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Journal of
The Andhra Historical
Research Society

July - 1952 to April - 1954

VOL. 22.

A
1216 m, N26
N58.22

94315

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4-MAY 1957

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JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Vol. XXII

July 1952 to April 1954.

THE HISTORY OF ANDHRA COUNTRY (1000 A. D. to 1500)

SUBSIDIARY DYNASTIES

Chapter XII (Contd). CHĀLUKYĀS.

(Continued from p. 94 of Vol. XXI)

BY

SREEMATI V. YASODADEVI, M. A., M. Lit, D. Lit.

Bhima and the Telugu Cholas:- Balli Chōḍa at Konidena, Ōpilisiddhi II and his successors at Pottapi, Tikka I alias M. P. C. Gaṇḍagōpāla were the Telugu Chōla Emperors contemporary with Bhima. On the decline of the Velanāṇḍus, the Telugu Chōlas of Nellōre became supreme in Vēngi and Tikka I was a supporter of the Imperial Chōlas and enemy of the Kākatiyas. Just as in the twelfth Century A. D. many local dynasties in Vēngi recognised Chōla supremacy and that of the Velanāṇḍus, in this period, they acknowledged Chōla and Telugu Chōla suzerainty. Bhima's allegiance to Tikka I is clear in the statement that Ayōdhya, probably a place of local importance of which he was the lord, was situated in the Kingdom of M. P. C. Gaṇḍagōpāla i. e. Tikka I.

Probably Bhima was on friendly terms with Allutikka and Abhidēva Mallidēva of the Pallavas and the contemporary rulers in Konahaihayas, Chāgi, Kōṭa, Natavādi, Kolanu, Parichehedi and Chālukya kingdoms. He must have enjoyed the support of the Telugu Chōlas in offensive and defensive warfare.

INUMAPIDEVA A. D. 1234-1268.

Son of Bhima Rāja, Inumaḍidēva succeeded his father on the throne probably in A. D. 1234 the last date for Bhima. His only record¹² is from Penṭrāla (Kandukūr Taluk) dated A. D. 1259 mentioning Inumaḍi Gaṇḍagōpāla Vijayādityadeva Mahārāja, probably

12. Nell. Ins. III Kr 62; Ins. Mad. Pres. II (NI) 334

his son. It registers gifts for the prosperity of his kingdom by Madhusūdāna. In A. D. 1268 the year of his accession, Inumadideva Mahārāja made gifts at Nāgalāvaram for the merit of his parents—Bhima and Sridēvi.¹³ Probably accession here is formal coronation which was delayed so long for reasons unknown to us. Probably Inumadi associated Vijāyaditya in governing the Kingdom from A. D. 1259. The upper limit of the reign is not known.

His political relations:— Inumadi bore the usual Pallava Praṣasti, one of the titles being Jaladankibhairava. Probably he assisted Abhidēva Mallidēva in the capture of Jaladankibhairava and so took the title. The rulers in other kingdoms contemporaneous with Inumadi were Rāja-Rāja III and Rājendra III of the Chōlas, Ganapati and Rudrama of the Kākatiyas and Tikka I, Manmasiddha III and Allutikka of the Telugu Chōlas of Nellore besides many local rulers. Like Bhima, Inumadi probably owed allegiance to the Chōlas and the Telugu Chōlas. He did not come into conflict with any local rulers.

VIRAGANDAGOPĀLA A. D. 1243–1253.

Viragandagopāla of the Telugu Pallavas exercised independent sway for a decade from A. D. 1243. He was exercising sway in the southern—most portions of Nellore district and part of Chingleput district while Abhidēva and Inumadideva ruled about this time in the northern and southern parts of Nellore district. Towards the close of his reign, Viragandagopāla associated his younger brother, the celebrated Vijayagandagopāla in the governance of the kingdom. In the midst of powerful kingdoms—the Chōlas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Hoysalas, the Kādavarāyas, the Yādavarāyas, the Kākatiyas and the Telugu Chōlas, Viragandagopāla extended his kingdom from Nellore to Kānchi and handed it down to his successor Vijayagandagopāla.

How Vijayagandagopāla came in possession of a kingdom and his relation to Abhidēva Mallidēva, Bhima and Inumadideva are not known. It has been said that “he probably declared his independence during the political turmoils of the Chōla Civil War in 1243.”¹⁴ But this is of no value for Professor Sāstri has disproved this Civil War between Rāja-Rāja III and Rājendra III.^{14a} Anyway, the political condition of Vēngi in this period—when the Chōla authority over it was

13. „ „ Kanigiri 24: Ins. Mad. Pres. II (NL) 383.

14. Tirupati inscriptions Vol. I. p. 81.

14. (a) The Colas II-I p.

not strong, the Velanāṇḍu power had decayed, the Kākatiya suzerainty was not well established and the Telugu Chōlas were busy fighting elsewhere was convenient for Viragandagopāla to carve out a kingdom for himself. Viragandagopāla's records definitely say that he was a Pallava and of Bhāradvāja Gotra, so that all doubts regarding that question may be dismissed.

Extent of the Kingdom:— The records of Viragandagopāla determine the bounds of his kingdom. Most of them are from Gūḍūr Taluk in Nellore District, little Conjeevaram and Rāmāgiri in Chingleput district and are issued by King's subordinates and are dated in his regnal years. The inscription at Rāmāgiri dated in the 3rd year of Viragandagopāla¹⁵ mentions Viranarasimha Yādavarāya. Viragandagopāla's Conjeevaram inscription is dated in his 4th year.¹⁶ His record of the 9th year¹⁷ from Gūḍūr Taluk mentions Mallidēva Arasan, his subordinate. In his 10th year Viragandagopāla's career was cut short by Jaṭāvarma Sundarapāṇḍya I, the monarch of the Pāṇḍyas.

His political relations:— In extending his kingdom Viragandagopāla met with powerful opponents in the Pāṇḍyas, the Yādavarāyas and the Kādavarāyas, besides others. It may be pointed out that Viragandagopāla has been confused and sometimes even identified with Vijayagandagopāla, which is wrong.

Viragandagopāla and the Yādavarāyas:— The Yādavarāyas were a strong feudatory power in this period. They generally acknowledged Chōla suzerainty. The Yādava ruler contemporaneous with Viragandagopāla was Rājamalla Yādavarāya alias Bhujabalaśiddhasar. Viragandagopāla came into conflict with him and subjugated him by A. D. 1246—his third year.¹⁹ Probably he invaded the Yādavarāya kingdom, captured Rāmāgiri and subdued Rājamalla. Rājamalla's subordination to Viragandagopāla lasted till the end of the latter's reign when in A. D. 1252–1253, he was forced to acknowledge the Pāṇḍyan yoke under Jaṭāvarman Sundarapāṇḍya I in his 3rd year.²⁰

Viragandagopāla and Kādavarāyas:— The greatest of the Kādavarāyas was Kopperuñjīga^{20a} alias Mahārājasimha entitled

15. 659 of 1904.

16. 624 of 1919.

17. Nell. Ins. I. G. 67.

19. 659 of 1904

20. T. T. Devasthānam Report p. 120.

20. (a) Kopperunjinga II according to S. I. I. XII Introduction pp. 9 12,–15.

Avanyavanōdhbhava and Sakalabhuvanachakravarti. He was a menace to the security of the Chōla, Telugu Chōla, and Telugu Pallava Kingdoms even from A. D. 1233, and especially towards the close of the reign of Viragandagōpāla. Kopperunjīga - Sarvajñakhaḍgamalla claims to have conquered both Vira and Vijaya.²¹ But evidently Viragandagōpāla did not suffer any reverse in the hands of Kopperunjīga and the latter's claim is based on the Pāṇḍyan Monarch's victory over Viragandagōpāla, as has been suggested²² already by some writers. This Kopperunjīga assisted the Pāṇḍyas in fighting Viragandagōpāla.

Viragandagōpāla and the Kākatiyas:- Viragandagōpāla and Ganapati of the Kākatiyas were political allies and acted together against the Pāṇḍyan monarch towards the close of the reign of Viragandagōpāla though not with any success.

Viragandagōpāla and the Pāṇḍyas:- Māravarman Sundarapāṇḍya II who succeeded to the throne in A. D. 1238 and Jaṭavarman Sundarapāṇḍya I whose accession was between 20th and 28th April A. D. 1251, were the Pāṇḍyan contemporaries of Viragandagōpāla. Under the celebrated Sundarapāṇḍya I, "one of the most famous warriors and conquerors of South India," "the second empire of the Pāṇḍyas reached its widest extent and attained the height of its splendour. Practically the whole of South India upto Nellore and Cuddapah was brought for a time under Pāṇḍya Supremacy and all the rival dynasties, old and new, were beaten in the field or laid under tribute."²³

Viragandagōpāla came into conflict with the Pāṇḍyan Emperor in defensive warfare when the latter invaded the Telugu Pallava dominions. Sometime before A. D. 1260, the last date for Ganapati, Jaṭavarman Sundarapāṇḍya I led a campaign against the Northern Kings and inflicted a severe defeat on the Telungas of Mudugūr, slaughtering them and their allies, the Āryas, right up to the bank of the Perāru and driving the Bāna Chief into the forest²⁴. The order of expressions in the Sanskrit Prasasti seems to be significant²⁵ suggesting the order of occurrence of the events in the campaign attested by

21. 226. T. T. Inscriptions Vol. I. No. 10.

22. T. T. Inscriptions Vol. I. page 80: On page 14 of introduction to S. I. I. XII it is said that Kopperunjīga II's defeat of Vira must have been due to the help rendered by Jaṭavarman Pāṇḍya.

23. Prof. K. A. N. S'āstri; The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom pp. 158, 159.

24. do. do. pp. 168.

25. Prof. K. A. N. S'āstri. The Cōlas II-I p. 204-83 C.

his other inscriptions—viz. killing of Gandagōpāla, occupation of Conjeevaram, defeat of Kākatiya Ganapati and the ceremony of Virābhisheka at Nellore.²⁶ Jaṭavarman Sundarapāṇḍya's other records²⁷ refer to Viragandagōpāla as merely Gandagōpāla and Ganapati as Āndhrāsvara. Consequently the statement that Āndhrāsvara refers to Viragandagōpāla ruling over Nellore²⁸ does not stand as Āndhrāsvara Āndhranagara generally apply to the Kākatiyas and their capital in contemporary records and literature. The identification of Mudugūr the scene of battle with Mutṭukūr in the Nellore district has been suggested²⁹ and Professor S'āstri has assumed that the Arayar "is a reference to Ganapati and his forces which aided Gandagōpāla".³⁰ Thus the campaign was against Viragandagōpāla who opposed the enemy with the help of the Kākatiyas and the Bānas and was defeated and killed. Vijayagandagōpāla, brother of Viragandagōpāla lost his independence to the Pāṇḍyas. Perhaps to perpetuate and celebrate his victory over Viragandagōpāla, Sundarapāṇḍya I performed Virābhisheka at Nellore and as the Pāṇḍyan records attest, installed Vijayagandagōpāla as the ruler of the kingdom which was annexed to the Pāṇḍyan Empire.³¹ This must have taken place in A. D. 1253 the last date for Viragandagōpāla.

Viragandagōpāla and other rulers:- Rājārāja III and Rājendra III of the chōlas, Tikka I, Allutikka and Manmasiddha III of the Telugu chōlas, Mallidēva II and Bhima IV of the Kōṇahaihayas, Dara III and Ganapati of the Chagis, Keta III and Ganapati, Beta and Ganapama of the Kōṭas, Bhima, of the Parichchēdis, Rudra I and Rudra II of the Natavādis, Ganapati of the Malayas, Mangayadēva of the Sarānāthas, Mallappa II of the Chālukyas and Mādhava and Singala of the Yādavas were contemporaneous with Viragandagōpāla. There is no evidence of Viragandagōpāla coming into contact with any of this rulers.

VIJAYAGANDAGOPALA A. D. 1250-1285.

Vijayagandagōpāla, the greatest of the Telugu Pallavas had a reign of 35 years. He was trained in the arts of war and peace as associate ruler with Viragandagōpāla towards the close of his reign. The records of Vijayagandagōpāla range from his second to the 35th

26. The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom p. 168.

27. T. T. Insc. 231, 239 and 241.

28. T. T. Inscriptions Vol. I. p. 67.

29. T. T. Inscriptions. Vol. I p. 67.

30. Prof. K. A. N. S'āstri; The Pāṇḍyan kingdom p. 168 in 2.

31. do. do. p. 168.

year. He had strong political contemporaries in Jaṭavarman Sundarapāṇḍya I, Ganapati, Kopperunṅinga^{31a} and Emperor Rājendra III of the chōlas. Vijayagandagopāla had many feudatories of Pallava and other lineages under him.

Extent of the kingdom:— The Extent of the kingdom of Vijayagandagopāla is seen from his records and those of his subordinates. The earliest record of the reign is from Sūlurpet (Nellore Dt.) dated in Vijayagandagopāla's second year.³² Two inscriptions of his 3rd year³³ are from Melūr (North Arcot) at Conjeevaram. An inscription at Tirunukkuli³⁴ and another at Tirupati³⁵ give the 4th year of Vijayagandagopāla. The next record³⁶ is from Tirupati dated in the 5th year of the king. Two inscriptions³⁷ are from Tirupati and one from Tripurāntakam give the 9th and the 14th year of Vijayagandagopāla respectively. A conjeevaram inscription³⁸ is dated in the 15th year of Vijayagandagopāla. The 16th year³⁹ of the king is mentioned in two records at Conjeevaram and one at Tiruppukkuli. The next record is of the 26th year of the king and one of the 28th year is from Uttaramerūr⁴⁰ (Conjeevaram taluq). Vijayagandagopāla's only record from Lēpāka⁴¹ (Cuddapah district) is dated in his 29th year. Two records⁴² of the 30th year are at Conjeevaram and Tiruppukkuli one in each place. A record of the 31st year is at Conjeevaram and one of the 32nd year is from Tiruppukkuli. Besides these, two of Vijayagandagopāla's records⁴³ are at Takkōlam and one at Tiruvannāikkal or Jambukēsvaram and another at Chiramana (Ātmakūr Taluq) dated A. D. 1285 corresponding to his 35th year.⁴⁴

His political relations:— Vijayagandagopāla, a Tribhuvana-chakravarti and Mahāmandalēsvara bore the usual Pallava prasasti beginning with Paramavamsodhava⁴⁵ etc. To identify him with

31. (a) Kopperunṅinga II according to S. I. I. XII Intro. p. 9,

32. Nellore Ins. Sūlurpet 8.

33. 140 of 1916. 34. 1st of 1916.

35. 127 T. T. Inscs. I No. 61.

36. 433 T. T. : Tirupati Ins. No. I p. 99 No. 78.

37. T. T. 126 : T. T. 285 (T. T. Inscs. I No. 60.) C. 272 of 1905.

38. 27 of 1890.

39. 35036 of 1890 : 190 of 1916.

40. 196 of 1923.

41. 417 of 1911.

42. 197 of 1916.

43. 2640267 of 1921 : 520 of 1908.

44. Nell. Ins. Vol. I Ātmakūr 25.

45. Nell. Ins. I Ātmakūr 25.

Vijayagandagopāla, younger brother of Mālavārāya and the minister of Tribhuvana-chakravarti kongrimaikondan and with Gandagopāla ie. Tikka I and Allutikka of the Telugu chōlas is a mistake. The statement "probably distinct from this Vijayagandagopāla are two other chiefs (or a chief) of the same name claiming Pallava lineage and mentioned in a record from Tripurāntakam in the Kurnool district and in an inscription from Ātmakūr in the Nellore district,"^{45a} is incorrect for, we have seen above that the record referred to belongs to one Vijayagandagopāla the great Telugu Pallava. It would show that the boundary line between their respective territories was not clearly defined.⁴⁶ As the earliest records of Vijayagandagopāla are from Nellore area it is evident that he succeeded his brother there and in course of time extended the kingdom in the southern direction.

Vijayagandagopāla and the Pāṇḍyas:— The Pāṇḍyan contemporaries of Vijayagandagopāla were Jaṭavarman Sundarapāṇḍya I and Māravarmān Kulasekhara I (accession—A. D. 1268) Vijayagandagopāla, vanquished by Jaṭavarman towards the close of the reign of Viragandagopāla, was loyal to the Pāṇḍyan emperors in this period and so he had no trouble to his kingdom from them.

Vijayagandagopāla and Kopperunṅinga:— Perhaps Vijayagandagopāla and Kopperunṅinga were on terms of friendship. The latter's claim^{46a} to have defeated the former is based on the Pāṇḍyan success over him along with Viragandagopāla towards the close of Vira's reign. The next records of both are found side by side in the kingdom of Vijayagandagopāla—Chingleput district and the surrounding country—between the years A. D. 1254 and 1263 at Conjeevaram. Tiruvāḍisulam, Tirumalisai (Chingleput district and Tiruppārkadal (N. Arcot dt.))⁴⁷ There was no overlapping of the reign of Vijayagandagopāla with that of Kopperunṅinga. Kopperunṅinga's dominion extended roughly from Conjeevaram in the north to Tiruvīdaimarudur in the south.^{47a} The territory to the north of Conjeevaram was under Vijayagandagopāla. Their records side by side would show that the boundary line between their respective territories was not clearly defined.^{47b}

45. (a) S. I. I. XII Intro. p. 8.

46. Prof. K. A. N. Sāstri: The Pāṇḍyan kingdom p. 174.

46. (a) It is opined that Kopperunṅinga defeated Vijaya due to the help rendered by Jaṭavarman S. Pāṇḍya—S. I. I, XII p. 14

47. Contra. A. R. 1911. page 63, para 15.

47. (a) S. I. I. XII Introduction p. 12.

47. (b) „ „ p. 13.

