and ignoring their supremacy. Soon after this he secured an alliance with the Maukharis which was subsequently strengthened by the marriage of the Maukhari princess Vāsaṭā with Harshagupta, nephew of Tivaradēva (Vide Ep. Ind. Vol. XXIII, P. 113). This marriage had a political design behind it. The Maukhari king fought against the Andhra king, who was probably a prince of the Vishnukundin dynasty.

Mahā Mahōpādhyāya V. V. Mirashi remarks that "the Maukhari kings Iṣānavarman and Isvaravarman were helped in their Southern campaigns by the Sōmavansi (Panduvansi) kings of D. Kōsala. This also accounts for the Vishnukundin king Mādhavavarman (I)'s invasion and occupation of the capital of Tivara".

The Pulēmbūru and Ipūra grants of Mādhavavarman (Vide Jour. Dept. Lett., Vol-XI, P. 31; and Ep. Ind. Vol, XVII, P. 333-37) narrate the following epithets:-

Trivaranagara bhavanagata paramayuvālojana viharasāratih.

This indicates that Mādhavavarman had not only captured the city of Tivara, but also committed atrocities like abducting or assaulting the womenfolk of that place. The defeat of Tivara in Kōngada at the hands of Dharmaraja and the invasion of Mādhavavarman over the capital town of Tivara in D. Kōsala might have taken place in one and the same period. Hence he sustained a heavy loss. To avenge the atrocities of the Vishnukundins, Tivara must have sought the help of his neighbour and ally, the Maukhari king, who immediately responded to his call. The combined forces of the Maukharis and the Panduvansis achieved a great success against the Āndhras. This attempt of Tivara tempted the ambitious king Pulakēsin (II) of Badami whose intention was to absorb the kingdom of the Vishnukundins into his own; and therefore he must have readily assisted the Panduvansis and the Maukharis. More over there existed hostility between the Chālukyas and the kings of D. Kōsala. From the Vadner-plates (Vide EP. IND. Vol. XII, P. 30) we learn that Manglāsa, the uncle of Pulakēsin (II), destroyed a Mātanga Tribe, and in A.D. 609 defeated one Buddharaja in Maha Kōsala. Any way the attempts of this confederation had not only fulfilled the objects of Pulakēsin (II) but also secured for him the friendship of the Rulers of Central India who extended their reciprocal help when he faced his powerful enemy-Maharaja Harshavardhana on the battle-field on the bank of the Narmada. The Vishnukundins might have been helped by the Mātharas of Kalinga; but owing to their inadequate powers of resistance against aggressive Maukharis, the Panduvansis and the Chālukyas they were completely destroyed and became extinct, in consequence of which Vengi fell into the hands of the Chālukyas, and Vishama Siddhi Kubja Vishnuvardhana, brother of Pulakēsin (II), was made its Governor, when Pulakēsin's own son Ādityavarman held sway in the South, in the Districts of Nellore and Kurnool (Vide A.S., Vol. XVI, P. 223). It is

learnt from the Chālukyan records that Vishnuvardha lived upto A.D. 633. Therefore the above mentioned raid against the Vishnukundins must have been accomplished before that date. The Vasistiputras or the Mātharas, who were very powerful in the middle part of the 6th. century A.D. were reduced to extinction

In A.D. 541 one Prabhanjanavarman, son of S'aktivarman and grand son of S'ankaravarman of the Māthara dynasty of Simhapura styled himself as the monarch of the country lying between the Mahanadi and the Krishnaveni. The epithet runs thus:-

Svasti Vijaya siddhapurāt Bhagavat Swāmi Narayana Padānūdhyaṭah Mātharakula kirthi Vardhana karah sri Samkara Varmaṇō pautraṇi Kṛṣṇa Vēnyā mahānadyāntara sthā Prajā dharmēṇānusaṣana sri sakti varmano putrah Svakutā lam karishme sasakala Kalīngadhi patih sri Mahārāja Prabhanjana Varmā.

This inscription contains a date in words as:-

"Samvatsarikakara phanāgra s'atau dvau"

which is equal to the number 222, and it may be taken as the Gupta-Samvat which was then current in this part of India. So, Prabhanjana varman lived in A.D. 541-42 just about 30 years before Sri Prithivi Vighraha who called himself the Ruler of the 'Kalinga-Rāshṭra'. Dr. G. Jevreau Dubreuil opines that "the Vishnukundin kings seem to have annexed the Districts of Gōdāvari and Vizagapatam, and driven the kings of Kalinga to the North. In fact, the capital of the kings of Kalinga which was Pithāpuram at the time of Mahendra and Vasistiputra S'aktivarman seems to have been transferred further North to Sārapalli and Simhapura after the Vishnukundins captured Pithāpuram. This event probably took place in the first quarter of the 6th. century A.D." (Vide 'Ancient History of Deccan, P. 91) But we are not able to share this view since towards the middle of the 6th century A.D. there is a clear indication that the Vāsistiputras had expanded their territory as far as the river Krishnaveni, to the South. And there is no evidence to say that they fought against the Vishnukundins during the early part of the 7th. century A.D. On the other hand we find records to prove that the Eastern-Gangas established their sway in Kalinga in that period when the Eastern Chālukyas occupied the throne of the Vishnukundins at Vengi. In this connection I agree with Mr. R. C. Panchamukhi who remarks that "the date of Pulēmbūru grant of the Vishnukundin king is A.D. 621, as 594 is too early to be the 48th. year of the king who was defeated in A. D. 631 by Pulakē

sin II or his brother Vishnuvardhana. As Pulakēsin's conquests of Kalinga, Pithāpuram, Kunāla and Kānchipura recorded in V. V. 26 or 27 of the Āihōle- Inscription (Ep. Ind. Vol. VI, P.6.) were effected in one and the same expedition, and as Vishnuvardhana was the Governor of Vengi from C. 616 to 633 (Vide 1. H. Q., Vol. VIII, P. 442) it seems very likely that the Vishnukundins were ousted by the Chālukyas in C. 615".

In one of my papers on 'The Ganga-Era', I tried to prove that the family era of the E. Gangas of Kalinga started from A.D. 626-27 on various considerations (J.K.H.R.S., Vol. I, No. 1, p.29-50). Recently I got two copper-plate inscriptions relating to the E. Gangas and the E. Kadambas of Kalinga which I have contributed for publication in the Journal of the Bihar Research Society, and it is now in the press. I have proved in that paper that the era, as previously calculated by me, had started from the early part of the 7th. century A.D., since Udayakhedi, son of Ugrakhedi and grandson of Dharmakhedi of the Kadamba family was recorded to be a contemporary chief under the Ganga king Anantavarman Vajrahasta, son of Bhupendrarman, who lived in the Ganga-era 383. So' it is clear that Dharmakhedi, grand-father of Udayakhedi, (G. E. 383) must have lived much earlier than that date. And Dharmakhedi's Mandsa grant contains a date in Sakābda:- "Nava-Sātaka-sapta-rasa-mita" which has already been interpreted as S. S. 900 plus 13, equal to A. D. 991. Now, according to my calculation, the year 383 of the Ganga.Samvat falls in 1009 A.D. So, there is a clear difference of 16 years between the Mandsa grant of Dharmakhedi and the ruling period of his grandson Udayakhedi. Any way it is not our object here to go into details about this controversial topic, but just to keep in mind the plausibility of my fixing the period of the commencement of the Ganga-rule in Kalinga.

As for the time of Mahāsiva Tivaradēva, it has been fixed in the 7th. century A.D. on a consideration of Palaeography (Vide Ep. Ind. Vol. XXVI, p. 227-30), because similar box-headed type of scripts were used in the plates of Tivaradēva, Mahāsudēvarāja of D. Kōsala and Indrarman of Kalinganagara of Ganga-era 39. The styles of the 'Prasastis' of Tivaradēva and Mādhavarman (of Vēngi) are mere imitations of the gorgeous vocabulary adopted in the 'Kādambari' composed by Bāṇabhaṭṭa, the court-poet of Harshavardhana. Some scholars have rightly observed that Mahāsiva Tivaradēva or his successor must have been the ruling king when Hiuen Tsang visited D. Kōsala (vide Ep. Ind. Vol. XXIII, P. 118.)

The Chinese traveller came to Kalinga in or about A.D. 638-39. He remarked that it was previously destroyed and depopulated on account of some superhuman calamity. He attributed the cause of that great devastation to the imprecation of a hermit. But at the time of his visit resurrection of Kalinga was in progress. The hint left by him in the account without blaming any political aggressive party is nevertheless a careful omission of the cruel deeds of some Royal dynasties, then in power. Be that as it may, we know that that was the period when the Mātharas of Kalinga and the Vishnukundins that of Vēngi became extinct. As we have already said the Gangās started their rule in Kalinga in A.D. 626, some 13 years before Huen Tsang visited this part. So, the downfall of Kalinga with her Ruler of the Vāsistiputra family was fresh in the memory of the people. And it should be pointed out that the Chālukyas established their rule over Vēngi some time before A.D. 633; most probably in the same period when the Gangas captured Kalinga. Therefore it may be surmised that their conjoined forces uprooted the Vāsistiputras as well as the Vishnukundins from their respective seats of Government.

The Ganjām-plates of Mādhavarāja of Kōngada, which were incised in A.D. 629 mention the name of Śrīśāṅka, who happened to be a powerful monarch of the country lying between the Districts of Midnāpur and Ganjām, comprising Kōngada and Tōshali and also a portion of Kalinga. But in A.D. 638 Huen Tsang described Kōngada as a separate principality ruled by a powerful monarch whose "gallant army kept the neighbouring countries in awe" (vide Watters' Translation, P.335). Therefore it is quite apparent that the Śaiōdibhavas snatched away that kingdom from the hands of the Vighras and firmly established their sway by the time of Huen Tsang's visit (A.D.638). But owing to some internal difficulties or interference of Pulakēsin (II) in Kōngada, as I have stated before, Harsha had necessarily marched over it some time in A.D. 642 and 643 when the pilgrim was residing in Nālanda.

The Godāvāri-plates of Rāja Prithivimūl (Vide J.R.A.S., (Bom.Br) Vol. IXVI, P.114-20 ff) fully corroborate the presumption drawn above. It records that the grant was made in the 'Pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsara' 25 by one Indrādhirāja who was the dear son of Mitavarman, of the 'Dvijātyanvaya' or the Brahmin family and who having been mounted on the elephant named Supratika, i.e, the DigGaja of the North-East quarter overthrew the elephant Kumuda of the South-west quarter. on, which rode king named Indrabhattāraka. Dr.Fleet, while editing this charter identified the former Indrādhirāja with

the Eastern-Ganga king Indravarman of Kalinganagara, and the latter king Indrabhattāraka with the king of the Eastern-Chālukya dynasty who was the son of Kubja Vishnuvardhana. But Prof. Subba Rao and other scholars have identified him with the king of the same name who belonged to the Vishnukundin dynasty, which inference seems to be more plausible in the face of the contemporary events that we have stated before. If the date contained in this inscription is taken as the family era of the Gangas, then, according to my calculation, it will be equal to A.D. (626-25-1651, when the E. Chālukyas had firmly established their sway in Vēngi-wherefrom the said plates were discovered. It was, therefore, not safe on the part of the writer to narrate such trifling event in a public charter defying any member of a ruling house, then in power. Since the E. Chālukyas were at the height of glory in Vēngi at that time, we have to accept the theory of Prof. Subbarao, who identified Indrabhattāraka of the battle of Gōd-āvari with the king of the same name who belonged to the Vishnukundin-family. Probably this was the battle organised against the Vishnukundins in which joined Pulakēṣin(II) together with the Pāṇḍuvansis and the Maukharis of central-India, as stated above, to present a strong battle front against the Ruler of Kanauj-the Great Harshavardhana. And as a token of his glory in that fateful battle Indravarman of the gangā-dynasty was bestowed the recognition of the Lordship of Kalinga while the Śailōdbhavas found their position insecure due to the compromise between the Gaṅgas and the Pāṇḍuvansis, as Tivaraḍēva happened to be a bitter enemy of Dharmarāja of Kōṅgada. Most probably the Śailōdbhava supremacy faded away from Kōṅgada in no time. Opportunity offered itself to the Bhaunakaras to establish their sway in the whole of Tōṣṭālī-Kingdom, on which Kōṅgada was again turned into a Sub-Division, throwing the fact of the surviving members of the Śailōdbhava family into the darkness of uncertainty.

A RASHTRAKUTA RULING FAMILY IN ORISSA

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The word *rashtrakūṭa*, as an official designation probably meaning head of a *rāṣṭra*. (a small district of a kingdom) (cf. *grāmakūṭa* meaning 'head of a village'), is often found in the copperplate charters of certain rulers of Kanarese origin in the usual list of officials and others addressed by kings while making grants of land. In ancient and medieval India, such official designations are known to have very often become stereotyped as family names. Out of hundreds of such cases, a few, viz., *Desāi* (= Sanskrit *Desādhipati*), *Mahāpātra*, *Niyogi*, *Rājaguru*, *Senāpati*, *Majumdār* (from *Mājmuadār*), *Mirbahar*, etc., may be quoted here by way of illustration. It is also wellknown that *Peshvā* was originally the official designation of a minister of the Maratha rulers of *ṣivājī's* house but that it gradually became stereotyped as a family name and that the *Peshvās* did not give it up even when they came to be independent or even imperial rulers. An ancient Indian instance of exactly the same kind is that of the well-known *Pratihāra* emperors whose dynastic name was apparently derived from the official designation *pratihāra*, i. e., 'guardian of the palace gate.' The designation *rāshtrakūṭa* was also similarly stereotyped and a number of *Rāshtrakūṭa* royal families, later called *Rāthod* (through Prakrit *Raṭṭhauda*), is known to have ruled in different parts of India. So long however no *Rāshtrakūṭa* royal family could be traced in Orissa. Evidence regarding the existence of a feudatory family of *Rāshtrakūṭa* rulers in early-medieval Orissa has recently come to light.

About the end of November, 1950, I visited the Ghumsur tāluk of the Ganjam District of Orissa in search of inscriptions. I met Mr. D.P. Tripathi, Revenue Divisional Officer of Ghumsur, at Russelkonda on the 27th November. Mr. Tripathi casually told me that a copperplate inscription had been secured by Mr. B.S. Mahanti, now Revenue Secretary of the Orissa Government, when he was serving as Subdivisional Officer at Bargarh in the Sambalpur district of Orissa. I at once wrote to Mr. Mahanti requesting him to lend me the inscription for examination for a few weeks only. Mr. Mahanti kindly responded to my request and the inscription reached me about the middle of March, 1951. On examination, it was found that the inscription records a grant of land made in favour of a *Brāhmaṇa* by a feudatory ruler of the *Rāshtrakūṭa* dynasty holding sway over part of Orissa about the twelfth century A. D.

The charter may be assigned to a date about the twelfth century on palaeographical grounds. It is dated in Samvat 56 which is either to be referred to the regnal reckoning of the issuer of the charter or to the

Chālukya-Vikrama era of 1076 A. D. In the latter case, the date of our inscription would correspond to 1131-32 A.D. It was issued by the Rānaka Parachakrasalya who was the son of Dhamsaka Dhvamsaka? and the grandson of the Mahāmaṇḍalesvara Mahāmāṇḍalika Rānaka Chamara-vigraha (Chāmaravigraha?) it is possible to suggest that Dhamsaka, who is mentioned without any epithet, predeceased his father and that Chamara-vigraha was succeeded by his grandson Parachakrasalya. No overlord of these feudatory rulers has been mentioned in the inscription. But their titles quoted above, together with the epithet samadhigatāśeṣa-mahāśabd-āvali-vandita attributed to Chamara-vigraha, point undoubtedly to their subordinate position. Chamara-vigraha is described as a devotee of the god Mahesvara and as Rāshtrakūṭamala-kula-tilaka, i. e., 'an ornament of the pure family of the Rāshtrakūṭas'. The seal of the charter bears the figure of a Garuḍa in spite of the Śaiva faith followed by the family. Another interesting epithet of this ruler is Lāṭalora-vinirggata which shows that the family claimed to have hailed from a locality called Lāṭalora. There is no doubt that this epithet refers to the city of Lattalura, otherwise called Lattalūr, Lattanūr, Latalaura, etc., which was the traditional home of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Southern India. We know that the imperial Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa often called themselves Lattalura-pura-paramesvara (Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 220) and the Raṭṭa chieftains of Saundatti usually described themselves as Lattalūr-pura-var-esvara or Lattanur-pura-var-esvara (cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 165, 248), while Mahāsāmanta Dhāḍi-bhaḍḍaka of the Mahā-Rāshtrakūṭa family, who was a feudatory of the Western Chālukya emperor Vikramāditya VI (1076-1127 A.D.), is described as 'emigrated from Latalaura' (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, part ii, p. 384, note 4) exactly as Chamara-vigraha in the inscription under review.

The Rāshtrakūṭas of the Deccan had the pāli-dhvaja, oka-ketu and garuḍa-lāṅchhnana (Bombay Gaz., op. cit., p. 387), while Rāshtrakūṭa Chamara-javigraha of Orissa is called Garuḍa-darppana-dhvaja. The fact that the Rāshtrakūṭas of the Deccan were heralded in public by the musical instrument called tivili (called trivale, trivali or trivali in the records of the Raṭṭas of Saundatti) explains Chamara-vigraha's epithet trivali-turya-rava-trāsit-ārāti-chakra. Chamara-vigraha is further called sveta-chhatra and pāta-chāmara.

From what has been said above about the description of Rāshtrakūṭa Chamara-vigraha in the record under discussion, it may be suspected

whether he had anything really to do with Orissa. Such a doubt however is completely set at rest by his typical epithet ashtāḍasa-ghatta-Gondram-ādhipati. We know that the title 'lord of all the Gondramas' or 'lord of the eighteen gondramas' was claimed by many early rulers of the Orissan region. The 'eighteen Gondramas' are supposed to be the same as the modern Oriya athara-gaḍa-jāta vaguely referring to the native states recently merged in the state or province of Orissa. The earliest reference to these 'eighteen states' seems to be found in the kanas plate of Lokavigraha, dated in the Gupta year 280. (599-600 A.D.) which speaks of the Tosali kingdom (the Balasore-Cuttack-Puri region) as consisting of 'eighteen forest kingdoms'. A faulty text of this inscription has recently been published in J. K. H. R. S., Vol. II-III, pp. 262 ff. and a revised transcript is being published in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

The charter of Rāshtrakūṭa Parachakrasalya was issued from Vāghara Roṭṭa which was certainly the name of a fort. There is no doubt that Vāghara-Roṭṭa, apparently the headquarters of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Orissa, was situated somewhere in Orissa. But I have not as yet been able to identify the locality satisfactorily. The gift village is called Saledā-grāma without mentioning the name of the district in which it was situated. This is probably because the dominions of the feudatory Rāshtrakūṭas of Vāghara-Roṭṭa comprised only a small territory. The location of Saledā-grāma as yet remains uncertain.

The advent of these Rāshtrakūṭas of Kanarese origin in Orissa, like that of the Kanarese Senas in Bengal and of the Karnāṭaka dynasty in Mithilā as well as of the Telugu-Choḍas in South Kosala, seems to have been connected with the eastern expeditions led by Chālukya Vikramāditya VI sometime before 1063 A.D. (Bombay Gaz., op. cit., p. 442).

Kalāprapūrṇa Dr. C. Narayana Rao, M.A. L. T., P. H. D.

It gives me the greatest happiness and pleasure to contribute this article to the Shastipurti volume published by my Andhra Historical Research Society in honour of and in appreciation of the glorious and meritorious services of my dear friend and brother in service Sri Rallabandi Subba Rao Pantulu Garu.

I know Sri Subba Rao as an asset to the Andhra Desa. I honour him as a real Nation builder. Hitherto only politicians had the privilege of claiming that unmerited distinction. But they shone in the reflected light of those who laboured for the advancement of culture. Culture cements and keeps intact national traditions and national achievements while politics divides and brings about a set back. We honour builders of institutions more than individuals. Many have laboured in the field of culture but few have built up institutions that lasted to the present day. When the Andhra Historical Research Society was started in 1922, we were only four in number. Of them Sri Chilukuri Veerabhadra Rao Garu is no more. Myself, Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma and Sri Bhavaraju Venkata Krishna Rao Garu left Rajahmundry. The task of continuing the activities of the Society fell on the shoulders of its energetic Secretary Sri Rallabandi Subba Rao. Since that day he worked for the advancement of the Society with single-minded devotion and brought it to an eminence which has become the envy of sister institutions elsewhere in the world. It is, therefore, fitting and proper that the Andhra Historical Research Society should honour its Secretary on this his 61st Birth day in appreciation of nearly thirty years of unceasing service rendered by Sri Subba Rao to the Society.

There have been many others who worked for the advancement of Historical Research in Andhra Desa. On an occasion like this it is necessary to recall their memories. Sri Chilukuri Veerabhadra Rao, K. V. Lakshmana Rao, Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu and G. V. Ramamurthi Pantulu, these are revered and respected names where Historical Research is talked of. It is in their foot-steps that we of this generation have worked in the hope that enthusiastic young men will continue to carry on the work started by their illustrious fore-runners in the field.

Shastipurthi means the completion of sixty years. This completion may be of individuals or institutions. When it is the Shastipurti of an institution, we call it its Diamond Jubilee. In the case of individuals, the event has carried a special significance in Hindu Society.

Sixty seems to be a mystic figure. It has been adopted for calculations of various sorts. Dasaratha is said to have reigned for 60,000 years and Viswamitra too have performed penance for the same period. According to Hindu calculations, 60 vi-ghatikas make a Ghatika. 60 Ghatikas make a day. 60 days make a *Ruthu* or season. 60 *Ruthus* make a *Dasa* or Decade. 60 Decades make a *Shasti* or sixty years.

The system of counting has varied in different parts of the world. In India itself there are many such systems. In Andhra they count by twos (Jōḍū), fours (punji), by tens (Padi), by twentyfives (Pāthika), by eighties (Panam), by hundreds (Nūru), and by thousands (Veyyi). It is said that the system of counting by tens and making use of the cipher for easy calculations was first invented by the Hindus and adopted throughout the rest of the then civilized world. The Romans had at first only 10 months in the year. Then came the method of counting by twelves or the duodecimal system which replaced the decimal method. The sexi-decimal or counting by sixties seems to have been also an ancient one. Especially the counting of years in groups of sixty seems to have been based on astronomical grounds. It is called the Brihaspati's Cycle.

We do not know the origin or the first use of this Cycle. Epigraphically, we meet with it at a late stage. We meet with years named in the Brihaspathi Cycle for the first time in the inscriptions of the Vijayanagara Period of Andhra History. It seems to me that it was the Vijayanagara Emperors that gave vogue to the Brihaspathi Cycle of sixty years as well as the Śalivāhana Saka for the first time, and both of these have continued in practice in Andhra to the present day.

We do not know why the years of the Brihaspathi Cycle were so named. They begin with Prabhava and end with Kshaya which they call Akshaya to avoid the suggestion of in-auspiciousness. Prabhava means creation and Kshaya means destruction and in between creation and destruction lies the directive and dynamic progress of the world. The names of the years suggest the ups and downs of human life in all its variety. Of these names some may have been named after great personalities who have carved out names for themselves in Indian History. Of these the name of Srimukha the seventh in the Brihaspathi Cycle of years is very important for the Andhras for, it appears to me to have been named after the first great Andhra Emperor of the Śathavahana Dynasty. He was known by various names Kshudraka, Sudraka, Sipraka, Sindhuka and so on. But the inscriptions confirm the name of Srimukha which is also borne out by the coins of the period. So, whatever may

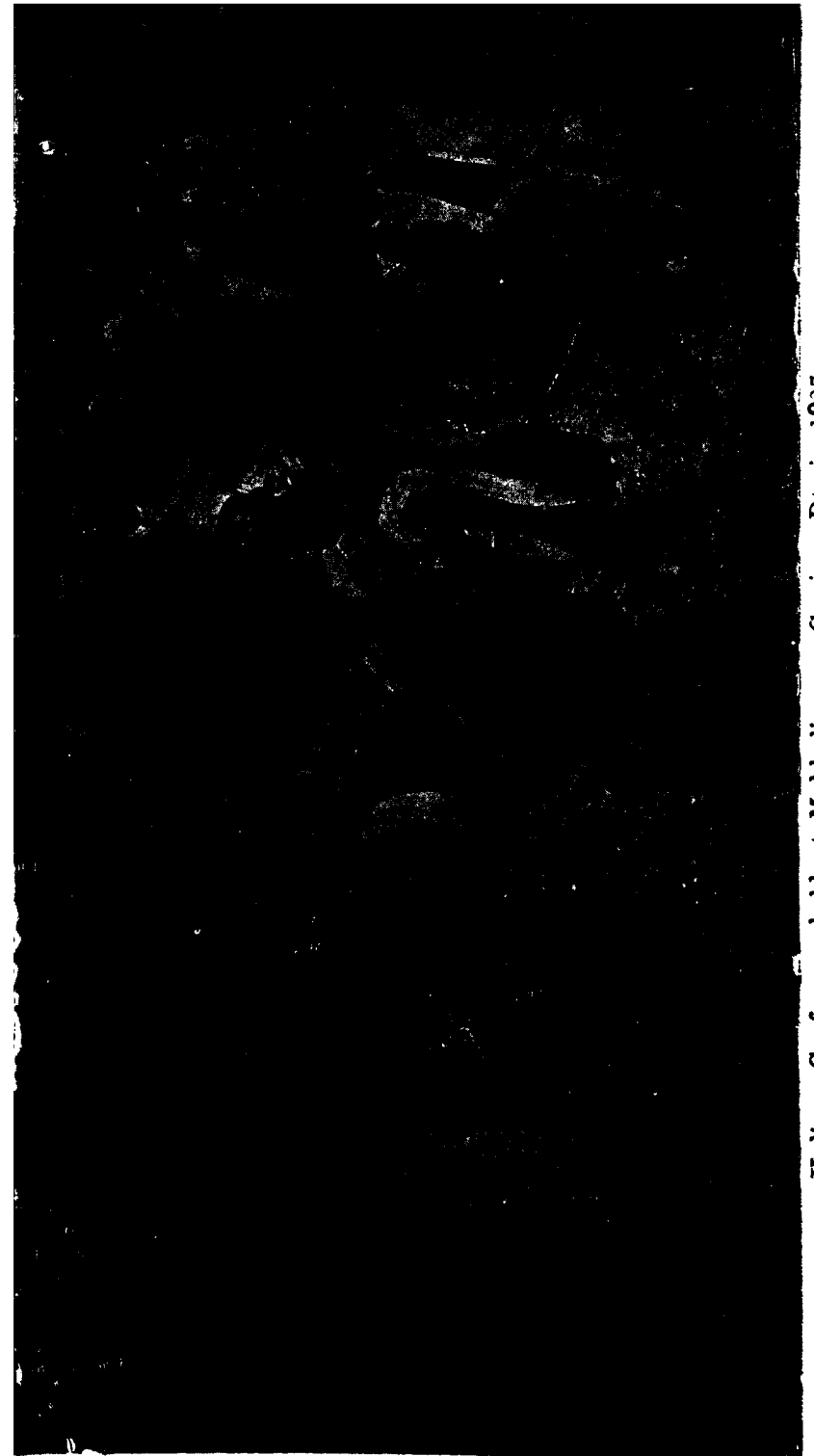
have been the source for the other names of the years in the Brihaspathi Cycle, the Andhras can certainly claim their contribution to this system of counting years.

The Brihaspathi system came into existence on the calculation of the period of sixty years during which Jupiter is believed to complete its journey through the twelve signs of the zodiac. If this is so, there must have been other cycles named after the other planets which also completed their cycles in the zodiac. But such systems do not seem now to be extant. The Brihaspathi Cycle perhaps had its origin in North India and migrated to the South - the South with the different names that were given to the several years in it. The Chandramāna system current in Andhra Desa also was blended with the Sathavahana Era and the Brihaspatgi Cycle of years. This new blend is found in operation in Andhra since the time of the early Vijayanagara Emperors and has continued to the present day.