Vijayagandagopala and the Kakatiyas:— Ganapati and Rudrama were the Kakatiya contemporaries of Vijayagandagopala. In the reign of Viragandagopala the Telugu Pallavas and the Kakatiyas were allies and fought against the Pandyas. Probably the same relationship continued between Vijayagandagopala and the Kakatiyas. The suggestion⁴⁸ that Vijayagandagopala was a samanta or feudatory of Ganapati the Kakatiya is not borne out by evidence. On the other hand the suzerainty of Vijayagandagopala is recognised by the Kakatiya subordinates in their records in the Telugu Pallava kingdom. Brahmiseṭṭi, minister of Ganapati made gifts at Conjeevaram in the 7th year of Vijayagandagopala (A. D. 1257)⁴⁹. This shows the prevalence of the authority of Vijayagopala in Kanchi even after A. D. 1255 the year in which the supremacy of the Telugu Cholas was recognised in a Kakatiya inscription at Kanchi. The recognition by the Kakatiyas of the Telugu Chola and Telugu pallava supremacy at Kanchi shows that the Kakatiya empire was already showing signs of decay towards the close of the reign of Ganapati after A. D. 1250 in which year his records at Kanchi attest his power.

The authority of Vijayagandagopala was experienced by the Kakatiyas in the reign of Rudrama, in another quarter. For in his Tripurantakam inscription, ⁵⁰ Vijayagandagopala does not recognise Kakatiya supremacy.

Vijayagandagopala and the Telugu Cholas:— The Telugu Chola rulers contemporaneous with Vijayagandagopala were Kannaradeva at Konidena, Manmasiddhi III, Tikka II and Manmagaddagopala at Nellore and Allutikka at Kanchi. Allutikka had a reign of twenty-four years from A. D. 1255. Kon Kattaiyan, a minister of Ganapati recorded gifts in the 5th year⁵¹ of Allutikka. He claims to have killed the kings of the south, taken Kanchi and ruled it after making it his own. But his authority over Kanchi suffered an eclipse for in A. D. 1257, Vijayagandagopal confirmed his authority there.

In extending his power into Kanchi Vijayagandagopala came into conflict with the Telugu cholas. Tikkana Somayaji says that Cholan Manmasiddhi had successes over the kings of Dravida, Karnata and vanquished king Vijaya, the greatest, of his enemies.⁵² Manmasiddhi Gandagopala was also known as the destroyer of the pride of

Vijaya,⁵³ Evidently, Cholan Manmasiddhi refers to Manmasiddhi III and Manmasiddhi Gandagopala to either of his sons, Tikka I or Manmagandagopala. So in extending his power in the northern direction, Vijayagandagopala came into conflict with Manmasiddhi III and his sons of the Nellore Cholas and suffered severe defeat. This was probably about A. D. 1256 prior to his expedition to Kanchi. Perhaps to compensate for his failure in the north in A. D. 1257 he started on southward expansion, met and vanquished Allutikka and left his records in the temples in Kanchi, perhaps to signify his success over the great Telugu Allutikka.

Vijayagandagopala's feudatories:— Madhusudanadeva of a family of the Telugu Pallavas was a feudatory of the family may be constructed. The earliest member was Andhūri Vijayaditta Dechini. Probably Andhūri⁵⁴ was his fief. He figures in a single record of Madhusudana, dated A. D. 1259 at Penṭrāla.⁵⁵ Vijayaditya's son was Tripurāntakadeva. Tripurāntaka must have been a more powerful chief than his father, as he is mentioned in all the records of Madhusudana. Madhusudana Tripurāntaka has been identified with Tripurāntaka, minister of Chola Tikka⁵⁶ who has been rightly identified with Manma sittalasan Tirukalattidevan⁵⁷ i.e. Tikka I (A. D. 1209-1248). Madhusudana, son of Tripurāntaka was a feudatory of Vijayagandagopala.

Madhusudana's earliest record is from Takkolam, dated in the 3rd year of Vijayagandagopala.⁵⁸ His next inscription is from Penṭrāla dated A. D. 1260 mentioning him as Mahāmandalēvara and a descendant of Mukkantiṭṭadeveti and registering gifts for the increase of the kingdom of Mahāmandalēvara Inumadigandagopala Vijayadittadeva Mahārāja. His Tiruvālangādu inscription⁵⁹ is dated in the 18th year of Vijayagandagopala. The next record is from Takkolam⁶⁰ dated in the 24th year of Vijayagandagopala. Madhusudana's inscription at Uttiramerūr is dated in the 28th year of Vijayagandagopala. His last inscription⁶¹ is from Tiruvannamalai, dated in the 36th year of Kopperuṅṅinga, mentioning him as the younger brother of Vijayagandagopala, and his son Kakkunāyaka, the donor.

His political relations:— Madhusudana bore the common Pallava pravasti. As noted already, he is mentioned as the younger

48. Sarada I no. 3 p. 246.

49. 47 of 1893.

50. 272 of 1905. 51. 608 of 1919.

52. Nirvachanottara Ramayana I V 39.

53. Nirvachanottara Rāmāyana I V 87 V v 144. 54. Ibid.

55. Nell. Ins. KR 62. 56. T. T. Inscriptions Vol. I p 82.

57. A R 1922 p 114 para 59. 58. 264 of 1921.

59. 15 of 1896; S. I. I. V. 878. 60. 267 of 1921.

61. 487 of 1902, S. I. I. VIII 76.

brother of Vijayagandagopāla. And it has been suggested that he was a cousin, with brotherly relationship⁶² because no records of Vijayagandagopāla and Viragandagopāla mention Tripurāntaka as their father or Madhusūdana as brother. Madhusūdana, in his first record acknowledged the suzerainty of Vijayagandagopāla and also in the Uttiramerūr inscription of the 28th year of Vijayagandagopāla. His overlord at Penrāla in A. D. 1259 was Inumadi Gandagopāla. Viivā-ditta,⁶³ probably of the Penrāla Pallavas holding local sway and owing loyalty to Vijayagandagopāla. Madhusūdana's last record shows that his son Kakkunāyaka was in the service of Kopperunjinga.⁶⁴ Nothing more is known of Kakkunāyaka or his descendants. Madhusūdana had some subordinates who figure in his Takkolam records.

2. Allāda Pemmavadeva Mahārāja—Brahmayadeva or Allāda Pemmavadeva comes to light from his records at Tripurāntakam and Vipparla and that of his subordinate at Mōpūr. Allāda's earliest inscription⁶⁵ is from Tripurāntakam dated A. D. 1259. His next inscription⁶⁶ is from Vipparla dated A. D. 1264. His Mōpūr inscription⁶⁷ of A. D. 1311 mentions that Ahobalanātha, son of Mahāmandalēsvara Chālukyanārāyana Vengi-Tribhuvanamalla, the lord of Ayōdhya and a subordinate of Allāda, led an expedition into the Mārjavādi country and died at Dhāratirtha.

His political relations:—Allāda's records range from A. D. 1259 to 1311. He is variously mentioned as Inumadi Basavaṅkara Allāda Pemmavadeva (Brahmayadeva) Mahārāja, Mahāmandalēsvara Allāda Pemmavadeva Mahārājulu and as Allādanātha Pōtarāju Pemmavadeva Mahārāja in records. He bore the entire Pallava prasasti beginning with anekamahāmandala⁶⁸ etc. and his titles resemble those of Madhusūdana. He was of the family of Mukkanji Kaduveṭṭi and a devotee of Kāmakoṭyambika.

Allāda was a contemporary of Vijayagandagopāla, Kopperunjinga and Gaṇapati, Rudrama and Pratāparudra. It is likely that he owed allegiance to Vijayagandagopāla. There is no clear evidence of Allāda's subordination to Gaṇapati.⁶⁹ He does not seem to have come into conflict with Kopperunjinga. Probably, Allāda set himself independent at Mōpūr after the reign of Vijayagandagopāla.

3. Nallasiddharasa—Nallasiddharasa is of a family of the Telugu Pallavas. The earliest member of this family is Nallasittarasan

figuring as a feudatory of Kulstunga III in his 26th year. Tipurasur (Tripurasura?) and Tyagasamudrapattai Bhimarasan figure in the records of their descendant, Nallasiddharasa, the feudatory of Vijayagandagopāla. The earliest of Nallasiddharasa's records is from Kalahasti⁷⁰ dated in the 7th year of Vijayagandagopāla (A. D. 1257). His next two records are from Conjeevaram dated in the 16th and 17th years of Vijayagandagopāla.⁷¹ Nallasiddha is mentioned as Tipurasur Nallasiddharasan in the Ambalūr record of the 20th year of Vijayagandagopāla.⁷² His last record dated in the regnal years of Vijayagandagopāla is from Conjeevaram dated in his 21st year.⁷³ An undated record of his is in Mannemutteri⁷⁴ in Sulerpet taluq.

His political relations:—Nallasiddharasa bore the usual prasasti of the Telugu Pallavas. He was a subordinate of Vijayagandagopāla for fifteen years, from the 7th to the 21st regnal year. He seems to have set himself independent afterwards as none of his later records is dated in the regnal years of Vijayagandagopāla but his own. In a record of his 15th year from Conjeevaram, Nallasiddha renewed the grant of Kattanūr to Viraraghava at Tirupukkuli.⁷⁵ The identity of Nallasiddharasa of Sulerpet inscription with this Nallasiddharasa is probable.

4. Tyagasamudrapattai Alitunai, Apparasan made a grant of Gandagopalamadai in Conjeevaram in the 9th year of Vijayagandagopāla.⁷⁷ He appears as Satva Valittunai Apparasar in a record from Guḍūr taluq dated in the reign of Vijayagandagopāla.⁷⁸

5. Girakki Perumadideva, a Telugu Chōla feudatory of Vijayagandagopāla made a grant in the 21st year of his overlord. (A. D. 1271)⁷⁹

6. In A. D. 1263, from an epigraph at Tripurāntakam, Kartumanikka Perumandinayaka, appears as a subordinate of Vijayagandagopāla.⁸⁰

7. A Sāmbuvaraya of the family of Sēngani Ammaiappan and grandson of Sēngeni Viragaram Ammaiappan was in the service of Rajaraja III in his 29th and 31st year (A. D. 1245–1247). His full name is Viraperumal Edirilisola Sāmbuvarayan Alappirandan alias Rajaraja Sāmbuvarayan. As the subordinate of Vijayagandagopāla, he made gifts in the 5th, 8th and 18th years of his overlord.⁸¹ He is mentioned as Pillaiyar i. e. feudatory of Vijayagandagopāla.

70. 202 of 1903; 71. 568 of 1919; 39 of 1893.

72. 228 of 1910, 73. 637 of 1919. 74. Nell. Ins. III Sulerpet 21.

75. 192 of 1916. 76. Ibid. 77. 428 of 1919. 78. Nell. Ins. I Guḍūr 57.

79. 501 of 1919. 80. 272 of 1905. 81. 352, 353 of 1923; 302 and 303 of 1912.

62. T. T. Inscriptions Vol. I p 52.

63. Nell. Ins. II KR 62, 64. 487 of 1902. S. I. I. VIII 76.

65. 217 of 1905. 66. 150 of 1899; S. I. I. VI 588. 67. 507 of 1906.

68. 150 of 1899; S. I. I. VI 588. 69. A. R. 1906 p. 46 para 7 Gaṇapati's Inscription.

8. A Viracholan Sambuvaraya figures in a record of the 16th year of Vijayagandagopala.⁸²

9. Panchanadivananilagangaraiyan and Arunagiri perumal Nilagangaraiyan were in the service of Vijayagandagopala.⁸³ Later on, they served Jaṭavarman Sundara Pandya I and Kopperunjinga.

10. Devapperumal Malavarayan figures in a record of the 7th year of Vijayagandagopala.⁸⁴

11. Rajendra chola Mummaṇi Vaidumba Maharaja and Devar Sōla gangadēva figure in the 2nd and 28th years of Vijayagandagopala respectively.⁸⁵

12. Tyagasamundrapaṇṇai Tikkarasar Visaiyadēvan, a subordinate of Vijayagandagopala, made gifts in the 29th year of his overlord.⁸⁶

13. Golapūdi Kēsinavaka was a subordinate of Vijayagandagopala. His record from Chiramana dated A. D. 1285 gives him a prasasti some of the titles being Buragandani talagonduganda and Badyamaharajasthāpanacharya.⁸⁷ Badya is probably a Telugu chola prince. Kēsinaka's two sons Kamenayaka and Dēvinayaka made gifts to God at Chiramana in that year.

14. Lastly, the Kakatiya minister Brahmiseṭṭi and Viranarasimha of the Yadavarayas were subordinates of Vijayagandagopala.

Vijayagandagopala and other rulers:— Rajaraja III and Rajendra III were the Chōla Emperors in this period. Some of the feudatories of Vijayagandagopala eg. Nallasiddharasa, Sambuvarayas etc. prior to their coming under Vijayagandagopala, were in the service of the Chōla emperors, as seen above. Vijayagandagopala does not seem to have come into conflict with the rulers of Vengi. Some of them were Gaṇapati and Bhimavallabha in Kōna maṇḍala, Manmapota and Gaṇapati at Gudimeṭṭa, Gaṇapati, Bhima IV and his successors at Amaravati, Bēta and Gaṇapama at Yenamadala, Bhima and Uttambhima in Ongarumarga, Rudra II and his successors at Madapalli, Gaṇapati at Maddur, Vijayaditya IV at Pithapur, Mahadēva I at Vēngi and Sarangadhara II, Singadēva and Madhava II at Addanki.

VIRAGANDGOPALA—A. D. 1290

Viragandagopala, son of Vijayagandagopala ruled in Kanchi about A. D. 1290.⁸⁸ A record of his second year is from Tiruppukkulli and mentions his father Vijayagandagopala.

82. 190 of 1916. 83. 117 of 1912; 365 of 1919.

84. 96 of 1916; S. I. I. V 878. 85. Nell. Ins. III Sulturpet 8.

86. 464 of 1905. 87. Nell. Ins. I Ātmakur, 25.

88. A. R. 1916. p. 151 para 81-197 of 1916.

THE PALLAVAS OF CUDDAPAH

The Telugu pallavas who ruled in parts of Cuddapah district in the 12th, 13th and the 14th centuries were of the lineage of the Pallavas of Nellore. Probably they migrated, settled and founded principalities in the Cuddapah district. They had some significant political achievements to their credit.

CHIDDANADĒVA MAHĀRĀJA A. D. 1182

The earliest Telugu pallava, so far known in this area was Chiddanadēva Maharaja. Nothing about his antecedents is known. His only record is from chintalaputtur,¹ near Pushpagiri dated A. D. 1182-83 registering his grant of lands in Kōduru in Mulikinadu and gifts of his minister—Mahapradhani—Vararajanayaka. This Chiddana was ruling Mulikinadu forming part of modern Proddutur taluq. Probably his capital was Proddutur. The prefix—Chidpuli to Chiddana's name suggests his relationship to the Telugu pallavas of Nellore.

His political relations:— Chiddana appears as Mahāmandalēvara Chidpuli Chiddanadēva Mahārāja in his record. Some of his contemporary rulers were Kulōlas of Pottapi, Kāmana chōḍa of Konidena Chōlas, Siddhi I of the Nellore Chōlas, Allutikka of the Nellore Pallavas, and Rudra I of the Kakatiyas. Chiddana seems to have ruled independently, as the authority, of the Chālukyas ceased to prevail by this time.

KHANDERĀYA A. D. 1254,

Between A. D. 1182 and A. D. 1254 no records of the Cuddapah Pallavas are available, and consequently little is known about them. Khandērāya of the Pallavas was of solar race and in 1254 established a Pallavēśvara Shrine at Pushpagiri and made gifts to Vaidyanātha temple.² He was a feudatory of Ahobalēśvararāju, son of Allugirāju and lord of Mulikinadu alias Mōṭāṭidēsa. His queen Hāchalāmba was the daughter of king Allugi. His general-senapati was Gaṇḍapendāra Gangasēnāpati.³

Thus, Kanderāya, himself a feudatory of Ahobalēśvara, had a subordinate Gangasēnāpati probably Gangayasāhini, the Kāyastha feudatory of the Kakatiyas. How long Khandērāya's rule lasted is not known. His contemporary on the Kakatiya throne was Gaṇapati, with whom he did not come into conflict. The relationship of Khandērāya to chiddana is not known. There intervened a gap of seventy years between the two rulers. Rajendra III of the Chōlas, Nāgadēva

1. 321 of 1905; S. I. I, IX 275. 2. Mack. Ms. 15-4-24 Ms. p. p. 88-93; 304 of 1905. 3. do.

and Abhidēva Mallidēva of the Pallavas of Guṇṭūr and Nellore, Sarangadhara II of the Yādavas of Addanki and Manmasiddhi III and Allutikka of the Teluguchōlas were contemporaries of Khandērāya, though there survives no evidence of his contacts with them.

BHIMADĒVA AND SIDDHAVADĒVĀ A. D. 1261

Bhimadēva had the titles—Lord of Kānchi, of Bhāradvājagōtra and Kādambarāya. His son was Brahmarākshasa Siddhayadēva Mahārāja. The only date available for Bhīma and Siddhaya is A. D. 1261.⁴ Siddhārthi. The relationship of Bhīma to his predecessor Khandērāya is not known.

The regime of these Pallava kings—Bhīma and Siddhaya was of some political importance. The Kakatiya king at the time was Gaṇapati with whom Bhīma and Siddhaya were on terms of alliance. Recorded tradition⁵ says that Brahmarākshasa Siddhaya and his father marched at the head of a large army and halted at Somasila 20 miles east of Siddhayaṭam, when Jannigadēva Mahārāja, the Kāyasthas subordinates of the Kakatiyas joined them. They fought against the enemy who is not mentioned and a victory was won by the Pallavas and Janniga. In this, Bhīmaya, father of Siddhaya lost his life for in A. D. 1261 Siddhaya set up a victory pillar at Pinnalūr (Duvvur taluq.) An inscription records that he gave several vrittis to Bhīmayingalam, which was set up by Siddhaya in Janniga's reign in the name of his father who died on the day of victory at Somasila.⁶

Probably the enemies, vanquished in the battle, were the Telugu Chōlas of Nellore—Manmasiddhi III and his sons Tikka II and Manmagandagopala. The date of the battle A. D. 1261 supports this, and it has been suggested⁷ that probably Kaṭamarajukatha alias Erragadda-patipoṭṭa in which a battle at Somasila is described has some connection with this battle. Perhaps Janniga of the Kāyasthas and the Pallavas Bhīma and Siddhaya supported Kaṭamarāju against his overlord Manmasiddhi III alias Nallasiddhi III and vanquished him.

Bhīma and Siddhaya seem to have recognised Kākatiya suzerainty under Rudrama. Some of the rulers in other kingdoms in this period were Gaṇapati and Bhīma IV and Gaṇapāma of the Kōṭas, Abhidēva Mallidēva and Vijayagandagopala of the Pallavas and so forth with whom, however, Bhīma and Siddhaya do not seem to have come into conflict.

4. Mack. Ms. 15-3-29. Ms. p. 14: 15-3-32 Ms. p. 212. Annalūr. No. 1.

5. do. 6. do. 7. do.

ALLĀDA PEMMAYADĒVA A. D. 1311.

During his independent rule, after the close of the reign of Vijayagandagopala, to whom he was a feudatory as seen elsewhere, Allāda Pemmaya achieved some important political victories. For his Mōpūr record of A. D. 1311 says that Ahobalanātha, son of Vēngi Tribhuvanamalla, a subordinate of Allāda led an expedition to Marjavādi country and died at Dhārātīrtha.⁸ In this period i.e. in the beginning of the 14th Century A. D. the Kākatiya king was Pratāparudra. The Kāyasthas under Ambadēva were almost independent power in the Cuddapah area, causing no end of trouble to the Kākatiyas. Their kingdom was extensive including Palnād in Guṇṭūr District. Allāda Pemmaya defying the suzerainty of Ambadēva, brought on himself the wrath of the Kāyasthas who must have invaded the Telugu Pallava territories. Allāda sent his armies under Ahobala to oppose the enemy at Dhārātīrtha. In the battle which followed Ahobala lost his life and the Pallavas lost the battle. As Ambadēva was victorious it is likely that after A. D. 1311, Allāda had to recognise Kāyastha supremacy. Allāda Pemmaya seems to have been the last of the Pallavas who ruled over Mulikinaḍuie, i.e. Cuddapah tracts.

THE PALLAVAS OF PENTRĀLA A. D. 1311.

This family of the Telugu Pallavas who ruled over Pentrāla had the prefix Podakanūri added to the names of its members. The earliest member known so far is Podakanūri Siddhirāja. Siddhirāja and his grandson Mahāmandalesvara Allāda Siddhadēva are heard of from the record, at Pentrāla dated A. D. 1259.⁹ Siddhidēva bore the usual Pallava prasasti. He made gifts for the increase of the kingdom of Mahāmandalesvara Bhujabalavira Manmasiddhayadēva chōla Mahārāja,¹⁰ identical with Manmasiddhi III of the Telugu Chōlas of Nellore. Hence, obviously, Siddhadēva was a feudatory of the Telugu chōlas.

Siddhamadēvula Vijayadēva, son of Ka...rājābhīmadēvamahārāja was another member of this Pallava family. The name of the father is lost partly in the record. In A. D. 1261 Vijayadēva made grants at Pentrāla for the increase of the kingdom of his suzerain—Mahāmandalesvara Bhujabalavira Mahārāja¹¹ i.e. Manmasiddhi III. Thus Vijayadēva was a subordinate of the Telugu chōlas. None of his successors are heard of.

8. 507 of 1906. 9. Nell. Ins. II. KR 61: Ins. Mad. Pres. II (NL) 333.

10. Nell. Ins. II KR 63: Ins. Mad. Pres. II (NL) 335. 11. do.

OTHER PALLAVAS

Mahāmandalēvara Pallakētabhupāla and Siddhayadēva Mahārāja comes to light from three records¹² two at Bezvāda and the third at Mōtupalli. They claim descent from Mukkanṭi Kāduvētti, were of Bhāradvāja gotra and entitled Pallava Kulatilaka. The relationship between Pallakēta and Siddhayadēva is not known. Pallakēta's record gives the legend about Mādhavavarma (S 117). Two of their records register grants for the merit of Ganapati and Rudrama of the Kākativas. Siddhayadēva, son of Mallidēva was the governor of Mōtupalli, and bore the common Pallava prasasti. In A. D. 1231 he granted Āduru to Prasannakēśava at Mōtupalli for the merit of his father and Ganapati of the Kākativas.

Podakanur Siddharasa and his son Pullagundasiddharasa lived in the 2nd quarter of the 14th century A. D. as subordinates of the Sambavarāvas. An inscription of Pullaganda siddhais at Takkolam is dated in the 7th year of Rājanārāvaṇa Sambavarāva.¹³ He had a younger brother named Podakkam Aṇḍaladēva Mahārāja whose son Ōbaladēva Mahārāja. This Ōbala was a feudatory of Harihara II of Vijayanagara and issued a grant in A. D. 1403.¹⁴

From an inscription¹⁵ at Mārella (Kanigiri taluq) a Pallava chief whose name is lost is heard of. He assumed all the Pallava titles including those indicating devotion to Tiruvengalanātha and lords of Kānchi and Tripurāntaka. The date of the record is lost. A record at Gotlagattu¹⁶ incomplete and with no date gives the Pallava prasasti anēkamahimandala etc. A record¹⁷ at Cherninādu (Kandukūr Taluq) incomplete and damaged gives the Telugu pallava prasasti. Another record¹⁸ there registers gifts by a Pallava prince with name lost to Sangamēvara Mahādēvi.

A Pallavarāva¹⁹ made a grant in A. D. 1105, the 13th year of Uttama Chōla in Nārāyaṇavanam, which he received from Nāgadēva the lord of Pottadinādu. In the 18th year of Virarājēndrachōla, Vijayagandagōpāla, son of Gandagōpāla Tirukālattidēva, made gifts to Siddhēvara at Siddhavatam. This is evident from a record at Mandapalle near Nandalūr.²⁰ A record at Dhūlipālla, dated

12. 596 of 1909; 293 of 1892, S. I. I. IV 747. Mack. Ms. 15-4-41 Ms. p. 136 No. 2 15-6-4 Ms. p. 11. The text of the inscription in this Ms. has the dates 1153 kharra (A. D. 1231.)

13. 271 of 1821. 14. 661 of 1919.

14. 661 of 1919. 16. Nell. Ins. I Podile 17.

17. Nell. Ins. II Kandukūr 9. 18. Bhārati V II p. 797.

20. Mack. Ms. 15-3-8 Ms. p. 53 No. 3.

A. D. 1115 mention Guṇḍa, grandson of Pallava with earlier part of the name lost and his wife Jāyāmbika.²¹ Their son was Sōma ie, a Sun to the Pallava lineage ie Pallavānvayāditya. (His son) was Āditya and the kingdom of Aniyamka Bhima and Vēngi are mentioned. A record at Velpūr²² mentions Nārāya of Vaisyakula, as the lord of Pallavarājāsrayapaṭṭana.

Ēruva Pallavarāja is heard of from a coin discovered at Medūr²³ (Kistna district). The family titles²⁴ of the Alaghucherla family mention that the Pallavas invaded the Ēruva chief; the overlord of Alaghucherla chief and that the Alaghucherla chief routed him and captured the Pallava regal insignia. For this service, the Ēruva chief bestowed on the Alaghucherla chief many presents and the titles like Ēruvarājasthāpanāchārya and permitted him to use the Pallava titles.

CHAPTER XIII

The Dynasties in Kalinga.

General introduction:— Southern Kalinga in the medieval period consisted of many a small kingdom ruled over by many a local dynasty. Such were the Matsyas of Oddādi, the Gangas of Jantar-nādu, the Pallavas of Virakūta, the Sailas of Nandapura, etc besides the Chālukyas and the Haihayas dealt with already. All these dynasties had long leases of life and owed nominal or no allegiance to the Eastern Ganga emperors whose control over Trikalīnga or the Kalinga empire was never effective in this period and was definitely on the downward move in the latter part. The local dynasties grew stronger as the central power grew weaker. Kalinga especially South Kalinga was the invading ground for the conquerors from the south, west and north viz, the Chōlas, the Chālukyas and the Muslims respectively. The local dynasties, because of their geographical position were not seldom the targets of attacks by the invaders to whom they had to submit at times. Their political importance lay in that they either threw in their weight with the Gangas against the enemy or vice versa. Sometimes, the local rulers led expeditions of conquest and advanced as far as Drākshārāma in Vēngi. They even contracted alliances of marriage with the local rulers in Vēngi. This sounds natural for the names of some of the dynasties

21. 270 of 1932-33. 22. 594 of 1925.

23. Proceedings of 3rd Oriental Conference pp. 269-271.

24. Mack. Ms. 15-4-3 Ms. pp. 85-86.

1. Records of these dynasties at Drākshārāma.

for instance, the Gangas, the Matsyas, the Chalukyas, the Kōṇas and the Pallavas are exactly same as those of some of the major dynasties and subsidiary powers in South India suggesting, obviously their southern origin, though it is not possible to see when and how they separated from the major dynasties migrated^{1a} and settled down in South Kalinga. The power of the local dynasties, declined with the establishment of the Gajapati dynasty and the kingdoms as such are not heard of after A. D. 1500. But in their place, we hear of a number of viceroyalties and governorships, hereditary and otherwise in the Gajapati regime.

The Matsyas of Oddādi C. A. D. 1200-1470.

An important dynasty in south Kalinga, the Matsyas ruled over the Matsyadeśa i.e. Oddādivishaya with capital at Oddādi 16 miles from Anakapalle in Vizāgapaṭam district for a period of two and half centuries from about A. D. 1200 to 1470. Their ancestry goes back to the 5th century A. D. The Matsyas had their own crest, seal and coinage and Matsya double fish was their emblem. They may have had some connection with the Pāṇdyas whose emblem was also fish.² The Matsya kings were great warriors and had important military successes to their credit. They contracted alliances of marriage with the Pallavas of Virakūṭa, the Gangas of Jantarnāḍu etc. Occasionally, the Matsya expeditions reached Drākshārāma.

Political condition in South Kalinga at the end of the 12th Century:-

The Ganga emperors in this period were Anantavarman Chōḍa-ganga till A. D. 1148, his son Kāmārṇava (A. D. 1148-1158), his brother Rāghava (A. D. 1156-1170) and Rājarāja II, the third son of Anantavarman (A. D. 1170-1196), his younger brother Anangabhīma II or Anivankabhīma (A. D. 1190-1198) and Rājarāja III (A. D. 1198-1212). "With the accession of Rājarāja III a new era begins in Orissan history."³ The rulers between Anantavarman and Rājarāja III were not powerful. Consequently, the political atmosphere was conducive for the rise of new dynasties. And one such was the Matsya dynasty of Oddādi.

Sources and origin:- Inscriptions, all stone records, except the Dibbiḍa copper-plate grant in the Madras Museum⁴ form the main

1. (a) On the basis of the prasasti of Narasimha II, it is stated that the Haihayas, Pallavas and the Chōlas accompanied Gangaikondachōla and Rājendra.

2. Prof. K. A. N. Sāstri: *The Pāṇḍyan kingdom* pp. 11, 15.

3. R. D. Banerji: *History of Orissa* I p. 255.

source for the history of the Matsyas. References in the records of the Pallavas of Virakūṭa, Gangas of Jantarnāḍu and the Redḍis give some additional but important details.

The mythical ancestry of the Matsyas is as follows:- From the navel lotus of Vishnu was born Brahma, from whom Atri was born. His son was Kasyapa in whose lineage was born sage Nāranga. Nāranga, one day while wandering in the sky saw river Matsya^{4a} which rises on Mukunda mountain, descended to its banks and was engaged in penance. To disturb him, Indra sent Manjughōsha who was changed into a fish by the curse of the sage. Their son was Satyamārtāṇḍa. Jayatsena, the lord of Utkala, came to know of Satyamārtāṇḍa, married his daughter Prabhāvatī to him and appointed him to rule over the Oddādi country.⁵ Thus originated the Matsya kingdom of Oddādi. It is opined that the first ruler of Matsya line ruled at the place Matsya khuna in the vicinity of modern Kāmpagūḍe (Kuphgude) in Jeypore estate.^{5a} The chronology of Satyamārtāṇḍa is not known and is dependent on that of Jayatsena whose identity in Kalinga history is not established.

After Satyamārtāṇḍa, a long line of Matsya rulers ruled over Oddādi. A Matsya family is mentioned in the Chipurupalle plates^{5b} of Vishṇuvardhan I (A. D. 642) of the Eastern Chālukyas. Atavi Durjaya of this family was the executor of the grant of Kaluvagōṇḍa in Dimilivishaya in Sarvasiddhi Taluq to two Brahmans. Chipurapalle is in Vizāgapaṭam district. Probably Atavi durjaya was one of the successors of Satyamārtāṇḍa, and served Vishṇuvardhana. Or else he belonged to a collateral line of the Matsyas.

The names of the intermediaries between Satyamārtāṇḍa and Ganga, ^{5c} an younger brother of Bhīma are not known. Vallabha was the son of Ganga and his son was Yuddhamalla whose son was Gonaga. Gonaga's son was Bhīma. Bhīma's son was Rāvāṇa I. Rāvāṇa's son was Kokkila, whose son was Guḍḍa. Āditya was the son of Guḍḍa, and his son was Kandi I. Kandi had two sons-Gonaga II and Guḍḍa II. Kandi II was the son of Guḍḍa II. His son was Ārya⁶ who did not rule. Ārya's son was King Paragāṇḍa. Paragāṇḍa had two sons -

4. E. I. VI No. 14 Kielhorn; List. of Inscriptions p. 104 No. 600 Ins. Mad. Pres. III V G 51.

4. (a) Māchēru in Malakanagiri taluq. 5. E. I. V No. 14 VV 9 and 10.

5. (a) Kalingadēsa charitra p. 298. 5. (b) Kalingadēsa charitra Appendix p. 42. 6. E. I. V p. 108 fn 3.

Gudda III and Bhima III. Bhima's son was Narasimha, whose son was Mankāditya.

The details of the history of the Matsya kingdom during this period of seventeen generations from Bhima to Mangāditya is not known. The names Bhima, Vallabha, Yuddhamalla, Ganaga, and Kokkila of kings seem to suggest their allegiance to the Eastern Chālukyas. But the names of other kings - Ganga etc. and the location of the kingdom perhaps show that the Matsya must have ruled Oddādi as feudatories of the Gangas of Kalinga. We may note here, that the Kadambas in Kalinga,⁷ the lords of Panchavisahya alias Panchapātravishaya had also Matsya lāchana. Whether the Matsyas are related to them is not known. The statement that the Matsyas of Matsyadēsa were closely connected with the Pāṇḍava race⁸ is not supported by evidence but is a late origin of Matsyas based on the name Arjuna - frequently borne by them from the 13th century onwards.

Mankāditya C. A. D. 1150.

All the predecessors of Mankāditya are referred to in a general way in Simhāchalam record,⁹ dated A. D. 1269 which says that in Minānvaya were born many victorious kings. Mankāditya is the first Matsya king finding mention in other records besides the Dibbiḍa plates. A record at Drākshārāma¹⁰ dated A. D. 1252 and the 36th year of Tribhuvanachakravarti Rājādhirājadeva begins with Mankāditya of Matsyakula. Mankāditya may be placed about A. D. 1150 as the earliest date for his grandson Arjuna was A. D. 1252.

His political relations :- Komarama, Rāghaya, Rājarāja III and Ananga-Bhima II of the Gangas, Rājarāja II, Rājādhirāja II and Kulottunga III of the chōlas, Gonka II, chōḍa II and Gonka III of the Velanāṇḍus, Lōka and Bhima of the Kōna Haihayas, Sōmayanayaka of the Saronāthas, Mallapa II and Vijayāditya III of the chālukyas of Pithāpur, Vijayāditya I of Elamanchili chālukyas, Vijayāpitya I of Srikūrmam chālukyas, Mahādeva of the chālukyas of Nīḍadavole, Bayyarāja and Purushottama of the Pallavas of Virakūta, were contemporaneous with Mankāditya. Little is known about the events of the reign of Mankāditya.

Jayantarāju. C. 1200 A. D.

According to the Dibbiḍa plates¹¹ Mankāditya had two sons - Bhima IV and Jayanta. For reasons not known to us, Jayanta

7. Bharati VI-I pp. 371, 374. 8. Vizagapatam district Manual p. 293.
9. 362 of 1899; S. I. I. VI 1143. 10. 211 of 1893; S. I. I. IV 1043.
11. E. I. V No. 14.

succeeded his father, and not Bhima IV and similar precedents are not uncommon in Matsya history. Jayanta is mentioned as Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara Oddādi Jayantarāju in the Drākshārāma epigraph¹² of Arjuna. He finds place in the Simhāchalam record¹³ of Arjuna, his son by queen Bhingamāmba. Jayanta may have reigned about A. D. 1200. He was more powerful than Mankāditya as his titles indicate.

Ananga Bhima II and his successors in Kalinga, Kulottunga III and Rājarāja III of the chōlas, Mallidēva II and Bhima IV and Bhimavallabha and Ganapati of the Kōna Haihayas, Kēsava of the Saronāthas, Mallapa I of the Elamanchili chālukyas, Rājarāja I of the Srikūrmam chālukyas, Bayyarāja of the Pallavas of Virakūta were ruling in this period. We have no evidence of Jayanta having come into touch with any of these powers.

Arjuna. I. A. D. 1252-1292.

The son and successor of Jayanta, Arjuna was the first Matsya king to have issued inscriptions. His earliest inscription¹⁴ is from Drākshārāma dated A. D. 1252 and the 36th year of Tribhuvanachakravarti Rājādhirāja registering the regrant of Sankubhimāpuram in Alikāṭṭanānti in Oddādi. The next record¹⁵ also from Drākshārāma is dated A. D. 1253 and the 59th year of Tribhuvana chakravarti Rājādhirājadeva. In A. D. 1269 Arjuna made gifts at Simhāchalam,¹⁶ for the increase of his family fame and valour, (Kula, Kirti and Pratāpa). On the 6th April 1269 A. D. he granted Drubbiḍi named Jayantanarāyana after his father to Brahmins.¹⁷ The next record, dated A. D. 1281 is from Simhāchalam,¹⁸ mentioning his minister Srirangapreggāḍa. In A. D. 1286 Annamarāju, the younger brother of Arjuna made grants at Simhāchalam.¹⁹ Arjuna's records²⁰ dated A. D. 1287 are at Drākshārāma and Simhāchalam. In the latter, figures his minister Tallepreggāḍa. In A. D. 1289, Oddādi Srirangavardhana alias Mankāditya Maharāja, the younger brother of Arjuna made gifts at Simhāchalam.²¹ The last date for Arjuna is A. D. 1292, in which year he made grants at Simhāchalam for the merit of his deceased younger brother Annamarāja entitled Gopālavardhana. In the same year,

12. 211 of 1893; S. I. I. IV 1043.