Whatever may be the mystic value of the number sixty, a person born in a particular year of the Brihaspathi cycle will have completed sixty years of age by the time the year of that name begins again. He will then have completed one round of life and be ready for the next round of sixty years., so that by the time he completes his sixtieth year or Shasti he is promised another span of life of sixty years.

Two rounds of Shastis make hundred and twenty years and that is the period of life that is vouchsafed by the Veda to every individual who has led a disciplined life. There are instances of people who began their third round of sixty also- There are no instances wanting of memories of longevity of a longer duration too. In fact, the Puranas speak of people who have lived for thousands of years. The Sastras never cease to talk about an eternal life. The aspiration of the Hindu Yogi has always been to attain the life eternal. But as the human experience goes, 120 years seem to be the longest period during which one could lead a healthy life devoid of decrepitude and old age; nor does it seem worth-while to live longer. That is why the Upanishads desire for man a life of a hundred years, Satam Jeevi.

If a hundred years is the span of human life, 50 will be man's middle age, and if 120 is the duration, 60 will be the turning point from the zenith of life. That will be a sign-post for the individual to devote





Kakatiya Conference held at Warrangal, Hyderabad State in 1932.
Organised and opened by Prof. R. Subba Rao, Hon. General Secretary.

at thirty he is settled in life, at forty he begins to get long sight, and fails to discern things near to him, at fifty he starts becoming stereo-typed and convictions are completely formed, and at sixty he is ready to act on those convictions and work for their fulfilment,

Man's life is full of crises. He is surrounded by so many enemies that it is a wonder how he wriggles out of the dangerous situations which surround him at every step. He seems to live only by ascident. While this is so, there seem to exist certain stages in a man's life which are really points of crisis. A thousand ghatikas, a thousand days, a thousand weeks, and a thousand months appear to mark these points of crises. Yet since sixty marks the turning point in man's life they attach much importance to certain stages from this time onwards and to avoid mishaps the Sastras have prescribed certain ceremonies for the pacification of several grahas (Planets) and the several *Devatas* (Gods) that control human life. The pacificatory ceremony performed at sixty years of age is called *Ugra-ratha-sānti*. There is another crisis at seventy and the ceremony then performed is called the *Bhima-ratha-Santi*. There is another crisis at the age of 78 years and 6 months, and the ceremony then performed is the *Vijaya-ratha-sānti*. When man has completed one thousand lunations or 83 years and 4 months he is called a *Sahasramāsa-jeevi*. One who has survived this age is sure to make his century in this game of life. Such people seem to be rather rare and during the last 5 or 6 years, I have made it a hobby of interviewing people who have either reached or passed their century mark. I have met more than twenty of this age who are still keeping their mental vigour though their physical strength is gradually failing them. I questioned some of them about the secret of their long life. Some of them replied that it lay in their not worrying about what happened to their aspirations and efforts and in taking the results, good or bad, as they came. Others replied that it lay in worrying themselves incessantly and in aiming at fresher conquests as each of their aims were attained. But between these two there was this common ground viz. that they never worry themselves about their own physical existence. The physical frame would will last, they said, as long as it was destined to and there was no use of trying to know when it would end. But efforts, incessant and unwearying are the things that keep a man fit and equip him for the life eternal, for life does not cease with the shuffling of this mortal coil, it extends far beyond. It lasts as long as the memory of his selfless work endures in this world.

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the second round of life for purposes wider than that for which he had laboured for private ends in the first round. That is the beginning of the Vānaprastha Āsrama and selfless activity.

There are some who doubt if man can live to a 100 years. But there is no reason to disbelieve the possibility of living to a hundred years though no purpose may be served by living to that age. So, the best part of man's life at which selfless work is to begin at the age of sixty and thus Shastipoorthi acquires a special significance. But generally people begin to despair about their future after sixty years of age. Even the Bible envisages only a life of sixty years and gives a concession of ten years more by keeping the span of life as three score years and ten. The Telugu proverb says "what should I do at sixty except going to school in the place of eating the earth?" At sixty a man loses his senses and dementia begins. "Aravai-ellaku-arulu marulu." In Andhra they make fun of people who begin to learn things at the age of sixty. At sixty, the proverb goes, it seems Appam Bhatlu begins learning to stand and lisping the words Papa, and Mama. Grand-children play pranks with their grandfathers of this age and it is really an opportunity for people who have attained this age to amuse themselves in the company of these young urchins and at the same time by giving them inspiration by engaging themselves in selfless activity.

Not only the Velas but the planets also forecast for men a life of 120 years. The Mahādasas periods of the nine planets, Ravi, Chandra, Kuja, Rāhu, Jva, Manda, Budha, Kēthu and Sukra total up to one hundred and twenty years, and man's life passes through all these Mahā Dasas so that by the time one round of the planetary migrations through the twelve signs of the zodiac is completed, the man will have also finished 120 years of life. Of the above nine planets, the first five viz.. Ravi with six years, Chandra with ten years, Kuja with seven years, Rahu with eighteen and Manda with nineteen make up the first half of sixty years while the other four Maha Dasas make up the other half. Moreover, *Gruhavāstu* prescribes a life of one hundred and twenty years to a well-built house, its life will be co-terminous with that of the builder thereof. Even on this basis, sixty will be a middle life for a man who is at the height of a vigorously spent life.

While this is so, there is also the system of counting periods of life by decades. Thus, a period of a hundred years is divided into 10 decades and 120 years into 12. According to this, at the age of ten, a child begins to know right from wrong, at twenty he begins to attain maturity,

The Shashti-pūrti ceremony is, as I said, a very important one. Certain ceremonies are gone through therein which bestow on an individual second life. The last ceremonies are performed and he is made to be born again. All the rest of the 15 *Saṁskāras* are once more gone through and he is even married again to his old wife so that both of them may enter on this new life of service to humanity.

It is not necessary to dilate upon the details of ritual that are gone through in the Shashtipūrti ceremony but it is enough if we keep in our memories the lives of the Chiranjivins who are said to be seven in number according to the Purānas. They are Āswathāma, Kripa, Vyāsa, Hanumān Vibhishana, Bali and Paraśurāma. To this list the names of Prahlada and Markandeya are added, taking the number of Chiranjivins to be nine. All these are remembered and are meant to be remembered for the selfless service for which they are renowned. There is scope yet for others to claim a place in this galaxy, and it can be attained by walking in the foot-steps which they have chalked out for all aspirants.

I close this address with the Vedic Benediction wishing Sri Rallabandy Subba Rao long life, a long life of useful service.

By Sri T. N. Ramachandran, M. A.
Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, E. C, Calcutta.

The epoch-making excavations of Mohen-jō-daro and Harappa have only exposed glaringly a long gap between the Indus valley civilization of the third-second millennia B. C. and the civilization of the early historical period (4th century B.C.). The age prior to Asoka which Dr. V.A. Smith chose to call a "dark age" had to be enlightened. In 1945 Dr. Wheeler wanted us to search for sites having the remains of the Harappa culture at the bottom and the remains of the early historical period at the top *with continuous occupation between the two*. The problem was not so easy of solution as he wanted us to believe, as such sites were not readily known. The alternative was to dig as many sites as possible all over our sub-continent and group them into two classes: (1) sites with the remains of the Harappa culture at the bottom and of later cultures overlying them and (2) sites with the remains of early historical period at the top and of earlier cultures underlying them. Thus, with two fixed points, one at the bottom and the other at the top of the chronological scale, and working from the known to the unknown, in the former series upwards, and in the latter series downwards, it would be possible to build up a sequence of the various cultures that can go into the gap. This plan of action was inaugurated by Dr. Wheeler in December 1944 and excavations were mostly done under his guidance in Taxila, Harappa, Arikamedu, Brahmagiri and Sisupalgarh.

Coin-evidence, which was our main hope, became very poor and rare the farther we got into the period before Christ. It was found, however, that the "culture sequence" can safely be based on the evidence of *pottery* and in some cases of other industries also. *Pottery* is aptly called the "alphabet of Archaeology" and *Beads* are termed "the type-fossil of the Prehistoric period." Arikamedu near Pondichery gave a satisfactory starting point of the study of Ceramic stratigraphy of early historical sites. The local ceramic industries were classified on the basis of their stratigraphical relationship with a special type of Mediterranean Ware called *Arretine* imported into India between 20-50 A.D. Such were a number of dishes bearing on the inside concentric rings of "rouletted pattern," a design characteristic of the *Arretine* and evidently borrowed from it. The excavations at Brahmagiri (Mysore) in 1947, also yielded this "rouletted ware" which provided a datum-line, so to say, for the local Andhra, Megalith and Stone-age cultures.

*A Lecture delivered by Sri T. N. Ramachandran in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, on second February, 1951.

Before retiring in April 1948, Dr. Wheeler summarised the next course as follows:-

"The Brahmagiri excavations have already extended the Arikamedu results 300 miles northwards into the heart of the Deccan plateau. There they link up with (unpublished) work carried out by the Hyderabad State Archaeological Department at Kondapur, Maski and elsewhere in the Nizam's Dominions. On the Eastern side, the finding both of *rouletted* and of Andhra painted sherds on the site of the famous Andhra capital of Amaravati, in the Guntur District, points the need on this as on other grounds of ascertaining the culture sequence at this site. Here again the alleged discovery of Roman coins holds out the possibility of precisely dated collateral evidence; and the known presence of an urn-field, representing a non-Andhra culture, offers further potentialities of an important kind. *Having systematized Amaravati*, our next step on this side is to find another major town-site which may be expected to carry our evidence northwards. Here I commend the site of Sisupalgarh, at Bhuvanesvar in Orissa possibly the ancient Tosali of the Kalingas, and certainly a site of outstanding importance. Its considerable distance (over 400 miles) from Amaravati may be offset against the ease of coastal intercommunication, and I confidently anticipate recognisable cultural links between the two sites. The proposed eastern sequence, then, is, *first, Amaravati; second, Sisupalgarh.*"

But the evidence furnished by Arikamedu near Pondichery and Brahmagiri in Mysore particularly on the ceramic side, created an enthusiasm and zeal in Dr. Wheeler's successors so as to forget Amaravati and leap on [Maṇḍūkāplutya] to Sisupalgarh first. Excavations were conducted from April 1948 to March 1950 by Mr. B. B. Lal. The leap over Amaravati to Sisupalgarh was justifiable judging from the excellent results obtained, since not only the helpful "rouletted ware" was discovered at Sisupalgarh but also other wares such as the "black and red ware" of megalithic fabric, a coin of Huvishka, a gold coin imitating the Kushan type, Puri-Kushan coins and lastly [and the most important of all] an excellently laid-out Fort of the pre-Christian era.

Fort:- [Plate 1] In view of its relative importance the Fort is described first. The fort which is $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the South-east of the Bhuvaneswar Town, is in the form of a rough square on plan and is oriented roughly along the cardinal points. Its sides which measure about three quarters of a mile long each, enclose an area a little over half-a-square mile. The contours suggest the existence of towers or turrets at the

corners and eight large gateways, two on each side, besides a similar number of smaller openings distributed all over the perimeter. The orientation of the gateways two for each side, and the corner-towers suggest excellent planning not only of the fortification but also of the streets inside, which presumably ran east to west and north to south connecting the opposite gateways. In fact, the passage-way of the western gateway [which was completely excavated] revealed a cart track with a gauge measuring 4 ft. 6 inches. Cart-tracks were observed at various levels. In proof of excellent planning, it may be mentioned that the main gateways [two for each side] are so placed that if the length between two corner-towers of any side is trisected, a gateway may be found at each point of trisection.

The fort, while being too large for a mere citadel enclosing perhaps the king's palace and attached residences, did not accommodate all the people, most of whom appear to have lived outside its confines. In proof of this were picked up pottery not only in the Fort area but also outside it on the north as far as the Brahmesvara temple and on the west as far as the Bhuasni temple [plate I]. Habitation did not extend on the east or south beyond the fort-defences.

A streamlet now called the Gangua or Gandhavati goes all round the fort in such a way as to suggest that whoever built the fort, took advantage of this stream to canal its waters around the northern, eastern and southern sides of the fort, thus providing the fort with a moat as it were. There is water in this stream throughout the year.

About 3 miles south of the Fort are the Dhauli hills, where on a low granite boulder are inscribed the edicts of Asoka [plate I] with two more special edicts, the first of which is addressed to the Mahāmātras [judicial officers] of Tosali and second to the royal prince or the governor of the same place. Engraved on a huge projecting boulder with a colossal figure of an elephant at the top, these edicts form the earliest source of the dated history of Kalinga or Orissa. In their versions that are found at Dhauli and at Jaugada in the Ganjam District, the edicts nos. 12 and 13 have been omitted and their place has been taken up by the two special edicts. The two special edicts have been couched in extremely conciliatory language and are meant to appease the people of the newly conquered country of Kalinga. These edicts were promulgated in the 12th year from the date of Asoka's coronation, corresponding to circa 257 B. C., just four years after his Kalinga War which formed such an epoch-making event

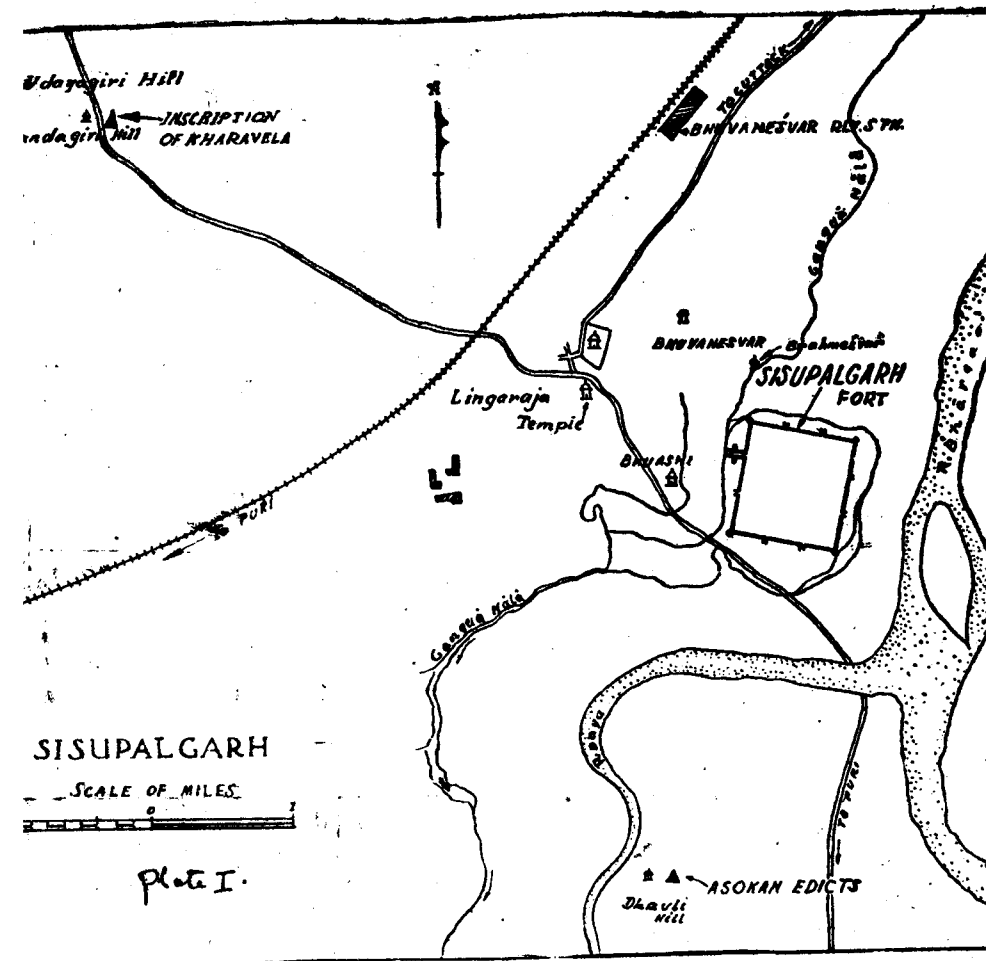
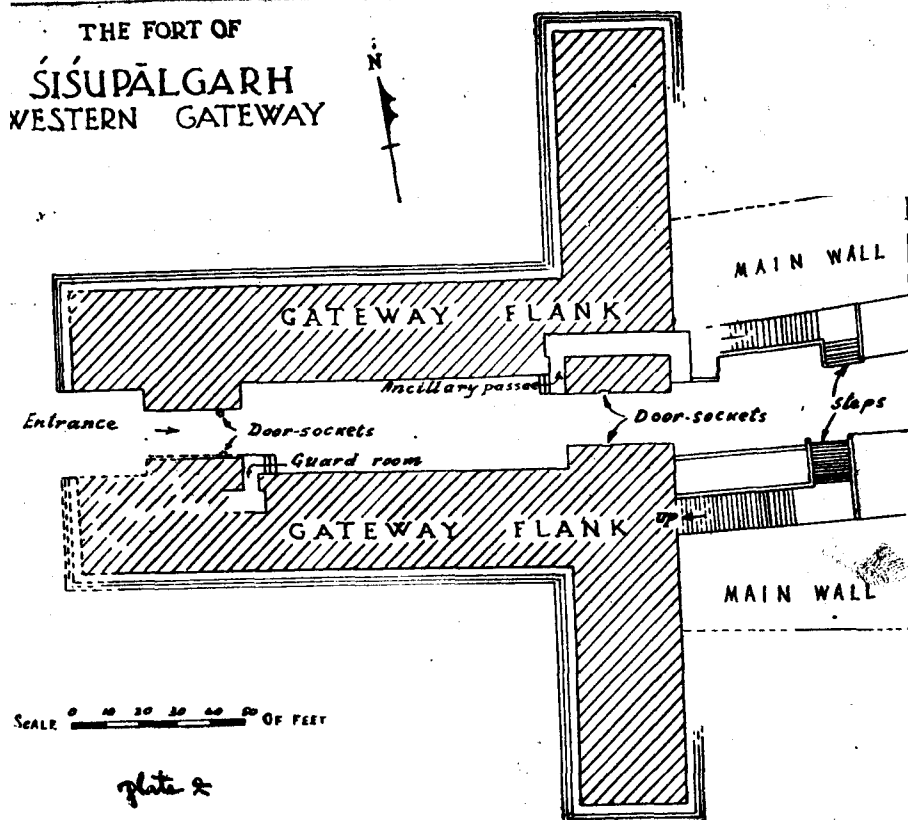


Plate 4: Puri-Kushan or Oriya-Kushan Coin, found at Sisupalgarh.

THE FORT OF SISUPĀLGARH WESTERN GATEWAY



SISUPALGARH

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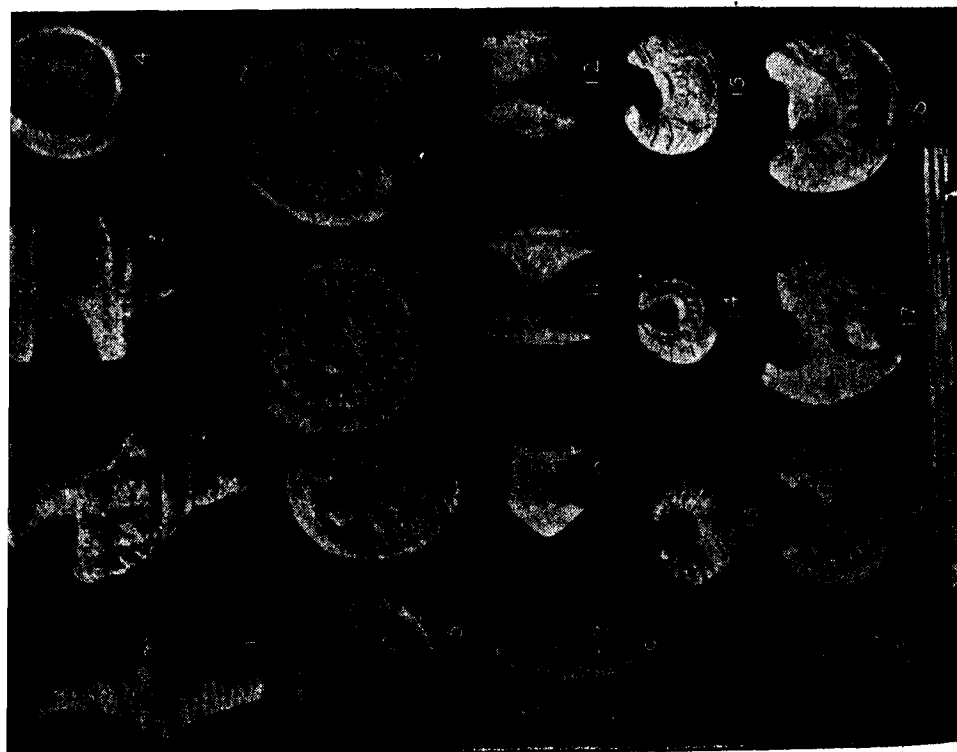
in his life and also in the history of India and Buddhism. The horrors of the Kalinga War and their consequent effects on him and his policy, have been graphically described by Asoka in the thirteenth edict which he has very prudently omitted from the Dhauhi and Jaugada inscription with the obvious motive of not reminding the people of Kalinga of their defeat and humiliation in this war.

The low-lying mounds in the close vicinity of the Asokan inscriptions are probably the remains of the Asokan Age, but they represent the ruins of modest establishments and not a city or a fort. Some excavation was done early in 1950 here and some antiquities and pottery were found. The existence of rock-cut caves and shelters (*leṇi*) here as in Khandagiri and Udayagiri suggests that probably Munis and Ascetics, perhaps Jain, lived in the caves. As such there was no need for houses for them. Whatever pottery they carried for their ablutions and needs constitute the finds.

Dhauhi seems to have been situated by the side of a high way at the time of Asoka, which induced the great monarch to select it for the promulgation of his edicts. The elephant-carving is so prominent that one is led to believe that the attention of the passers-by was meant to be irresistably drawn to the edicts on the boulder. The hillock continued to be a place of importance as is attested by the fact that in 699 A.D. Bhaṭṭa Loyomaka and a physician Bhimaṭa (who occurs also in the Ganesa Gumpā at Udayagiri), the residents of Virajā (Jaipur), built a monastery here in the reign of Sri Santikaradeva of the Bhauma Dynasty, of which no trace can however be found at present. At the top of the hill is found the basement of a temple which was probably constructed during the Bhauma period. Down below at the foot of the hillock are found some later temples which are still living shrines.

Khandagiri-Udayagiri: [Plate 1] About 6 miles to the north-west of Sisupalgarh are the Khandagiri-Udayagiri hills, [Plate 1] of great sanctity to the Jainas, which contain as many as 65 caves or cells or more for Sramanas or Jaina hermits to live. One of them called the Hathigumpha is a natural cavern and contains the famous inscription of the Kalinga King Kharavela of the Chedi dynasty giving the chief events in the King's life year by year. The relevant part in the inscription for our identification of the Sisupalgarh fort is noted below:-

1. In the 1st year of his reign, Kharavela repaired the capital of Kalinga, whose towers or gates, ramparts, reservoirs and buildings had been damaged by a storm.



2. In the 5th year of his reign, he extended the old canal (Tanasuliya-vata canal), into the capital.
3. In the 9th year, he built a great palace called the Mahāvijaya or 'Great Victory' at a cost of 38 lakhs of silver coins. The palace comprised royal residence.
4. In the 12th year, he returned victorious from Magadha with the image of the Kalinga-Jina that was taken away by one of the Nandas of Magadha.
5. In the 13th year of his reign, being satisfied with the extension of his empire he turned all his attention to religion. He under-took the layman's vows and comprehended the distinction between soul and matter. In short he engaged himself in the Study of Jaina philosophy [Cf. Kalidasa's, *Raghuvamśa*. Verse-S'ais'ave abhyasta-vidyānām-Vārdhakey muni-vṛttinām].
6. He built shelter for his queen on the Kumari hill at the cost of 7½ million Rupees, stones for which were brought from many quarries and from many miles.
7. The King is called king of Peace, Prosperity, a Bhikshu King and a king of Dharma. He was a great builder, not only of an empire but also of palaces, a fort etc. He was a king who pleased his people.

Though the record stops with the 13th year of his reign, he lived at least some decades longer as shown by the Svargapuri inscription of his chief queen who is described as the *Agra-mahishi* of the reigning king Kharavela. Hathigumpha calls Kharavela an 'Adhipati,' while Svargapuri calls him 'Chakravarti.'

In the Manchapuri cave inscription his successor is called Kudepasiri. He is also styled like Kharavela as 'Aira,'† Mahāmēghavāhana and the

†Ancient India No. 5 p 52; Dr. Chhabra and Lakshminarayana Rao take "Aira" to be a family name. Regarding a recent and interesting find of a Brahmi inscription in Prakrit language of about the 2nd or 3rd cent. A. D. from Velpuru, Guntur District, they say that "it belongs to the reign of a king, (name lost) who is called a 'Maharaja' and 'Haritigupta.' The name of the family to which he belonged appears to be "Aira." They also say this family name occurs in the inscriptions of Manchapuri and Hathigumpha caves in Orissa of about the same period". While their observations about "Aira" are interesting, the same date to both Velpuru and Hathigumpha and Manchapuri is wrong. Velpuru may be 2-3rd century A. D. But Hathigumpha and Manchapuri are clearly 2nd and 1st century B. C.

overlord of Kalinga. The Manchapuri cave also contains the inscription of a *Kumāra* [Prince] of the dynasty, probably son of Kudepasiri who is called Vādukha. The object of these inscriptions was not only to record events but also to preserve the memory of pious benefactors who had provided caves for the use of the Jaina ascetics and *Munis* of Udayagiri [Kumari hill].

This shows that the caves of Khandagiri and its neighbourhood pulsated with life during the two or three centuries before Christ. Kharavela's inscription, only a few miles away from Dhauli, was intended to counter-affect the inscription of Asoka on the Dhauli rock which being clearly a record of the victor of Kalinga must have reminded the Kalinga people of a defeat that cost them, as Asoka puts it, 100,000 people killed, 150,000 captured and many more dying of disease, starvation and the ravages of a devastating war. Kharavela's inscription, following Asoka's just within 100 years of Asoka's conquest of Kalinga is a categorical negation of the Magadhan sway over Kalinga. If the Asokan edicts are numbered, edict after edict, Kharavela's inscription is numbered year after year of his own reign heralding his victorious *Digvijaya* twice to Pataliputra and recovering the image of Kalinga-Jina formerly carried away to Magadha by a Nanda King. The Hathigumpha inscription and the Asokan inscription at Dhauli and Asoka's description of the Kalinga war help to recover for us a lost page in the history of Kalinga between 300 B.C. and 100 B.C. In summary, the reconstructed history will be that

1. Magadha and Kalinga were two rival powers,
2. Jainism was the state religion of Kalinga before Asoka's conquest,
3. Kalinga rebelled against the growing imperialism of Magadha resulting in the conquest of Kalinga by the Nandas, one of whom carried away the image of Kalinga-Jina to Pataliputra,
4. Kalinga became independent subsequently so much so that Emperor Asoka was compelled to reconquer the country at enormous cost and loss of life,
5. Kharavela waged a successful war of revenge against Magadha, resulting in the recovery of the Kalinga-Jina and the re-establishment of Jainism as the state religion.

The possibility of Sisupalgarh being identical with either Tosali of the Asokan edicts or Kalinganagara of Kharavela's inscription or both may

be considered. But no inscription or other authentic evidence has so far been obtained in the excavations to settle the question.