13. E. I. V. No. 14. 14. 211 of 1893; S. I. I. IV 1043.

15. 440 of 1893; S. I. I. IV 1373. 16. 362 of 1899; S. I. I. VI 1143.

17. E. I. V No. 14; Sewel; Hist. Inscs. Of S. India. p. 159.

18. 359 of 1899; S. I. I. VI 1139. 19. 358 of 1899; S. I. I. VI 1138.

20. 436 a of 1893; S. I. I. IV 1368; 325 of 1899; S. I. I. VI 995.

21. 315 of 1899; S. I. I. VI 975.

Jayanta,²² son of Arjuna by Lakshmidēvi, made donations at Simhāchalam.

This series of inscriptions at Drākshārāma, Simhāchalam and Drubbudi indicates the extent to which the Matsya arms under Arjuna reached. In extending and consolidating the kingdom, Arjuna came into contact with the Gangas, the Cholas and the minor dynasties in Kalinga.

His political relations:— In his records Arjuna is mentioned as Arjunadēva, Matsvavams'odhbhava Śrinarasimbavardhana. Oddavādi Arjunadēva Maharāja, Oddavādi Matsyakulatilaka Arjunadēvarāju and Oddavādi Śrinarasimbavardhana Arjunadēvamahārāju. His epithet a grauda to the snakes ie enemy kings, attests his capacity in fighting. His son Jayanta bore the titles Khandarāo and Dohattamalla.

Arjuna and the Gangas:— The Ganga Emperors in this period were Narasimha I (A. D. 1238–1264) his son Phanudēva I (A. D. 1264–1278) and his son Narasimha II (A. D. 1278–1305).

Arjuna did not acknowledge Ganga suzerainty in his records. Perhaps this suggests his independent attitude towards the suzerain lord. But nevertheless he was not hostile to the Gangas, for a Simhāchalam record²³ of A. D. 1274 mentions Anantajiyyana, a prince of the Matsyas of Oddadi, the bearer of the title Gangavamsa nidrohadvavala mandalika meaning the governor who is pure by his non-treachery to the Ganga emperors.²⁴

Arjuna and the Cholas:— The contemporary Chōla emperor was Rajendra III (A. D. 1246–1279). Arjuna's inscription from Drākshārāma is dated in the 36th year of Rājādhirāja II and A.D. 1252. But the year A. D. 1252 corresponds to the 36th year of Rājārāja III and the 6th year of Rajendra III.²⁵ So the Chōla emperor referred to in the Matsya record, Rājādhirāja, is an error for Rājārāja III whose records are available up to his 41st year ie. A. D. 1257 though Rajendra III was the heir apparent and actual ruler from A. D. 1246. Probably on an expedition of conquest, Arjuna advanced as far as Drākshārāma and acknowledged there the suzerainty of the Cholas. One more of Arjuna's records is dated A. D. 1275 and the 59th year of Rājādhirāja. Calculating on the basis of the previous record as the 36th year of Rājādhirāja ie A. D. 1252, his 59th year rightly corresponds to A. D. 1275. But in this instance, Rājādhirāja does not

22. 305 of 1899; S. I. I. VI 943. 23. 250-F of 1899; S. I. I. VI 712.

24. J. A. H. R. S. VIII p. 42. 25. Prof. K. A. N. Sāstri: The Cholas II-II

refer to Rājārāja III whose records after his 41st year are not found.²⁶ Here Rājādhirāja is Rajendra III whose 29th year corresponds to A. D. 1275. Thus perhaps 59 is a mistake for 29 and the record proves the continuity of the Matsya loyalty to the Chōla emperors and the prevalence of Chōla supremacy in Vengi so late as A. D. 1275.

Arjuna and other kings:— Mallidēva II and Bhīma IV, Bhīma Vallabha and Ganapati in Konamandala, Chōda I at Panchadhara, Mangayadēva and Yeragayadēva in Kolanu, Vijayāditya IV at Pithāpūr, Upendra I and Mallapa at Elamanchili, Rājārāja I, Vijayāditya II and Purushottama at Śrikūrmam, Narasimha and Gangarāja in Jantarnādu, Bayyara at Virakūṭa, were some of the contemporaries of Arjuna. In his southward expansion, Arjuna must have come into contact with the Kōna Haihayas, the Chālukyas of Pithāpūr etc. probably as a friend as there is no evidence of the conflicts with them.

Peda mummūṭi Prākēti Virapanāyaka, father-in-law of Arjuna²⁷ was a local chief in the Drākshārāma area. Prince Kumāra Anantajiyyana was governing Chikāṭi in this period. His titles²⁸ are Matsyakulatilaka, Ripudarpamadana, Chalamartiganda, Aruhutudimandulika, besides Gangavamsanidrohadvavalamandalika which is noted already. Probably, Chikāṭi constituted part of the Matsya kingdom in this period. Ananta, and the brothers of Arjuna Mankāditya and Annama must have fought for the Matsyas in their wars against their enemies.

Jayanta II and Jayantikarāju A. D. 1292–1356.

Jayanta II was the son and successor of Arjuna. Jayantikarāju, son of Mankāditya was joint ruler with Jayanta II and both issued records simultaneously. In A. D. 1291, Jayantikarāju made grants at Simhāchalam.²⁹ In the next year A. D. 1292, King Jayanta II made gifts at Simhāchalam for the increase of his life, health and prosperity. In A. D. 1298 Jayantikarāju made gifts at Simhāchalam for the increase of his kingdom.³⁰ In A. D. 1337 and 1339 Jayanta made gifts at Simhāchalam.³¹ In A. D. 1346 and 1348, Chingamadēvi, queen of Jayanta and a subordinate of Jayanta, made grants at Simhāchalam.³² In A. D. 1349, Chingama, queen of Jayantikarāju made grants at Simhāchalam for the prosperity of the kingdom of her

26. Prof. K. A. N. Sāstri. The Cholas II-II p. 759.

27. 211 of 1893; S. I. I. IV 1043. 28. 250 F. of 1899; S. I. I. VI 712.

29. 311 of 1899; S. I. I. VI 965.

30. 316 of 1899; S. I. I. VI 976. 31. 287 of 1899; S. I. I. VI 867.

32. 304 & 316 of 1899; S. I. I. VI 942, 979.

husband.³³ An undated record at Simhachalam³⁴ mentions Bhimidevi, queen of Jayanta. Though no records of Jayanta and Jayantika dated A. D. 1349 are available, their reign may have extended up to A. D. 1357 the earliest date for Arjuna, their successor. Chronology shows that Jayanta III, grandson of Jayanta II, according to one author,^{34a} is identical with Jayanta II.

Their political relations:— Jayanta II and Jayantika had a long reign of sixty-four years. The kingdom in this period retained the same extent as in the reign of Arjuna. Jayanta is mentioned as Oddavadi Srimanmahamandalasvara Jayantaraju, his father as Krishnavardhana and Jayantika as Virajayanta in records. Probably Arjuna was crown prince in this period.

Jayanta and Jayantika and the Gangas:— The contemporary Ganga emperors were Narasimha II (A. D. 1278–1305), Bhānudeva II (A. D. 1307–1328) Narasimha III (1328–1352) and Bhānudeva III (1353–1378). No doubt Jayanta II and Jayantika would have continued Matsya loyalty to the Gangas, though no special references to that effect are available.

Jayanta and Jayantika and the Reddis:— The Reddi rulers in this period were Vēma and Anapota of Kondavīdu. The Matsyas came into conflict with the Reddis in defensive warfare. For Vēma led expeditions of conquest into South Kalinga and vanquished some of the local rulers by A. D. 1335, the date of his Chimakurti copper plate charter³⁵ registering these victories. Contemporary Reddi literature³⁶ supports Vēma's achievements in Kalinga. So the Matsyas along with the 'Gangas of Jantrnādu etc suffered a reverse in Reddi hands, though the Matsya records are silent about it.

Jayanta II and Jayantika probably maintained friendly relations with other local dynasties in south Kalinga for instance the Silas, the Pallavas, the Haihayas, the Gangas, the Chālukyas etc. All must have joined together to oppose the invader the Reddis though not with any success.

33. 314 of 1899: S. I. I. VI 968. Historical insns. of S. India p. 191 Sewell Says the date is not clear. But it is clear in the record.

34. 316-D of 1899. 34. (a) Kalingadesa charitra p. 644. The Genealogical Tree.

35. E. I. XXI No. 41-A. Text pp. 271–272 Date s 1259 Yuva if Dhata is substituted corresponds to Oct. 31, 1336 p. 262.

36. Errapraggada: Harivamsamu.

Arjuna II alias Virārjuna A. D. 1356–1399.

Son of Jayanta II, Arjuna succeeded him and Jayantikaraju, on the Matsya throne at Voddadi, Arjuna's earliest record³⁷ dated A.D. 1357 is from Simhachalam registering gifts by his queen Kamaladevi. His next inscription from Simhachalam mentions Palakonda Karttijiya of Matayakula making grants³⁸ in A. D. 1359. Three records³⁹ at Simhachalam dated A. D. 1364 record gifts by Arjuna and minister Oddadi Bhimanapreggada. In A. D. 1365 and 1366, Bhimana made further gifts at Simhachalam.⁴⁰ In A. D. 1369, King Arjuna provided for Arjunabhoga to the god at Simhachalam.⁴¹ Varadana preggada, minister of Arjuna made gifts at Simhachalam⁴² in A. D. 1375, 1376 and 1377. King Arjuna donated Anakapalle in the Adhikara of Kalinga Pariksha Dharmadasa Jiyana to the temple at Simhachalam in 1377 A. D.⁴³ His next record also from Simhachalam⁴⁴ is dated A. D. 1381. In A. D. 1383 minister Mallapreggada made grants at Simhachalam.⁴⁵ Arjuna's record of A. D. 1399 at Simhachalam mentions his son Prataparjuna and daughter Siriyamma.⁴⁶ The last of Arjuna's records is dated A. D. 1408⁴⁷, which too mentions Prataparjuna. Probably, Arjuna's rule ended in A. D. 1399, though he continued to issue records up to A. D. 1408. Inscriptions attest that Arjuna and Virārjuna are identical and not as has been supposed^{47a} that the latter was the grandson of the former and son of Jayanta III.

His political relations:— Arjuna is mentioned as Oddavadi Arjunadevaraju of Matayavamsa, and Mandalasvara Virārjuna in records. The name Arjuna itself and the epithet Vira attached to it, perhaps indicate his capacities as a warrior. Arjuna does not seem to have come into conflict with the major powers in South India in this period.

Arjuna and Kalinga:— The contemporary Ganga emperors were Bhānudeva III (A. D. 1353–1378) and Narasimha IV (A. D. 1378–1425). The political condition of Orissa in this period is as follows:— Shamsuddin Ilias of Bengal raided Orissa in A. D. 1353. In A. D. 1356, prince Sangama, a nephew of king Bukka I of Vijayanagar claims

37. 314 of 1899: S. I. I. 874. 38. 310 of 1899 S. I. I. VI 864.

39. S. I. I. VI 877, 842, 843. 40. S. I. I. VI 882, 839, 832.

41. 288-G of 1899; S. I. I. VI 875. 42. 282, 279, 283-F of 1899; S. I. I. VI 797, 794, 874.

43. 288-H of 1899; S. I. I. VI 876. 44. 277-A of 1899; S. I. I. VI. 789.

45. 314-D of " " 972. 46. 288-D of " " 872.

47. 305-C of 1899; S. I. I. VI 946.

to have defeated the Gajapatis. "This is the earliest record of a war between the Hindu kings of Vijayanagar and Orissa."⁴⁸ Emperor Firoz Tughlak invaded Orissa during his second expedition into Bengal in A. D. 1360-1361.⁴⁹ In the reign of Narasimha IV, Muslim raids into Kalinga continued. Besides, in this period, South Kalinga was subjected to Reddi invasions under Kumāragiri and Kāṭayavēma. Arjuna is likely to have helped the Gangas against their enemies in this period.

Arjuna and the Reddis:—The Reddi contemporaries of Arjuna were Anapota, Anavēma, Kumāragiri and Pedakomativēma at Konḍavidu and Kāṭayavēma at Rajahmundry. Evidence on the Reddi side⁵⁰ shows that Kāṭayavēma, as general of Kumāragiri Reddi, led an expedition into Kalinga about A. D. 1385 and vanquished the local dynasties in South Kalinga. Consequently, it is very probable that Arjuna submitted to the Reddis in this period during the later part of his reign. For inscriptions at Simhāchalam show that the ministers of the Reddis made grants in the Oddādi kingdom in the reign of Anavēma.

Arjuna's contemporaries in other kingdoms were Kōṇa Bhimavallabha in Kōṇa maṇḍala (A. D. 1318-1364), Chōḍa II and Bhima at Paṇchadhārāla, Upēndra III, Chennēsa, Upēndra IV & V, Chōḍaganga and Viśvēśvara at Elamanchili, Narasimha and Gangarāju in Jantarnāḍu, Narasimha at Virakūṭa and Viśvanātha and Bhairava alias Bayya at Nandāpura. Like his predecessors, Arjuna would have continued friendly relations with the local rulers in Kalinga. And as he did not lead any expeditions of conquest, he would not have come into conflict with the Haihayas of Kōṇamaṇḍala, who also acknowledged Reddi suzerainty.

Arjuna III alias Prataparjuna, A. D. 1399-1427.

Prataparjuna was the greatest of the Matsyas. A distinguished warrior, he was more enterprising than his predecessors. Many records of his initial year are available. The earliest⁵¹ is from Simhāchalam dated A. D. 1399 registering gifts by Sūrayapreggaḍa, the Pradhani of Oddādirāja. Two more records⁵² of the year at Simhāchalam

mention gifts by Tirpari Chingama and Tirpari Kāṭamasetti in Oddādirāja. Sīriyamma, sister of Prataparjuna gave lands in Oddādi in A. D. 1399 to the God at Simhāchalam.⁵³ The next record⁵⁴ is from Simhāchalam dated A. D. 1407 mentioning Jantarnāṭi Satyamahādēvi. The Simhāchalam record⁵⁵ of A. D. 1408 records the grant of the village Mangi by Prataparjuna. In A. D. 1412 he made further grants at Simhāchalam.⁵⁶ Annamarāju, son of Oddādi Vanamarājulu and Ōvadēvi, in A. D. 1415 made gifts at Simhāchalam.⁵⁷ In A. D. 1416 Arjunarāju Rāvutarāyaḍu, son of Mankamahādēvi, daughter of Oddādi Arjuna made gifts.⁵⁸ This lady was evidently the daughter of Virārjuna and sister of Prataparjuna. Another record dated A. D. 1416 records grant of land in Oddādidēsa by Satyamahādēvi, queen of Prataparjuna.⁵⁹ In A. D. 1420, 1421 Arjuna made gifts at Simhāchalam.⁶⁰ In A. D. 1421 after his return from the conquest of Jantarnāḍu Arjuna made gifts at Simhāchalam.⁶¹ A record of the Sīlavamsis of Nandapur dated A. D. 1427 at Simhāchalam,⁶² mentions Singarāju, son of Jayanta of the Matsyas, the maternal uncle of Pratapa Gangarāju. Another record⁶³ at Srikurmam of A. D. 1427 mentions Singamahādēvi, daughter of Jayanta of the Matsyas and wife of Viśvēśvara of the Sīlas. Arjuna's last date appears to be A. D. 1427.

His political relations:—Arjuna III is mentioned as Oddādi Prataparjunarāja, Prataparjunadevarājulu and Mahamandalesvara Oddādi Prataparjunadevarāja in his records. The name Prataparjuna suggests his capacities as a warrior.

The contemporary Ganga rulers were Narasimha IV and Bhanudeva IV. In the reign of these two weak kings, Ganga empire was an easy prey to the foreign invader. Probably Prataparjuna shook off allegiance to the Gangas completely.

Prataparjuna and the Sīlavamsis:—Two dynasties of Sīlavamsis were ruling at Virakūṭa and Nandāpura. From records of this period, the marriage alliances between the Matsyas and the Sīlas are known. Pratapa Gangarāja of Sīlavamsa of Nandāpura had a maternal uncle in Jayanta of the Matsyas whose son was Singarāju.⁶⁴

53. 288-D of 1899; S. I. I. VI 877.

54. 283 of 1899; S. I. I. VI 820. 55. 305-C of 1899; S. I. I. VI. 946.

56. 284-D " " 829. 57. 284-B " " 1076.

58. 334 " " 1076. 59. 284 " " 825.

60. 284-E, 284-L of 1899; S. I. I. VI 830. 61. 318 of 1899; S. I. I. VI 966.

62. 309 of 1899; S. I. I. VI 950. 63. 281 of 1896 S. I. I. VI 1162.

64. 309 of 1990 S. I. I. VI 950.

48. Banerji; History of Orissa I p. 282. 49. (a) Kalingadesa charitra p 644

49. Account of this invasion in the Dynastic history of North India by Ray I, pp. 491-494.

50. Inscriptions and Literature. 50. (a) S. I. I. VI 785.

51. 288-C of 1899; S. I. I. VI 871. 52. 288-A, 288-B of 1899; S. I. I. VI 869, 870.

This Jayanta must be identified with Jayanta II, the grandfather of Pratāpārjuna. So Pratāpa Ganga's mother was the sister of Virārjuna and aunt of Pratāpārjuna. Again, Singamadēvi, the queen of Viśvēśvara of Śīlāvamsa of Virakūṭa was the daughter of Jayanta of the Matsyas.⁶⁵ Probably this Singama is identical with the daughter of Jayanta II noted above where her name and that of her husband are not mentioned.

Pratāpārjuna and the Gangas of Jantarnādu:— Satyamahādēvi, queen of Pratāpārjuna was a princess of the Ganga family of Jantarnādu.⁶⁶ Pratāpārjuna led an expedition of conquest into Jantarnādu by A. D. 1421 and was victorious.⁶⁷ The causes for this expedition are not known. The Ganga rulers in this period were Samgamarāju (A. D. 1398–1420) and Gangarāja (1420 A. D.) During the expedition, Arjuna, obviously subordinated these rulers and perhaps captured Lakkavarapukōṭa in Jantarnādu.

Princes Singarāju, Oddādi Vanamahārāju Ravutarāyaḍu and others and capable generals, some of whose names occur in records Viḍusēnāpati, Aladusēnāpati and the latter's son Rājanarēndra, Erusēnāpati, Annisēnāpati, and Kurumāyi etc must have manned the Matsya armies and contributed much to the success of Pratāpārjuna in his expeditions. Probably he came into conflict with the Redḍis of Rajahmundry during the expeditions of the latter into Kalinga.

Chōḍa III at Panchadhārāla, Viśvēśvara and Chōḍaganga and Nāgendra chakravarti at Elamanchili, Saubhagya dēva at Virakūṭa, were contemporaneous with Pratāpārjuna. There is no evidence of Pratāpārjuna having come into contact with any of these rulers.

Pratāpa Vallabharāja A. D. 1427–1467.

The relationship of Pratāpavallabha to Pratāpārjuna is not known. Probably he was the son and successor of Arjuna III. Pratāpavallabha's earliest record⁶⁸ is from Juttāḍa dated A. D. 1432. His next inscription⁶⁹ is dated A. D. 1463. In A. D. 1465 the king made gifts, for the increase of his kingdom⁷⁰ etc., to the God at Simhāchalam. In the same year, at Simhāchalam Srivallabha of Oddādi made grants,⁷¹ The next record is dated A. D. 1467 mentioning gifts by merchants for the prosperity of Pratāpavallabha.⁷² Some records

65. 281 of 1896: " "

66. 284 of " " 825. 67. 312 of 1899: S. I. I. VI 966.

68. Antiquities I p. 15 Ins. Mad pres III (V. 8) 60.

69. 7 of 1929–30. 70. 255 of 1899; S. I. I. VI 727.

71. A.R. 1912. p. 84 para 73. 72. Mack.Ms. 15–6–26 Elliot Inscriptions No. 61.

of the reign give the cyclic year and not the saka year. The Chōḍavaram inscription dated Viśvavasu mentions Pratāpavallabha.⁷³ Another record⁷⁴ there is dated Sobhākrit and mentions Vallayapaḍālu, a friend of the king. In Sārvari,⁷⁵ Vallayapaḍālu granted Annavaram to Vallabha at Juttāḍa, in Vallabha's reign. The record⁷⁶ at Chōḍavaram dated Kalayukti mentions gifts made for Vallabha's merit.

His political relations:— Vallabha is mentioned in records as Mahamaṇḍalēśvara Pratāpavallabharāja, Oddādi Pratāpavallabhadēvarāju, Srivallabharāju, Vallabharāja mahapatra, Srivirapratāpavallabharāja mahapatra and Kumara Traida Bēharamahapatra. Srivira Bhūpatirayavirapratāpa vallabharāja mahapatra. His Ganga contemporaries were Bhanudēva IV (A. D. 1424–1434) and Kapilēśvara Gajapati (A. D. 1434–1470). Kapilēśvara subdued all the local dynasties in Kalinga and the Matsyas were no exception. For Pratāpavallabha in his records added Mahapatra to his name, though he did not specifically mention his subordination to the Gajapatis. As Mahapatra is a term suffixed to the names of the provincial governors under the Gajapatis, it is definite that the Matsyas lost their independence to the Gajapatis in the reign of Pratāpavallabha by A. D. 1435.

Kumara Erramanayaka at Elamanchili, Vēmaredḍi and Virabhadredḍi at Rajahmundry, Harihara II and Praudha dēvaraya at Vijayanagar were contemporary with Vallabha. Vallabha, a great warrior did not come into conflict with Errama who also acknowledged Gajapati yoke. Vallabha had to face the Redḍi expedition into South Kalinga in A. D. 1434 and suffered a reverse and submitted to the invader. For Oddādi is included in the conquests of Allaḍavēme Redḍi in his Simhāchalam inscriptions of A. D. 1435 along with Poṭṭur and Kalavalapalle.

Singarāja A. D. 1467–1471.

Singarāja succeeded Pratāpavallabha in A. D. 1467, to whom his relationship is not known. His earliest inscription⁷⁷ is from Arjunagiri (Viravalli taluq) dated A. D. 1470 mentioning him as the son of Rangarāja. "Royal titles are accorded to these persons", Mackenzi Ms Copy of this record mentions that Virapratāpasingarāja,

73. 51 of 1912.

74. 62 of 1912; Mack. Ms. 15–6–26. Elliot's inscriptions No. 62.

75. 54 of " " " " No. 63.

76. 54 of " " " " No. 63.

77. Sewell: Antiquities Ip. 15. Ins. Mad. Pres. III Vg. 42.

son of Pratapa Rangadēvarāja of Oddādi granted Arjunagiri to Varāha-nārāyaṇa vaibhogarāya temple for the merit of himself and the Matsya-vamsa.⁷⁹ An undated inscription at Chōḍavaram⁸⁰ mentions Virapratāpasingarāja, son of Mahāmandalēsvara Pratāpasringarāja of Oddādi.

His political relations:—Rangarāja, the father of Singarāja bore regal titles. But none of his records are available, and it is not clear whether he ruled the Matsya kingdom after Pratāpavallabha and prior to Singarāja. Or probably the father and son ruled together from A. D. 1467 to 1471.

The contemporary Gajapati emperors were Kapilēsvara and Purushottama (A. D. 1470–1497). There is no doubt about Matsya loyalty to the Gajapatis in this period.

Other and Later Matsyas:—A record at Chōḍavaram⁸¹ dated A. D. 1391 mentions Virapratāpasingarāju, son of Oddādi Pratāpasingarāju. A Mahāmandalēsvara Pratāpavallabha made grants for the increase of his sovereignty and the prosperity of the Matsya chiefs in A. D. 1392 at Zuttāḍa.⁸² In the 3rd year of Bhimarāja of Matsya-vamsa, some Setṭis made grants at Zuttāḍa.⁸³ This Bhima's relationship to the main line of the Matsyas is not known, though recording of inscriptions in his regnal years speaks for his importance. In A. D. 1397 Mahāmandalēsvara Pratāpalakshmanadēvarāju is mentioned in the record at Chōḍavaram.⁸⁴ Mankāditya figures in three undated records⁸⁵ at Maddurti (Viravalli taluq). As has been suggested already, this Mankāditya is identical with Mankāditya, the younger brother of Arjuna of the Dibbiḍa. c. p. grant from a record dated A. D. 1531–32. A Vallabharāja Mahapatra⁸⁶ is heard of.

End:—The Matsya kingdom ended with Singarāja in A. D. 1471 and was replaced by the Pūsapāti and Māḍgole Zamindaries owing allegiance to the Gajapatis. The Epigraphist⁸⁷ says "the small estate of Vaḍḍādi (now connected with Māḍgula (Gazetteer of Vizagapatam District p 319 f) must have eventually passed into the hands of Pūsapāti kings of Vizianagaram of whom Sitarāmarāju Vijayarāmarāju is stated to have been ruling the Machcha (Matsya Country) in s' 1618

78. Mack. Ms. 15-6-26. Elliot's inscriptions No. 51.

79. " " " " No. 59.

80. 53 of 1912: Ins. Mad. Pres. III Vg: 45.

81. Sewell: Antiquities I p. 17.

82. Mack. Ms. 15-6-26. Elliot's inscriptions No. 58.

83. of 1929-30. 84. 55 of 1912: Ins. Mad. Press. III Vg. 47.

85. Ins. Mad. Pres. III (Vg) -A, 53. 86. 52 of 1912. p. 84 para 73.

(A. D. 1736-37) and to have made on that occasion a gift of land for the maintenance of Music in Kēsavasvāmi temple at Chōḍavaram (56 of 1912)

The Māḍgole zamindars claim lordship over the Matsyas of Oddādi and bear the title of chiefs (lords) of Oddādi.⁸⁸ The family "claims descent from the sovereigns of Matsyadēsa, who were closely connected with the Pāṇḍava race." They are installed on a stone throne at Paḍēru, shaped like a fish, display a fish on their banner, use the figure of a fish as their signature and jealously protect from harm the masheer in the Matsya gundam (fish pool).⁸⁹ Some of their dependants wore earrings shaped like fish. The zamindars of Guḍā call themselves lords of Oddādi.

The Pallavās of Virakūṭa C. A. D. 1100-1420.

A dynasty of the Pallavas ruled in South Kalinga with capital at Virakūṭa or Virakoṭṭam for four centuries from the 11th to the 14th. These Pallavas, generally owed allegiance to the Cholas and the Eastern Gangas, except when they had to acknowledge the supremacy of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi. The kings were warriors and led expeditions of conquest. Independent for all purposes, the Pallavas contracted alliances of marriage with the Śīlas, the Gangas of Jantarnāḍu etc. The prasasti which is imperialistic of these Pallavas, is in three forms. These Pallavas had their own coinage and Khatvāṅga on their banner.

Sources and origin:—Inscriptions of the dynasty found mainly in the temples at Drākshārāma, Simhāchalām, Mukhalingam and S'rikūrmam, form the chief source. The records of the Gangas of Jantarnāḍu give some references to the Pallavas of Virakūṭa.

The Prasasti of the kings shows their Pallava origin claiming descent from Trinayana Pallava and the moon.¹ The relationship of these Pallavas to the Pallavas of the South, and the time of their separation and settlement in Kalinga is not apparent. It may be surmised that when the Pallavas in the South were at the zenith of their power, a collateral branch migrated to the Southern Kalinga, established a kingdom and lived for centuries together after the Pallavas in the South ceased to exist. Unlike the records of the Matsyas of Oddādi, the records of these Pallavas do not give a mythological origin of the dynasty. Neither the relationship of these Pallavas to the Telugu Pallavas in Vangi is known from records.

88. Visag Gazetteer Ph. 28, 320; Dt. Manual P. 293.

1. 420 of 1893 S. I. I. IV 1343.

Suraparaju A. D. 1112-1132.

King Sūrya or Sūraparāju was the earliest known member of the dynasty. His only record² is from Drākshārāma dated A. D. 1112 and the 43rd year of Tribhuvana Chakravarti Kulōttunga Chōḍadeva bearing the Chālukya prasasti Sarvalōkāsraya etc. The king is mentioned as Mahāmandalēsvara Biragoṭṭamuna Sūraparāju and some of his titles are Vrishabhalānchana, Khaṭvāṅgaketana, Kānchipurēsvara, Nambikula-tilaka and Yuddhatrinētra. The record registers grants to Bhimēsvara at Peddāḍakārēmi in Gangagondachōḍavalanānti Guddavāḍināḍu Sūrapa's reign may have lasted till A. D. 1132, the earliest date for his successor Bayyarāju.

His political relations:— It is likely that Sūrapa was subdued by the Chōlas during the first or second Kalinga wars. Consequently he acknowledged Chōla suzerainty in his Drākshārāma inscription. The Ganga contemporary of Sūrapa was Anantavarma chōḍa ganga. Sūrapa must have maintained friendly relations with the petty kingdoms in South Kalinga eg. the Matsyas, the Sīlas, the Gangas, the Chālukyas, etc.

Bayyarāju A. D. 1132-1157.

Bayyarāju's relationship to his predecessor Sūryarāju is not known. His earliest inscription³ is from Drākshārāma dated A. D. 1132 and C. v 57 registering gifts by his queen Kommiḍēvi. His next inscription⁴ is from Drākshārāma dated A. D. 1157 mentioning gifts by his queen Lakshmi. Another record⁵ of the year at Drākshārāma mentions Gantiya Bayyarāju, the younger brother of the king. An undated inscription⁶ at Drākshārāma mentions queen Komma Mahādevi and Mahāmandalēsvara Biragoṭṭamuna Kandiya Bayyarāju, obviously identical with Gantiya Bayyarāju of the above record.

Bayya and the Cholas:— None of Bayya's records are dated in the regnal years of the Chōla emperors Kulōttunga II and Rājārāja II. Bayya's titles show that he must have fought some battles. This must have been on the behalf of the Chōlas against the Chālukyas.

Chōḍa I and Gonka II of the Velanāḍu Chōḍas, Rājendra Chōḍa I, Bhima II and Satya I of the Kōna Haihayas, Beta II and Kēta I of the Kōṭas, Chōḍarāja and his successors of the Kōṇḍapaḍu-māṭis, Sūrapa and Banṭa of the Malayas, Kāṭama and Sōmaya of the

2. 405 of 1893 S. I. I. IV 1327 The Cholas II-II p. 594.

3. 338 „ 1220. 4. 328 of 1893: S. I. I. IV 1209.

5. 329 „ 1210. 6. 339 „ 1222.

THE HISTORY OF ĀNDHRA COUNTRY (1000-1300)

Saronāthas, Viṣṇuvardhana and his successors of the Chālukyas, Vijayāditya I of S'rikūrmam were contemporary with Bayyarāju. As all the records of Bayya are at Drākshārāma, he must have locally recognised the supremacy of the Velanāḍu Chōḍas.

A. D. 1157-1187 Interval:— During the period of thirty years after Bayyarāju till the beginning of the reign of Purushottama, no Pallava records are available.

Purushottama A. D. 1187-1226.

Maṇḍalika Purushottama made gifts at Mukhalingam in A. D. 1157 and the 22nd year of Anantavarmadeva⁹ of the Gangas. Probably he was a Pallava and his relationship to Bayyarāju is not known. Though none of Purushottama's later records are available, his reign may have lasted till A. D. 1226, the earliest date for Bayyarāju, his successor.

Bayyarāju A. D. 1226-1277.

Bayyarāju's connection with Purushottama is not known. His earliest¹⁰ inscription is from Simhāchalam dated A. D. 1226 recording the grant of Kāvuram in Prakkināḍu by his queen Gangādevi, the daughter of Dāsireḍi Bhīmi (Chāmi) nāyaka and Singama. A record of A. D. 1277 at S'ri Kūrmam mentions gold coins of Biragoṭṭam.¹¹ These must have been Pallava coins and the ruler at the time was probably Bayyarāju.

His political relations:— Bayya is mentioned as Mahāmandalēsvara Viragoṭṭamuna Bayyarāju in his Simhāchalam inscription. Few details of events of Bayya's reign are known. This was the period of the decline of the Velanāḍu Chōḍas and the growth of the Telugu Chōḍas and the Kakatiyas. Many a Kakatiya general led expeditions into South Kalinga in this period e. g. Paḍikam Boppadeva in A. D. 1260. But there is no evidence of the conflicts between these Pallavas and the invaders.

A. D. 1277-1308 Interval:— During the interval of thirty years between the reigns of Bayyarāju and Purushottama, no Pallavas are heard of. This is the second gap in Pallava history, the first being from A. D. 1157 to 1187. The Ganga emperor in the period was Narasimha II. Jayantika of the Matsyas was ruling at Voḍḍādi.

Purushottama A. D. 1308-1348.

Purushottama was the son of a valiant King whose name is lost in the record and Sriyādevi alias S'rirangalakshmi. His earliest

9. 180 of 1896; S. I. I. V 1005. 10. 365 XXXVI of 1895; S. I. I. VI 1203.

11. 354 of 1896; S. I. I. V 1236.

inscription¹² is at Simhachalam, dated A. D. 1308, registering gifts by the queen mother. The next record also from Simhachalam dated A. D. 1346 mentions Annamanayaka of Biragoṭṭa, son of Dhanapati Nāyaka¹³. Annama must have been a subordinate of Purushottama. Purushottama's rule may have terminated in A. D. 1348 which is the earliest date for his successor.

His political relations:—Purushottama would have maintained friendly relations with the local powers in Kalinga except the Chālukyas. For it is likely that Viragoṭṭam was invaded about A. D. 1346 by Chalukya Lakumaraja who probably took it and styled himself the King of Viragoṭṭa. For, a Simhachalam record of A. D. 1346 mentions Sarvalokasraya Vishnuvardhana Maharaja alias Lakumaraja of Biragoṭṭa, son of Vinjamadeva and his queen Sriyadevi¹⁴. So Purushottama, no doubt opposed the Chalukya armies and suffered a reverse. Lakumaraja's sway at Virakūṭa was short-lived for, the records of Pallava Narasimha are available from A. D. 1348.

Probably Purushottama suffered a reverse at the hands of the Reddis of Kondavidu, before A. D. 1335, the date of Chimakurti c. p. charter¹⁵ of Prolaya Vema Reddi, speaking about his successes in Kalinga. The Ganga contemporaries of Purushottama were Bhanudeva II and Narasimha III, to whom his loyalty is not seen from records.

Narasimha A. D. 1348-1400.

On his accession to the throne in A. D. 1348, Narasimha made grants at Simhachalam for the increase of his country, kingdom, fame and prosperity etc.¹⁶ Gifts similar in nature and purpose as in the above record were made by the king in A. D. 1352.¹⁷ In a Simhachalam record¹⁸ of A. D. 1356, Purushottama of Virakūṭa, a moon to the ocean i. e. Pallava Kula, and a destroyer of his enemies and his priya Madanarekha, figure. Narasimha, Purushottama and Lakumadevi, the queen of Narasimha are mentioned in an inscription at Srikūrmam¹⁹ dated A. D. 1357. Another of Narasimha's records is at Srikūrmam²⁰ with date uncertain recording provision for a lamp in the temple by the King. None of Narasimha's records are found after A. D. 1357.

12. 322 of 1899: S. I. I. VI 991.

13. 321 of 1899: S. I. I. VI 991. 14. 321 989.

15. E. I. XXI No. 41-A Text pp. 271-272.

16. 319 of 1899: S. I. I. VI 994. 17. 324 of 1899: S. I. I. VI 988.

18. 280 795. 19. 275 and 276 of 1896: S. I. I. V

20. 279 and 276 of 1158: S. I. I. VI 1158. [1154, 1155.

Nevertheless, his reign may have lasted till A. D. 1400 when he was succeeded by his son Saubhāgyadevaraju.

His political Relations:—Narasimha had a reign of fifty-two years. Purushottama was probably his eldest son associated in the governance of the kingdom during the first nine years by Narasimha. Bhanudeva III and Narasimha IV were the Ganga emperors in this period. Among other rulers were Chōḍa II, Bhima and Chōḍa III of the Haihayas of Panchadhārāla, Koppa, Upendra III, Chennēsa, Upendra IV, Upendra V, Visvēsvara and Chōḍa Ganga of Chalukyas of Elamanchili, Virarjuna or Arjuna II of the Matsyas, Pratapaviragangaraju and Sangama of the Gangas of Jantarnadu, and Visvanatha and Bhairavaraju of the Śilas of Nandapura. Anavēma and Kumargiri at Kondavidu, Kaṭaya Vēma and Allāḍa at Rajahmundry were the Reddi contemporaries of Narasimha.