An open stretch of land opposite to the granite boulder at Dhauri bearing the Asokan edicts revealed, as we observed already, traces of ancient habitation in the form of early pottery, and other antiquities. Similar remains are also obtained along the southern periphery of the hill. Tosali of the Asokan edicts, or Tosala of Buddhist literature, which was the seat of Asoka's Governor, has been identified by some writers with modern Dhauri. But the hillock of Dhauri and its neighbourhood contain only the ruins of modest habitation and pottery. This should not be the case if the palace or fort of the Governor or the ruins of ancient Tosali existed there. Hence we should look for Tosali elsewhere. Further complete excavation is necessary at Dhauri to settle the question of the location of Tosali at Dhauri.

The discovery of a well-planned fort in Sisupalgarh has tempted other Scholars to identify Tosali with Sisupalgarh. Their arguments are as follows:

1. The fort is well-planned, fortified, square in shape, with two elaborate gateways for each side and several exits.
2. The western gateway, [Plate 2] which has been so completely exposed, shows basements of what should have been two lofty watch-towers on both sides, an ancillary passage, a guard-room etc., and hence "is not only one of the grandest monuments unearthed by excavation, but also the only one of its kind ever found anywhere in India."
3. The ruins of the rampart walls which await excavation are now in the shape of high mounds enclosing an extensive area.
4. The stream Gangua served as the moat of the fort [Plate 1].
5. In fact, there is every indication that it was being used as a royal residence or governor's lodge.
6. The Sisupalgarh excavations have unearthed some relics taking back the origin of the city to the 4th or 3rd century B.C.
7. The existence of the fort when Asoka incised his edicts at Dhauri is enough evidence to warrant the identification of Sisupalgarh with Asoka's Tosali.

8. Asoka's edicts at Dhauri and Jaugada in Ganjam District show that Kalinga, which Asoka conquered had two Divisions—a Northern with head-quarters at Tosali and a Southern with head-quarters at Samapa. The special edicts that they contained were addressed to the officers of these two towns, who were enjoined to frequently listen to them. This meant that the towns where the officers lived should have been in the neighbourhood of the inscriptions. And Dhauri is only 3 miles south of Sisupalgarh (Plate 1).

9. The two special edicts of Jaugada are addressed only to the Mahāmātras of Samapa. But the Dhauri special edicts are addressed not only to the Mahāmātras but also to the royal prince (Governor) of Tosali. This relative importance and preference to Tosali implies that the capital of Kalinga during Asoka's time was located at Tosali, and that the Sisupalgarh ruins are in all probability Tosali's ruins.

Kalinganagara: It is pleasant to turn now from the *Tosali* = Sisupalgarh hypothesis to the other possibility Sisupalgarh = Kalinganagara, in favour of which the following observations are noteworthy:-

1. The importance of the Hathigumpha inscription as a contemporary record of the happenings and events associated with Kalinganagara, the capital of the Kalinga King Kharavela of the Chedi-varma.
2. The Hathigumpha record is silent about the location of Kalinganagara, either its distance or direction from Khandagiri hills. Therefore the city could be anywhere—far or near—irrespective of the location of the inscription. If it was somewhere in the neighbourhood, the claim of Sisupalgarh merits consideration, as the distance is only 5-6 miles.
3. The city was provided with fortifications and Kharavela repaired in the first year of his reign his capital-city, its gates, ramparts and fortification wall which had been damaged by a storm. Indeed, the recent excavation revealed a collapse and subsequent repair of the southern gateway-flank of the fortification. Also, there is no fortified town of contemporaneous or comparable date except Sisupalgarh near about Khandagiri.
4. Kharavela repairing in his 4th regnal year some sacred building called "the abode of the Vidyadharas" and building in his 9th regnal year a palace called Mahāvijaya or "the palace of Victory," and in the 12th regnal year building towers at home, are all events that perhaps happened in the fortress or city at Sisupalgarh.

5. The extension of an old canal [Tanasuliya-vāṭa] into his capital is a significant event. The Gangua stream goes round the fort like a moat and in all probability was the canal of Kharavela's inscription.

6. In addition to installing the image of the Kalinga-Jina in his capital he took to religious acts, study of higher Jaina Philosophy and realised *Jiva-dēha-saṁghāta* or the distinction between soul and matter. He built shelters for his queen on the Kumari hill. In the *Rani-Nur* cave and the *Manchapuri* cave, portrait figures of the Kalinga Kings, in one case [Manchapuri] of Kharavela's successor Kudepasiri, and in another case [Rani-Nur] of Kharavela himself occur. These shelters which were occupied by great ascetics were built near the capital to give the pious King and the successors the benefit of repairing to the shelters perhaps everyday as a matter of routine for the benefit of religious discourses with pious ascetics and *munis* and also to meet their own kith and kin who had renounced the world and had taken to the life of Sramanas [Compare Ramaṇa Maharishi on the Tiruvannamalai hill]. In all probability, Kharavela, his successor Kudepasiri, Kharavela's chief queen and Vaḍukha [a prince] not only constructed *lenas* near their capital Kalinganagara, but also lived in them after renouncing their worldly status [Compare *Munivrittinām*]

7. *Monolithic pillars within the Fort area:* A group of 16 monolithic pillars of laterite can be seen in the centre of the Fort. No excavation was done here. Average height of pillars is 14'-15'. Top and bottom are cubical and 2½' square; top 2'-3' and bottom 4'-5' long. The central part is octagonal or 16 faceted. Across the top, the pillars have a socket obviously to hold superimposed beams or coping. Two pillars are however circular in section. Some of the pillars present medallions as at Bodhi Gaya, Bharhut, Sanchi and Khandagiri. Though no excavation was done in this area, evidently, a pillared hall stood here about the 2nd or 1st century B. C.

Much can therefore be said in favour of Sisupalgarh being identified with Kalinganagara. The name Sisupalgarh recalls Śiśupāla who was a Chedi King; so also was Kharavela. The excavations revealed that the site was occupied from the beginning of the third century B. C. to the middle of fourth century A. D. and was marked by one integral culture throughout, though there were, as was only expected, gradual changes in some of the industries, particularly in pottery. The bright red polished ware, characteristic of the earlier levels and early period [300-200 B. C.]

tended to degenerate in fabric and technique in early 2nd century A. D. and changed over to ill-fired and ochre-washed ware at the end of the 2nd century A. D. Some of the old pottery types fell into disuse and were replaced by new ones.

The Fort-defences which were erected at the beginning of the second century B. C. revealed four Phases. In Phase I, they consisted of a clay-rampart, some 25 feet high and over 110 feet wide at the base; in Phase II, a 4-6 feet thick covering of laterite gravel was added on to the top of the clay-rampart; while in Phases III and IV, the clay-filling was retained by baked-brick revetments on either side. The defences remained in use till about the abandonment of the site, although towards the latter part, they had structurally degenerated.

The *Gateway*, [Plate 2] was constructed of large well-dressed laterite blocks. It had a passage, 25 feet wide, between the flank-walls and was provided with two gates, one near the entrance and the other about 100 feet further back. Behind the entrance gate was a guard-room[?], and adjacent to the inner gate was a narrow side-passage meant presumably for controlled admission at late hours. The same is the case with most of the Fort-gateways in South India [Cf. Gingee, Hampi etc.]

The Periods: On the basis of the pottery, which is usually the most distinctive industry of a culture, the Sisupalgarh culture can be subdivided into the following Periods, from the bottom upwards:

1. The Early Period (300-200 B. C.) represents the formative stage of the Sisupalgarh culture, which through a process of evolution, matured in the following Period, IIA. The pottery in the Early Period was essentially plain, devoid of any decorations whatsoever. It was largely wheel-turned and varied in colour from dull-gray to terracotta-red. It is, however, important to note that there were no defences at Sisupalgarh during this Period.

IIA. The Early-Middle Period [200 B. C. - 100 A. D.] presents the Sisupalgarh culture in its full bloom. There was predominance of the bright red polished ware which was well-fired and nicely-finished. Besides, incised and applied decorative patterns were also used. The black-and-red ware of the megalithic fabric appeared for the first time at Sisupalgarh at the beginning of this Period. Further up, in the same Period, was found the earliest specimen of the rouletted ware. From various levels of the Period were obtained terracotta ear-ornaments (Plate 3), iron implements

of peace and war and beads of agate, carnelian, quartz, etc. Structures, constructed of large chiselled laterite blocks, were observed at four different levels. The presence of brickbats indicated the use of bricks for constructional purposes.

The most significant event was the construction of the defences at the beginning of this Period. What particular circumstances led to this construction cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge, but the moment must certainly have been a remarkable one in the history of the site.

IIB The Late Middle Period (100-200 A.D.) shows the Sisupalgarh culture in a stage of decline and transition. The bright-red polished slip, so characteristic of the pottery of the preceding Period, became increasingly weaker, while in some cases ochre-wash was used instead of the slip. The decorative patterns, too, deteriorated in respect of variety and execution.

In addition to terracotta ear-ornaments, iron implements and beads, which were also obtained in the preceding Period, two new classes of objects, namely, glass bangles and terracotta *bullae* were met with. The earliest date for glass bangles in India has not yet been finally determined. No example has so far been reported to have come from a level prior to the beginning of the Christian era, nor do the earliest Sisupalgarh examples carry us any farther, since they come from a level which is ascribable to the first or second quarter of the second century A. D. It may, however, be noted that glass beads have been recorded at Bhir Mound (Taxila) as early as the fifth century B. C.

The terracotta *bullae* fall into two classes: One with animal figures, and the other, with human heads. The latter variety is important since the heads seem to have been imitated from those on Roman coins. Such *bullae* are also known from Kosam, Rajghat, Ujjain, Kholapur, Kondapur, Chandravalli, Kolhapur and Karad.

III. In the Late Period (200-300 A. D.) the bright-red polished ware of the preceding levels practically changed over (but for a few exceptions) to one with red or yellowish-red ochre-wash. This change in the outer appearance of the ware coincided with a change in the lay-out of the structures.

Two adjoining houses, built of laterite blocks and lying north and south, were exposed with a 2-feet wide space between them. This narrow space cannot be taken to represent a lane; it only shows that the owners of the two houses did not like to have a common partition wall. It may be recalled here that such a practice was recorded by Kautilya in his *Arthashastra*.

Mention may also be made of the occurrence in this Period of an etched carnelian bead and two fragmentary terracotta coin-moulds, the latter throwing light on the method of casting coins in ancient India.

Chronology: The Chronology of the site may be worked out by several dated or datable objects recovered. Since they were found at different levels, from the bottom upwards, each served as a cross-check for the other. The following type-finds provide the main evidence:-

1. The rouletted ware, (40-60 A. D.)
2. The black-and-red ware of megalithic fabric (end of 3rd or early 2nd century B. C.)
3. A coin of Huvisaka (last quarter of 2nd century A. D.)
4. A gold coin imitating the Kushan type, (3rd century A. D.)
5. Puri-Kushan coins (middle of 4th century A. D.)

The earliest examples of the Sisupalgarh *rouletted ware* compare well in form, texture and colour of the slip with the earliest examples of the same found at Arikamedu, which, by their association (with the imported Arretine Mediterranean ware, are assigned to the first or second quarter of the first century A. D.

The black-and-red ware of megalithic fabric is the second important piece of evidence. As no megaliths were discovered in the neighbourhood of Sisupalgarh in 1948-49, it was presumed that the megalithic pottery was brought to Sisupalgarh by occasional visitors from South India where megaliths are in abundance. But a number of megalithic monuments have recently been discovered to the north and south-west of Sisupalgarh. They differ from their southern proto-types in that they are not formed of unchiselled blocks of stone, but of the sized laterites-on edges. Some of them have been built on the ancient mounds of apparently historical times. When excavated, they are likely to throw light on the latest practice of megalithic burial. The Indian megaliths have so far presented a baffling problem in regard to their zone of origin, subsequent diffusion and dating. The 1947 excavations at Brahmagiri and Chandravalli showed

that this culture had reached Northern Mysore in the last quarter of the third century B. C. It is reasonable to assume that this ware began reaching Sisupalgarh at the end of the third or early in the second century B.C.

Between the lowest layer yielding the black-and-red ware, and the natural soil were 4 feet of deposits, bearing the remains of the Early Period of the Sisupalgarh culture. In the general context of the site, a century or so has been conjectured as a reasonable duration for the span of this period. Thus, the initial date of the site goes back to about 300 B.C. with a margin, if any, on the earlier side.

The upper limits of the site: The earliest layer yielding the *rouletted ware*, in the Habitation Area, can be dated to c. A. D. 40-60. Between this and the present surface were 10-11 feet of deposits, representing, from the bottom upwards, the upper levels of Period IIA and periods IIB and III respectively. Nothing precisely datable or worth-noting was obtained from these strata in this cutting. But in the corresponding strata of the Cutting across the Defences were found two securely datable coins. One of them, a copper coin of Huvishka in a worn-out condition, lay about 5½ feet below the surface. This coin can be dated to the last quarter of the second century A.D. The other, a gold coin bearing a standing Kushan figure on the obverse and a Roman Bust on the reverse was recovered from the foundations of a wall, the floor level of which is about 3 feet below the surface [Plate 4]. This coin is ascribable to the second-third quarters of the third century A. D. Dr. Altekar¹ reads the

1: Journal of the Numismatic Society, Bombay, Vol XII, Part I, pp. 1-4

"It is probable that the Murundas of the Puranas and the Jain literature may have belonged to the local Kushana ruling families and king Dharmadamadhara (?) of our coin, to judge from his name, may well have been one of them. The Murundas like the Kushanas were foreigners hailing from the northwest and one can well understand how the king Dharmadamadhara (?) of our coin should have selected the Kushana motif for his obverse.

It is also possible that king Dharmadamadhara may well have been a local Hindu ruler of Orissa, who may have thought of issuing a type combining the features of the Kushana and Roman coins that were known at that time. If such is the case, the present coin will be the earliest gold coin to be issued by a Hindu king, for, so far no pre-Gupta Hindu gold coins are known. The weight of the present coin is 81 grains, it follows neither the Roman standard of 120 grains nor the Hindu Suvarṇa standard of 144 grains. Herein Dharmadamadhara was more original than the Imperial Guptas.

King Dharmadamadhara was probably ruling over parts of Bihar and Orissa and felt justified in issuing coins bearing the Imperial Kushana title."

legend on the obverse as '(Ma)(hara)ja-ra(ja)dhasa Dhamadamadhara(sa) intended to stand for *Mahārāja-rājādhirāja-Dharma Dama dharasya* [=one who was a supporter of both *dharma* and *dama*].

The uppermost limit of the site is determined by the presence of *Puri-Kushan*, or *Oriya-Kushan*, as B.D. Benerji calls them, coins in the latest levels. Four of them were found in the ancillary passage of the western gateway [Plate 2]. The middle of the fourth century A. D. can be their date, and this date derivatively, represents the upper limit for the site.

The various periods of Sisupalgarh may be summarised as follows:—

- I. (Early Period)-300-200 B. C.
- IIA. (Early Middle Period) 200 B. C. - A. D. 100.
- IIB. (Late Middle Period). A. D. 100-200.
- III. (Late Period) A. D. 200-350.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ANDHRAS

Prof. Kota Venkata Chalam, Bezwada.

The fantastic theory of the origin of the Andhras advanced by European historical scholars like E. J. Rapson, and accepted blindly by the English educated Indian historians who followed in their foot-steps is another striking instance of the rash and arbitrary conclusions based upon flimsy grounds with which the current accepted History of India abounds. These scholars point to the statement in the Aitharēya Brāhmaṇa that the Sage Viśvāmitra cursed the first fifty of his sons who disobeyed him and they and their descendants thus became un-Aryanised Dasyus, and changed into the uncivilised tribes viz. Andhra, Pundra, Sabara, Pulinda, and Mutiba. They rushed at once to the conclusion that the present-day Andhrās inhabiting the Andhra area are the descendants of the Andhras mentioned in the Brāhmaṇa.

But the sons of Viśvāmitra who were cursed by him were automatically driven out of the Aryan fold, into the mountains and forests and they became lost to Vaidika Dharma, degenerated into and mixed with, uncivilised tribes like Andhras etc., who were living by violence and given to crime.

The Andhrās of the Andhra Desa have always been a people belonging to the four varṇas of the Aryan social system and observing the Vedic social and religious rites and regulations like the Aryans of any other part of Āryavārtha. In fact, even to this day, the Andhra Brahmins stand supreme in the study of the Vedas. There is absolutely no resemblance in them to the uncivilised tribes into whom the fifty sons of Viśvāmitra and their descendants must have degenerated excepting the partial resemblance in the name.

It is at least understandable why the western scholars at once built up a theory on the basis of such a mere partial resemblance in name that the excommunicated sons of Viśvāmitra and their degenerated uncivilised descendants spread over the Andhra area and the Andhra people are their descendants. The western peoples of Europe believe and proudly proclaim their descent from bandits and pirates and barbarous invading hordes who mixed with the original inhabitants of their lands and thus gave rise to the different modern nations of Europe who are all of mixed origin and descent. They would naturally have a predisposition to find and believe a similar account of the origin and descent of the peoples of all other lands too, that they also are of mixed origin, that they descended from barbarous tribes and gradually became civilised in course of time (that too within what they consider to be the recent historical past

But it is regrettable that our English-educated Indian scholars should slavishly and uncritically accept every such fantastic theory advocated by their western masters without any consideration of the altogether different circumstances, traditions and characteristic features of our civilisation and introduce these erroneous opinions as valid historical accounts into the histories and text-books in our own languages, needlessly and shamelessly declaring that our peoples are of mixed origin and are descendants of barbarous hordes.

The absurdity in their theory will be obvious on a moment's consideration to any Indian who has not altogether twisted himself out of all knowledge of Indian traditions in his anxiety to imitate and imbibe the western civilisation which has so enslaved the minds of our English-educated Indians.

Every one who is acquainted with the fundamental features of our civilisation and tradition knows how impossible it has been till very recent times, and it is even now so, for those who, for any reason, fall away or are driven away from the fold of the Vedic Dharma and discard the traditional rites and regulations, to be readmitted to the fold or to readopt the traditional way of life. How then could the uncivilised Andhras into whom the cursed sons of Viśvāmitra and their descendants degenerated readopt the Aryan way of life, the fourfold organisation of society, Varṇasramadharma and reach the same level of civilisation as the descendants of the pure Aryans in the other parts of the country. How could there be among their descendants of the different castes, other *Gothras*, *Pravaras* than those of Viśvāmitra or including him. It is all an absurd and fantastic theory.

It is thus stated in the Aitharēya Brāhmaṇa:- "Tasyah, Viśvāmitra saiykasatam putrā Āsuh panchāsādēva Jyāyāmsō Madhuchchandasaḥ pamel āsatkaniyām stadyē jyāyāmsō natē Kusālen menirētā Nanuvyāja-hārāmtānyah prajābhakshishtēti ta etēmdhrāh Pundrah, Sabarāh Pulindā Mutibā ityudamtān-bahavōbhavanti Vaisvāmitrā Dasyūnām bhūyishṭhāh" Aithareya Brahmana-7-3-18).

Sayana's commentary in this context says with regard to the language of the curse: "S'āparūpam Vākyamuktavān hējyēshṭaputrā Yushmākam madīyijñātilamghānām prajāh putrādikā amtānBhakshishṭha Chamdālādirūpān Nichajāti visēsha Bhajatāmiti Itisābdasya tatpradarsa nārdlatvā dhanyēpi Nichajāti visēshah sarvē vivakshitāh Viśvāmitrā Viśvāmitrā samtatiajā dasyūnām taskarāṇām madhye bhuyishṭhāh atyadhikāh."

Sage Viswamitra cursed his sons thus:- "O my elder (fifty) sons guilty of disobedience to me, your father! you will become *Chandālas* and other low castes".

And by that curse they changed physically and mentally and degenerated into (the already existing barbarous *chandāla* tribes) Andhras, Pundras, Sabaras, Pulindas, Mutibas etc. The word "*iti.*" implies a reference to all other low castes in addition to those mentioned specifically. Such descendants of Viswamitra were found largely among bandits known as Dasyus.

According to the Bhāgavata Purāna, king Yayāthi ruled 3, 10, 31, 034 years back and there was born a king by name "Bali" in the 15th prominent dynasty of kings. Among his descendants reckoning from Anu, the son of Yayāthi, This king Bali ruled over Eastern Bhārata and he had six sons by name Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Sumha, Pundra, and Āndhra. The portions of his father's kingdom ruled after him respectively by these six sons of Bali were known by their names, as well as the people of the kingdoms too.

"Anga Vanga Kalingādyā Sumhma Pundrāmdhra Samjñitāh Jajñirē Dirghatamasō Balehksbhētrē mahōkshitah Chakrussevanāmnā Vishayān shadimān Prāchya Kāmschatē" (Srimad Bhagavatam 9th. Skandha 23rd. chap. 5, 6 verses).

The kingdom ruled by the sixth son Āndhra therefore came to be known as *Āndhra Desa*, and the people of the country as *Āndhras*. The people who thus came to be known as Āndhrās were of the pure Aryan race with their religion and culture based on the Vedas and their civilisation based on the fourfold division of society (the four Varnas).

The words Andhra and Āndhra are pronounced almost alike except for the difference in length of the initial Vowel and it must also be conceded that the same is the case in referring to the Āndhra country and the Āndhra people.

Sometimes, the one word and sometimes the other has been used indiscriminately even in our Telugu Puranas. But merely on that ground it cannot be held that Āndhras were the same as Andhras-the descendants of the cursed sons of Viswāmitra.

A mixed low caste known as Andhra or Andhra was in existence from the beginning according to *Manu Smṛithi*.

"Matsyaghātō, Nishadānām tvashti stvāyōga vasyacha

Medāmdhra Chumebu Madgūnāmāranya Pasuhimsanam"(Manu10-48

Meaning:- Fishing for the Nishadas, carpentry for the Ayogavās, hunting the animals of the forest for Medās, Andhrās, Chunchūs and Madgus-are the occupations prescribed.

The Sub-castes are the descendants of the Chandālas and other low castes by further prohibited intermixture. Viswamitra's children who were cursed by the-Sage lost their status in the Aryan fold, lived in contact with the low outcastes, and became mixed with them in marriage.

It is nowhere stated that such degenerated people ever had-even in course of millions of years again changed into the Aryan way of life and were incorporated into the Brahmin or other of the four regular Varnas of Aryan society. Nor is there any single text which can be cited as an authority for the assumption that these barbarous people crossed the Vindhya and established, vast kingdom in the South. It is all due to the wild imagination of European orientalis and their blind followers among the Indian historians. It is inconceivable that the great Āndhra people who can show to their credit scholars like Vidyāranya who wrote the famous authoritative commentary on the Vedas, Emperors and Heroes like Srikrishnadēvaraya, could have been descended from such low caste degenerate barbarians.

Moreover, if all the Āndhras are to be considered as the descendants of the cursed sons of Viswamitra, how are we to account for the existence in the Āndhra country of Brahmins and Kshatriyas of nearly three hundred respectable Gotras of Rishis, two hundred Gotras of vaisyas and innumerable Gotras of Sudras. Where from did they arrive?

These could not be all the descendants of Viswamitra's sons. Also there are among the Āndhras even to this day Brahmins belonging to the Gotras of the younger sons of Viswamitra (ther than those cursed by the father). How are we to account for them?

But the western Orientalists and their followers were not worried with the difficulty of answering these objections to their fanciful theory.

It was enough for them that Viswamitra cursed his sons to become chandalas, and they changed into the low castes of Andhras etc.

There is a part of India called Āndhra. At once they built up their theory. They were predetermined to establish four principles in their Version of Indian history.

- I. Hindu civilisation is only 3,000 years old or less.
2. Hindu culture and civilisation were all derived from Greece and Mesopotamia
3. The Vedas and Sastras were all composed after 1,200 B. C
4. The Hindus now are all a mixed race and not of the pure Aryan Stock.

The Āndhrās of Āndhra Desa are of pure Aryan descent. They have been in the Aryan fold and played prominent part in the developement of the Aryan civilisation from times immemorial. The Āndhras should cultivate sufficient self-respect to condemn such fantastic and baseless theories about their origin and take steps to reconstruct their authentic history on the evidence of indisputable historical records.

The Principle of naming the months in the Chandramana and fixing the Adhikamasa (Inter-calary months)

Retd. Chief Justice Sir Vepa Ramesam.

NIRAYANA						SAYANA				
The system now followed: In this system the month whose Amavasya occurs after Mesha Sankranti is Chaitra and so on for other months. If there are two Amāvāsya between the Sankrantis, there is an Adhikamāsa.						Proposed to be adopted: In this system the month whose Pournami occurs after Mesha-yanam is Chaitra and so on for other months. But if there are two Pournamis between two ayanams, there should be inter-calary month or adhikamāsa.				
NIRAYANA						SAYANA				
<i>Adhikamāsa</i>										
Chaitra	1869	88	1907	1926	1945	1867	1886	1905	1924	1943
Bhadra-	71	90	09	28	*47	69	88	07	26	*45
pada						72	91	10	29	48
Ashadha	74	93	12	31	50	75	94	13	32	51
Vaisakha	77	96	15	34	53	77	96	15	34	53
Asviṣṭa	79	98	17	36	55	80	99	18	37	56
Śravana	82	1901	20	39	58	83	1902	21	41	59
Jyeshtha	85	1904	23	42	61					
In this method the Solar new year's day which began on March 21st in 500 A.D. has slowly shifted to 13th April and will continue to shift. In 630 years hence it will begin on April 23rd. There will always be doubt about the Meshasankranti.						In this the Solar new year's day will always be on March 21st (20 in leap year). The āyanams are known from any almanac such as Raphale's or Nautical or Ujjaini. The first day of the Luni-solar year will be between 6th March and 5th April,				

* In 47 Nirayana and 45 Sayana, the Adhikamasa was Śravana Instead of Bhadra. This is the only exception to these tables in the last 100 years.

**A note on the use of the Saka Era in Indian
Inscriptions from 78 to 892 A.D.**

Sir V. Ramasami.

Date	Event	Inscriptions
78-205		5 in Kathiawar.
205-577		Nil-four in Gujarat listed spurious by Prof. Keilhorn.
C. 520-550	W. Chalukya kingdom founded.	One Insc. of Pulikesin I considered spurious by Dr. Fleet (Kanarese Dynasties, p. 344 n.) (K. 2).
S' 465 to 543		1 Badami Cave Insc. of Pulikesin I
S. 500: 31-10-578		2 Badami Cave Insc. of Kirtivarman mentioning his brother Mangalisa (K. 3).
10- 4-602		Mahakuta pillar insc. of Mangalisa (K. 5) mentioning no Saka Era but Siddharthi.
		Two other Insc. of Mangalisa—undated (K. 4, 6).
S. 532; 5- 1-611		3 Goa Insc. of Dhruvaraja Indravarman (K. 7).
S. 534		4. Haidarabad insc. of Pulikesin II—ought to be 535., real date is 23—7—613 (K. 9 issued from Badami).
624	Founding of E. Chalukya kingdom reckoned (Krishna Rao)	Two undated Inscrs (K. 12, 13) one dated but not in Saka Era (Satara) K. 547.
10-10-631		Kopparam Insc—dated without Saka Era.

633-761

C. 767 Rashtrakutas conquer W. Chalukyas.

753--892

S. 810; 888 A.D.

S. 814; 892

I. 1077

W. C.

15 Saka Ins. (Aihole (K. 10) and others).

12 No Saka (Nirpan (K. 17)

and others,
Of which 6 are dated not in Saka.

26 Ins. all in Saka Era; 2 others in N. I. (Not Rashtrakutas) in Saka Era.

E. C.

No Saka ins. All Ins. (about 31) without Saka.

Vishnuvardhana III issued Mushinikunda plates, confirming great-grandfather's oral grants showing 684 in chronogram but no era.

Nil with Saka; about 21, all without Saka.

A Tamil Insc. of Bana King (EI. VII 136 n. 4: S.I.I. III 95).

Attili plates of Chalukya Bhima I—first admitted Saka Insc. in E. C. country.