Narasimha did not lead any expeditions of conquest. But he had to face the Reddi armies under Kaṭayavēma, general of King Kumargiri by A. D. 1390, for Kaṭayavēma claims to have conquered Viragoṭṭa in his Kumargirirajiya,²¹ which is attested by records²² of the Reddis.

Saubhāgyadeva A. D. 1400-1420.

Saubhāgyadeva was the son of Purushottama and a brother of Narasimha. His succession pre-supposes the death of Purushottama son of Narasimha or that his claims were overlooked. His earliest inscription is from Simhachalam dated A. D. 1400 recording gifts for his merit.²³ His record at Simhachalam²⁴ dated A. D. 1420 refers to him as the son of Purushottama of Virakūṭa. A record at Drāksharama dated Krodhi-Jyeshtha,²⁵ with no Saka date records grant of land in Bikkavolu. Saubhagya's rule lasted for twenty years.

His political relations:—Saubhagya is mentioned as Viragoṭṭapu Saubhāgyadevarāja in his records. His prasasti is differently worded from that of his predecessors. Some of his titles are Pallavāditya, Pallavatrīnētra, Trinayanapallava, Pattumgathariraya, Basava Sankara Misaraganda and Somavamsodhbhava²⁶. Saubhāgyadeva was a warrior. His Ganga contemporary was Narasimha IV and the Reddi contemporaries were Pedakomaṭivēma, Allāḍa Vēma and Virabhadra.

21. Introduction to S'ākuntalāvyākhyā.

22. J. A. H. R. S. XI Anaparti c. p. grant of Kumargiri Text. p. 304 & 27-38

23. 310 D of 1899: S. I. I. VI 961. 24. 343 J of 1899: S. I. I. VI 1101.

25. 420 of 1893: IV 1343. 26. 420 of 1893: 1343.

Vijayanagar was under Harihara II and the Velamas were powerful and so also the Sultans of Bahmani Kingdom. Chōḍa Ganga and Viśvā-svara and Nāgendraḍeva Chakravarti of the Elamanchili Chālukyas, Pratāpārjuna or Arjuna III of the Matsyas, Sangama of Jantarnāḍu, and Bayyarāja and Gangarāja at Nandāpura, were contemporaries of Saubhāgyaḍeva. There is no evidence of Saubhāgya's having come into conflict with any of these rulers.

The end:— No sons and successors of Saubhāgyaḍeva are heard of. And the Pallava territories must have come under Kapilē-svara Gajapati, soon after the fall of the Ganga empire after Bhānudeva IV. It may be noted here that Sirigottam mentioned by Sewell²⁷ is a mistake for Viragottam which becomes clear from a study of the Pallava records and Sewell's notice of them in his Antiquities.

The Gangas of Jantarnāḍu A. D. 1270-1461.

A Ganga dynasty ruled over Jantarnāḍu¹ for about two centuries from A. D. 1270 to 1461. These Gangas were one among the important dynasties in South Kalinga. Their kingdom Jantarnāḍu was not seldom the target of many an invader viz, the Reddis, the Matsyas and so forth. The Gangas owed allegiance formally to the Imperial Gangas and contracted alliance of marriage with the Matsyas and the Silas.

Sources and Origin:— All the records of the dynasty except one inscription at Bōni are in Simhachalam. The records of the Gangas of Kalinga and the Matsyas give some reference to the Gangas of Jantarnāḍu, besides the literature and inscriptions of the Reddis.

The Gangas did not bear elaborate prasastis like the Matsyas and the Pallavas. Their records furnish few details regarding their ancestry and early history. The Gangas were of Surabhikula, Gātsa-madagotra and Gangavamśa. The term Jantarnāḍu indicating the country of their rule is prefixed to the names of the kings of the dynasty.

No mythical ancestors of the Gangas are known. The early members of the dynasty are referred to in a general fashion in a single record which says that in Gangavamśa were born several kings^{1a}. No details about them are available.

27. Sewell; Antiquities I pp. 26-28.

1. It has been suggested that "Jantarnāḍu is perhaps the modern name of Dantapurānāḍu. Dantapura was an early capital of the Gangas of Kalinga". E. I. XXI p. 268.

1. (a) 242 of 1899 S. I. I. VI 693.

Narasimha A. D. 1272-1285.

Narasimha is the earliest known ruler of the dynasty. His only record is from Simhachalam dated A. D. 1272. In that year, his minister (Sachiva) Gaṇeśvara Chamūnātha, son of Somi-svaranāyaka, made grants for the increase of wealth, health, valour, fame etc. of the king.² Probably, Narasimha's reign lasted up to A. D. 1285, the earliest date for his successor Gangaraju.

His political relations:— Some of the rulers contemporary with Narasimha were Narasimha I, Bhānudeva I and Narasimha II of the Gangas, Chōḍa I of the Panchadhārāla Haihayas, Mallapa II of Elamanchili Chālukyas, Arjuna I of the Matsyas, Bayyarāju of the Pallavas of Virakūṣa, and Rajarāja I and Vijayāditya II of the Chālukyas of Srikūrmam. There are no signs of allegiance of Narasimha to the Gangas.

Gangaraju A. D. 1285-1319.

The relationship of Gangaraja to Narasimha is not known; probably he was the son. In A. D. 1285 Jantarnāḍa Gangarāju made gifts at Simhachalam for the increase of his kingdom, wealth and health.³ Though none of his later records are available, his reign may have lasted up to A. D. 1319, the earliest date for the next Ganga King-Pratāpa Gangarāju.

His political relations:— Gangaraju bore the epithets Surabhī-vamsodhbhava and Gātsmadagotra. There is no evidence of his having come into contact with either the Ganga emperors or the local rulers in Southern Kalinga.

Pratāpa Gangarāju A. D. 1319-1368.

Pratāpagangarāju whose relationship to Gangaraja is not known became ruler in A. D. 1319. His earliest inscription is from Simhachalam dated A. D. 1319 and the 13th year of Devādidēva Srijagannātha deva.⁴ The Sanskrit portion of the record mentions the King Ganga and queen Lakshmidēvi. His next record also from Simhachalam dated A. D. 1336 records gifts by Sumitrādevi, the mother of Jantarnāḍi Pratāpa Gangarāju for the increase of Victory, kingdom, health and wealth of her son.⁵ As in the previous record, the king is mentioned simply as King Ganga in the Sanskrit portion of the inscription. The next inscription⁶ also from Simhachalam is dated A. D. 1368.

2. 242 of 1899 S. I. I. VI 698. 3. 251 of 1899 S. I. I. VI 713.

4. 252 " 714. 5. 252-A " 715.

6. 253-F " 725;

It mentions the king as Jantarnāṭi Pratāpaviragangarāja making gifts for the satisfaction of his own desires. So Gangarāja's reign lasted up to A. D. 1368.

His political relations:—Pratapa Ganga had a reign of fifty years. The Eastern Ganga Emperor Bhānuḍeva II i. e. Jagannātha reigned from A. D. 1307 to 1328. Gangarāja's record dated in Jagannātha's regnal years shows his allegiance to the Ganga throne. The statement in the record that the queen of Gangarāja made the gift in charge (author'ty) of Sankaradāsa Mahāsenāpati⁷ shows that the part of the Ganga Empire in which Jantarnāḍu was included was in the charge of Viceroy Sankaradāsa. Pratāpaganga's loyalty to the Ganga throne must have continued in the reigns of Narasimha III (1328-1352 A. D.) and Bhānuḍeva III (1352-1378).

Gangarāja must have come into conflict with the Redḍis of Kondaviḍu in defensive warfare. For, Prōlaya Vēma Redḍi claims to have disturbed Jantarnāḍu by A. D. 1335 as the title Jantarnāṭarāja hallakallōla⁸ indicates. Gangarāja suffered a reverse at the Redḍi hands during the latter's campaign in Southern Kalinga about A. D. 1334.

Next King A. D. 1368-1398.

The name of the successor of Pratāpa Gangarāja is not known. His rule must have lasted till A. D. 1398, the earliest date for his successor, Saṃgamarāja. A record of A. D. 1387 mentions Jantarnāṭi Satyamahādevi making gifts for the satisfaction of her desires.⁹ She was evidently the queen of Pratāpārjuna of the Matsyas of Oḍḍādi.

In this period once again Jantarnāḍu, was subjected to the attacks of the Redḍis under Kāṭayavēma, the general of king Kumāragiri about A. D. 1385.¹⁰

Samgamaraju A. D. 1398-1420.

The relationship of Saṃgama to his predecessors is not known. His earliest inscription is from Simhāchalam dated A. D. 1398 recording gifts for his own merit.¹¹ In A. D. 1399, Saṃgam made further grants at Simhāchalam.¹² Though none of Saṃgama's records dated after A. D. 1399 are available his reign may have lasted till A. D. 1420, the earliest date for his successor Gangarāja.

His political relations:—Saṃgama is mentioned as Jantarnāṭi Saṃgamarājulu in his records. He must have owed allegiance to Nara-

7. 252 of 1899: S. I. I. VI 714. 8. The Chimakurti e. p. charter: E. I. XXII 9. 284 " 820. No. 41-A Text p. 272
10. Redḍi inscriptions and literature. 11. 253-D of 1899 S. I. I. VI 723.
12. 253-E of 1899 S. I. I. VI 724.

simha IV, the Ganga emperor. It is probable Saṃgama was that defeated by the Redḍis of Rajahmundry who in this period led expeditions of conquest into Southern Kalinga.

Gangaraja A. D. 1420- C. 1440.

Gangarāja's relationship to Saṃgama is not known. His earliest inscription is from Simhachalam dated A. D. 1420 recording gifts made for his own satisfaction.¹³ The upper limit of his reign may be tentatively fixed as A. D. 1440, the probable date for the rule of his successors.

His political relations:—Gangarāja's contemporaries at Oḍḍādi were Pratāpārjuna (A. D. 1399-1427) and Pratāpavallabha (A. D. 1427-1467). As Pratāpārjuna claims to have conquered Jantarnāḍu by A. D. 1421¹⁴ evidently Gangarāja suffered reverse at Matsya hands.

Chālukya Kumara Errama at Elamanchili, Vēma and Virabhadra of the Redḍis of Rajahmundry, Bhānuḍeva IV of the Gangas and Kapileśvara of the Gajapatis, were contemporaries with Gangarāja. In this period, Vēma and Virabhadra led expeditions into Kalinga and perhaps Jantarnāḍu was exempt from them.

Singarāja and Pratāpa Kūmarāja C. 1440-1461.

The father and son-Singarāja and Pratāpa Kūmarāja seem to have exercised joint sway for some time. The upper limit of the reign is A. D. 1461 and the lower limit may be placed about A. D. 1440. The earliest inscription is dated A. D. 1461 from Simhāchalam¹⁵, registering gifts by Pratāpa Kūmarāju, the son of Jantarnāṭi Pratāpa Singarāju. Another inscription¹⁶ of the same year at Simhachalam mentions Jantarnāṭi Pratāpasingarājulu. A general Piriyaṇḍi Krishna Sēnāpati is mentioned in the record.

Their political relations:—Singa and Pratāpa Kūrma, no doubt ruled as the subordinates of Kapileśvara Gajapati.

Virasavarṇātha.

From an undated inscription at Bōṇi¹⁷ Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vira Savarṇātha of Jantarnāḍu, the lord of the City Arasuvāḍa, born in the family of Surabhi vamsa, and of the lineage Dūrvāsas is known. This Virasavara's place in the Ganga genealogy is not known. Nevertheless, it is clear from his record that the Gangas claimed descent from Dūrvāsa and their capital was Arasuvāḍa.

13. 332 of 1899: S. I. I. VI 1010.

14. 312 XLIV of 1899 S. I. I. VI 966. 15. 332 XLIV of " 1054.

16. 296-N " " 925: 17. Bimilipatnam Taluq (Vizagapatam District) 360 of 1905.

The end:— As by A.D. 1434, the Imperial Gangas of Kalinga were supplanted by the Gajapatis, after Kūrmārāja and Savaranātha, Jantarnādu must have become a Gājapati viceroyalty. As we have seen already, no connected geneology of these Gangas is possible because of the many gaps in their history. The Gangas must have been of the same stock as the Imperial Gangas, who probably helped them in their troubles. The Gajapatis as a rule put an end to the semi-independent local dynasties which were a menace to the Central power. This attitude of Kapileśvara was responsible for the fall of these dynasties with Gangas as no exception.

The Śilas of Nandapura. A. D. 1350—1430.

The Śilas or Śilavamsis of Nandapura ruled for nearly a century from the middle of the 14th. Their capitals were Nandapura and Bobbili. They acknowledged the suzerainty of the Gangas of Kalinga. They contracted alliances of marriage with the Matsyas and the Pallavas. The Śilas were the originators of the Jeypur Estates.

Sources and Origin:— Inscriptions of the Śilavamsis and the Matsyas form the material for the History of the dynasty. Śila records do not shed any light on the origin of the dynasty except that they were of Śilavamsa gōtra of Nandapura.

Ganga C 1300 — 1353.

King Ganga is the earliest known member of the dynasty. None of his records are available. He is known from the inscription¹ of his son Viśvanātha. He may be placed about A. D. 1300 as the earliest date for Viśvanātha is A. D. 1353. The circumstances which enabled Ganga to found a dynasty are unknown.

Viśvanātha A. D. 1353 — 1370.

The only inscription² of Viśvanātha, the successor of Ganga is at Simhachalam, dated A.D. 1353. It mentions him as Viśvanātharāja, the Lord of Nandapura and of Śilavamsa. Viśvanātha's rule may have lasted till A. D. 1370, the earliest date for his successor Bhairavarāju.

Bhānudeva III of the Gangas, Choda II of the Haihayas, Upendra III and Upendra IV of the Chalukyas, Arjuna II of the Matsyas, Parasimha of the Pallavas, Pratāpa Ganga of the Gangas (of Jantarnādu), Anavēma of the Reddis were contemporaneous with Viśvanātha. There is no evidence of Viśvanātha's loyalty to the Ganga emperor.

1. 289-F of 1899; S. I. I. VI 891. 2. 289-F of 1899 S. I. I. VI. 891.

Bhairavarāju A. D. 1370 — 1427.

Probably, Bhairavarāju was the son of Viśvanātha. His earliest record is from Simhachalam dated A. D. 1370 in which he is described as a great warrior and destroyer of enemies.³ In that year his mother Akkamadevi made gifts for the victory of her son and satisfaction of her desires. The next inscription is from Simhachalam⁴ dated A. D. 1396 recording gifts by Bāchaladevi, the daughter of king Nandapurapu Bhaiyyarāju. None of Bhairava's records are available after A. D. 1396; nevertheless his reign may have extended upto A. D. 1437 the earliest date for his successor Gangarāju.

His political relations:— Bhānudeva III and Narasimha IV were the Ganga emperors in this period. Bhima and Chōḍa III of the Haihayas, Viśvēśvara and Chōḍa Ganga of the Chalukyas, Arjuna II and Arjuna III of the Matsyas, Saubhagyadeva of the Pallavas, Sangamarāja of the Gangas, Kumārāgiri and Pedakōmativēma, Kāṭaya Vēma Reddi and Allāḍa of the Reddis were some of the rulers in this period. It is likely that Bhairava participated in the opposition of the rulers in South Kalinga to the Reddis about A.D. 1385 though not with any success. As Bhairava and Bayyana refer to one person, the statement⁵ that the latter Viśvanāthaparapu [Bayyarāju (A. D. 1396)] was the son of Bhairavarāju (A. D. 1370) is wrong and the two records belong to a single ruler.

Gangarāju A. D. 1427-1435.

The earliest record of Gangarāju⁶ is from Simhachalam dated A. D. 1427 mentioning king Gangarāju, son of Bhairava of Śilavamsa. In the Telugu portion of the record, he is mentioned as Pratāpa Gangarājungāru, the son of Bayyarāju of Nandapura and lord of Śilavamsa. It registers the gifts of Singarāju, son of Jayanta of the Matsyas and maternal uncle of Gangarāju, for his own merit. Ganga's next record⁶ is from Śrikūrmam dated A. D. 1435 recording his grant of Kakaṭāpalli to Kūrmāsvara. Ganga's reign was short.

His political Relations:— Unlike those of his predecessors the records of Gangarāja are in Śrikūrmam also. He possessed a good army and in A. D. 1427 gave lands in Bobbilidēsa to the generals⁷ Yerra. Tipiri, and Kurumayi. A warrior, Ganga seems to have extended the kingdom for, one of his records says that he washed his sword in the

3. 288-Q of 1899; S. I. I. VI 888. 4. 332-LV 1899; S. I. I. VI 1065.

4. a. Kalingadēsa Charitra p. 420. 5. 309 of " " 950.

6. 289 of 1896; S. I. I. V 1170. 7. 309 " " "

ocean.⁸ It must have been that towards the close of his reign, about A. D. 1434, he led an expedition as far as the Bay of Bengal in the east, conquered some of the local rulers and thus extended his power in that direction. That his kingdom extended northwards beyond the Lāngulya^{8a} falls to ground for payōrāsi means ocean and not Lāngulya. He would not have done this independently for, Bhānudeva IV, the last of the Gangas was followed by Kapileśvara in this period, who subdued all the local dynasties and the Silas were no exception. So, as a feudatory of Kapileśvara, that Gangas with Gajapati support, must have achieved some victories over his enemies.

The Matsya contemporary of Gangarāja was Pratāpavallabha the successor of Arjuna III. The Silas and the Matsyas were connected by alliances of marriages. For, king Ganga's mother, and queen of Bhairava was the daughter of Jayanta of the Matsyas and sister of Singarāju.⁹ Probably the Silas were helped by the Matsyas in extending their kingdom.

Viśveśvararāju A. D. 1427.

Viśveśvara's relationship to Gangarāju is not known. His inscription from Srikūrmam¹⁰ dated A. D. 1427 mentions him as Viśvarāju and Viśveśvararāju of Silāvamśa and registers gifts by his queen Singamadēvi, the daughter of Virajayanta of the Matsyas of Oddādi. The mention by the epigraphist¹¹ of Vatsarāju is a mistake for Viśvarāju. Another record of the same year at Simhachalam¹² mentions Viśvanātharāju of Nandāpura and Silāvamśa gotra and queen Singamadēvi. Viśvanātha and Singama are identical with Viśveśvara and Singama of the above record.

His political relations:— Probably Viśveśvara ruled with Gangarāju. The upper limit for him is not known. As he was the son-in-law of Jayanta of the Matsyas, it is probable that the Silas and the Matsyas were on terms of alliance in this period.

Latter and other Silavamsis:— An undated inscription¹³ at Daaksharāma mentions Nandāpurapu Mallikārjunarayudu. An epigraph¹⁴ on a boulder in the tank at Dibbagudem valasa near Bobbili in characters of the 14th century A. D. mentions Silavamsa and the

8. 309 of 1899; S. I. I. VI 950. 8. a. Kalingadēśa charitra p. 420.

9. 309 of 1899; S. I. I. VI 950. 10. 281 of 1896; S. I. I. V 1162.

11. A. R. 1896-281 of 1896. Remarks column.

12. 309-A of 1899; S. I. I. IV 951. 13. 441-A of 1893; S. I. I. IV 1374.

14. 394 of 1932

tank of Silapanadu. This shows that the rule of the Silas extended upto Bobbili which is confirmed by references to Bobbilidēśa in a Srikūrmam record. The epigraphist says "The Silavamsa is not a well known historical family of these parts; very likely that the Silavamsa of the present epigraph from Bobbili is none other than the Silavamsa of the S'ri Kūrmam inscription or vice versa and it is also probable that Bobbili was the headquarters of this family in or about 15th century A. D."¹⁵

The end:— Pratapa Gangarāju of the Silas had a daughter Singama. She was married to Khajjalabhanu alias Vinayakadēva, the founder of the kingdom of Guḍari. On the death of Pratapagangarāju in A. D. 1443, the two kingdoms of Nandapūr and Guḍari near Gupupūr were united under Vinayakadēva¹⁶ who is said to have been of the Ganga family of Cuttack. Pratapaganga as he had no sons, must have nominated his son-in-law Vinoyakadēva, as his successor. According to the Jeypur Chronicle,¹⁷ Vinayakadēva was the 33rd descendant of Kana-kasena of the Solar race. He was a general and feudatory of the king of Kashmir, left Kashmir for Benares, pleased Viśveśvara by his penance and was directed by the God in a dream to go to the kingdom of the Silas of which he would become King. Vinayakadēva did accordingly, succeeded to the Jeypur throne and ruled from A. D. 1444 to 1476. His son Vijayachandra ruled from A. D. 1470 to 1510.¹⁸ His successor Bhairavadēva (1510-1540), according to Gangavamsanucharita vanquished Pratāparudra Gajapati (1496-1540) while he was going from south to north and extorted an elephant, the idols of Kanakasēna and Vallabhanarayana from him^{18a}. Padmanabhapura Yaśovantadēva, the successor of Yaśovanta dēva, according to Gangavamsanucharita vanquished the Muslims who invaded Nandapura under the lead of Mallik^{18b}. Probably this Malik is identical with Bairamalk a man who in A. D. 1599 defeated Sarvarāju and other big chieftains at the battle at Chintapalle and killed them^{18c}. Inscriptions of the period at Simhachalam and Srikūrmam attest the devastation of the Hindu Kingdoms in Vizagapatam and Ganjam districts carried on by the Muslim enemies of the occupation of Kotham etc. places by A Svārāyanimgaru in A. D. 1609 by driving out Bāhubalendra^{18d}. Thus, about the middle of the 15th

15. A. R. 1933 p. 77 Para 56.

16. J. A. H. R. S. VI p. 13.

17. Vizagapatam Gazetteer p. 263!

18. Vizag. Gazetteer p. 263.

Vizag Dt. Manual p. 284.

18. a. Kalingadēśa charitra p. 422. 18. b. Kalingadēśa charitra p. 423.

18. c. S. I. I. V. 1312.

18. d. S. I. I. V 1260; VI 1184.

century, Silāvamga got merged into Jeypur dynasty of which Nandā-pura continued to be the capital. Nandapura bhūpati is included in the Birudavali of the Jeypur Rajas and was first borne by Ramachandra-dēva II and their kingdom was known as Nandāpura rājyam^{18c}.

The Eastern Gangas: A Collateral branch at Narayanapuram.
A. D. 1117-1251.

A collateral branch of the Imperial Gangas of Kalinga ruled with capital at Nārāyanapuram in Bobbili taluq of Vizagapatam District, for nearly one and a half centuries from the beginning of the 12th century A.D. Many records of this line are at Nārāyanapuram. These Gangas maintained friendly relations with the Ganga emperors besides the local dynasties including the Rāparti Chiefs.

Origin and Rise:—Ulagaganda Permāṇḍideva, the founder of this Ganga line was an younger brother of Chōḍa Ganga, the emperor of Kalinga.¹

Permandiraju A. D. 1117-1144.

The earliest record of the line is from Nārāyanapuram, dated A. D. 1117.² It mentions Permaḍiraya, his wife and her father Itaya. The next inscription also from Nārāyanapuram mentions Sūrama, queen of Permāṇḍi.³ The last record⁴ at Nārāyanapuram dated A. D. 1129 mentions gifts made by Rājendra Chōḍadeva, son of Pedda Permāḍiraju. Another record⁵ dated in the 67th year of Anantavarmadeva, at Nārāyanapuram, mentions Perumāṇḍi a servant of Sri chōḍagangadeva. As has been suggested already,⁶ Pedda Permaḍiraju is identical with Perumāṇḍi of the above record. He may have ruled till A.D. 1144 as the 67th year of Anantavarma corresponds to śaka 1064 to A. D. 1144.⁷ Perumāṇḍi, as attested by records, served Chōḍa Ganga and Anantavarma of the Gangas of Kalinga.

Rajendra Choda A. D. 1129.

Rajendra Chōḍa's records range from A. D. 1129 to 1139. His earliest record is from Nārāyanapuram registering his gifts to the Nilakantha temple.⁸ His next inscription dated A. D. 1139 is also from Nārāyanapuram.⁹ Rājendra Chōḍa is not heard of after A. D. 1139.

18. e. Kalingadēvacharitra p. 417.

1. 688 of 1926. A. R. 1927 p. 112 para 85. 2. 651 of 1926.

3. 656 " 4. 649 "

5. 650 " 6. A. R. 1927 p. 112 para 85.

7. 64th year S' 1061. See Ray: Dynastic History of N. India I p, 467.

8. 649 of 1926. 9. 690 of 1926

No details of his reign are available. Probably he ruled with his father Perumāṇḍi. Probably, Rājendra Chōḍa was named after Rājendra-Kulottunga of the Cholas.*

Prōlamaraju A. D. 1139-1145.

Prōlamaraju's relationship to Rājendra Chōḍa whom he seems to have succeeded in A. D. 1139 is not known. A record dated A. D. 1145 mentions that the daughter of Ammasatiraju, provided for a lamp for the merit of her husband Prōlamaraju.¹⁰

The Rāparti Chiefs-Narayanapuram.

The Rāparti family, known from records at Nārāyanapuram was subordinate to the Ganga Emperors of Kalinga.

Madaparaju C. 1100-1150.

Mādaparaju was the earliest known member. None of his records are available, and he is known from the inscriptions of his sons.¹¹ He must have lived in the first half of the 12th century A. D. as the earliest date for his son is A. D. 1151.

Suraparaju A. D. 1151.

A few of Sūrapa's records are known. The earliest inscription¹² is from Nārāyanapuram dated 1251 A. D. obviously a mistake for 1151 A. D. mentioning him as Rāparti Suraparaju and his parents Mādaparaju and Gundidevi. The next record¹³ also from Nārāyanapuram, dated A. D. 1152 mentions Sūrapa's gifts in the name of his elder brother Jaitraraju. Besides, a person made gifts at Nārāyanapuram¹⁴ in the year Vikṛiti for the merit of Jai(y)intraraju, evidently Jaitraraju of the above record. The cyclic year corresponds to 1092 i. e. A. D. 1160¹⁵.

The brothers Jaitra and Sūrapa were probably in the service of the Ganga Emperors. Yet another record at Nārāyanapuram, with śaka date lost mentions a lady (name lost) who was the daughter of Kalva Bhimaraju¹⁶. Probably Kalva Bhima was a subordinate of the Rāparti brothers.

A branch of the Rāpartis is heard of from inscriptions in the Godavari district. Its earliest member known so far is Rāparti Munjaraju. He was Mahāmandalasvara and his only inscription is from Drākshārāma dated A. D. 1184 registering gifts by his servant (banṭu) Dandānāyaka Volama Bēṭana¹⁶.

10. 652 of 1926. 11. 666 of 1926.

12. 666 " 13. 876 " 1926

14. 672 " 15. A. R. 1927 p. 112 para 85.

16. 361 of 1893; S. I. I. IV 1258.

Rāpartī Bēṭaya.

Bēṭaya was the next prince of the family. One of his records at Drākshārāma bears no date.¹⁷ It mentions a vow of Bēṭaya to Sarvalokāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja Kōṇērimmayiṅgondān Parāntakadēva, taken in the presence of the deity. This shows that Bēṭa owed allegiance to Kulōttunga I.

Mangirāju A. D. 1263 and Upēndra A. D. 1263-1289.

Mangirāju and Upēndradēva, father and son, ruled together for the first few years from A. D. 1263 to 1266, and afterwards Upēndra ruled singly for, Mangirāju was not heard of after A. D. 1266. The earliest record from Drākshārāma¹⁸ dated A. D. 1263, mentions Aytasāni, the queen of Rāpartī Upēndradēva granting Visvanāthapatnam to the deity. Upēndra's parents Rāpartī Mangirāju and Lakshmidēvi are mentioned.¹⁹ In A. D. 1266, Lakshmidēvi, queen of Rāpartī Mangirāju, at Simhāchalam, granted Maṇapamu in Nāharupākanāṇḍumgaṭṭu for the merit of their son Upēndrarāju.²⁰

Though not mentioned in records, Mangi and Upēndra, no doubt, owed allegiance to the Ganga Emperors. Upēndra's rule lasted till A. D. 1289, the earliest date for his son Mangirāju II.

Mangirāju II A. D. 1289.

Mangirāju II is heard of from a few records at Drākshārāma. In A. D. 1289 and the 72nd year of Tribhuvana Chakravartī Rājādhirājadēva, Mangirāju II made gifts to Bhīmasvara at Drākshārāma²¹. Another record of his is also at Drākshārāma with saka date, half lost and the 72nd year of Tribhuvanachakravartī Rājādhirājadēva. Rājādhirāja may refer to Rājendra III (A. D. 1246-1279.) But Rājendra's rule ended in A. D. 1279. He did not rule upto A. D. 1289 nor for 72 years. But A. D. 1289 and 72nd year corresponds to the 72nd year of Rājārāja III calculating from A. D. 1216 his initial year. The records just show the impress of the Chōla rule in distant parts like Kalinga even after their empire had declined.

No sons and successors of Mangirāju are heard of. The Kaifiyat²² of Rāpartī says that a Gajapatirāja had two daughters one of whom was related to Bahubalēndra Bhīmarāju, who was a subordinate ruler over this tract for a long time. His descendant was Upē-

17. 369-D of 1893; S. I. I. IV 1273. 18. 353-A of 1893 S. I. I. IV 1245.
19. 353-A " 1245. 20. 241 of 1899; VI 692.
21. 209-B of 1893. S. I. I. IV 1038. 22. 193 1893; " 1019.
23. Mack. Ms. 15-4-14.

drarāju who constructed a fortress here. He had two brothers Pattābhirāju and Rāmachandrarāju.

The Chikati Chiefs (A. D. 1270-1345 A. D.)

A feudatory family owing allegiance to the Eastern Gangas ruled over Chikaṭi in the 13th and the 14th centuries. Their records are few. The earliest ruler is Śrī Kumāra Anantajiya bearing the Matsya prasasti. He was the lord of Chikaṭi and his only record is at Simhāchalam dated A. D. 1274²⁴. The next ruler is Prolujiyya entitled Jātikuvāru maṇḍalika, and lord of Chikaṭi known from the record of his son Prolujiyyana dated A. D. 1290 and the 15th year of Pratāpa vira narasimha²⁵. Prolujiyya, the son, must have been ruling from A. D. 1290. Thus, the two Prolujiyyas father, and son ruled Chikaṭi about A. D. 1290 as subordinates of the Ganga emperor Narasimha II (A. D. 1275-1305).

Dharmarāju A. D. 1355.

The next ruler of Chikaṭi we hear of, is Dharmarāju. There must have intervened a gap between Prolujiyya II and Dharmarāju. The only record of Dharmarāju is from Śrī Kūrmān dated A. D. 1345 and the 22nd year of Pratāpa viranarasimhadēva.²⁶ It records that his minister Sishtu Achyutapradhāni made gifts.

The emperor to whom Dharmarāju owed allegiance was Narasimha III²⁷ (1328-1352 A. D.). Being a contemporary of Prolayavēma Redḍi of Kōṇḍavidu, Dharmarāju, probably experienced the Redḍi Expedition into Kalinga by A. D. 1335. After Dharmarāju, no rulers of Chikaṭi are heard of.

The Kōṇḍa Kāmāṭis.

The Kōṇḍa Kāmāṭis belonged to lunar race. They are known from inscriptions at Simhāchalam.

Singa A. D. 1378-1381

No predecessors of Singa are known. His earliest record²⁸ is from Simhāchalam dated 1378 A. D. mentioning that king Virasinga was born in Sōmānvaya and Ātrēya Gotra and that queen Ambika made gifts for the increase of the prosperity of her husband's kingdom. The Telugu portion mentions the king as Kōṇḍa Kāmāṭi Virasingarāju. Evidently Kōṇḍa Kāmāṭi is the tract of the country over which Singa ruled. His next inscription,²⁹ dated A. D. 1381, also at

24. 250-F of 1899; S. I. I. IV 693. 25. 250-F of 1899; S. I. I. VI 693.
26. 358 of 1896; S. I. I. V 1240.
27. Ray: Dynastic history of N. India I p. 489 No. 7.
28. 343-E of 1899; S. I. I. VI 1097. 29. 343-C of 1899; S. I. I. VI 1095.

Simhachalam records gifts by Ambikadevi, queen of king Narasimha. Singa is also mentioned as Konda Kamaṭi Pratapa Singaraju. He must have owed allegiance to the Eastern Ganga Emperors.

No successors of Pratapasinga are heard of.

The Chakragotta Chiefs.

A few records at Draksharama refer to Chakragottam, its rulers and ministers. In the record dated in the 17th year of Kulottunga-Chodadeva,³⁰ Chakragottamuna Mallarani is mentioned. Ekkiseti, son of Chakragottamu Kamiseti is heard of in Draksharama inscription of A. D. 1212 and the 4th year of Tribhuvana chakravarti Rajadhiraja³¹. Here Rajadhiraja refers to Kulottunga III whose 34th year corresponds to A. D. 1212. In A. D. 1253 and the 28th year of Rajadhiraja³², Chakragottapu Pradhani Duggiseti, Madhavasetti and Somiseti made gifts to Bhimesvara for the merit of their parents. The date in this record corresponds to the 7th year of Rajendra III.³³

The Palakonda Chiefs:—In the 14th century A. D. Palakonda was ruled by the princes of Matsya lineage. For Palakonda Karrijiyana of Matsyakula made gifts at Simhachalam in A. D. 1359³⁴. In the 15th century A. D. a family of chiefs held sway over Palakonda. Palakonda Bodraju is heard of from two records of his son Sarvajñadeva at Srikurmam. In A. D. 1470 and the 7th year of Pratāpavijaya Purushottamadeva³⁵. Sarvajñadevanḍu, son of Palakonda Bodraju made gifts at Srikurmam. The next year in A. D. 1471 and the 7th year of Gajapati Purushothama, Sarvajñadevarājungāru, son of Bēdrāju in Palakonda kingdom made grants to Kūrmesvara at Srikurmam.³⁶ The father and son were obviously ruled Palakonda as subordinates of the Gajapatis of Orissa, the contemporary being Purushottama. The prefix Pratāpa Vijaya attests Purushottama's valour and probably was assumed after his victorious expedition into the south.

No sons or successors of Sarvajña at Palakonda are heard of.

The Ponnāda Chiefs.

King Ponnāda Kēsa, a great warrior and his nephew (sister's son) Kūrmendra are mentioned in a record at Sarpavaram³⁷ dated A. D. 1502. The parents of Kūrmendra were Uḍumayya and Eṇāmba. The

30. 248 of 1893; S. I. I. IV 1101. 31. 262- of 1899 S. I. I. IV 1118.
32. 340 " 1223. 33. Prof. K. A. N. Sāstri: The Cōlas II-II p. 763.
34. 310-G of 1899. S. I. I. VI 964.
35. 365 of 1896; S. I. I. V 1247. 36. 366 of 1896; S. I. I. V 1247.
37. 459-E of 1893; S. I. I. V 25.

The Telugu portion of the record mentions Kēsa as Kēsa Mahāpātra and Kūrma as Kūrmaya Mahāpātra. Devamahāpātra was the elder brother of Kūrmaya. Kēsa is compared with Dharmarāja and Arjuna. Kūrmaya made grants for the merit of his parents and brother.

The Ponnāda Chieftains are not heard of from any other records. A Ponnāda Peddirāju wrote Pradyumna Charitra in Telugu. Whether he had any relationship to the above chiefs is not known.

The later Gajapatis.

From records in the Telugu country, some Gajapati Princes—Mahāpātras are heard of.