Chebrolu Insc. in Nala. An instance of use of 60 year cycle in Telugu country.

In all the above Saka Inscrs. outside Kathiawar, the Era is mentioned

Chronological Land-marks of the Andhras :

(Ex-chief Justice Sir Vepa Ramesam)

1. (C. 300) The earliest use of Nakshatra-named lunar months: Mattēpadu plates of Damodaravarman (Kartikasuddha 13. E.I. XVIII 328.
2. (6-4-368) The earliest reference to a solar eclipse (the earliest even in all India). The grant was by Pallava Simhavarman II (E. I. XV 253).
3. (17-4-537). The earliest use of an Era-the Ganga era. The Jirjingi plates of Ganga Indravarman in the 39th year. The Ganga era was determined to begin in 498 by Prof. Mirasi (Government. Epigraphist) and Sir V. Ramesam (in Andhra Chronology). This really agrees with 495 (Krishnarao). The difference of one or two years can be easily explained. Each of the above scholars determined their dates independently of the others and in many cases without knowing them. Thus 498 is the most likely date and any other date is unlikely.*
4. (12-2-621). The earliest reference to a lunar eclipse. The Polamur plates of Vishnukundi Madhavavarman III on Phalguna full moon in the 48th year. That the date of this cannot be 594 was shown by me in Andhra Chronology, IIInd Edition.
5. 10-12-627. A reference to Vikrama era date without naming it. The grant of Mushinikunda village by Vishnuvardhana I (624-41) and his wife Iyyana Mahadevi to certain Jains evidenced by the copper-plate of his grandson's grandson Vishnu Vardhana III (718-55) J.A.H.R.S. XVI 42.
6. (10-10-631). The first reference to a week-day in Southern India. Kopparam plates of Pulikesan II in his 21st year. The first year of Pulikesan must be 611 (not 609) a date proved otherwise by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in his Early history of Deccan E I. XVIII 237.
7. C. 648. Earliest use of Telugu words in the body of the Grant Vipparla Inscription of Jaya Simha (641-73) S.I.IVI 208.
8. 24-7-659. The earliest reference to a clear Amanta date: Talamanchi plates of w. c. Vikramaditya for a solar eclipse. B. V. 1189.

* Vide Prof: R. Subba Rao's articles on Kalinga Ganga Era. He was the first to hold that the Era started about 494 A.D.

9. 30-9-670. The earliest reference to a lunar date, week day and nakshatra, thus affording a check. The Koniki plates of the 30th year of Jaya Simha by his nephew Vishnuvardhana II on Asviya sudhadasami Sravana nakshatra (monday).
10. 22nd March 674. The third reference to a week day. The Reygar plates of Vishnuvardhana II. Chaitra sudha 10 Makha Nakshatra Wednesday I. A VII 186.

11. 26-9-678. The earliest reference to Jovian year (even in all India). The Terala inscription of the year Bahudhanya in the 5th year of Vishnu Vardhan II. This also contains the 4th reference to a week day. IAC Vol. III p. 17 No. 9 and 11. These conclusively show that the last year of Vishnuvardhana I was 641 and not 632 or 650 though there are Sravana lunar eclipses in the three years.

12. *The Earliest instance of a Telugu Verse (Taruvaja)*

850. The Addanki inscription of Panduranga, an officer of Gunaka Vijayaditya III (848-92).

13. 17-4-892. The earliest reference to Saka Era E. I. XIX 271. The Attili plates of Chalukya Bhima I of Saka 814 Mesha Chaitra Bahula 2 Monday. This also contains the 5th reference to a week day R. S. E. 1918 E. 126.

14. 1115. The 2nd reference to Jovian year. The Chebrolu inscription of Velanadu Chief, Choda alias Rajendra Choda S. I. I. VI. 51.

15. June 1513 and Jan. 1514. The earliest reference to the Saka by the name 'Salvahana' era. Inscriptions of Krishna Deva Raya. (1509-30).

- (i) Granting of a village to a temple. B. V. 1316
- (ii) Jeshtic Beliala 2 of 1514. The Telugu inscription in Udayagiri Hill granting a village to a temple. B. V. 1386

The earliest use of the name Salivahana was in Saka 1194 by Ramachandra of Devangiri. After this there was an inscription at Sravana Belgola (1200) and one by Bukka (1276) and another by Harihara II (1300).

The Terala Inscription

Sri Vepa Ramesam

The above Inscription was found on a slab near the Rudragundam at Terala in the Palnad Taluq of the Guntur Dt. (Journal of Andhra History and Culture Vol. III, p. 17). It is No. 80 of the list B in the Archaeological Report (Madras) for 1929—1930.

It is dated in Bahudhanya, year 5 of Vishnuvardhana, Kartika 1 panchami. Now Bahudhanya falls in the years 618, 678, 738, 798, 858, 918, 978, 1038 and 1098 etc. It is unnecessary to take further years as there was no Vishnuvardhana name after 1098. According to all the scholars there was no Vishnuvardhana in 858, 918, 978, 1038; the years 738, 798 and 1098 would not be the fifth or the sixth year of any Vishnuvardhana. There now remain 618 and 678 for consideration. According to Messrs. B. V. Krishnarao and M. S. Sarma, E. Ch. dynasty began only after 618. Though Dr. Fleet thought that the dynasty began in 615, as 618 would not be the 5th year, this year has to be dropped along with his date for the beginning of the dynasty. Only 678 now remains. It is seen from the following table that this year agrees with Krishnarao's chronology but not with Sarma's.

Krishnarao.

Sarma Dr. Fleet

641	Last year of Kubja Vishnuvardhana's	650	632
	Grant for Sravana Lunar Eclipse.		
32	Years of Jayasimha's reign, and 7 days	32	32
	of Indrabhattarakas's reign.		
678	Vishnuvardhana II begins to reign.	682	664
5	His period	5	5
678	(A Bahudhanya year.)	687	669

(Not a Bahudhanya year)

The same opinion is expressed in the Journal cited above.

Bhava in Music.

By Sri M. Ramalinga Sastry.

Bhava can be, and possibly ought to be, understood as the essence of the appeal in it. It may not be easy to define it, though all feel the force of it. It is 'Bhāva' that stirs up emotions in the listener, and music has undoubtedly this effect for its aim. It is not right to assume that any source of Sound which produces musical notes, can also evolve 'Bhāva'. The most blatant harmonium can produce the harmonies and melodies, but none can credit it as a source of Bhāva. What colour effect is to painting and relief to sculpture, Bhāva is to music. It can be defined as the concentration of melodic effect by reason of which a musical piece addresses itself readily to the listener's emotion. It is a prime need therefore to understand and appreciate the implications of this factor in and on music and to formulate methods of securing it in the highest measure.

Till a few years ago, before the contact with Hindustan, music was anything like steady, and before the advent of the Talkie, and before the inauguration of a new band of musicians headed by Prof. D. V. Naidu, Semangudi and others, the idias of Bhava were mostly matters of theory and the Karnatic musicians were rather pre-occupied with pure and absolute music.

It was the efforts of musical scholars like Messrs T. V. Subba Rao, T. L. Venkatram Iyer, late M. S. Ramaswamy Iyer and others, who were front-rank critics and who contributed to the leading music associations and initiated debates and discussions that deflected the public mind from a state of obsession, and implanted in it a zeal to know and pursue the concept of Bhāva, and the labours of practitioners notably like Prof. Naidu, Messrs H. Naga Bhushanam, Maharajapuram, Late Mutiayya Bhagavatar and Vasudevan, that forced 'Bhava' on the hearer's attentions conspicuously, which was till then, the 'Philosophers' Stone.'

'Bhava then can manifest itself in every musical piece. It can be sought in Raga, in Keertana and in Pallavi. Keertana being an example of applied music as contrasted with Raga and Pallavi, which are concerned with music, pure and absolute, there is a slight difference with respect to the Keertana in that the text of the Keertana, has its share in the bringing out of Bhava

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something like the case of a Verse or Song delivered by a stage-actor in which the meaning of the passage has an effect on the hearer, though the musician is not a principal actor. In Raga and Pallavi therefore, where there is no aid from the text of a passage, the exertion of musician to bring Bhāva to expression is greater. In Ragas which are generally individualized melodic entities and which are evolved by pure 'Murchānas' or succession of musical notes set in phrases, certain artifices and devices have to be employed for securing preponderant musical effects.

So, we have phrases like 'Suoha Mohanga Bhushana', at the beginning of a musical phrase and certain stages fit for emphasis, and also looseness and slurring over at the termination of phrases, or certain very effective halts here and there. A well-known illustration is in Kalyani Raga where model shifts of tonic are employed, with magical effect or in 'Kedārgatula' where a big flourish is used, comprising one big jump, one full Octave, or in Kāfās, Surat, Purvi Kalyani, where the sharp 'Dhatvana' is stressed. In Keertana, the musician is relieved of this need to a great extent, and the delivery of the text with appropriate variations controlled by time measure, gives a new arena for 'Bhava' expression. In Songs like 1. Evarani Nirma yinchedira, 2. Rama Katha Sudharasa, 3. Gārdham, 4. Marubhari, 5. Koluvamaregada, 6. Paridhana. It is noticeable that 'Bhava' in four songs in Karaharpriya 1. Rāmaniyeda, 2. Chakkani Rājamārga, 3. Rāman-samāna mēvaru, 4. Samakalpa, though sung in the same Raga, differs in each Keertana.

In Pallavi, the artist is committed to operate only with svara as controlled by time, by subtle and well thought-out improvisation and so he has to force out Bhava by sheer skill in the selection of Swara contributions, and the employment of suitable Gamakas. It sometimes raises a doubt as to whether pure Swaram can evolve 'Bhava.' But the question can be settled by consulting one's own experience, which shows that Pallavi Swarams are never a waste but on the other hand have been known to enthral audiences. In Pallavi, a new factor contributes to the evolution of Bhāva i.e. the accompaniment of 'Mridanga', which keeps the equilibrium of Laya more and more pronounced and

which, in its dead parallelism, with the Vocalist, much heightens the hearers' gratification.

So much about the presence of Bhava as an indispensable actor in music. The next thing to consider is the mode of ringing it to prominent expression. On this question, to my mind, experience and right thinking seem to be a fair guide. As far as I have been able to visualise and formulate, I have enunciated a few of the methods below.

(1) The biggest obstacle in the way of a musician is want of Self-Control. A performer usually suffers from over exuberance in the extreme, and a total want of it in the other. Performances sometimes begin very pompously and end very drily. No doubt, under inspiration, an artist can rise to magnificent heights, but that would be a pure accident and cannot be the result of conscious effort, and so will be subject to drift and chance.

Self-restraint and self-discipline will impart steadiness, and certainty to the performance and the artist will invariably be sure of the effect he seeks.

In Raga, particularly where, Bhāva has an ascendancy, a performer usually excels under inspiration and when he comes down to Keertana, he is apt to be insipid, because the instinct for exuberance is taken away in the latter. To maintain a poise and to secure uniformity of effect, he has to avoid the superfluous exuberance in Raga Alapa by practising rigorous discipline and self-restraint. It may be added that the magic lure of music, as every fine art, is the enjoyment of freedom under restrictions and limits imposed by Tala, Laya, Sanchāra Krama that is, avoidance of discord (Apa-Sruti). By conscious Self-restraint an artist introduces plan and method into his performance, which secures a sense of completeness for it, which in turn impresses the hearer with faultlessness and grandeur.

(2) The next method is through mastery of a musical piece whether of pure music or applied in the Raga Alapa or execution of Keertana. There ought to be no wavering or diffidence. Whatever musical phrase is attempted, it must be accomplished with a consciousness of easy mastery, which imparts to the execution facility and smoothness, which are two pre-requisites and vehi-

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cles of Bhava. I mean to say that nothing should be attempted which has not been practised several times over previously thus eliminating chance from the scheme of things. The force of this observation can best be understood if we appreciate the necessity of tender and quick tempo-embellishments like Pa, Dha, Ni, Sa, Ri, Sā, Ri, Ga, Mā, Pama Ga, Ri, Sā in the upper Octave.

In this context, we can just imagine the facility with which famous Film Stars roll out their songs which is all due to the mastery over the piece, having practised the thing, times out of number, while in the stage of preparation. The necessity for this factor is obvious if we consider the failure of several artists of renown, when they attempt musical pieces in the upper Octave. In order to achieve an agreeable result in the upper Octave, a suggestion to be made is that previous practice should be on a slightly higher Sruti, and the actual performance on a slightly lower one.

The great merit of performers like Aryakudi and M. S. Subbu Lakshmi is this characteristic of uniformity on the upper register of voice. Artists like Saigal, and Pankaj Mullik, are also conspicuous instances.

3. The third and the next effective and essential ingredient, which however is as conspicuously missed in the majority of performances, is Bhakti or Right feeling. It can be rendered as consciousness of the composer's spirit. How often have the most sacred songs of Tyagaraja fallen as pompous futilities on listener's ears for want of this factor. In the song, Rā Rā māyintidāka, if the singer does not feel as if he is inviting Rama to come to his house, but merely sings out like a Gramophone repeating the lines over and over with his mind fixed on the pure music contained in it but without feeling the emotions raised by the passage, the effect on the hearer will be poor. So also prominently in Keertanas like Appa Ramabhakti entō, Rāmakadha, Intakanna etc. where the idea conveyed by the passage is an extra-ordinary one, either setting forth a revelation, or describing a special experience of the composer, the performer's mind must be in tune with the composer's or what is the same thing, the singer himself should be moved and

inspired by the musical piece before he can move his audience. Some sceptics there are who might argue that this is only an ideal state of things, not available in practice, that this is only asserting, that without a knowledge of the language of the musical piece, no musician can sit down to sing, that at this rate many musicians, ignorant of Telugu Language, have no justification for attempting to sing Telugu Songs. To them, the reply is that an Artist is not prevented from ascertaining the meaning, that he would be better fitted to realise and convey its spirit, and ignorance of language can in that case cease to exist as an excuse. This is the reason why the Keertanas executed by many like Musiri and Ariyakudi stand on a different footing from those of some other musicians. The need for this is most paramount and readily felt in the execution of Javalis and Lighter Song hits.

Having thus far dealt with the primary requisites for a performer, I shall indicate a few of the devices to be employed in securing Bhava effect in a preponderant measure.

Correct articulation goes a long way. An artist secures far more effect by precisely and faultlessly uttering the words & syllables, than by befogging them. This is almost axiomatic. By correctly & clearly pronouncing the passage the listener is carried away easily as the spirit & message of the piece is readily conveyed. In the song 'Evarini', the phrase 'Bhali Bhali' has been known to create a lot of distrust and confusion for want of right articulation. Phrases like 'Endudaginādo, Kamadula Tegadosi' have been known to provoke audiences. So also want of accent in Sanscrit verses has been known to produce disastrous effects in spite of the finest embellishments of Raga.

Dignity and fullness of utterance is the next device. There should be sketchiness or shadowing. In the lower Octave, musicians have been known to fall off owing to feebleness. The performances of the late B. Kittappa and Devendrappa are characterised by this merit of fullness. Prof. Vishnu Digambar and his disciple Narryana Rao Vyas are noted examples among the Northern musicians.

Gamakas must be used as freely as possible, the aim of a Gamaka being the production of pleasure. Svarasya Kampogamakah

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srotra chitta sukhavahah. Gamakas are necessary weapons in the armoury of the artist. By mastering the well known Gamakas, the Artist would acquire the ability to improvise finer and subtler nuances and employ graces and magical twists and turns of swarams. Sarimagari nisadharisari padhapa sanisa sapagari, ririmaga nisarigarisari Rigama pamagama, etc. are some instances which can be employed by an artist with telling effects. They impart life and movements and a halo of awe and majesty to the performances in addition to exquisiteness and refinement. Kritis like Paridhana, Marubari, Vinatasuta can be taken as instances where rich tricks have resulted in splendid effects. As for the (employment) usage of Anusvara, Musiri is the greatest exponent in this direction, and his Nagumomu is a well-known pattern.

The use of Putmanteaux unquestionably lends softness and smoothness to the execution and refines the melody by eradicating any harshness out of it.

Time measure being the essence of music in its aspect of movement, variation in it conduces to maximum musical effect. This is most successfully done in Pallavi.

Ability to sing in Trikala resulted in securing first rate praise in the beginning of the century though there is no reason to ignore it at present. Any way by doubling the speed, there is no gainsaying the fact that the hearer's admiration is enhanced and he loses himself under emotion brought about by the quickened pace of a musical piece. An alternation between a slow and quick tempo can always be tried with telling effect. Datusvara i. e. Jump in a Swara is very familiar as a successful trick to secure intense musical effect. In Raga, it takes the ground off the hearer's feet. Take for example, Thodi & Kalyani. In Pallavi, it is calculated to hypnotise the hearer as well as the singer.

Anyaswara or introduction of alien notes, embellishes Ragalapa prominently. Khafi and Ananda Bhairavi are notable examples. In Bilahari, the flat (sharp) Ni in Padhani padha pamaga will never fail to captivate the hearer. So also in Sriraga-padhani pamarigarisa brings out the Bhava of Sriraga miraculously. So also in Kannada, the Tisragandhara secures great effect.

The Telugu Prose—Content in the Choda and Reddy Inscriptions.

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A linguistic study of Dravidian language, has been attempted time and again by scholars of repute. Thanks to the efforts of linguists like Bishop Caldwell and Kalaprapurna G. V. Ramamurti, our knowledge of the subject has advanced. Since their time, language professors in the colleges and in the Universities have undertaken philological researches and are working for the furtherance of these linguistic studies.

In this paper, I shall endeavour to offer a few observations about the Telugu Prose Content in the Choda and Reddy Inscriptions.

The earliest Telugu Prose Inscription¹ available belongs to the Choda dynasty. It can be said that this dynasty is responsible for the growth of pure prose inscriptions in Telugu. We cannot exactly say to what branch of Chodas does the donor of the First Telugu Prose Inscription belong, since there is no evidence in the inscription to this fact. But there should not be any doubt that the donor belongs to Chodas, since almost all the Choda Chiefs were patrons of letters. To elucidate this, a short history of the Choda chiefs is not out of place. The first branch, namely, the Velnati Chodas who ruled over the country of Velnadu in Guntur district for over hundred years, encouraged poets like Manchana, author of Keyurabahucharitra. The Telugu Chodas ruled from Nellore and were responsible for the development of Telugu Literature in the thirteenth century. Tikkana, the greatest of the Telugu poets, was the Minister of Manumasiddhi. The Renati Chodas, who ruled over Renadu, which is identified with² "the black soil country which roughly included large portions of the modern districts of Cudappah and Kurnool along with the valley of Kunderu river", the Kammanati Chodas who ruled Konedena of the present Narsaraopet Taluk, Guntur

1. Miscellany of Papers presented to Rao Sahib G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu Garu on his 70th Birthday.

2. E. I. Vol. XI.

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District and the Pottapi Chodas who ruled from Pottapi, a village in Pullampet Taluq, Cuddupah District have also encouraged Telugu literature.* Some of the Telugu Prose Inscriptions are given in Appendix I. The Potladurthy Malepadu Inscription (see Appendix I) edited by Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma belongs to a Choda king of the 7th century A.D. According to him this is the earliest Telugu Inscription available. We can agree with the Editor. This inscription registers a gift of land to a Brahmin and it is stated that if anybody spoils the gift he will incur sin.

The language of the Inscription has nothing in common with the present-day Telugu. I wish to add to what has already been said that Revanakalu and "Puddanakalu" the names of the donors possibly are derived from the Sanskrit words "Ramana" which means all love and "Buddhana" which means all wisdom.

The Satyaditya Chola Inscription edited by H. Krishna Sastry (see Appendix I) was ascribed to 9th century. The language is somewhat understandable. It contains forms such as 'kodukul'. The 'kul' of the kodukul is a Dravidian suffix which is the origin of the Telugu plural nominative suffix "lu". It was accepted by all the Dravidian scholars that 'kal' was existing as a suffix denoting plural number in the primitive Dravidian family.

This Inscription registers a gift made by the Chola king to a member of the Kasyapagothra. It also mentions that one who tampers with the charity will incur sin.

The Bhavanarayanaswami temple Inscription of Kommana (See Appendix I) was edited by Mr. M.S. Sarma. The Inscription registers a gift of Kommana for the merit of his father Govindamatya and his mother Kotasani.

The donor Kommana Manthri was the minister of Gohka II. He was one of the ablest ministers of Velnadu chiefs. Kommana's father Govindamatya also was very famous for his political skill. This Inscription also tells us that the Gonkas are the Mahamandaleswaras and their minister Kommana was Sandhi Vighrahi and one of the mainstays of the kingdom.

3. Nanneshoda Charitram.

4. Miscellany of papers presented to G.V.R.

5. Andhra History and Culture Vol. II.

6. Bharati 1927.

AND REDDY INSCRIPTIONS.

In this Inscription, most of the words take the present pronunciation like "Vaninjekoninadu". The secondary sign for "R" which is called the Velapaligilaka in Telugu is invariably used where 'R' occurs in conjunction with another consonant like Peggada. In the modern script, the secondary form is not frequently used.

Boya is generally used for a Brahmin in the old Inscriptions. Here, 'Bommana Boyine' and 'Namana Boyine' are used. This 'Boyine' is the accusative case of 'Boya'. It must have come from "Bhojaka" which means a village headman. In olden days, Brahmins were among the administrators and they earned the title "Bhojaka" which has been corrupted into "Boya, Boyana, Bondu, etc."

It is stated that in some Telugu Inscriptions of the Renati Cholas, the office like that of a "Bhojaka" means a village headman. In ancient times mostly in Pre-Nannaya Inscriptions, i.e. prior to 11th century A.D. there were mentioned these three words, viz., Bhojaka, Rattakudi and Gamakudi. We have dealt with 'Boya'. Now we take up Rattadlu which is otherwise called Rattakudi or "Rattaguttu". These are the various forms of the same word. Scholars are of opinion that Inscriptions of other times mention 'Rattagudi, Rattodi, Rattadi and Rattadikamu' in addition to those forms mentioned above. All these forms of Rattadlu are closely related to the Sanskrit word Rashtrakuta. This Rashtrakuta, as the village headman, seems to be common prior to the 11th century or even from the 7th and 8th centuries in the Telugu country. As regards the Gamakudi we have to take that it has the same meaning etc. like Rattakudi.

We have now to deal with an Inscription (See Appendix I) of one Prithveswara Choda, a chief of the Velnati line. It belongs to the 12th century A.D. In Telugu Prose portion of this Inscription, the words "Prolanti", Navakhandavada", etc. are used. We know Prolunadu is identified with that part of the Telugu country which roughly included large portions of present Peddapur and Pittapur taluks of the East Godavary district. Andhra country must have consisted of a number

7. Andhra Patrika Vrisha Annual. 8. Ibid. 9. Gadya Chintamani.

of Nadus such as Prolunadu, Veginadu, Velnadu, Kammanadu, Renadu, Pakanadu, Palnadu, etc. Navakhandavada is the present Navcondada of the same district. Evidently it is the corrupted form of "Navakhandavada which came into prominence prior to the construction of Rajahmundry as the Eastern Chalukya capital. Rajaraja Narendra gave this city of Navakhandavada as a gift to his contemporary Pavuluri Mallana, a poet and a mathematician of repute.

This Inscription registers a gift of Prithveswara, son of Kulothunga Manmagonka, a Mahamandaleswara and Jayambika of the Kondapadamati family. The gift is made to Kunti Madhavaswamy of Pithapur, East Godavary Dt. where the Inscription was laid. The language in some places is like the modern Telugu language. The scribe is fond of doubling the consonant that occurs in conjunction with the letter "r". Thus, for example, he has written 'Havirbal archana' after 'r' etc. where the modern scribe would write Havirbalyarchana. This means the secondary form or Velapuligilaka is used. This secondary form appears like the upper half of a circle. "Kodku", meaning son, is used for "Koduku". Even to-day in documents we find mostly kodku and not koduku. Anusvara is used after long vowels like "Nanti", Nenti, etc. Vada is one of the synonyms of "village" like "grama", 'padu', 'parru', 'palli, etc. A word remains to be said about an inscription of a Rajadhiraja Chola of 1196 A. D. (See Appendix I.) This was edited by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya and it was published by him in the leading Telugu monthly magazine 'The Bharati' ¹⁰. Its script has more things in common with that of the Inscriptions which are already mentioned. It was written prithvi for 'prudhvi, which is a correct form of the Sanskrit word. Anusvara and Sekatarepha were used just like in other Inscriptions. Some modern scholars in Telugu think that it is unnecessary to observe the Arthānusvara and Sekatarepha as they have no significance phonetically because the pronunciation remains unchanged even if it is dropped.

10. The Bharati 1945 June. (This Inscription which was first published in S. I. I. Vol. IV as No. 1100 was reedited by Dr. N. V. R. in Bharati.)

We gather from all the Choda Inscriptions which are here-with appended that they are naturally different from Telugu that is being spoken to-day. They are of immense use to the student of Philology. Further investigations into the prose Inscriptions and their language content will throw much light upon the history of Telugu Prose literature,

The Choda chiefs succeeded the Eastern Chalukyas¹¹ not only in the administration of the Telugu country but also in the patronage of the Telugu literature.

After these rulers, there was the revival of patronage of letters during the magnificent rule of Kakatiyas of Warangal in the 13th century A. D. From this century onwards the Telugu language progressed without interruption for three centuries. The development attained during the rule of the Kakathiya is praiseworthy and it forms a separate part by itself. So I propose to deal with the development of the Telugu prose during the short and splendid reign of the Reddys of Kondavidu and the Reddys of Rajahmundry first, though it may not be in a chronological order.

These great Reddys ruled over Andhra country for over a hundred years. Vemareddy was the founder of this dynasty. His capital was Addanky. He was succeeded by his son Komaty Prolaya, the patron of poet Erraya. Prolayavema was succeeded by Anapotha whose regnal period was from 1350 to 1362. He was succeeded by Anavema. Then Kumaragireddy succeeded Anavema, who was famous for his patronage of pandits and poets. Anavema changed his capital to Kondavidu from Addanki. In Kumaragiri's reign all the literary activities were given good impetus. Kumaragiri entrusted the administration to Katayavema, his sister's husband and engaged himself in enjoying the company of artists and poets. Kumaragiri gave away Rajahmundry to his sister Mallamamba, wife of Katayavema who started the Rajahmundry branch of the Reddy dynasty. After Kumaragiri, Peda Komativema came to the Kondaveeti throne. He appointed Srinadha, the prince among Telugu poets.

11. See my paper on Eastern Chalukyas and their Prose Inscriptions read in the 12th Session of the All India Oriental Conference.

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as the Educational Officer. Vemabhupala was succeeded by his son Rachavema, the last of this line.

Katayavema of the Rajahmundry fame was succeeded by Alladareddy and he was succeeded by Virabhadrareddy. Srinatha entered Virabhadrareddy's court through the good offices of Bendapudi Annamatya and afterwards became his court poet.¹²

Having taken a brief survey of the Reddy rule we shall try to trace the linguistic and historical bearings of the Prose Inscriptions of the Reddy dynasty which are a few in number while the Sanskrit Inscriptions are many. They not only encouraged trade and commerce but they have made agricultural and horticultural enterprises successful by giving financial assistance to the ryots to improve their lands and gardens. On account of these benefactions the agriculturists enjoyed perfect peace and prosperity. The privileges of good Government were enjoyed, and hence there was nothing wanting in social life.

Literature and arts were encouraged. Mallareddy was the first to patronise Erraya who was one of the translators of Mahabharata, a work of the rarest merit in Telugu and who was the author of Harivamsa, a work next to Mahabharata in matter and merit. He dedicated this work to Vemareddy. Erraya who belonged to the high order of Telugu poets was the author of works like Narasimhapurana and Ramayana, the latter being lost. It is not available. We know Srinatha, a unique name in Telugu literature. He was known for his elegant style and clear thought. He also flourished in Reddy times. Though there were some other poets, these two represent the ages in which they lived. As the introductory portions of their works were devoted to descriptions of the genealogies and the virtues of their patrons, the information they detailed is generally of political, military and literary importance. In Erraya's Narasimha Purana mention was made about Velanati chiefs. In his Harivamsa Vemareddy's virtues were described in detail. Srinatha's works throw a flood of light on social conditions of his time. Kridabharamam, which was admitted on all hands to be the work of Kavisarvabhauma as it is characterised by all those

12. Andhrakavula Charitra.

poetic genius associated with the writing of Srinatha, contains descriptions of fairs and festivals and information about the political conditions in Kakatiya Prataparudra's period. The preface in Naishadha tells us something about the educational matters of his time. The introductory portion of Hara Vilasam gives out how Vasantotsavams were celebrated with the help of Avachi Tippaya who used to supply numerous perfumes to Kumaragiri Reddy. Srinatha's Palnaticharitra Peethika furnishes some information about the peaceful lives led by the people of Palnad. As Bhimakhandam and Kasikhandam were dedicated to the minister Annaya and king Virabhadra, the prefaces contain many interesting facts about the Minister and the King along with the descriptions of great deeds performed by their ancestors. Thus, Srinatha's works are of immense value to a historian.

It is to be noted here that as Srinatha's powerful personality dominated the Telugu literary world for over a half a century and as he survived all his patrons, his works portray the conditions of his age. The royal patronage is noticeable not only in the case of poets and pandits like Erraya, Srinatha, Vamanabhata, Pradhakavi, and Kommana but also in the case of dancers like Lakumadevi. Kings like Kumaragiri and Pedakomativema enriched the Sanskrit literature with their own works such as Vamsa Rajayamu and Srungara Dipika etc. The development on the side of literature and arts is a standing monument to their artistic taste and scholarship. Their contribution to the cultural progress of the country is great. Addanki, Kondaveedu and Rajahmundry became the Sanctuaries of learning. The names of Vemareddy, Kumaragiri and Virabhadrareddy have become immortal.

By this time, there arose two types of literary works in Telugu, viz. Puranas and Prabhandas¹³. Puranas are those famous works which are mostly in verse interspersed with prose. The themes of Puranas are mostly mythological and religious. Prabhandas are another type of literary compositions which are also mostly in verse interspersed with prose but the themes of Prabhandas are taken from Puranas or Itihasas. There is opportunity for the poet to show his powers of imagination and descrip-

13. Modern India and the West.

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tion etc, in the Prabhandas. Errana, though he belonged to the puranic age was recognised as the pioneer for the Prabhandas type of literature. Srinadha stood between these two standard types & enriched both the varieties by his contributions. Thus he became an ideal to the authors of both the varieties. His sweetness of expression and symmetry of versification were imitated by many a prabhandas poet.

His prose is as chaste and as dignified as his poetry. All his poetical works-puranas, prabhandas, translations, & original compositions - were invariably interspersed with prose. He followed Nannaya, the famous author of Mahabharata, the first literary production in Telugu which is a champu kavya, i. e. a combined work of prose and poetry. Nannaya perfected poetry as well as prose. Prior to him there were some scanty writings in poetry and prose which were fragmentary in character. Nannaya's work made great advance over the language of the Inscriptions. His poetry is polished and flowing. His prose has all the characteristics of his verse. It can be called poetic prose, i. e. prose which rises to the level of poetry in thought and beauty of language but which does not follow the metre. Just as Nannaya's prose made great advance over the prose in the Inscriptions of the Eastern Chalukyas, Srinadha's prose also made great advance over the prose of the Reddy Inscriptions. In the Inscriptions of the Reddy kings there was no literary prose. The prose pieces concerned are given in Appendix II. Almost all these pieces are taken from Srungara Sreenatha of Mr. Veturi Prabhakara Sastry.

We will begin with Komuchikkala Plates of Anuvata. The Inscription (See Appendix II) was edited by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao. It is written partly in Sanskrit and partly in Telugu. The alphabet employed is Telugu and closely resembles the modern one. The anusvara is not properly used like "Babungarki" in some places. The letters 'Bha' and 'ba' are not differentiated from one another as there is no vertical stroke at the bottom of 'Bha'. Sobhakrit is written as Sobakrit. All the Inscriptions of Reddys belong to Telugu Kannada lipi. Burnell has remarked that the script which flourished from 1400 A.D. is Telugu-Kan-

14. Hand book of Telugu Literature. 15. J.A.H.R.S. Vol. III Pts. 2, 3 and 4

nada script. There are some scholars who hold the opinion that the Telugu script is not derived from Brahmi script or any other script but it is one having Anusvara or Bindu for its nucleus. But this view is not favoured by many and the view, namely, that Telugu script has been derived from Brahmi script - the mother of all scripts in India, is being maintained by scholars.

Returning to the topic under discussion we note, that almost all the Inscriptions of the Reddys contain Telugu prose as it was spoken in those days. In some Inscriptions (See Appendix II) the word Sāni is used. It means a prostitute at present; for example, Bhogamasani, Dommarasani, Sanidi, etc. In Inscriptions and Mahabharata it is used for a woman in general. In order to show reverence, Amma garu, Ranigaru etc. were employed. In Telugu, 'garu' has the honorific position as 'gal' in Tamil. In the present day Telugu we do not find Purnanusvara before this 'garu'. In almost all the Inscriptions the numeral suffix 'Agu' is used. The synonyms of this 'Agu' are 'Avu' and 'Ava'. In almost all the Inscriptions, 'Agu' and 'Ava' are employed. In Mahabharata of 11th century 'Agu' and 'Ava' are used. In Basava Purana (12th century A. D.) Ava is used. Sometimes by adding the root 'Agu' before, nouns become adjectives as Baludagu Manudagu. The doubling of the consonants that follow the Anusvara such as "Mamdapamu" and Pumtha are to be seen in some Inscriptions (See Appendix II). This peculiarity is common in ancient Inscriptions also but it is not in use now. Using Anusvara after long vowels like 'Sandu' is also not in use now. The names of villages undergo a change now like Totturapudi. The influence of Sanskrit and Prakrit was less when compared with that of Eastern Chalukya Inscriptions. Casual forms like "Kattenche" were frequently employed. Passive voice is used.

Most Inscriptions contain Telugu prose and poetry along with some Sanskrit slokas and Sanskrit prose. Pure prose is of a later origin in Telugu. Most of the prose pieces dealt with here are with local touches and full of idioms. Easy understanding is the keynote of majority of the pieces. They are a contrast to the literary prose. The prose of the Reddy Inscriptions contains colloquial expressions. Rules of traditional grammar are not

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observed and some sentences begin with 'ya' like 'Yituvanti' (See Appendix II). As most of the Inscriptions contain an easy language they are within the reach of masses also. These prose passages served as incentives to the writers of Southern School who developed pure prose writings which served very useful purpose of propagation and who prepared local records which are very important sources of the history of the period. In a way these prose passages prepared the ground for the modern Telugu movement or the movement for making Spoken - Telugu the vehicle of literary expression in the beginning of the 20th century.

(To be continued.)

The Holy Mount Kailas and Lake Manasarovar

By Swamy Pranavananda, F.R.G.S.

Two hundred and forty miles from Almora in U.P. and 800 miles from Lhasa, the Capital of Tibet, stand Mount Kailas and Lake Manasarovar constituting one of the grandest of the Himalayan beauty-spots. The perpetual snow-clad Peak of the Holy Kailas (styled *Kang Rinpoche* in the Tibetan language) of hoary antiquity and celebrity, the spotless design of Nature's art, of most bewitching and overpowering beauty, has a vibration of the supreme order from the spiritual point of view. It seems to stand as an immediate revelation of the Almighty in concrete form, which makes man bend his knees and lower his head in reverence. Its gorgeous silvery summit, resplendent with the lustre of spiritual aura, pierces into a heavenly height of 22,028 feet above the level of the even bosom of the sea. The *parikrama* or circumambulation of the *Kailas Parvat* is about 32 miles. There are five Buddhist monasteries (*Gompas*) around it singing, year in and year out, the glory of the Buddha, the Enlightened, and his five hundred *Bodhisattvas*, and of the Guardian Deity *Demchhog* and his consort *Dorje-Phangmo* (*Vajra-Varahi*), said to be seated on the top of the Sacred Peak of Kailas. Mount Kailas is revered in Sanskrit literature as the abode of the All-blissful Lord Siva and his divine spouse, Parvati, the All-enchancing *Prakriti* (Nature), which from 20 miles off is overlooking the Holy Manasarovar and the *Rakshas Tal* on the south, bedecked with graceful Swans.

From Ganga Chhu or Barkha, one can easily see the appearance of a huge Swan sitting on the southern face of the Kailas Peak, the bare rock-projections forming the neck. Adjacent to the Kailas Peak, situated on its western side, is a smaller snow-peak called Tijung, which is said to be the abode of *Dorje-Phangmo*. The gigantic rock that is situated to the south of the Tijung has got the appearance of a sitting Monkey and is called Tyupunjung or Hanumanju in the *Kangri-Karchhak*, Hanuman of the *Puranas*. This is seen from long distances. On the southern face of the Kailas Peak, beginning from the apex right up to a hundred yards above the base, there is a series of bare rocky horizontal projections, like a huge ladder conspicuously black against the background of the silvery white snow-peak.

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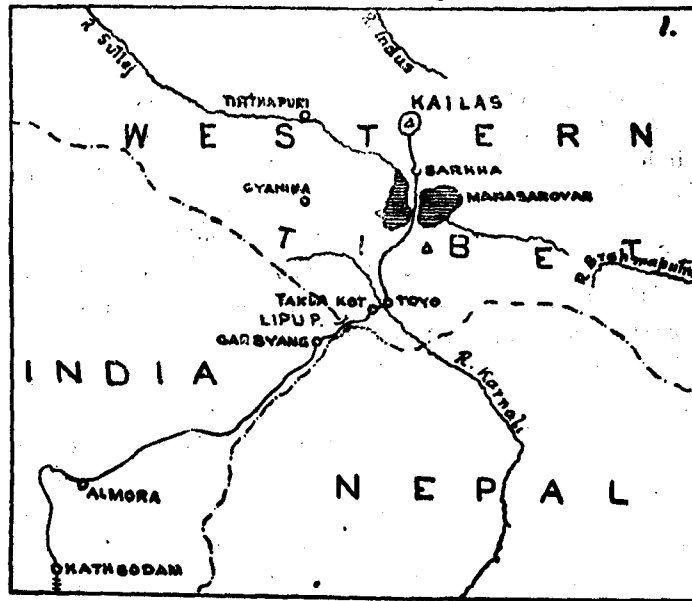
Situated at the southern foot of Kailas is a mountain called Neten-yelak-jung, consisting of horizontal strata of conglomerate and surrounded on either side by streams coming from the southern and the eastern bases of Kailas. It is like a huge Bull (*Nandi*) squatting in front of the Nature's Kailas-Temple.

The majestic view of the Holy Mount Kailas, the veritable Throne of the Gods, soaring high between the peaks of *Chenresig* (Avalokitasvara) and *Chhagna-dorje* (Vajrapāni) on the north, with its stretched out shoulder on the north-west, a little further up with a somewhat conical form shooting up from behind the peak of *Jambyang* (Manju-ghosha), when seen from Charok-donkhang, presenting only the tip from the Khande-sanglam chhu on the east exhibiting two large black spots on its shoulder, when seen from Chiu Gumpa or from the shores of the Lake Manasarovar, with a huge dome-like glacier at its eastern base, with a gigantic foot-like glacier at its south-eastern base near Charok-phurdod la, with the line-drawing of a big sitting Swan on the southern face, with the horizontal conglomerate strata of Neten-yelak-jung mountain squatting at its southern foot like Shiva's Bull, the *Nandi*, when seen from Silung Gumpa, with a sharp conical form jetting into the pitch blue sky, when seen while approaching it from Tirthapuri on the south-west or from the top of Nyanri Gumpa like the inverted crescent-moon a little further on, loaf-like with Saturnian rings on the west, with a colossal Egyptian pyramidal form towering on the north-west, and with the artistic form seen while approaching Dita-phuk, one and all, exhibits a variety of show. As a matter of fact, every side of the Mount has a peculiar grace, charm, attraction, and a beauty of its own. There is something indescribably fascinating in going round the Kailas Peak, each hour presenting a fresh scene and each turn revealing new glimpses and beauties of mountain grandeur.

The Holy Mānasa-sarovara or Manasarovar, the *Tso Ma-pham* or *Tso Mavang* of the Tibetans, is the holiest, the most fascinating, the most inspiring, the most famous of all the lakes in the world, and the most ancient that that civilisation knows. 'Manasarovar was the first lake known to geography. Lake

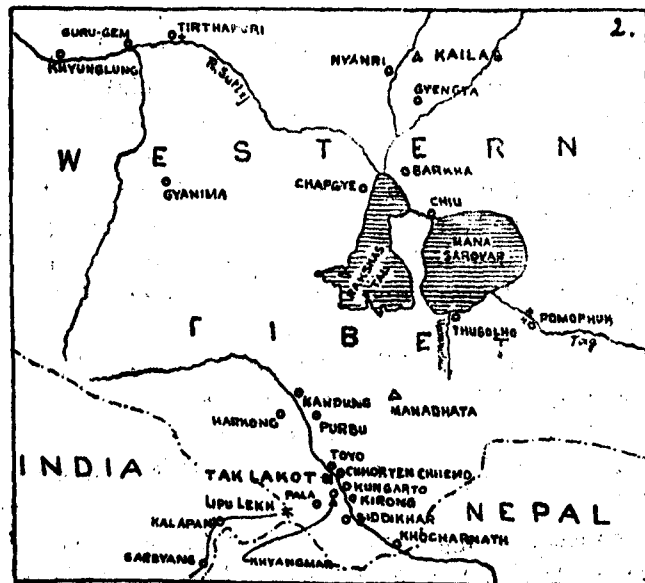
Manasarovar is famous in Hindu mythology: it had in fact become famous many centuries before the lake of Geneva had aroused any feeling of admiration in civilized man. Before the dawn of history Manasarovar had become the sacred lake and such it has remained for four millenniums" (Survey of India). She is majestically calm and dignified like a bluish-green emerald or a pure turquoise set between the two mighty and equally majestic silvery mountains, the Kailas on the north and the Gurlu Mandhata on the south and between the sister-lake Rakshas Tal or Ravana Hrada (*Langak Tso* of the Tibetans) on the west and some hills on the east. Its heaving bosom, reflecting the resplendent golden rays of the waning sun and the myriad pleasant hues of the vesper sky, or her smooth surface mirroring the umber columns or silver beams of the rising sun or moon, adds a mystic charm, all her own, to the already mysteriously charming Lake. From the spiritual point of view she has a most enrapturing vibration of the supreme order that can soothe and lull even the most wandering mind into sublime serenity and can transport it into involuntary ecstasies. Stretching majestically over an extensive cradle of the Tibetan plateau add hanging at a heavenly height of 14,950 feet above the sea-level, the vast expanse of the Lake, with a circumference of about 54 miles and a depth of nearly 300 feet, covers an area of 200 square miles. There stand eight monasteries on the holy shores, wherein Buddhist monks strive all their lives to attain the sublimity of the eternal silence of *Nirvana*.

In order to realise and appreciate the grandeur of the Holy Lake in its completeness, one has actually to spend a twelve-month on her shores. For those who have not paid her even a casual visit, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to imagine the diverse aspects of beauty that she presents round the different seasons of the year to close observers. By far the most magnificent and thrilling of one's experiences would be in winter when the whole Lake freezes hard and again in spring when she breaks and melts to clear blue waters. It is only the inspired poet or the divine artist with his magic colours that can, for instance, describe and represent adequately the beauty and grandeur of sunrise and sunset on the Lake. (By kind Courtesy)



Kailas and Manasarovar in Western Tibet.

Note the Origin of Rivers Indus, Sutlej, Karnal and Brahmaputra.



Another view of the same.

YASKA

By Dr. V.S. Agrawala, M.A.P.H.D.

"The person who is only able to recite the Veda but does not understand its meaning is like a post (sthāṇu) or a mere load-bearer (bhāra-hāra); but he who understands the meaning will attain to all good here and hereafter, being purged of sins by knowledge."

"Words simply learnt by rote but not understood, will not enlighten when uttered, just as fuel, be it ever so dry, will not blaze if it is put into that which is not fire". (Nirukta, i, 18).

The above words mirror the mind of Yaska who, as a rational thinker tried his best to pave the way for the understanding of the meaning of the Vedic texts. He has more than once affirmed the superiority of knowledge over the mechanical method of memorising the texts and has discharged the responsibility of his opinion by compiling one of the most authoritative, richly documented and closely-knit treatises on exegesis called the Nirukta. It appears that Yaska had to contend hard against his opponents entrenched in the position that the Vedic words confer by mere utterance the highest merit. "Speech without meaning is a barren cow, a mere delusion (adhenū mayā, 1, 20) and an external symbol unfit to grant the object of desire". "The meaning of speech is verily its fruit and flower (artham vāchah pushpa phalam)". These noble utterances of Yaska fit in with that ideal of knowledge which was in the ascendancy about his time and which proceeding from the gnostic tendencies of the Upanishads culminated in the sophistic movement of Buddhism. To such, as like Kaṇva held that the text of the Veda was meaningless, he retorted by saying "It is not the fault of the post if a blind man does not see it". When he says, "Eternal indeed is the scorn of the ignorant for knowledge (nityam hyaviṇātur vijñāne asya)", he expresses his own attitude towards those who are perverse in their ignorance.

Age and Predecessors. Most scholars are in agreement in placing Yaska about 700 B.C. He comes at the head of a distinguished line of teachers including such great names as Śākaḥyana, Gārgya, Śākapuṇi, Gālava, Śākalya and Aupmanyava. Of the texts that preceded him he refers to the Rig-veda as the 'Dasatayi Saṃhita'-its Pada-text by Śākalya, whose mistake in

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analysing *vayah* into *vā* and *yah* he has pointed out (vi, 28), the *Brahmaṇa* texts and the *Vedāṅgas*. Of the latter, he gives the place of honour to grammar, treating the *Nirukta* as a complement of *Vyākaraṇa*, in addition to its accomplishing its object proper (*Vyākaraṇasya-kārtṣyanam svārtha sādhanam* cha) i, 15). He knew the *Parashada* literature by which may be understood the phonetic and grammatical studies which were being developed under the auspices of the different Vedic schools. In his opinion the *Pada*-text formed the basis of the *Parashada* studies. *Yaska* should come prior to both the *Ṛik-pratisākyā* and *Pāṇini*. His *Vedāṅgas*, therefore, could not refer to these particular treatises, but to earlier works of such authors as *Gārgya* and *Sākaṭāyana* and to the phonetic observations of the *Parashads* in the various *Charaṇas*. Dr. Sarup considers the *Brahmaṇas* to be implied in the *Vedāṅgas* of *Yaska*, but these works although containing substantial exegetical material have nowhere been classed as *Vedāṅga*-texts. *Yaska* has commented on about 600 Vedic stanzas in the *Nirukta* and quotes profusely from the *Brahmaṇas*. As for instance, out of his three quotations to explain the etymology of *Vṛitra*, two are based on *Brahmaṇa* passages (*Nirukta*, ii, 17). Of the contemporary schools he cites the views of the grammarians (*vaiyākaraṇah*), the young and old ritualists (*vāñikas*), humorists or those who took recourse to legendary lore for the explanation of Vedic stanzas (*aithihāsikas*), the ascetics (*Parivrājakas*), whose opinion in favour of a Malthusian doctrine to control progeny is quoted by him (*bahuprajāḥ krichchhram apadyate* ii, 8). The etymologists (*Niruktas*) who were of the same school as *Yaska* himself are invoked twenty times. *Yaska* thus presents the perfected fruit of the labours of a line of teachers building up the science of Vedic interpretation over an extended period of time.

The Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta The *Nirukta*, a book of twelve *adhyāyas* is a commentary on a traditional list of Vedic words known as the *Nighaṇṭu*. Even in the time of *Yaska* opinions differed about the exact derivation of this word. The teacher *Aupmanyava*, cited about a dozen times by *Yaska*, held: "As these are the quoted words of the *Vedas*, they are

called *nighaṇṭavas* on account of their being quoted (*nigamanāt*)" (*Nirukta*, i, 1). *Yaska* seems to concur in this view although others interpreted the word as being independent of Vedic aegis and as signifying lists in which the words were somehow fixed (from root *han*) or brought together (from root *hri*). The fact is that the words of the *Nighaṇṭu* were of specific usage in the Vedic texts and not of a general application in the Language.

Tracing the origin and the necessity of compiling the *Nighaṇṭu* list of words, *Yaska* says, "The *Rishis* of old had direct intuitive insight into *Dharma* and *Brahma* itself (*Veda* or Supreme Being) was manifest to them. They handed down by oral instruction (*upadeśena*) the hymns to later generations who were destitute of direct intuitive insight. The later generations declining in powers of *upadeśa*, compiled this work (i. e. the *Nighaṇṭu*) in order to comprehend the meaning (i, 20). *Yaska*'s own work developed as commentary on the *Nighaṇṭu* list, but a closer examination of the two works shows that *Yaska* exercises much freedom in the choice of his basic material. The *Nighaṇṭu* is a work in five *adhyāyas*. The first three *adhyāyas* contain a list of 1280 words, the fourth *adhyāya* 278 words known as *śikṣa-dīkām* (homonyms) and the fifth a list of 151 names of deities. The *Nirukta* corresponds to this three-fold division. The first three *adhyāyas* known as the *Naighaṇṭuka-kāṇḍa* are devoted to the etymologies of words in the first three chapters of the *Nighaṇṭu*; but here out of the 1280 words of the *Nighaṇṭu*, only a little more than one-third are treated in their proper place (H. Skold, The *Nirukta*, p 177). In addition to the *Nighaṇṭu* words, *Yaska* also includes the etymologies of a large number of *nigama* words, i. e. words extracted from Vedic passages (1810 in all according to the list of Skold). The second part of the *Nirukta* (*adhyāya* ii, vi) is called the *Naigama-kāṇḍa* and etymologises nearly all the 278 words of the fourth *adhyāya* of the *Nighaṇṭu*. The third part of the *Nirukta*, known as the *Deivata-kāṇḍa* (chapters vii to xii), is based on the fifth *adhyāya* of the *Nighaṇṭu*, of which most of the 151 names of deities have been explained with their etymologies. Thus, the frame-work of the *Nirukta* follows that of the *Nighaṇṭu* and deals with groups of

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synonyms (adh. i, ii, iii), homonyms (adh. iv, v, vi) and deities adh. vii to xii).

The linguistic material with which Yāska deals was taken from the Vedic literature, but he does not fail to notice the distinction between and the affinity of the Vedic language and the classical Sanskrit. The current speech of his time is named Bhāṣā in the Nirukta. The spoken Sanskrit of Pāṇini's time is also called Bhāṣā in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. Yāska is conscious of the close relationship between the Bhāṣā and the Vedic speech (anu-adhyayam). He further adds that some of the Vedic nouns are derived from roots of classical Sanskrit, and also roots of classical Sanskrit from Vedic roots (ii, 2). At first sight he would here seem to regard the Vedic and the classical Sanskrit as two distinct languages with two different sets of roots. To Kāṭsa's criticism that the Vedic hymns are meaningless, Yāska replies that they are significant because their words are identical with those of the spoken language (i, 16). As Dr. Sarup tries to explain this anomaly, the position seems to be that the Vedic roots from which classical nouns are derived do not occur in verbal form in the classical language, and similarly classical roots from which some of the Vedic nouns are derived are not traceable as verbal forms in the Vedic texts. For example Agni is called *damūnas* in the Vedic hymns, which word is to be derived from the root *dam*, 'to become tame'. Now Yāska's meaning seems to be that, although the root "dam" is still used in the sense of 'becoming tame' in classical Sanskrit, it does not occur in this sense in the Vedic language. Yāska's acquaintance with the classical language or Bhāṣā was also of an intimate character, since in well-known passage he notices the dialectical differences in the spoken Sanskrit of his days or what may be called provincialisms (Savitar-yatekarmā Kambojesvara bhashyate, etc.) In another passage his geographical horizon extends to Kikata, the name of a country where non-Āryan tribes like Maganda and Pramaganda dwelt. This is possibly a reference to Magadha. Kikata is explained by Yāska as a Prakritised form of *kimkrita* (kim = ki; krita = kata), signifying "what have they done" or "what use is the performance of religious rites?"

Etymological Principles. The bed-rock of the doctrine

of the etymologists was that nouns were derived from verbs. Yāska also subscribed to this view and his etymologies are based on this principle. Amongst the grammarians, there was a distinct school of which the leading exponent was Sākatāyana who held the same view. Sākatāyana was an ancient grammarian whose opinions are also cited by Pāṇini. Patanjali attributes to Sākatāyana the same, rather extreme, views on derivation. Sometimes the followers of the Sākatāyana school carried etymologising too far. Yāska himself says that Sākatāyana derived a part of the word from one source and a part from another without caring about the meaning; e.g., in order to explain 'satya' he derived *ya* from causal form of the root *i* 'to go' and *sat* from the root *as* 'to be'. This was considered ridiculous by sober grammarians. The Unādisūtras which lay so much emphasis on analytical derivation from roots and suffixes seem to have been the product and it is possible that in their original form they were written by him to implement the views that he held. In contrast to this, Gārgya held a sober view about word etymology. According to him as well as other unnamed grammarians, not all nouns are traceable to verbs, but only those the accent and the grammatical form of which are regular. Both Pāṇini and Patanjali favour this balanced view and may have been representing the school of Gārgya. Yāska as a leading etymologist seems to have favoured the etymological doctrines of his own school, since in reply to the objection against Sākatāyana's overdoing the etymology of words he remarks: "An individual who indulged in such irrelevant derivation should be censured, but not the science of etymology" (*saishā purushgarhā na gāstragarhā*, i, 14). A clear statement of the method of derivation is contained in the following: "New etymology. With reference to this, the words, the accent and the grammatical form of which are regular and are accompanied by an explanatory radical modification, should be derived in the ordinary manner. But the meaning being irrelevant, and the explanatory radical modification being non-existent one should always examine them with regard to their meaning; by the analogy of some common course of action. If there be no such analogy, one should

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explain them even by the community of a single syllable or letter: but one should never give up the attempt at derivation (na-tveva na nirbryāt, ii, 1)". This is not very much different from what Sākaṭayana would have staked as his article of faith. In a more complacent tone he tenders the advice: "one should not explain either isolated syllables or to a non-grammarian, or to a non-residential pupil, or to one who is incapable of understanding it. Eternal indeed is the scorn of the ignorant for knowledge, therefore, one should take care to explain (the words) to an initiated pupil or to one who is capable of knowing them, to the intelligent and the diligent (medhāvīṇe tapasvīṇe vā, ii, 3). Yāska's approach to the whole problem is however, from a Scientific pedestal. He is conscious that etymology is a part of Vedic knowledge and can be learnt fruitfully only by one who is distinguished by outright sincerity in the pursuit of knowledge and wisdom.

We may now consider some of Yāska's principles of etymology in operation. To take a few instances: The word *vṛata* means 'action, a vow and food'. It is respectively derived from the roots (i) *ni + vri* (to ward off) (ii) *Vri* [to choose] and (iii) *ā + Vri* [to cover]. Here Yāska is rationalising the meanings given in the *Brahmaṇa* and *Upanishadic* passages from the etymological point of view. The case of *Vritra* has been referred to already. Out of its three etymologies, viz. from *vri* (to cover) and *vrit* (to turn or roll) and *vṛidh* (to grow), the first two are rooted in the *Brahmaṇa* passages (*S'atapatha*, I, 1, 3, 4; I, 6, 3, 1).

For *agni*, a four-fold derivation is proposed, namely (1) *aga + ni*, (2) *anga + ni* and (3) *a + knū* (to make wet); and (4) etymology attributed to *Sākapūri* is a good instance to illustrate the extremes to which the *Nairukta* school could go: "Agni is derived from three verbs—from going, from shining or burning and from leading, by taking the letter *a* from the root *i* (to go); the letter *ga* from the root *añj* (to smear) or *dah* (to burn); and lastly the root *ni* (to lead), i.e. *a + ga + ni* taken from three different roots" (vii, 14). From a strictly etymological point of view this can be hardly acceptable although Yāska may be taken to record faithfully the views held before his time and although some of those popular etymologies may have found their support in *Brāhmaṇa* passages, which now cannot be traced in entirety. Another interesting case is that of the word *sitāma*, signifying 1. forefoot, 2. womb (according to *S'ākapūri*) 3. lever (according to *Taitṛiki*) and 4. fat (according to *Gālava*).

(To be continued.)

Inscriptions from Sitabhinji, Keonjhar District, Orissa.

By Sri T.N. Ramachandran, M.A.

The recent discovery in the village of Sitābhīṇji, Keonjhar District, Orissa, of an interesting *tempera*-painting on a rock-shelter called Rāvaṇachhāyā in the shape of a half-open sunshade formed by two huge boulders placed one over the other, has indeed been of sensational importance. The subject-matter of the painting is a procession relating to a king on elephant who is preceded by footmen, a horseman, and a dancing woman and followed by an attendant woman. A painted inscription below the King gives the name of the king as "Mahārāja Śrī Disā Bhaṁja". The painted inscription is in characters of about the 4th century A. D., and this date is corroborated by an *ensemble* of evidence furnished by other associative antiquities recovered in the vicinity of Rāvaṇachhāyā such as brick remains, inscribed boulders mostly with names of Śaiva ascetics, a stone carving of a Mukhalinga recalling Gupta models, a female figurine of soapstone of the third-fourth century A. D., bronze ear-ornaments (*kuṇḍalas*) and copper cast "Puri-Kushān or Oriya Kushān" coins of the 4th century A.D. An article on this *tempera* painting by the writer with suitable colour reproductions has just been published in the *ARTIBUS ASIAE* No. XIV, 1/2, Switzerland. The coins are being dealt with by the writer in a separate article now under publication in Vol. XIII, part I of the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*. The inscriptions occurring on the Rock-shelter and inscribed boulders are being discussed here.

An area $3\frac{3}{4}$ mile $\times$ $1\frac{1}{8}$ mile, bounded, on the east by a number of inscribed boulders (pl. I, sketch-6), on the south-east by a massive rock called "Śrīraṇakhā" with a Mukha-linga in front of it (pl. I, 5), on the south by a river called *Sitā*, the bed of which yielded some prehistoric implements (pl. I-12), on the west by two detached semi-spiroal boulders called *Lava* and *Kusa* (pl. I-1), on the north by a conical massive rock called "Sitābhāṇḍārgar" (pl. I-3) and with the painted rock-shelter Rāvaṇachhāyā (pl. I-4) located in its centre, is not only important as recalling *Sitā's* exile as narrated in the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of *Rāmāyana* but also as the site that yielded a variety of antiquities including the inscribed boulders that are being described in this article.

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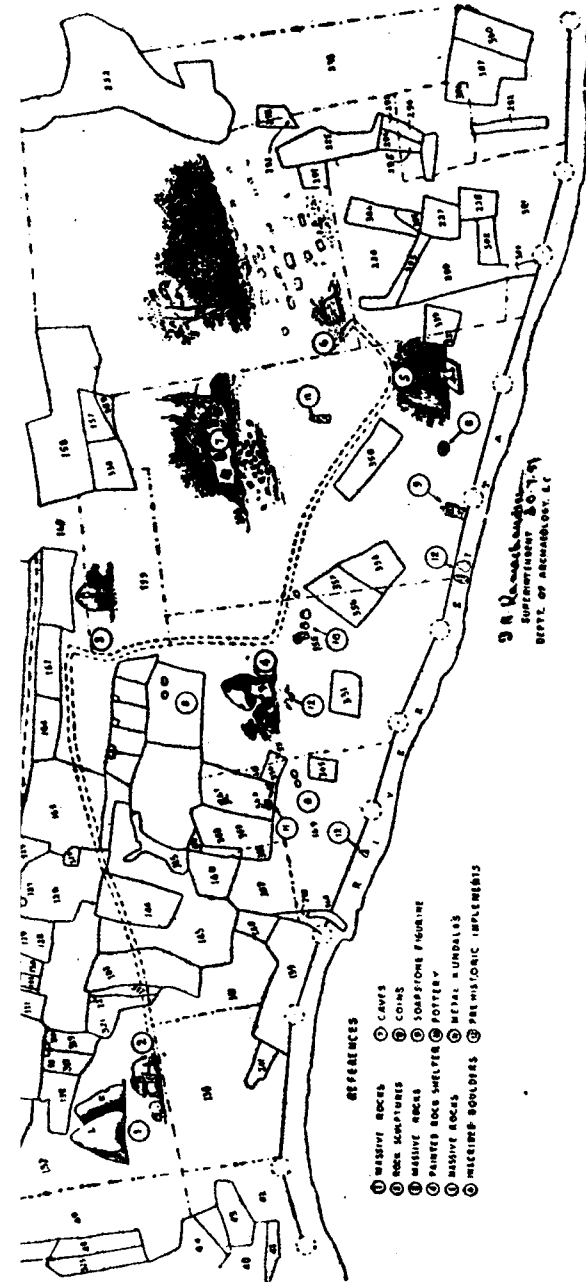
First in importance comes the painted inscription. That the subject-matter of the painting is a royal procession is what the inscription announces by its location below the King on elephant. It reads as (pl. II):-

Mahārāja Śrī Diśā Bhañja, "The Mahārāja (who bore the) illustrious (name) Diśā Bhañja". One letter of second line below the letter ha and three letters below the horse too faded and fragmentary to be made out, are also visible below the first line. The procession seems to relate to Mahārāja Śrī Diśā Bhañja who is on elephant-back preceded by four footmen, a cavalier on horse back and followed by an attendant woman. There is an attendant seated behind the king on the elephant holding a chāmara in his right hand and a chhatra in his left hand, as in the sixth century painting of Bagh.¹ The female attendant's pose recalls the style of Ajanta.² The inscription recording the name of the king is written in characters of about the 4th century A.D. and resembles the characters occurring in the Susunia rock inscription of Chandravarman.³ The language is Sanskrit and the characters belong to the eastern variety of the Northern alphabet of the 4th century A.D. We do not get such an early Diśā Bhañja in the Bhañja dynasties of Orissa. There are three groups of Bhañja Kings known to us so far. The first group is the Khinjali-maṇḍala branch. The second group ruled over Keonjhar and Mayurbhañj and the third group over North Orissa. We hear of two Dig-Bhañjas, one the brother of Netri (Neṭṭa) Bhañja II of the Khinjali-Maṇḍala branch, and another Dig Bhañja who was the son of Koṭṭa-Bhañja of the Khijjīnga-koṭṭa branch. But these two Dig-Bhañjas are not earlier than the 8th or 9th century A.D. It is doubtful to identify Khinjali-Maṇḍala with Keonjhar. Khinjali was certainly part of the high-lands of Orissa.

A little to the east of Rāvanachhāyā are the remains of out boulders half buried in earth, some of which contain short inscriptions with their letters ornamentally treated as in inscriptions of the Parivrajaka Hastin' (482-3 A.D.). The language is Sam-

1. V. Smith, History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, 1930, Frontispiece.
2. Ibid. plate 56-c. 3. E.I. Vol. XIII, p. 133. 4. Fleet, C.I.I., plates xiii-xv.

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Pl. I. Sketch: Sitabhinji and its archaeological vestiges.

skrit and paleographically; they are later than the Rāvanachhaya inscription. If the Rāvanachhaya inscription belongs to the 4th century A.D. these inscriptions can be assigned to the 6th century A.D. Vowel formations and down strokes are in long ornamental flourishes as in the inscriptions of Nāgārjunakonda⁵. Strangely however, these inscriptions engraved on boulders are in a South Indian lipi, while the painted inscription on Rāvanachhaya is of the eastern variety of the Northern alphabet like the inscription of Chandravarman on the Susunia rock, Bengal⁶. A satisfactory reading of the letters in these later inscriptions is obtained by a comparison with the Telugu-Kannada-lipi, as for example the Chalukya-Kannada-lipi and the Vengi-lipi of the early 6th century A.D.

How are we to account for the occurrence of this exotic script in North Orissa? As the answer appears to be supplied by some of the inscriptions themselves (- three of them), we can do no better than discuss the inscriptions themselves.

The inscriptions occur on independent and scattered boulders half-buried in earth. Nearby to their south, was found a Mukha-linga (plate I-5), of soap-stone, with four faces of Śiva recalling Gupta models. The Find of the Mukhalinga is helpful to determine that we are on the ruins of a shrine sacred to Śiva and that the records are persumably of Śiva ascetics (munis) and followers of Saivism. The inscriptions read as follows (plates III-VIII) :-

1.	A	
2.	Ya chhchha ya rak [aha]	Plate III
3.	Vam (Gam) ga pa ra ma (mā) dhi sa	
4.	Sa śa lām chhchha na dha ra pa [da]	Plate IV
5.	Pu ram ya (ja) ya Gam ga pu ra	
6.	h ya (ja) ya dra tha	Plate V
7.	Sa (sa) Si (si) tha (dha) ra pa da	
8.	Gu (Ga) m [ga] va (vā) di Gam gu (ga)	
9.	Sa (sa) Sa (sa) tha (dha) ra vam sa (Sa)	Plate VI

5. Journal of Oriental Research. Vol. XVI, part II, p 91-2.

6. Ep. Ind. Vol. XIII, p. 133.

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- | | |
|---|--------------|
| 10. Sa (Śa) Si (Śi) tha (dha) ra pa da śa (śya) | } Plate VII |
| 11. Yu ga pa m̐ cha chakra | |
| 12. Vi śa ya śa ya yam s̐u [bu] [ja] | |
| 13. Ni dhi ni kshe pa dha ra | } Plate VIII |
| 14. Śa Si (Śi) tha [dha] ra śya | |

Five of the inscriptions [Nos. 4, 7, 9, 10 and 14] that relate to Śaiva pilgrims or followers of Śiva or Śiva himself are—

1. Śa śa lām chh chhana dhara pa [da] [plate IV. No. 4]
= [He whose] abode is the bearer of the moon of the hare mark [Śiva].
2. Sa si tha ra pa da [pl. V. No. 7]. = Śa śi dha ra pa da
= [He whose] abode is the bearer of Chandra [Śiva].
3. Sa śa tha ra var̐ sa [pl. VI. No. 9] = Śa śa dha ra var̐ sa
= [He of the] lineage of the moon [Chandra] who bears the hare.
4. Sa si tha ra pa da śa [pl. VII, No. 10]
= Śa śi dha ra pa da śya
= Of him [whose] abode is the moon-bearer [Śiva].
5. Śa si tha ra śya [pl. VIII. No. 14]
= Śa śi dha ra śya
= Of the Moon-bearer [Śiva].

On one inscribed boulder, the single letter A was found [pl. III-1] which like the tiny grass showing which way the wind was blowing helped to determine the parent source or province from which the lipi came, viz, Telugu-Kannada from Chalukya or Vengi. Though it is tempting to read the letter as O and see in it the abridged form of Om, the two horizontal strokes on the top are the normal feature of almost all letters of this stock; and hence the letter is just A.

The five Śaivite records discussed above [Nos. 4, 7, 9, 10 and 14] acquaint us with the fact that Śaivism in which yoga perhaps played a great part, was the faith current in the locality. The sect was no doubt the Pāsupata, a faith which was also current in Bengal. Śiva Śrīkaṇṭha first preached this doctrine and was followed by Lakulīśa and these two were responsible for sowing the seeds of the Pāsupata religion. Lakulīśa had four ascetic disciples, Kuśika, Garga, Mitra and Kaurushya. Lakulīśa,

according to the Vāyu and Linga Purāṇas is the last incarnation of Śiva. He is assigned a date of contemporaneity with Patanjali of the Mahābhāshya [2nd century B. C.] and by some writers a later date⁷, such as first or second century A. D. If Patanjali and Lakulīśa were contemporaries, Patanjali's reference for the first time to the "Śiva-Bhāgavatas" in his Mahābhāshya, and the curious circumstance that Patanjali is looked upon by the worshippers of Śiva in Indonesia along with the four disciples of Lakulīśa as five Devatās⁸, give importance to the Kalinga tradition relating to the original migration of faiths and colonisation from the Kalinga coast to Indonesia. The Pāsupata was the oldest form of Śaivism prevalent in North India in the early centuries and Orissa was no exception. In the earlier temples of Orissa such as Parasurāmesvara [7th century A. D.] in Bhuvanesvar and Mahādeva in Borogam, Ganjam district, we find images of Lakulīśa. In Orissan sculptures of the 6th, 7th and 8th centuries A. D., he appears either alone or with two or four of his disciples seated on separate lotuses rising from a common lotus which also forms the āsana of Lakulīśa. Though at first sight he may be mistaken for the Buddha, the lakṣa or club and penis erectum [urdhva medhra] distinguish him. The Śaiva faith at Sitabhinji was no doubt Lakulīśa's Pāsupatism.

We should now determine who the person or persons were at Sitabhinji that followed his faith and have left for us indelible records in the shape of a Mukhalinga and inscribed boulders. The answer to this is also found in some of the inscriptions on the boulders. Such are Nos. 8 [pl. IV], 5 [pl. V], 8 [pl. VI] and 9 [pl. VI]. They read as:—

1. Var̐ [Gaṁ] ga pa ra ma [mā] dhi śa [pl. IV].
= Var̐ ga pa ra mādhiśa
= The great adhīśa of Var̐ga [Bengal]
Or
= Gaṁgaparamādhiśa
= The great adhīśa [of] Gaṁga [var̐ga]
2. Purāṁ ya ya Gaṁ ga pu ra [pl. V]
= Puraṁjaya Gaṁ ga pu ra

7. E. I. Vol. XXI, 1.

8. Kern, Verspreide Geschriften, VI, 308.

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≡Gangapura or the city of the Ganga,
the conqueror of cities.

8. Gum va di Gam gu (pl. VI)

≡Garh (ga) va di Garh ga

≡Ganga [of or from or belonging to] Gangavādi

≡The Garhga [King or Line of kings] of Gangavādi (i.e.)
that came from the Gangetic valley called Gangavādi.

4. Śa śa dha ra vaṃśa (pl. VI)

≡[Of the] Lineage of Chandra, who bears the hare.

These four inscriptions collectively appear to take us to an early phase of Orissan history, when a Line of kings, the Gangas of Chandra-vaṃśa⁹, Śaivite in faith, came to Kalinga at the end of the 5th century A. D. from their home in the Gangetic valley called Gangavādi. Inscription No. 8 [pl. VI] appears to refer to the Ganga hailing from Gangavadi. Inscription No. 5 [pl. V] refers to the city of the Ganga [perhaps Capital] which he doubtless founded after conquering (and destroying) cities of his sons. And inscription No. 8 (pl. IV) advances us a step further into the realisation that this Ganga was an Adhira or Adhirāja. Thus we are face to face at Sitābhīnī with some thing that seems to relate to the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga (497-625 A. D.) whose origin as we know is no longer in obscurity¹⁰. While the name of the founder of this dynasty is not preserved, we have records of Mitayarma and his son Adhirāja called Indrādhirāja or Indravarma I who ruled between 515-539 A. D. and whose capital was Dantapura¹¹. This Adhirāja Indra, according to the Godavari grant "first acquired great and pure fame, by overthrowing the infuriated elephant Kumuda that came against the elephant Supratika in the tumultuous combat waged by all the kings--in the desire to uproot by force Indrabhāṭṭaraka¹². Māha-Sāmanta varma (560-565 A. D.) with his capital at Saṃmyavara, Rājāsīmha Hastivarma (570-580 A. D.) with Kalinganagara (present (Mukhalingam or Kalinga-Nagara) as his capital, Indravarma II

9. E.I. XIX, p. 135. Text -I plate, II. 2-3. 10. J.A.H.R.S., Vol.V. Pt. 4, pp261-265. 11. I bid. Prof. R. Subba Rao's articles on the Origin of Capital and History of E. Gangas of Kalinga in Vols.V&VI 12. I bid VI. Pt. 2. pp. 71-73.

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Pl. II. Sitābhīnī: Rāvaṇachāyā.
Inscription recording the name of Mahārāja Śrī Diśa Bhaṇja.



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(580-595 A. D.) also with Kalinganagara as his capital and Dānārṇava and Indravarma III (620-635 A. D.) are the names of the other kings of this Early Eastern Ganga Dynasty of Kalinga known to history.

While one Line of the Ganga Kings moved from the Gangetic valley (Gangavādi) to Mysore and founded there a Gangavādi and a dynasty called the Western Ganga dynasty and adopted Jainism, another line came to Mahendragiri in Srikakulam district and worshipping Śiva (as Gokarna Svāmi) ruled over entire Kalinga. According to Prof. R. Subbarao, the Gangaridai of Megasthenes (300 B.C.) are the Ganga tribes that according to Pliny (77 A.D.) would seem to have moved southwards and occupied the region of Mado-Galingae (Madhya-Kalinga?) near about the mouths of the R. Vamsadhara in Kalinga¹³. Their capital is said to be Dandagula, identified with the Dantapura of Buddhist traditions¹⁴. In the Eastern Ganga genealogy Śaśāṅka (moon) occurs after Atri as Atri's son and the Ganga Vamsa is thus a lunar race. Their early capitals were Kalinganagara and Dantapura. There were two Dynasties of these Gangas, an early one and a later one, but both worshipped Śiva and both were related to the Eastern Kadambas. This Vamsa was indeed an illustrious one as it had continuous sway over Kalinga for nearly 1000 years. Though at the beginning it ruled over a small territory (Ganjam, Visagapatnam and Godavari districts), later on from the time of the later E. Ganga Vajrahasta (1037-88 A.D.) the Ganga empire extended to Vengi in the South and Odra in the north and west¹⁵. Thus we have at Sitabhinji records referring presumably to these illustrious early Gangas, their capital (Gangapura), their original home (Gangavādi) and to their great Adhira who in all probability was Mitavarma's son Indra Adhirāja or Indravarma I who ruled between 515-539 A.D. and whose pura or capital city was Dantapura, identified as Dantavarapukota¹⁶ [near Chicacole Road Railway Station, B.N.Rly.]

Inscriptions Nos. 2, 6, 11, 12 and 13 now remain to be dis-

13. According to other writers, Mado-Mūdu (Telugu) stands for "three" and the term refers to "Triakalinga". 14. E.I. Vol. XIX. p 135. 15. J.A.H.R.S. Vol. V. p 262 ff. 16. Prof. R. Subba Rao's Jirjini C.P. Grant of Indravarma in J.A.H.R.S. Vol III, Pt. I. pp. 49-53.

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-cussed. Inscriptions Nos. 6 (pl. V), and 11 (pl. VII) appear to relate to the valour or prowess of some one seemingly the Gaṅga. No. 6 is-

„ h ya ya dra tha h (pl. V)

≡ h Ja ya dra thah

≡ One whose chariot marches or moves victoriously (in all directions). With this form we may compare Dasaratha, whose chariot moved unchallenged and victoriously in ten directions (8 cardinal and sub-cardinals, one above and one below). The person Jayadratha referred to here was perhaps of such valour.

Inscription No. 11 (pl. VII) which reads as - Yuga pañcha chakra- is puzzling. It can be viewed in three ways -

1. Yuga + pañcha chakra
2. Yuga + pañcha + chakra
3. Yuga pañcha + chakra

Let us examine the first alternative - yuga + pañcha chakra-

On the analogy of words serving as names like Pañcha-chakshus standing for the Buddha, Pañchabāra standing for Manmatha, Pañchabāhu for Śiva's attendant, Pañchabhujā for Gaṇeśa, Pañchānana for Śiva and lion, Pañchavaktra for Śiva, Pañchadhanus for a prince (Vāyu Purāṇa) and Pañcha-chandra for a person (Rājatarāṅginī), we may take Pañcha chakra as the name of some illustrious person or god of yore, and apply it to some one now and call that one a living Pañcha chakra or the "Pañcha chakra of this life or generation [Yuga]". Though I made careful inquiries, the term "Pañcha chakra" does not appear to have any such significance or usage [prayoga]; hence this alternative has to be abandoned.

Thinking that Pañcha-chakra is perhaps an esoteric or religious or ritualistic term like pañchāyatana, pañcha-giṇḍa, pañcha-brahmāsana, pañcha-mudrā, pañcha-makāra, pañchājā-maṇḍala, pañchāmṛta, pañcha-yajña, pañchasavana, pañchakośa, pañchakrama, pañchāgni, pañchakalpa, pañchakarmī, pañchakapāla, pañchakarṇa, pañcha-gavya, pañchārtha, pañchatatva etc.. I sought its interpretation from some local scholars of Yoga, Esoteric circles, Professors of philosophy, Scholars and Pandits. But no solution has yet been forthcoming. As in pañchājā-maṇḍala does pañcha-chakra mean five circular āsanās, four for

Lakuliśa's disciples and the fifth [central one] for Lakuliśa? If it is so, then is it an esoteric form of dhyāna or worship that is offered in Pāśupatīsm to Lakuliśa and his four disciples?

The second interpretation is "Yuga + pañcha + chakra" meaning "2 or 4 or 12 + 5 + chakra or wheel". This may give a sense like "2 or 4 or 12 + 5 wheels" or one whose (chariot) wheels are 7 or 9 or 17. This is obviously a confusing result and has also to be abandoned.

The third alternative is "Yuga pañcha + chakra". The term "chakra", when associated with valour such as that of a conquering monarch (Chakravartī or Sārvabhauma) has the significant meaning "the wheel of a monarch's chariot rolling over his domain". We have the satisfactory example of Dasaratha, whose chariot wheel rolled triumphantly over the ten directions "Daśāsu dikṣu apratihatā rathah". The occurrence of the term "Jayadrathah" (pl. V-6) on another boulder at Sitābhīñjī and discussed above, is very significant. It seems to me that the term 'Chakra' in this record has the same import and significance as the term Jayadratha or Dasaratha, standing for the unchallenged course of the king's chariot or march of valour. Here, Yuga pañcha may be taken to stand for 'twice five' which means 'ten' and 'chakra' for the wheel of the triumphant monarch's chariot. Thus, we get the idea that the person's (let us call him the Gaṅga Adhiṣṭa) chariot wheel moved, the Jayadratha - that he was, in the ten directions unchallenged and unhampered even as the wheel of Dasaratha rolled over his domain in 'Trētāyuga'.

Three more inscriptions from Sitābhīñjī remain to be accounted for, Nos. 2 (pl. III), 12 (pl. VII) and 13 (pl. VIII). No. 2 which is only a fragment reads as - Ya chhchha ya ra k [sha]. The records of Sitābhīñjī without an exception, contain mistakes and misplaced vowel strokes. Thus, 'Sa' for 'S'a' and 'S'i', 'va' for 'Ga', 'ma' for 'mā', 'dhi' for 'dhi', 'ya' for 'ja', 'tha' for 'dha', 'Gu' for 'Ga', 'Sa' for 'Sya' and actual omission of letter 'Ga' in one case (No. 8) are some instances in proof. The present record has therefore to be corrected as 'Ya kṣha ya ra kṣha' in

17. Monier Williams, p. 380-381; Yājñavalkya, i, 265; Mahābhārata, i XIII; Bhāgavata Purāṇa. IX, 20,32; Vāyu Purāṇa.

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the first instance, and on the analogy of terms of protection common to inscriptions such as 'Māheśvara rakshā' and 'paṇ-māheśvararakshai', still further corrected as 'Yakṣebhyo raksha' to give the meaning (and the prayer) 'protect (me or us) from ghosts and evil spirits'.

No. 12 (pl. VII) is a record of highly ornamental flourishes, and calligraphic effect. It has three flourishes, one of which resembling an elephant's raised trunk, has no relation to the letters above which it is found. Though the record is clearly engraved, it cannot be satisfactorily read. My tentative reading is -

Vi sa ya sa ya yaṁ su(bu) ja

Admitting that here we have mistakes and the need to correct, I am correcting it as 'Vi sa yā sayāmbuja'. In other words it can be split as 'Viśaya + āśaya + āmbuja'. This splitting gives us an interesting result, such as one can expect in a place sacred to Śiva where ascetics met and conducted their theological pursuits. The terms are not used here in their general and popular sense. 'Viśaya' in theological terminology and according to Jaimini and Śaṅkara-Vijaya, means doubt or uncertainty. By this the philosopher's 'doubt' is expressed, which leads the enterprising student to the next stage of 'jijñāsā'. 'Āśaya' means asylum, store, or abode. And 'Āmbuja' which normally means 'lotus' or anything aquatic has here a special meaning such as 'Indra's thunderbolt', which lexicographers¹⁸ have mentioned in their lexicons, though it has not yet been noticed in any published text or usage (prayoga). Accepting this special meaning as the one probably intended we can analyse the record as -

Viśaya (=doubt) + āśaya (=store-house) + āmbuja
(=thunderbolt) = Viśayaśayāmbuja.

And this gives us the happy and edifying result that the record refers to some great and illustrious person - let us call him an Āchārya - who is a 'thunderbolt' to the collection of doubts'. With his knowledge and upadeśa (=thunderbolt), he destroys as it were all the doubts of the śiṣhyas and aids them to secure true knowledge (niścayātmika-jñāna). This in short would appear to be the spirit of this important record which has legitimately

18. Puruṣhottamadeva's Trikaṇḍaśeṣa. Monier Williams, p. 83.

received decorative and calligraphic flourishes at the hands of its engraver. "Viśa yā śa yāmbuja" may be another reading (after correction) which may represent the person referred to as a philosopher or yogin or āchārya detached from worldly pursuits, like the lotus from its aquatic surroundings and base. This recalls to our mind the philosopher's ideal 'puruṣas = tupuṣkarapālāśavan = nirlepah kimtu cetanah'. Does not the lotus (in bud or bloom) suggest by its erect position above water level, that though sprung from it and actually on it, it knows that it is not related to water or that it has nothing to do with it? Such is the position of the soul in relation to matter. Viśayaśaya (=store of mundane activities), stands here for matter, and the detached lotus (āmbuja) for the soul.

Inscription No. 13 (pl. VIII) reads as 'Ni dhi nikshe pa dha ra' ≈ Ni dhi (=treasures); Nikshepa (=deposits) dha ra (=preserver or possessor of) and seems to relate to a high functionary who possesses or preserves treasures and deposits. Either it refers to a treasurer such as the King of the land could have or a spiritual Head or religious Pontiff (a maṭhādhipati) would need. In the latter case, the treasurer alluded to, no doubt attended to the accounts of the religious seat (a Shrine or a Maṭha), such as Sitabhiṇji had the good fortune to be in the 6th century A. D., thanks to the patronage and proselytising zeal of the victorious early kings of the Eastern Ganga Dynasty of Kalinga, who were not only conquerors but also ardent devotees of Śaśidhara (Śiva).

Inscriptions Nos. 3 (pl. IV), 4 (pl. IV), 6 (pl. V), 7 (pl. V), 10 (pl. VII) and 14 (pl. VIII) do not rule out the possibility of the Gaṇḍa king Mahārājadhira ja Śaśāṅka as being the king to whose sway and religion they probably relate. For we know from Ganjam plates dated 619 A. D. of Mahāsāmanta Mādhavarāja II of the Śailodbhava Dynasty ruling over Koṅgoda that Mahārājadhira ja Śaśāṅka was his suzerain, and that Śaśāṅka's kingdom, included some time before 619 A. D., Oḍra and Kongoda in Orissa by conquest¹⁹. Śaśāṅka became the king of Gaṇḍa some time before 606 A. D. with his capital at Karpasuvārṇa (modern Rāṅgāmāti in Murshidabad district). His parentage is still in obscurity and attempts to connect him with the Guptas have been disputed²⁰.

19. E.I. Vol. VI, p. 143. 20. R.C. Majumdar, History of Bengal p. 59

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From the Rohtasgarh seal matrix record, we get the name Śrī-mahāsāmanta Śasānka'. If he is the Gauḍa Śasānka, then it means that Śasānka started as a subordinate ruler under perhaps, as Mr. R. D. Majumdar stated, Mahāsēnagupta. Another school maintains that Śasānka's overlord was the Maukhari king. Be it as it may, Śasānka of humble origin developed sometime before 606 A. D. into a great conquerer and by 612 A. D. included in his kingdom Gauḍa, Magadha, Utkala and Kongoda²¹. Of special interest to us is that he was a staunch Śaiva. His coins show the figures of Śiva and Lakshmi. His anti-Buddhist zeal did not find favour with Yuan Chwang who has recorded stories of Śasānka's persecution of Buddhism and his ignoble death. The poet Bāṇa condemns Śasānka for his religious bigotry as Gauḍabhujaṅga and Gauḍādhamā. But such charges must be accepted only with reserve.

The above details tend to suggest the advent of the Gauḍa Śasānka at Śitābhīṇji. Both the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga and Śasānka were ardent Śaivites. Both were conquerers. In fact, inscription No. 3 (pl. IV) which reads without correction as 'Vaṃ ga para mā dhisa' may well be translated as 'the great Adhisa of Vaṃga (Bengal)' and may apply to Mahārājādhirāja Śasānka. The other inscriptions (Nos. 4, 6, 7, 10 and 14) may be explained as standing for his valour and devotion to Śiva. Against this theory relating to Śasānka stand however the following features of the Śitābhīṇji records:-

1. The South Indian Lipi or the Telugu-Kannāḍa Lipi of the records.
2. Their date on palaeographical grounds, viz, early 6th century A. D.
3. The occurrence of names, Gaṃgapura (No. 5), Gaṃga and Gaṃ [ga] vāḍi (No. 8).
4. The reference in inscription No. 9 of the 'S'asi dha ra vaṃsa' or the lunar race to which, as we know, the Eastern Gangas belonged.
5. And lastly the fact that the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga (497-625 A. D.) were early settlers in Orissa, earlier than Śasānka's conquest by at least a century, were like Śasānka worshippers of Śiva and mighty conquerors but unlike Śasānka belonged to the Lunar race (inscription No. 9) and founded perhaps towns and named them Gaṃgapura after the name of their own dynasty [Nos. 5 and 8]. Also there is an Adhisa [inscription 3] in the Ganga Line, Indra Adhirāja [515-539 A. D.] to whose adventurous spirit we have already alluded.

21. I *ibid*, p. 65.

Nanduru Earthen Pot Inscription ★

Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar. M. A., Ph. D., Ootacamund.

The village of Nanduru lies about ten miles to the north of Bapatla, head-quarters of the Taluk of that name, in the Guntur District, Madras. Sometime about 1930, some workmen, in course of digging earth for use in the rice fields, discovered a brick encasement containing an inscribed earthen pot. The pot was later transferred to the Śāradānīketana, a well-known Girls' School at Guntur, where it is now preserved. It is said to be 5½" in height, while its mouth has a circumference of 11" and its belly a little above 16". There are three deeply incised lines on



A ya ma ni h pā śi kā h

the pot, one running round its belly and the two others just below its neck. The letters of the inscription are incised between the line on the belly and the second line below the neck. It has been pointed out that the pot resembles in shape the big burial urns, recovered from Ādichchanallūr and Perumbur and now preserved in the Madras Museum. The inscription, in Brāhmī characters of about the third century A. D. is in one line containing only seven *akṣaras* and two marks of interpunctuation.

These marks are formed by putting two dots vertically before a curve and denote the early form of the letter *daṇḍa* preceded by the *visarga*-like sign found in numerous records including the Madras Museum Plates of the time of Narendradhavalā, recently

★ A paper read at the Jaipur session of the Indian History Congress in December, 1951.

edited by me for the *Epigraphia Indica*. The lower end of medial *i*, used twice in the record, has a slight protrusion in both the cases. The inscription covers a space of about 6" in length. The letters, which are deeply incised and quite clear, had apparently been engraved before the earthen pot was dried up and baked in the furnace.

Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri published the above inscription in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. VIII, 1934, pp. 95-99. He deciphered it as: *āyamaṇi prusṭikā*. His explanation of the inscription runs as follows: "The word (i. e., *prusṭikā*) in this form is unknown..... But I think it may be safely connected with *pruṣṭa*, a word known to Amarasimha (*pruṣṭa-pluṣṭ-ṣṭā dagdhe*, III, i, 99) in the sense of 'burnt' *Prusṭikā* would, if what has been said so far is correct, mean literally anything that is burnt. Though it may thus conceivably mean a pot, I think it is meant to apply to the contents of the pot, the relics of some person preserved in it. If the interpretation of the second word is correct, the first would naturally give the name of the person whose relics were thus preserved. The name, as we read it, is *Āyamaṇi*. Considering the provenance of the pot, one is tempted to say that this word, *Āyamaṇi*, shows the pot to be the reliquary of no less a person than the celebrated Buddhist divine *Āryadeva* (a disciple of *Nāgārjuna*)".

I am sorry that I find it difficult to agree with either the reading or the interpretation of the record as offered by Professor Sastri. It will be seen that, even if the interpretation of the word *prusṭikā* in the sense of the relics of a dead man is not regarded as impossible, the name *Āyamaṇi*, *Āryamaṇi* or *Ārya-Mani* can hardly be taken to be the same as *Āryadeva*. Again, if the inscription was intended to convey the sense of "the relics of *Āyamaṇi*", the mark of interpunctuation after *Āyamaṇi*, a word used without any case-ending although the sixth case-ending was expected, seems to remain unexplained. What is more important, however, is that the reading *prusṭikā* is certainly wrong. The first of the three akṣaras is undoubtedly *pū* and not *pru*, and consequently the correct reading of the word or

name is *pūṣṭikā* and cannot be *prusṭikā*. The medial *ū* sign in *pū* in the Naṇḍuru inscription is exactly of the type to be noticed in records like the Jaggayyapeta and Nagarjunikonda inscriptions of the Ikṣvāku kings who flourished in the Krishna-Guntur region in the third century A. D. The inscription under review also belongs to the same area and period. Attention may be drawn to *pū* as found in the Jaggayyapeta records and reproduced by G. H. Ojah in his *Prācīna-lipi-mālā*, 1918, Plate XII; cf. the facsimiles of the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions, B. 5, line 5; C. 3, line 7; C. 5, line 2, etc., published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XX. See also *mū* in the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions, B. 2, line 3, etc. Attention may further be drawn to *khū* reproduced by Ojah, op. cit., Plate IX, from the inscriptions of Gautamiputra Satakarni and *mū* and *ḍū* in op. cit., Plate VIII from the Junagarh inscription of Rudradāman (cf. *pū* in the facsimile of the same inscription, lines 10 and 11, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. VIII). In this connection it may be pointed out that, although *pru* is not met with in early South Indian epigraphs, the the sub-script *r* and medial *u* with *p* must have resembled the same signs found in conjuncts like *dhru* as reproduced by Ojah, op. cit., Plate XVI, from the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta.

Professor Sastri's suggestion regarding the mention of *Āryadeva* in the inscription under review seems to show that he is inclined to assign the record to the second century A. C. Considering however the influence of Sanskrit in the conjunct *ṣṭi* in the word discussed above, I do not think that the epigraph is earlier than the third century (cf. Successors of the Sātavāhanas, 1939, p. 166).

Āyamaṇi seems to be the name of a man and *Pūṣṭikā* that of a woman. I therefore think it reasonable to suggest that *Āyamaṇi* was the husband of *Pūṣṭikā* who committed *Sati* or *Sahamaraṇa* (also called *sahagamana* and *anvārohaṇa*), that is to say she burnt herself on the funeral pyre of her husband. In case the relics of both the husband *Āyamaṇi* and the wife *Pūṣṭikā* were jointly preserved in the pot under review, we may understand why their names only, followed by marks of interpunctuation, were inscribed on the pot without any case-ending after them. The

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relics represented the persons themselves and we know that on numerous seals the names of the persons concerned are offered without the first or sixth case-ending noticed elsewhere. The custom indicated by the record under notice seems to have been that, on the occasion of the Sati, a potter was asked to make an earthen pot especially for the purpose of preserving together the relics of the husband and wife with their names inscribed on it.

H. T. Colebrooke gives excellent accounts of the Sati and the funeral ceremony as indicated in the Sanskrit texts on law (cf. *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I, 1837, pp. 114-22, 55 ff.). In connection with the latter, he says, "The fire must be so managed that some bones may remain for the subsequent ceremony of gathering the ashes ... On the last day of mourning, or earlier in those countries where the obsequies are expedited on the second or third day, the nearest kinsman of the deceased gathers his ashes after offering a S'rāddha singly for him The son or nearest relation of the defunct, accompanied by his kinsmen and clothed in clean apparel, repairs to the cemetery carrying eight vessels filled with various flowers, roots and similar things. He advances to the northern gate [The practice of enclosing the funeral pile with temporary walls is almost universally disused.] or extremity of the funeral pile, sits down there and presents two vessels as an oblation to spirits.....Then walking round the spot with his right side towards it, he successively places two other vessels containing eight different things at each of the three other gates or sides of the enclosure which surrounds the funeral pile...He then...silently, sprinkles the bones and ashes with cow's milk and using a branch of the S'amī and another of Palāśa instead of tongs, first draws out from the ashes the bones of the head and afterwards the other bones successively, sprinkles them with perfumed liquids and with clarified butter of cow's milk, and puts them into a casket made of the leaves of the Palāśa: this he places in a new earthen vessel, covers it with a lid, and ties it up with thread. Choosing some clean spot where encroachments of the river are not to be apprehended, he digs a very deep hole, and spreads Kuśa grass at the

bottom of it, and over the grass a piece of yellow cloth; he places thereon the earthen vessel containing the bones of the deceased, covers it with a lump of mud together with thorns, moss and mud, and plants a tree in the excavation, or raises a mound of masonry, or makes a pond, or erects a standard..... To cover the spot where the funeral pile stood, a tree should be planted, or a mound of masonry be raised, or a pond be dug, or a standard be erected. (This does not appear to be very universally practised; but a monument is always erected on the spot where a woman has burnt herself with her husband's corpse, or where a person has died a legal voluntary death.....) Again, at a subsequent time, the son, or other near relation, carries the bones, which were so buried, to the river Ganges: he bathes there, rubs the vessel with the five productions of kine, puts gold, honey, clarified butter and tila on the vessel, and looking towards the south, and advancing into the river.....throws the vessel into the waters of the Ganges..." It appears that the re-excavation of the buried earthen pot containing the relics of a dead man for throwing it into the waters of a river was not followed in all parts of the country.

The prevalence of the custom of Sati in South India in the third century A.D., as evidenced by the inscription under reference, need not surprise us. There is definite evidence to show that Sati was practised in India at least from the fourth century B.C. down to 1829 A.D. when it was prohibited by law. For a short history of the practice in different parts of India, Readers may be referred to P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. II, pp. 620 ff.

TEXT

Āyamaṇi | Pūṣṭikā |
Translation

[Here lie the relics of] Āyamaṇi [Here lie the relics of] Pūṣṭikā★

★ After this paper had been prepared, I was very glad to learn that Mr. N. L. Rao and Dr. N. P. Chakravarti have also read the second word of the Nandūru inscription as pūṣṭikā. Mr. Rao copied the inscription for the Government Epigraphist for India in 1939 and prepared a short note on it for incorporation in the section on Epigraphy of the annual report of the Archaeological Survey of India for the year 1939-40, wherein he has also pointed out that there is no justification for connecting the record with Aryadeva.

Yerrampalem Finds of Bronze Images and Bells.

By Prof. R. Subba Rao M.A.L.T., M.E.S. [Retd].

In the Government village of Yerrampalem in Rajahmundry Taluq of E. Godavari Dt., on 23-8-1947, Cowherds discovered on the outskirts of the village in an earthen mound the top part of a bronze image and they immediately reported the discovery to the village officials and other village elders who went to the spot and dug out the following: 4 Bronze Images and 2 Bronze Bells with Inscriptions running round them. On 8-4-48, they took procession of them in the streets of Rajahmundry. The matter was reported to the Superintendent of Archaeology, S.E.o. Waltair, Sri T. N. Ramachandran, M.A., who visited the spot. He gave me the privilege of accompanying him and knowing the details. We found the following bronze images, the first of the kind discovered in Andhradesa:-

1. *Sri Narasimha Deva*: Height 18", the pedestal measuring 6". It is a fine image of Vishnu standing in Sama Bhanga posture, with Abhaya Hastham, S'ankam and Chakram, Padmasana, Karpikara, S'iraschakram for holding garland, Yejñopavitam and Udara Bandham. There are festoons hanging down from Kireeta [Crown]. There is an under-garment, extending up to the knee.

2. *Sri Devi*; Height 15½", the pedestal measuring 5½". It is a fine figure but without Kireeta makuta. There is Kuchabhandha with Lotus in left hand and Patrakundalas for both the ear lobes. 3. *Bhū Devi*: with Karanda Makuta [Pots inverted] and with Neelotpala [Lily] in her Right hand. The two other hands hang down like cow tails. We find S'iraschakram, Garlands and Face marks for both the Devis who show a Thribhanga pose.

4. There is a small Bhūdevi image with a small lily in right hand. It measures 6½" in height including 2½" for the pedestal.

5 & 6. There are two big inscribed bronze bells of which one contains the following dated inscription running round it:-

* (పద్యం) స్వస్తి శకవరుషంబులు 1342 [A. D. 1420] అను నేటి
ప్లవ సంవత్సర అధిక శ్రావణ శు ౧౫ సా॥ తెనుకూరుండి శ్రీ నరసింహ
దేవరకు డూలపుంగారికి లింగన తమ పినతల్లి పరసానికిన్ని, తండ్రి
కిన్ని సుకృతంగాను ప్రోవుగంట ఆచంద్రార్కంగా సమర్పించెను.
మంగళ మహల్ శ్రీ శ్రీ జయము.

ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

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TELUGU & SANSKRIT

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Daivajña kalpalata (T) | 31. Kumāra Saṁbhavam |
| 2. Jagannādhavilāsam (T) | 32. Pāvuluri ganitam |
| 3. Vikramārka-charitra (T) | 33. Bhanumati Parinayam |
| 4. Vikramārka-charitra (T. D.) | 34. Sulakshanasāram |
| 5. Bhānumati Parinayam (T) | 35. Sitā Rāmānjaneya |
| 6. Bhāratam (T) | Samvādam |
| 7. S'ēsha dharmamulu | 36. Tamil manuscript |
| (Prose & Poetry) | 37. HariVāyu Sthōtram (S) |
| 8. Nilāchala Vilāsam | 38. Bhāratam (Sabhāparvam) |
| 9. Āyurveda Vaidyayogamulu | 39. Krishna Satakam |
| 10. Bhāratam (Virāṭaparvam) | 40. Hanumad-damdamam |
| 11. Gaṅga Gowri Saṁvādam | 41. Sudarsana-mantram |
| 12. Pāvulūri Ganitam (S&T) | 42. Bhāratam - Ādiparvam |
| 13. Bhāma Veshakalāpam | 43. Vijayavilāsam (T) |
| 14. Lanka Vijayam | 44. Bhōgini - Dandakam |
| 15. Jhānavi-mahātyam | 45. Bhagavadgita (S) |
| 16. Bhagavadgita | 46. Chandhogyopanishattu |
| 17. Chāruchandra Charitra | 47. S'āntikalpamu |
| 18. Rāmabhishta Saṁvādam | 48. Chintāmani-prakasa |
| 19. Subhadra Parinayam | 49. Mantra S'āstram |
| 20. Kshetraganitam (T) | 50. Chandra Chūdiyam |
| 21. Sapta Sati (S) | 51. Prākṛta Sādam |
| 22. Lakshana (S) | 52. Srimahāthraipura |
| 23. Kshetra-ganitam & Khāta | Siddhāmtam (S) |
| and Chhāyāganitams | 53. Sri Mahābhāratam |
| 24. Nalachakravarti Katha | (Ādiparvam) |
| 25. Prabhuliṅga līlalu (T) | 54. Jyotisha Saṁhitāraṇavam(S) |
| 26. Sivanubhavasāram | 55. Saraswathi Vilāsam |
| 27. Jñānasindhuvu | 56. Āchārya-muktāvali (S) |
| 28. Virāmahēśvarāchārya- | 57. Vēdāntavartikasāra- |
| saṁgraham | saṁgraham |
| 29. Adbhutttara Rāmāyanam | 58. Gadādhariya Simha Vyā- |
| 30. Tārakābhramma Rājam | ghralakshana Vichāram (S) |

59. Srimad Rāmāyanam (S) 95. Nilakanṭha Vijayam „
 60. Tarkaśāstram (S) 96. Vasantika Parivāyam „
 61. Krishna Karṇāmṛtam (S) 97. Uttara Rāma Charitra „
 62. Bhāṣhakusuma-manjari 98. Vikramōrvasiyam „
 63. Dandakamulu by Potana 99. Prabōdhachandrodāyam „
 64. Bhāgavatam (S) 100. Unmatta Rāghavam „
 65. Bhāratam 101. Śakuntalam „
 66. Jyōtisha Ratnākaram 102. Dvipada Rāmāyanam (T)
 67. Dasapurna Māsamulu 103. Vālmiki Rāmāyanam
 68. Mahimnākhyā stuti (Ayōdhyakanda) (S)
 69. Vijayavilāsam 104. KrishnarjunaSamvadā (T)
 70. Nilakanṭha-vijayam 105. Vālmiki Rāmāyanam
 71. Champu Bhāratam (Yuddhakandam) (S)
 72. Bhāratam, Prose 106. Bhagavadgita, Sankara
 73. Tatvachintāmaṇi Bhashya (S)
 74. Muhūrta Mārtādam 107. Bharata of Ananta Bhatta
 75. Bhāratam (Drōnaparvam) 108. Tathvachintamani (S)
 76. Śāstradipika-vyākhyā (s) 109. Mahabharata-Virata &
 77. Kapōta-vākyam Udyoga (S)
 78. Lakshmana Murcha 110. Rāmāyanam (Vālmiki)
 79. Satya Harischandra Kishkinda Kanda (S)
 80. Mimāmsāsāstra-d.pika (S) 111. Bhagavatam First Skanda
 81. Sri Rāmāyana Tatvadipika 112. Śarirakamimamsa of
 82. Nalōdaya Vyākhyānam (S) Śankara - up to end of 2nd
 83. Bhrammōttara khandam Adhyaya (S)
 84. Vasu-charitra 113. Sabda Manidarpana of
 85. Yajurveda (S) Kesi Raja (Kannadam)
 86. Uttara Rāmāyanam (T) 114. Bhagavadgita (Sanskrit
 87. Parayatam (S) with Telugu Tika)
 88. Rāmāyana (Vālmiki) Bala- 115. Miscellaneous verses (T)
 kanda (S) 116. Vartikabharanam of
 89. Prakṛita Maṇi Dipa (S) Venkateswara Makhi (S)
 90. Bhāratam Champu (S) 117. Vālmiki Rāmāyana -
 91. Siva Rahasya Khānda (S) Yuddha Kanda
 92. Samskrit Grammar „ 118. Pitrimēdha
 93. Lalita Sahasranama „ 119. Darsa Purnāmāsa (S)
 94. Aswamēdha Katṭhaka „ 120. Rēcipes of medicine (T&S)

121. Bhagavadgita with Sub- 155. Chid-Advaita Pramāna
 dhini Tika Traya Vistāra
 122. Dvipada Rāmāyanam 156. RukmāṅgadaCharitram (T)
 123. A Dvipada extelling Baha- 157. Panchatantram „
 durkhan, A vassal of Tippu 158. Basava-purānam „
 Sultan 159. Rāma BhishmaSamvādā
 124. Dvipada Bhāgavatam 160. Jñāna Sindhu
 125. Champu Bhārata 161. Prabhandharāja Venkatē-
 126. Champu Rāmāyanam swara Vilāsam
 127. Sita-vijayam 162. Telugu Satakams
 128. Bhōja Champu Rāmāyana 163. Dvipada Prabhulinga Lila
 129. Tarka Samgraham 164. Sulakshana Sāram
 130. Raghuvamsa 165. Vālmiki Prakrit and Vara-
 131. Kalamritam ruchi Sutras of Grammar (S)
 132. A work on Tarka 166. Chāru Chandra Charitram
 133. Shadāsiti 167. Pingala Chandas
 134. Champu Rāmāyana 168. Bhāratam (Ādiparvam)
 135. Vakya-vritti Prakasika 169. Kuśalava Champu
 136. Drika Drishya Viveka 170. Tarka Brahavidyā
 137. Advaita Viveka Vilāsam
 138. Śiva Tatva Dipika 171. Vasu Charitra
 139. Bhagavad gita 172. Bhāskara Rāmāyanam
 140. Amara-Nighantu 173. Lakshana Grandham (T)
 141. Bhagavatam by Potana 174. Sudarsana Mantras
 142. Jñāna Sarvasvasamgraha 175. Sāntis for bad Nakshatras.
 143. Prahlada Charitra 176. (a) Tamil works
 144. Virāta-parvam 176. Adbhutōttara Rāmāyanam
 145. Vāsudēva-mannana 177. Mahēndravijayam
 146. Bhartri Hari-Nāti Sataka (T) 178. Udyōgaparvam
 147. Vira Rāghavam 179. Dikshābōdha
 148. Aranya & Virata Parvams 180. Vīramahēswara Samgraham
 149. Halasya Mahatmyam (S) 181. Krishna Satakam
 150. A Tika on 'Mani', a Tarka 182. Raghuvamsa (S)
 Grandha 183. Megha Samdēsam (S)
 151. Purāna Mimāmsa 184. Purnaprayōga Chandrika
 152. Pratapa Rudriyam 185. Kuchelopakhyanam (T)
 153. Adhyātma Rāmāyanam 186. Rāma Stavarājam
 154. Pāṇini - Siddhānta 187. Panchatantram

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| 188. Bhānumati Paripāyam (T) | 211. Siva Sahasranāmam |
| 189. Sastra Dipika (S) | 212. Kukshimbhari Bheikshava
Prahasanam |
| 190. Sisupāla Vadha (T) | 213. Chandika Puja Vidhānam |
| 191. Bhōgāvati Dwipada (T) | 214. Brahmōttara Khādam |
| 192. Hanumaddamdamakam | 215. Bhāgavatam by Potana |
| 193. Naishadam | 216. Chandōgya Upanishad |
| 194. Amarukam | 217. Vikramārka Charitra |
| 195. Chidānanda manjari | 218. Amaram |
| 196. Nalodaya Vyakhyānam | 219. Tattwa Chintāmani |
| 197. Panchalakshani | 220. Muhurta Mārthānda |
| 198. Nyāya Siddhānta Manjari | 221. Bharatam (Dronaparvam) |
| 199. Laghu Vishayaka Vāda | 222. Nalacharitra - Dwipada |
| 200. Nirukti-prakāsika | 223. Sata Rāmānjaneya
Samvādam |
| 201. Rāmāyanam - Bālakanda | 224. Bhāratam - Ādi-Sabha
Parvams |
| 202. Tarka Samgraham | 225. Dwipada Virātaparvam |
| 203. Bhaskara Satakam | 226. Kapōta Vākya |
| 204. Chintamani-Prakāsa | 227. Lakshmaṇa Murcha |
| 205. Ābdika Mantras | 228. Dwipada Nalacharitra |
| 206. Dwipada Ramayanam | 229. Sri Somaśekhara Pra-
sanna Bhārata Vachanam |
| 207. Sastra D.pika | |
| 208. Dharmāngada Charitra | |
| 209. Sisupālavadha (S) | |
| 210. Vijayavilāsam | |

**Proceedings of the Annual General Body Meeting
held on 10-4-1949.**

**THE XXVIITH ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1948-49
ON THE WORK OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL
RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJAHMUNDY.**

(Read and Passed by the Managing Council at its Meeting held on 9-4-1949. Presented and adopted at the Annual General Body Meeting held on 10-4-1949.)

The Managing Council of the Society has pleasure to submit the following Report on the working of the Society during the year 1948-49.

At the Annual General Body Meeting held last year on 24-4-48, the following Office-bearers for the year under report were elected :-

President: Nyapati Kameswara Rao, B. A., B. L.

Vice-President: Rayasam Venkata Sivudu, M. A.

General Secretary: R. Subba Rao, M. A., L. T., M. E. S. (Retd.)

Joint Secretary: Mallidi Annareddi, M. A., L. L. B.

Treasurer: Rajah K. S. Jagannadha Rao Bahadur.

Librarian and Curator: Vaddadi Appa Rao, B. A., B. L.

Members of Council: Vepa Sriram, B. A., L. T.

Damerla Venkata Rao, M. A., L. T., M. E. S.

Chintaluri Hanumanta Rao, B. Sc.

Nidamarti Venkata Narasimham,

During the course of the year, Mr. V. Sriram who was elected as Managing Council member resigned owing to transfer and his place was taken by Mr. Devata Ramamohana Rao, B. A. Also, owing to Mr. Vaddadi Appa Rao's resignation as Librarian, Mr. M. A. Reddi, Joint Secretary was elected to act as Librarian also. Mr. K. V. Punayya, M. A., B. Ed., History Chief Lecturer, Government Arts College, was elected as member of the Managing Council. Owing to Mr. D. Ramamohana Rao's continued absence, he was considered under the rules to have vacated his office and his place was filled up by electing Mr. Vaddadi Appa Rao as Managing Council member.

Membership of the Society: The number of members on the rolls of the Society is fortunately on the increase. Some members have dropped out during the year under report and as many new members have joined the Society and this is a

matter of great satisfaction in as much as scholars outside are able to appreciate the work of the Society. Last year, the number on rolls was 137 and this year we are glad to say that the actual number of active and honorary members is 142. The work of the Society is still not widely known even in the Andhra Districts for lack of propaganda. If the Society can depute at least two individuals to tour round the districts and enlist members and support, there may be good response.

There are two Honorary members one elected for life and one for only 3 years. There is one Honorary Corresponding member elected last year for 3 years. There are 16 Life members of whom three belong to this year. There are 42 local members and 100 moffusil members. We regret to state that the following members of the Society died during the year: Messrs (1) V. Govindarajacharya, (2) Hota Veerabhadrayya, (3) Rebbapragada Subba Rao and we expressed our condolences.

SUBSCRIBERS: The number of subscribers for the Journal during last year was 40. But on account of the speedy publication of the Journal during the year, ten more old subscribers came back.

Exchange List: Our Exchange List has been varying during the last four years. Journals like the Mysore Economic Journal, Allahabad Journal of Economics and others have fallen off from the Exchange list. Some of the Journals like New Indian Antiquary, Epigraphia Indica, Modern Review, Philosophical Quarterly and others have not been regularly received by the Society. During the year, several new periodicals have been added to the Exchange list and they are: Andhra Silpi, Karnataka Sangeetham, K. C. Rani Itihasa Mandali publications, Rajasthan Bharati, Archaeological Memoirs of Dehli, Sodha Patricas of Udaipur, Commerce and Industry, New Delhi, Journal of Kalinga Historical Research Society, Bolangir, Vizaviyani, Vande Mataram and a few other Telugu Patricas.

The most notable feature in this year is that the importance of the work of the Society and the high standard of our Society's Journal are being recognised by the renowned research institutes of Germany, Russia, France and England, who have agreed to Exchange their publications with ours.

PATRONS: We have now 2 Royal Patrons of whom Sri VijaiaramGajapathi donated Rs13,000 and thus enabled us to own this Building. Also, 2 Chief Patrons, and one Chief Vice-Patron, elected for life and 6 Patrons, and 2 Vice-Patrons (ordinary.)

There are also 2 Patrons (Emeritas) who are elected for life for their meritorious work done for the Society.

The Maharaja of Jeypore Dr. Sree Vikrama Deo Varma, D. Litt., (Andhra) has, with his usual generosity and munificence, gave a donation of Rs. 100/- during the year. Previously, he granted several sums big and small for the Society.

Finances: The finances of the Society have improved. The causes for this are explained by the Treasurer. The receipts from the members, and the subscriber's subscriptions are very slender as Volume XVI is published only very recently. To a large extent, the sale proceeds of the Telugu publications and the back Volumes of Journals have contributed towards the stable working of the Society. But the sale proceeds or any substantial part of it ought to go, in the normal state of affairs into the permanent fund.

In the case of our Society, there has not been till now any permanent fund and no endeavour to keep a permanent fund is made. Thus, what ought to go really into permanent fund is being spent away for the bare maintenance of the Society.

The Society is daily growing and to do the work satisfactorily, there is the urgent need for a regularly paid manager who will be able to keep the records of the Society in a regular manner and also open the Free Reading Room and Public Library daily so that there will not be any complaint.

Through the sale of Society's publications and through some unexpected donations which were obtained by the Honorary Secretary, the Society during the year had been able to discharge its functions properly.

For want of adequate funds, the work of the Society in its several phases had been greatly hampered. If it has enough money on hand, the Council would have employed Pandits to finish cataloging of Dr. C. Narayana Rao's Palm-leaf manuscript and even printing some of them.

The need for public help is very keen. Except the timely and munificent grant of Rs. 100/- annually from the local municipality, and Rs. 200/- from the Madras Govt. for Library, we have no source of permanent income from outside. This sum is hardly sufficient for the maintenance of the Society. We also get Rs. 432/- from the Standard Vacuum Oil Company every year as they are occupying a part of our ground.

Journal: During the year, we were able to issue Volume XVI as one consolidated Number consisting of all the four quarterly issues. The most notable event of the year was the Silver Jubilee Celebration of the Society and the commencement of the printing of a Commemoration Volume.

Other Activities: the Managing Council elected the following gentlemen to represent the Society as delegates at the Sessions of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Dharbhanga and the Indian History Congress held in the last week of December at Delhi. namely Messrs (1) R. Subba Rao, (2) S. Sreeramulu, (3) Vaddadi Appa Rao and (4) V. S. Ramachandramurthy. Of these four gentlemen, Messrs. V. S. Ramachandramurthy and R. Subba Rao alone contributed Papers to be read in the History Section of the Indian History conference. Also, they attended the meetings at Delhi. Mr. S. Sriramulu contributed a Paper for the Oriental Conference and attended it at Dharbhanga.

Reading Room and Library: Several members of the Public used the Free Reading Room and Public Library which are becoming increasingly popular. During the year, a large number of Society's publications were sold. And this is a happy augury that the Society's publications are widely appreciated and studied.

During the year, the Hon. Secretary appealed to the Government of Madras for financial help but in vain.

There have been altogether 11 meetings of the managing council in this year and much useful work was done by it in advancing Society's progress.

THE 27TH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE HONORARY LIBRARIAN, FOR THE YEAR 1948—49.

I took charge of the Library in the middle of the year i. e. on 17-10-1948 from the previous Librarian, Sri V. Appa Rao who has resigned.

As the Honorary Secretary has pointed out in his report, the mainstay of the Society is its Library. Our library is getting nearly 60 Journals on Exchange basis from India and Abroad and these include Research journals from learned bodies. We are getting regularly the publications of the Government of India and also of the Native states like Baroda, Travancore and Mysore and also from Adayar, Tirupati Oriental Institute etc. There was a gap for some time in getting the Archaeological Reports of the Government of India. But as you are aware our learned Secretary attended the Indian History Congress held in Delhi during the month of December 1948 and in that connection met the authorities and enabled the Society to get the back Volumes of the reports.

Besides journals dealing with subjects of social, political, historical aspects, we are also getting journals dealing with spiritual subjects. Sri Rallabandy Subba Rao garu and Messrs Vaddadi Appa Rao, and Nandivada Chalapati Rao, proprietor of the Manjuvani Press have given valuable books. Our thanks are specially due to the Proprietor of the Manjuvani Press, for, he had given us all his publications *free of cost* which come up to nearly 80 books. We have got the Telugu Lexicon on exchange basis from Sri B. B. Sarvarayudu of Kapileswarapuram.

During the current year there are 473 additions to our library including journals, periodicals and books. Of these the number of Books received is 255.

The catalogue of the Books & Journals is made up-to-date by adding a printed supplemental one.

During the current year the number of readers and visitors was nearly 6000 as against the previous year's number of 5434. The average number of daily visitors is nearly 17 as against the previous year's number of 13. Hence there is a slight increase in the average number of visitors and readers to the Free Reading Room and Library.

During the current year, we got a library grant of Rs. 150/- from the Government and Rs. 200/- from the local municipality. Finally, to meet our ever increasing number of books properly, we have also purchased an almyrah and also a big rack at concession rate.

One word about Oriental Palm-leaf manuscripts of which there are a good number. Mr. V. Appa Rao did a part of the cataloguing of the Palm-leaf manuscripts. A Sanskrit Pandit was engaged for sometime and he also did some work of the cataloguing.

He was re-engaged to complete the cataloguing and it is being finished.

Finally I must state that my thanks are due to our Honorary Secretary. Due to his untiring efforts and zeal, our library has developed considerably and is still developing.

(Sd) Mallidi Anna Reddi, M. A., L. L. B.
Hon. Librarian.

THE 27TH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE HONORARY TREASURER, FOR THE YEAR 1948—49.

In dealing with the funds of the A.H.R. Society, I will not have much to express. Although the managing council is the body which controls its affairs, the work of conducting the Society very much encircles itself round the Secretary. This is known to all of you. (Out of his interest for the Society, he condescended, some two years back, to take up the seat of the Secretary from that of Vice-President.) Its progress depends on his activities.

There can be no comparison between the work of current year and that of the previous years. The construction of the building was found inevitable and the Hon. Secretary Mr. R. Subba Rao worked hard at it and almost brought it to a close.

This year greater work could not be attempted for want of funds. However, he found a way open to him, namely, to make money by the disposal of excess Journals and by the publications of volumes of historical records.

The publication of Reddi Samchika came to his aid and he spared no pains to see that a large number of those publications of the Society were disposed off.

Our Society has to thank Mr. N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu Garu, the Hon. President, for his large heart to allow us to repay at our leisure the debt of Rs. 2000/- which we owe him on a

The enclosed statement of actual receipts and the expenditure during the year from the 1st of April 1948 to the end of March 1949 will reveal the transactions made. The major portion of the income was covered from (a) the sales of the publications of the Society both English and Telugu, (b) Ground-rent from the Vacuum Oil Company. (c) Grants to the Library and Reading Room from the local Municipality and from the Provincial Govt. (d) Donations from one of our Royal Patrons Sri Vikrama Deva Varma garu, Maha Raja of Jeypore and from a chief patron Sri N. Kameswara Rao garu and from two other gentlemen who became life members.

As there has been no issue of a new Journal, the income from our members and subscribers became very poor.

Lastly, one thing has to be regretted viz. that the Society has no reserve fund to fall back upon in time of need. Consequently, it is hardly able to maintain itself. It is left for you to suggest a way for the formation of a Reserve fund.

PROGRESS OF THE SOCIETY.

(a) Walls are raised for a Museum Hall with an ante-room and a Lavatory at a cost of Rs. 415/-.

(b) Our Library has been enriched with the addition of books supplied from Jayanty Ramayya Pantulu garu's Library and also from several donors like Mr. Vaddadi Appa Rao and Rallabandi Subba Rao.

(c) Investment for printing a part of Vengy Samchika costing Rs. 250/-.

(d) Establishment charges came up to Rs. 460/-.

(e) A water tap has been fitted in the bath-room at a cost of Rs. 122/-

On the whole, the progress of the Society may be said to be fairly good. A detailed statement of Income and Expenditure is attached.

(Sd.) R. K. S. Jagannadha Rao Bahadur,
Hon. Treasurer.

VIII

AUDIT REPORT.

I have examined the Receipts and Payments Account, the Income and Expenditure Account and the Balance Sheet on 31-3-1949 with Vouchers and duplicate Receipts maintained by the Managing Committee of the Historical Society and found them agreeing. I have the honour to report

- (1) That I have obtained all the information and explanation I have required.
- (2) That, in my opinion, the Balance sheet and the Income and Expenditure Account referred to above are drawn up in conformation with Law.
- (3) That the Balance Sheet exhibits a True and Correct view of the state of the Institute's affairs according to the best of the information and explanation given to me and as shown by the books of the Institute.

Rajahmundry,
2-4-1951.

Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) D. Kameswara Rao,
Chartered Accountant.

THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJAHMUNDY.

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT FOR THE PERIOD FROM 1-4-1948 to 31-3-1949.

RECEIPTS.		Rs.		As. Ps.		PAYMENTS.		Rs.		As. Ps.	
To Open cash balance.		399	4	4		By Municipal Taxes,		51	5	2	
„ Membership fee.		258	0	0		„ Reading Room.		57	8	0	
„ Institutions.		38	10	0		„ Postage.		72	8	0	
„ Donations.		102	1	0		„ Establishment.		462	12	9	
„ Sale of Publications.		1525	15	6		„ Printing Charges,		251	0	0	
„ Postal Savings Bank withdrawal.		13	11	0		„ Travelling Charges.		250	2	0	
„ Andhra Bank Ltd., withdrawals.		326	0	0		„ Postal Savings Bank.		0	3	0	
„ Ground Rent A/c.		432	0	0		„ Aryapur Urban Bank.		0	8	6	
„ Lighting.		39	15	9		„ Andhra Bank Deposits.		695	2	0	
„ Library Grant,		350	0	0		„ Ground Rent A/c.		0	9	0	
„ Building repairs.		3	12	0		„ Lighting.		47	5	9	
„ Miscellaneous receipts,		18	11	0		„ Library charges.		207	4	6	
„ Loans received.		166	8	0		„ Building repairs.		428	15	9	
„ Silver Jubilee Donation.		100	0	0		„ Miscellaneous Expenses.		329	1	3	
„ Suspense A/c.		106	0	0		„ Loans repaid.		106	8	0	
„ Interest.		3	3	6		„ Water Tap.		114	0	0	
„ Imperial Bank.		104	0	0		„ Suspense A/c.		106	0	0	
						„ Imperial Bank.		702	4	0	
						„ Cash on hand.		104	10	5	
Total.		3987	12	1		Total		3987	12	1	

THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJAHMUNDRY.

BALANCE SHEET AS ON 31-3-1949.

CAPITAL & LIABILITIES.		Rs.	As.	Ps.	PROPERTY & ASSETS.		Rs.	As.	Ps.
Loan on Pronote due to Sri N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu Garu.		2000	0	0	House and sites as per last B/s.		21,448	15	3
Loan from Hon. Treasurer.		60	0	0	Cost of 6 Sets of copper-plates inscriptions as per last B/s.		1,200	0	0
Silver Jubilee Donation.		100	0	0	Palm-leaf Manuscripts in Telugu and Sanskrit as per last B/s.		4,000	0	0
Capital as per last B/s.		51,983	10	1	Telugu and English Printed books as per last B/s.		800	0	0
Less excess of expenditure over income.		2,419	12	5	Museum A/c as per last B/s.		10,000	0	0
					Furniture as per last B/s.		3000	0	0
					Books as per last B/s.		605	5	0
					Photos as per last B/s.		549	3	0
					Electric installations as per last B/s.		230	6	6
					Deposit with R. E. S. Co., Ltd., as per last B/s.		165	8	0
					Water tap.		114	0	0
					STOCK OF JOURNALS & BOOKS:				
					1. Kalinga Samchikas 157 @ Rs. 8/- each.		1256	0	0
					2. Kakathiya Samchikas 191 @ Rs. 5/- each.		955	0	0

3. Reddy Samchikas 333 @ Rs. 6/- each.	1998	0	0
4. A.H.R. Society's Journals 4049 @ Re.1/-each	0	0	0
Subscriptions due.	8258	0	0
	212	0	0

CASH: BANK BALANCES:

Andhra Bank Ltd.,	409	14	3
Aryapur Urban Bank.	27	11	3
Imperial Bank Ltd.	598	4	0
Cash on hand.	104	10	5
Total	51,723	13	8

RAJAHMUNDRY,
1-4-1951.

R. SUBBA RAO,
Hon. Secretary.

K. J. GOPALA RAO,
Hon. Treasurer.

D. KAMESWARA RAO,
Chartered Accountant.

PROCEEDINGS OF PROF. RALLABANDI SUBBA RAO,
SHASHTIPURTHI CELEBRATION.

At a meeting of the Managing Council of the A.H.R. Society held on 28th February 51 with Sri N. Kameswara Rao, B.A., B.L. President of the society in the chair, it was resolved to constitute a committee consisting of the President and members of the Managing Council and Raja K. S. Jagannadha Rao Bahadur and Sri P. Suryachandra Rao with power to co-opt, to celebrate, under the auspices of the society in recognition of his life-long and devoted services to the Society in particular and the cause of Historical Research in general, the *61st Birthday* of Prof. R. Subba Rao by, among other things, presenting a Commemoration Volume of original articles bearing on Historical and Indological Studies written by Scholars, and his Colleagues and Pupils.

To meet the cost of the undertaking which would be about Rs. 2000/- the Committee cordially invited all friends, admirers, former pupils and old colleagues of Prof. R. Subba Rao to contribute liberally so as to make the function a success. Literary Contributions are also to be sent to the President of the Society.

The appeal was signed by the following members.

1. Nyapathi Kameswara Rao B. A., B. L., President.
2. Inampudi Suryanarayanamurthy, M. A., L. L. B.
3. Vaddadi Appa Rao, B. A., B. L.
4. Jayanti Ganganna, B. A., L. T.
5. Damerla Venkata Rao, M. A. L. T. M. E. S. (Retd).
6. Dr. V. V. Dikshitulu.
7. Nanduru Bangarayya, B. A., B. L.
8. Alapaty Bhaskararamayya.
9. Kandregula Sadasiva Krishna Rao, B. A.
10. G. Varada Rao.
11. Madduri Hanumantha Rao, B. A.
12. Chintaluri Hanumantha Rao, B. Sc.
13. P. S. Chandra Rao.
14. Dr. Rabbapregada Subbaramayya.
15. Prof. Rayasam Venkatasivudu, M. A.
16. Nidamarti Venkata Narasimham.
17. Palakodeti Suryaprakasa Rao, B. A.

18. Chitrapu Nagaraju, B. A.
19. Prodduku David, M. A.
20. Raja Kandregula Srinivasa Jagannadha Rao Bahadur.
21. Mallidi Anna Reddi, M. A., L. L. B.
22. K. J. Gopala Rao, B. A., B. L.
23. Prof. K. V. Punnayya, M. A.
24. Rao Bahadur Avasara Rama Rao, B. A., B. L.

As a result of the appeal, the following members of the Society sent the Donations noted against their names:-

1. Messrs N. Kameswara Rao	Rs. 116/-
2. „ K. Jagannadha Gopala Rao	116/-
3. „ K. Sadasiva Krishna Rao	116/-
4. „ A. Bhaskara Ramayya	50/-
5. „ N. V. Narasimham	25/-
6. „ V. Venkappa Rao	25/-
7. „ K. V. Narayana	20/-
8. „ Siddeswara Hota	10/-
9. „ T. Kanakaraaju	10/-
10. „ D. Venkata Rao	10/-
11. „ V. Venkateswarlu	5/-
12. „ J. Ganganna	5/-

Several Scholars sent their Literary contributions which are published in this Shashtipurthi Volume.

The Society's best thanks are due to both the Monetary and Literary Contributors. Just before the Public meeting, held in the Morning, Prof. R. Subba Rao gave a Lunch to all the members present in honour of his 'Shashtipurthi' after which a Group photo, published in this Journal, was taken. Then, the Public meeting began, in which on behalf of the Shashtipurthi Celebration Committee, I read the following address and gave presents to Prof. R. Subba Rao. Messrs M. A. Reddi and P. Chandra Rao presented new cloths, money purse etc., to him. With the Benedictory speeches of several members and the reading of the Telugu Verses, printed below, the morning Session closed after a suitable acknowledgement made by Prof. R. Subba Rao.

Address presented to:

SRI RALLABANDI SUBBA RAO GARC, M.A., L.T., M.E.S. (Retd.)

Member, Indian Historical Records Commission and General Secretary, The Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry.

Dear Brother in Service,

On this occasion of your SHASHTIPURTHI function conducted by this Institution, we, the members of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry present this Address to you as a token of our appreciation of your meritorious and glorious services rendered by you to our Society.

You have taken up the great task of Building up this Society at a time when it was feared that it would be wound up and for nearly twenty eight years by now you have laboured incessantly for its uplift. You have taken it to a level which is the envy of similar institutions in India and which is challenging comparison with Research Institutions elsewhere in the world. There can be no question that this eminent position acquired by our Society is entirely due to your selfless efforts.

Day in and Day out, you have carried the message of the Society to every nook and corner of India. Wherever you were, you had no other idea except that of fostering the interests of this institution.

We feel proud and are extremely glad that your labours in the field of Historical Research have been suitably recognised by the Government of Madras who have nominated you as a member of its Indian Historical Records Commission, Survey Council and by the Government of India who have appointed you as a Member of the Research and Publication Section of the Indian Historical Records Commission. We know that these honours conferred on you will strengthen the incentive in you to work all the more vigorously for the advancement of this Society. It is indeed by your meritorious work for it that it was recognised by Madras Government as one of the four learned Institutions maintaining Manuscripts Libraries, and by India Government as one to which Donations could be paid with the exemption of Income Tax.

On this occasion of your Shashtipurthi Celebration, we offer you our heartiest felicitations. May God bless you with a very

long and prosperous life so that the interests of Andhras may ever be kept in the fore-front in the field of Historical Research and other Nation-building activities.

As a mark of our esteem for you, we present to you this 19th volume of our Journal which consists of Contributions from several Research scholars who have high regard and respect for you, and also the following Presents:-

1. Fountain pen, 2. Kashmiri Shawl, 3. Salem silk laced Dhoties, 4. Silver cup and saucer.

We remain, Members of

THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJAHMUNDRI.

In the evening, a Public meeting was held over which Kalapurna Dr. C. Narayana Rao presided and delivered an instructive address on Shashtiparthi which is published here. As President of the Society, I had pleasure in giving my benediction and wishing many more pleasant and happy years to Prof. Subba Rao and presenting him with the Copy of Shashtipurthi Volume printed so far. Several members spoke on the good qualities of head and heart of Prof. Subba Rao and wished him long and useful Life. Mr. Kota Venkatachalam gave an address on 'Some problems of Andhra History'. Several scholars read Verses describing the career of Prof. Subba Rao who replied suitably narrating the chief features of his public career - his work in several First grade Government Colleges as History Lecturer and his devoted and continuous service as Hon. General Secretary of the A. H. R. Society especially in connection with the acquisition of an independent and own Building for the Society.

With a Vote of thanks proposed by me to the several Donors, Writers and Speakers, the meeting came to a close.

[Sd.] N. KAMESWARA RAO,
President.

* ప ప్పి పూ ర్తి మ సహో త్స వ ప్ర శం

సీ. భాషింపఁగలవు- శర్వజటాటవీలుక
 త్సురనదీలహరి భాసురత మెఱయ
 వాదింపఁగలవు- జహ్వవీధి నర్తించు
 వాఙ్మాలమున శత్రుభయము లొలయ
 రచియింపఁగలవు- నిర్భరపరిశోధనల్
 సలిపి గ్రంథముల నుజ్జ్వలతవెలయ
 నడిపింపఁగలవు- ప్రజాదీక్ష లేర్పడ
 నెన్నోవిద్యాసంస్థ లుత్తమగతి
 భౌతికబలంబు, మఱి యాధిభౌతికంపు
 బలముగలభాగ్యశాలివి చెలిమికాడ!
 షష్టిపైనింక షష్టివత్సరము లిటులె
 మనుము! వేడుక నాంధ్రవాఙ్మయము తనియ.

ఉ. ఈవు పరిశ్రమించి రచించిన వ్యాసములున్, కళింగ ధా
 త్రీవరణీయ నూతనచరిత్రము- తెల్లన శాశ్వతంబుగా
 తీవలుసాగు; శాసనపుడేరులు, సీపరిశోధనంపు ప్ర
 జ్ఞావిధి యత్యపూర్వగతిసాగెను విత్రమ! సుబ్బరాఙ్ముఖా!

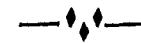
చ. సురుచిరమైన 'ఆంధ్రపరిశోధకమండలి' కండవై మనో
 హరమగు క్రొత్తసాధము యందిడి వాఙ్మయసుందరీమణిన్
 కరము సమర్పచేయు బుధగణ్య నినున్మది నెన్నువాడ, ధీ
 వరనుత రాళ్లబండి టలవార్ధి కళానిధి! సుబ్బరాఙ్ముఖీ!

శా. నీవున్నేనును చెల్లిపెంపుగొన నెంతే ప్రీతి, సౌభ్రాత్రస
 ద్భావంబుల్ పొదలన్ గళాలయములందారాడి, యుద్యోగధ
 రావాసంబున కాలముంగడుపుటన్, రంజిల్లి ప్రాచీనమౌ
 భావవ్యాప్తి, గతానుభూతులును సీఫక్కిన్ వెలారిందితిన్.

XVII

క. పరమేశ్వరు కరుణారుచి
 పరగన్ మన తెన్నువారి భవ్యచరిత్రన్
 పరిశోధన గావింపుము
 సురుచిరగతి రాళ్లబండి సుబ్బారాయ!

భమిడిపాటి సత్యనారాయణశాస్త్రి
 ఆంధ్రభాషాధ్యాపకుడు, గవర్న మెంటు అర్బన్స్ కాలేజీ, (Retd.) రాజమండ్రి.



శ్రీయుతులు రాళ్లబండి సుబ్బారావు పంతులు, ఎం.ఏ.ఏల్.టి.ఎం.ఐ.ఎస్. [Retd.] గారి
 షష్టిపూర్తి మహోత్సవ సందర్భమున సమర్పింపబడిన

★ పంచరత్నములు ★

కవిశేఖర: విశ్వనాథ సరసింహము, బి.ఏ.బి.ఇ.యల్.బి.ఇడి.
 ఆంధ్రభాషాధ్యాపకుడు, గవర్న మెంటు అర్బన్స్ కాలేజీ, రాజమండ్రి.

శ్రీలజ్జెలంగి చరిత్రప్రసిద్ధమై వరలుభారతభూమి భవ్యచరిత
 నేదవేదాంగముల్ విదితమైయొప్పారు! భారతావనిగన్న భవ్యచరిత
 వాల్మీకివ్యాసాది వరమునీంద్రులగాంచు! భారతాంబ విసుద్ధ భవ్యచరిత
 చక్రవర్తులు మేటి సార్వభౌములునేలు! భారతదేశంపు భవ్యచరిత
 దేశచరితలలో నెల్ల దివ్యమగుచు! బరగు భారతదేశంపు భవ్యచరిత
 అనవరతదీక్షశోధించినట్టి రాళ్లబండి సుబ్బారాయని ప్రీతి బ్రస్తుతింతు॥

అరువదియేండ్లకీర్తి నలరారితి శైశవమట్టులేకదా
 పరగెదవుత్సుకంబున సభాభవనంబుల, తోడివారిలో
 నరుదగు శోధనల్ సలిపినట్టిఘనుండవె యయ్యునెప్పుడున్
 గురువర! సుబ్బారాయ! తమకుంగలదే యిసుమంతగర్వమున్॥

ఇతిహాసంబుల శోధనల్ సలిపితో యీ! సుబ్బారాయా! నినున్
 మతిమంతుల్లొనియాడుచుందురెప్పుడున్ మాన్యుండవొనంచు నీ
 సతతాహ్లాదముఖాబ్జమున్ గనగనే సంతోషమేపారెడిన్
 వితతాంధ్రావని పూగుపోత్తముడవై పెంపారుమెల్లప్పుడున్॥

ఆచార్యవర్యుండవనినిన్ను సతతంబు విద్యాస్థులెల్లరు వినుతినేయ
ఉత్సాహవంతుండు నొజ్జలలోనంచుతోడివారల వినుతులు సెలంగ
మనకళింగవెలార్చు ఘనచరిత్రంబును వెలువరించితివన్న వినుతి నెగడ
ఆంధ్రదేశంబున నవలరాష్ట్రంబులగలవారి సన్నుతుల్ చెలగుచుండ
నిర్వహించితి విన్నింటినియతితోడ! అనఘ! నీపూర్వజన్మపుణ్యంబు కతన
కొలదిమాటలని న్నేన్న సలవియగు నె! రాళ్ల బండిసుబ్బారాయ! రమ్యగేయ॥

వేదాతీతుని వేదవేద్యుని సదావేదాంతవేద్యున్ విభున్
మోదంబొప్పగి గొల్చువాడవగుచున్ భూరిప్రభావుండవై
మేధాశక్తిని సుబ్బారాయ! గనుచున్ మేల్మేలుగానుండు మా
వేదోక్తంబగు నాయునున్నతులతోఁ బెంపొందు సత్కీర్తులన్॥



శ్రీ రాళ్లబండి సుబ్బారావుగారి వస్త్రాభివృద్ధి మహోత్సవసందర్భమున

ప్ర శం స.

సీ. శ్రీయుతి సుబ్రావు । శృంగారగుణధామ
యం. ఏ. ను పేసయి । యాంధ్రులందు
మేటి లెక్కరకుగ । మెడ్రాసురాజ్యపు
యం. యి. యన్. గా నుండి । యంతసుత్క
శమునందు బోధకు । లందునదిట్టవై
యాంధ్రచారిత్రక । గ్రంథములను
పరిశోధనలఁజేసి । ప్రజ్ఞతో పత్రికన్
నడపుచు మండలిన్ । నడపుచుండి

తే.గీ. కార్యదర్శివై న్యాపతి । కామయీశు
డయిన కామేశుడధ్యక్షు । డయినసంస్థ
విశ్వమంతను ఖ్యాతితో । వెలయునట్లు
జేయు సుబ్రావు శుభములు । జేకురిలను

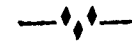
ఆ.వె. అరువదేళ్లునిండ । నాయువు నెక్కువే
దీవనిచ్చు బ్రహ్మ । దివ్యముగను
ఆంధ్రచరితములను । యాంధ్రతేజముశక్తి
చాటుచుండుమిలను । చక్కగాను!

తే.గీ. ఇండియను రికార్డుకమిషన్ । మెంబర్ పరి
శోధన ప్రచురణలఁజేసి । సులువుగా సు
బోధనలఁజేసి చరితము । శుద్ధిజేసి
లోకమంతకు బోధించు । లోటుదీర్చి!

ఆ.వె. నూటయిరువదేళ్లు । నుదుటకలిగియుండి
కీర్తికాంతను చేబట్టి । కీరవాణి
వృత్తగీతాల సలుపంగ । నిత్యమిలను
చరితమందరు పాడంగ । జాడలుంచు!

తే.గీ. ఆయురారోగ్యసంపద । లననికల్గి
నిత్యకళ్యాణ శోభతో । నేర్పుతోడ
లోకకళ్యాణమేర్పడ । లోకులెల్ల
సంతసింపగ నుండువు । శాంతిగాను!

రాజమహేంద్రవరం } మద్దూరి వెంకటసత్య సూర్యనారాయణమూర్తి.
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7401/RH/80

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