A prince of the Gajapati lineage was ruling at Konḍaviḍu in A. D. 1455. A c. p. grant³⁹ gives his genealogy thus:—Kapileśvara Gajapati of the Solar race resided at Cuttack on the Mahānadi, and was a worshipper of Jagannātha. One of his descendants was Chandradeva. Guhidēva was the son of Chandradeva whose son was Gāpadēva alias Rautarāya, a devotee of Jagannātha. This Gāpadēva was the Governor of Konḍaviḍu. His record dated A. D. 1454 at Chintapallipāḍu mentions Gāpadēva Rautarāya Mahāpātrulu and the towns of Addanki, Vinukonda and Konḍaviḍu⁴⁰. In A. D. 1455, Gāpadēva granted Chāvali to Brahmins.⁴¹ He is not heard of after A. D. 1455. Gāpadēva vanquished the Muslims. As the Bahmany Sultan Allauddin (A. D. 1435-1457) was Gāpadēva's contemporary, the Muslims refer to his armies^{42a}.

Ambiradēva was probably the successor of Gāpadēva to the viceroyalty of Konḍaviḍu. His only dated record⁴² is of A. D. 1459 at Simhachalam, mentioning him as Hambirakomāra Mahāpātra. In an undated inscription⁴³ at Zakkampūḍi, of the time of Kapileśvara Gajapati, Ambiradēvarāja figures as the donor of Zakkireḍḍipalle to the Gods Pāpavināsa dēva and Rudrama dēva. His Yēnikapāḍu⁴⁴ inscription, also undated records his grant of the village to the servants of the Rājanārāyaṇa temple at Bezvāḍa. It mentions Ambira as Hambiradēva Mahāpātra. He is mentioned as Kumāra Hambira Pātra in the S'rilailam inscription of Krishṇarāya. At the command of Kapileśvara, Hamvira conquered the Southern region and washed his sword with

39. I. A. XX p. 390. 40. 70 of 1917.
41. " 41. a. Kalingadēsa Charitra p. 647.
42. 340 of 1899; S. I. I. VI 1088. 43. 148 of 1914.
44. 157 of 1914.

blood in the Southern ocean^{44a}. His son Naraharidēva and Virabhadra, son of Pratāparudra Gajapati, were among the Gajapati generals whom Krishṇadēvarāya of Vijayanagar captured alive at Kondāvidu in A. D. 1515 as attested by records.⁴⁵ Kapilēśvara Kumāra Mahāpātra was the son of Ambiradēva. In the Mannūr inscription⁴⁶, Kapilēśvara Kumāra is said to have been previously the Pariksha-(Viceroy) of Kondāvidu. His viceroyalty included also Kondapalle, Addanki, Vinukonda, Paḍai-vidu, Trichinopoly, Chandragiri etc. Tirumala Rautarāya Mahāpātra, an uncle of Pratāparudra Gajapati was ruling at Udayagiri in A. D. 1514 whom Krishṇadēvarāya captured in that year.^{46a}

Mogalrajādēva Mahāpātra is known from two records at Malakavālūr near Kondapalle. One of them⁴⁷ mentions him as the subordinate of Purushōttama of the Gajapatis. The other record⁴⁸ also mentions Purushōttama and gives the titles of Mogalrāja Samgrāma magal Rajadhira (?) the Pariksha of Dandapātha of Kadumadjiyya or dandajya the meaning of which is not clear.

A record at Arjunagiri⁴⁹ undated mentions Satōda Bēhara Mahāpātra and Mukundabhūpati mahārāja Mahāpātra and records gifts for Mukundabbōga and other services. Govindavira Mahāpātra Mukunda, figuring as the feudatory of Kapilēśvara in a record from Kotukonda in Pedagādi,⁵⁰ with date 1413 A. D. is probably identical with Mukunda of the above inscription.

Other feudatories in Kalinga:— Kilana Virama Mahāpātra and his son Mallava Mahapatra figure in a record at Amaravati¹ dated A. D. 1294. Mallava made grants at the instance of the Panchānamamari between Kondapalle and Bezvada. A record at Simhachalam² dated A. D. 1379 mentions Rāmana Mahāpātra. Svapnēśvara mahāpātra and his son Sankarajiyana figure in a Simhachalam inscription³ dated A. D. 1384. Chandana Mahāpātra and Kuṇḍalēśvar Mahapatra made grants at Simhachalam⁴ in A. D. 1414 and 1455 respectively.

44. a. Anantavaram C. P. Grant of Pratāparudra Gajapati vide Kalingadēsa Charitra Appendix No. 20 Text p. 104 verse 9.

45. A. R. 1914 p. 105 para 42: Sri Sallam insc. L. R. 16. p. 428: cited on p. 101 of K. Hōmarajya.

46. I. A. 57 p. 238. 47. Mack. Ms. 15-6-26 Elliot's Tel. Insns. No. 4.

48. " " " 7.

49. " " " 52.

50. " " " 53.

1. 254 of 1897. 2. 259 of 1899 S. I. I VI 734.

3. 261 of 1899; S.I.I. VI 739. 4. 345, 344 of 1899: S. I. I. VI 1105, 1104

Mallava Mahapatra⁵ is heard of from a record at Amaravati, dated A. D. 1494. Raghudēva Narēndra Mahapatra was the governor of Rajahmundry in A. D. 1458 in the reign of Kapilēśvara as attested by a record at Tirupati⁶. Tirumaladēva Mahapatra and his father Santēśvara Kumāra guruva Mahapatra figure in a record at Guntūr dated A. D. 1495. Kēśava Pātra and Chandra Mahāpātra were in the fort at Kondāvidu in 1515 A. D. and were captured alive by Krishṇarāya.^{6b}

Tradition has it that a Kalinga Gangu ruled over Sajjanagara or Sajjapura near Peddāpur (E. Godavari District), that on his refusal to give audience to poet Vemulavada Bhima, he was cursed by him, and he lost the kingdom to his enemies, and when the Poet took mercy on him, he acquired the kingdom by winning over the enemies, and prospered. Further, according to tradition,⁷ Kapilēśvara had a son Vidyādhara Gajapati, who by his wife Bhavāniamma had two daughters, Muttiyālamma and Paḍamma. Vidyādhara built Vidhyādharapura and the three ladies gave their names to Bhavānipuram. Muttiyālampādu, and Paḍūrpādu, (Bezvada. Tq.) Kapileswarapuram is after King Kapilēśvara. The successors of Vidyādhara were Hamvira, Langūla, Purushōttama and Pratāparudra.

From three records⁸ at Simhachalam, the Chiefs bearing the epithet Sāhasamalla are heard of. In A. D. 1360, Dharmadāsa Sāhasamalla alias Dammāyi Sāhasa Mallanḍu, the Kalinga Pariksha, granted lands in Tādrangi Chuvvula. In A. D. 1374, Krishṇadāsa Sāhasamalla made gifts at Simhachalam for the merit of his wife, Annamarāyurālu. Krishṇadāsa's relationship to Dharmadāsa is not known. In A. D. 1428 Dharmāyi Sāhasa malla, son of Baraki Chingu Sāsūmalla of Potnūrvīḍu made gifts for his own merit. Obviously this Dharmāyi is the same as Dharmadāsa of the above record.

A record at Boni⁹ mentions Sri Mērumādhavarāya. Another record also at Bhōgāpuram (Boni) mentions Kommananāyaka, the ruler of Bhōgāpura and a devotee of Jina.¹⁰ Another undated inscription at Boni mentions a king, son of Narasimha and grandson of Bhima.¹¹

5. 254 of 1899; S. I. I. VI 219. 6. I. A. 31 p. 330.

6. a. M. S. Sārma: Kondavitisāmrājyamu p. 115; the inscription is cited.

6. b. Sri Sallam inscription L. R. 16 p. 428 Citation on p. 101 of Konda Sāmrājyamu. 7. Kistna Dt. Manual p. 10.

8. 273, 333, 265, of 1892: S. I. I. VI 751, 1075, 743.

9. Mack. Ms. 15-6-26. Elliot Tel. Ins. 1484.

10. " " " 82.

11. Mack Ms. Elliot's Tel. Ins. 87.

S'rīramadēva of Ravikula i. e. solar race, and his son Harichandana are heard of from a s'rī Kūrmam inscription¹² of A. D. 1379. Viraparāju and his son Chinchelāda Mallabhūpati also of solar lineage are heard of from a record of A. D. 1495 at Panchadhārāla.¹³ Malla's epithets were Sūryakulavams'odbhava and Birudānkarūdra.

Kāmadēva Peggāda, son of Mārkaṇḍa nāyaka of Mūlaghatika family made grants to Nagaramu Madhukēśvaradēva at Mukhalingam¹⁴ in the 59th year of Anantavarmadēva corresponding to s 1055 i. e. A. D. 1133.¹⁵ We may note that the family name of Kētana, the author of Dasākumāracharitra in Telugu was Mūlaghatika.

Lakhuma Mahārāju and his daughter figure in a record at S'rī-kūrmam dated in the 34th year of Viranarasimha.¹⁶ Here Narasimha is Narasimha III of the Gangas, whose 34th year corresponds to A. D. 1306. Lakumādēvi and her father Rāmadēva of the Ganga family in Kāṭaka find mention in a Simhāchalam inscription¹⁷ of A. D. 1387. Thus Rāmadēva was of Ganga lineage. Mahāmandalēśvara Singārapungōṭa pratāpa Annaparāya made grants to deities at Duttika in the cyclic year Prabhava, as mentioned in an inscription at Nattarāmēśvaram.¹⁸

Eṅgapōta, Lord of Chintāga and his son Mantri Dugga are mentioned in an inscription at S'rī Kūrmam,¹⁹ dated A. D. 1196. Yeruseṇāpati, his queen Umādēvi, and Pupil Singadhara, figure in two records at Simhāchalam.²⁰ Rājamārtāṇḍarāju of Chingapuram (in Kalinga) and his son Rāyaparāju are mentioned in a record from Simhāchalam²¹ dated A. D. 1142.

(To be Continued)

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12. S. I. I. V 1243; 361 of 1896.

13. 2141 of 1899; S. I. I. VI 660. 14. 174 of 1896; S. I. I. V 1040.

15. H. C. Ray's Dynastic History of N. India pp. 465-466.

16. 292 of 1896; S. I. I. V 1173. 17. 298 of 1899 S I I VI 929.

18. 724 of 1920. 19. S. I. I. V 1271; 373 H of 1896.

20. 392-VIII of 1899; S. I. I. VI 1018. 21. 241 of 1893. S. I. I. IV 1090.

INDIAN ERAS

BY

Kotta Bhavaiah Chowdary

Sri Kota Venkatachalam has published several books in Telugu and English on the dates of Indian Kings, who ruled from B. C. 3100 upto the 12th century A. D. and also a lengthy paper on "Indian Eras" in J.A.H.R.S. Vols. 20 & 21. His main theory is as follows:-

- (1) The Kali Era, very often referred to in the inscriptions and literature started in 3101—2 B. C.
 - (2) The Mahābharat-war occurred in 3138 B.C.
 - (3) By the time Alexander came to India in B. C. 327, 2776 years in the Kaliyuga passed away,
 - (4) The contemporary King in India in Alexander's time was Gupta Chandragupta and not Maurya Chandragupta.
 - (5) Maurya Chandragupta flourished in B. C. 1534.
 - (6) The Satavahana rule ended in 327 B. C. and not in about 240 A. D. as is generally thought.
 - (7) Vikramarka and Salivahana ruled India in B. C. 57 and 78 A. D. respectively.
 - (8) King Bhoja of Paramar dynasty ruled in 7th century A. D.
- I propose to examine these assertions in this paper.

Kali and Yudhishtira Eras :

Mr. Venkatachalam says that Kali Era began in 3102 B. C. and Yudhishtira Era in 3138 B. C. just after Bharat-war. He cites many references like Aihole inscription in support of this but leaves many more valuable authorities which are against his argument. We find that there are not less than 4 Schools of thought on this point even in ancient days. They are given below.

(1) Alamanacs and Hindu Puranas suggest that Kali Era started in B. C. 3102 and that Yudhishtira was crowned 36 years before that.

(2) According to Jain authorities, Yudhishtira was crowned in 2634 B.C. only. If Kali began 36 years after this, as popularly told, Kaliyuga then dates from 2598 B. C. But from puranic Kaliyuga (of 3102 B. C.) it must be said that 468 years passed upto Yudhistara.

(3) Mahābhagavata informs us that 1200 years (Savan) in Kali yuga were over by the time of God Krishna's demise. This comes to 1920 B. C., as the beginning of next yuga.

(4) Kalhana in "Rajatarangini" clearly says that 653 years passed in Kali by the time of the coronation of Yudhistira. Though he makes this statement according to the genealogical data of the Kashmir dynasties, he admits indirectly the starting point of Kali-years as 3101-2 B. C. (2556 + 653—upto Saka year). In some inscriptions and local records of South India it is said that Trilochana Pallava flourished after 2000 years or 1950 years since the starting of the Kaliyuga. We now know that Trilochana was most probably living in 5th century A. D. In the midst of these controversial accounts one should carefully assess all evidences either inscriptional or literary.

After much deliberation on astronomical evidence, I find that the Kali Era started in 3101-2 B. C. when all the planets were in Aries. It was also found so by various astronomers.² Hence it may be called the astronomical-Kali and Yudhistirakala-Kali is quite different and it will be discussed later on.

Kalidasa and Varahamihira :

Several scholars were hitherto of opinion that Kalidasa, Varahamihira and Vikramarka were contemporaries and that they belonged to B. C. 57. The basis for this is Kalidasa's statement that he wrote "Jyotirvidabharanam" in Kali 3068 after writing the Kavyatrayam. Some scholars think that they lived in 5th century. Mr. Venkatachalam belongs to the first school. I too held the same view formerly. But now I think this needs detailed discussion. In some slokas of "Jyotirvidabharanam" Kalidasa mentions Vikrama, Salivahana, Nagarjuna, Vijayabhinandana and Bali Eras of the Kaliyuga. How can Kalidasa refer to these sakas or Eras of Salivahana, Nagarjuna, who were of 1st and 2nd centuries A. D. respectively, if he really lived in 34 B. C.? So, what is the time of Kali, 3068 mentioned by him? Is it the Kali according to the Hindu account or that according to the Jain account? Is there any error in the reading of the sloka "శట్తేసింధుర వర్ష సంధిః" (3068) గృహీతేషున్మృతే, మాసేమాధవసంజ్ఞకీవలిహిత్ (గంధక్రియోపక్రమః)" This is to be answered. If Nagarjuna mentioned by Kalidasa is the famous Buddhist thinker, as several scholars admit, he lived in about 175 A. D. But this Mr. Venkatachalam denies. Salivahana (a mythical ruler) is said to have ruled in 78 A. D. according to almost all the scholars' opinion. Inscriptions prove this clearly. There is, however, no doubt about the starting point of the Salivahana Era.

1. Upputur, Sankaratripada, Vangipuram. Sara Kaifit in Local Records.

2. Lakailly, Rev. E. Burgess etc.

If the book of Kalidasa with the Jain pandit's commentary has not been tampered with by addition of more slokas by subsequent authors, it proves that Kalidasa, Varahamihira, Vikramarka etc. were contemporaries and that they were living after Salivahana only. So, we have to conclude that Kalidasa's Kaliyuga 3068 is only Yudhistirakala-Jain Kali, which was perhaps the dominant view there or if it is Hindu Kali, the reading may be other wise, as. "శట్తే సింధుర వర్ష సంధిః" (3668) గృహీతే. Kalidasa in another place mentions Saka 445 also (శరంధోధయః).

In a letter to me, Mr. Venkatachalam argues that Kalidasa refers to Salivahanasaka etc. as future historical events on the basis of Sastras etc. and so Kalidasa should not be taken to have lived after Salivahana. But this is an unbelievable theory. Even if we grant such recognition to be possible, what are the Sastras which describe future events with so much accuracy? If they are only the Puranas, the many distortions and self-contradictions contained in them are too well-known to be mentioned. Historical reconstruction based on the supposed predictions in such books cannot be scientific. Very possibly, Kalidasa refers only to the Jain Yudhistirkala Kali in his book, if the sloka is correct. No other hypothesis can explain his statement correctly that he wrote his book in 3068 Kali (which should be after Salivahana Era). As the Jains believe that Yudhistira was crowned in B. C. 2634 and as several Puranas say that Kali began 36 years after Yudhistira's crowning, it follows that the (Jain) Kali probably meant by Kalidasa, started in 2598 B. C. According to that account, he was in 470 A. D. If the sloka is read as noted already, it comes to 566 A. D. but it does not suit clearly, with Vikrama's time, although it agrees with Aryabhat's time—Let us now see whether this agrees with the statements of his contemporary Varahamihira in his books. His two important statements³ relevant to us now are—

(1) "Saptāsvivedasankhyānāmsakakāla"

(2) "Yudhistaranrupatan - Shadwikapanchadur - yutassakakalah Teṣya Rangnascha"

The first figure 427 from sakakala (ie) 505 A. D. clearly agrees with Kalidasa's statement, if we interpret the Sakakala with Salivahanasaka. From this, we can infer that they lived between 470 and 505 A. D. The second one is 2526 years. It is the period passed from Yudhistara upto Saka kala (ie) 2448 years only in B. C.

3. Panhasiddhāntika and Bruhatsamhita.

Mr. Venkatachalam argues that Sakakala mentioned by Varahamihira is Cyrus Era and the Yudhistara's time is 3076 years in B. C, according to this (against 3138) on the plea that it counts from his death. But this cannot be accepted as Varaha gave evidently Saka years in the first statement noted above. Further, his predecessor or Guru, the astronomer Aryabhatta was living in Hindu Kali 3600 (or Salivahanasaka 421—499 A. D.) but not in Kali 360 as argued by Mr. K. Venkatachalam. Neelakantachary's 15th century Bhashyam on "Arya bhatteeyam" proves this and Parameswarachary and Suryadevayajva support this in their Bhashyams. So, there is no fault of Sudhakardwivedi, or any other when publishing it. Alberuni of 11th century (1031 A.D.) also states that Varaha lived 526 years before him (ie) in the beginning of 6th century. Hence Varahamihira should be between 505—528 A. D. only. The Cyrus Era very often spoken of by Sri Venkatachalam is not at all in force in India after Achmenion ruling was over in Panjab and it cannot be believed that it was in vogue even after so many Sakas like that of Vikrama, Salivahana, Gupta, Kalchurva, Ganga, Dranganian and Kanishka prevailed in the country. Sri K. Venkatachalam himself disbelieves Guptasaka's prevailing after the ruling of Guptas is over, even though it is only one century after (Vide pages 3, 4 of J. A. H. R. S. Vol. 21) but at the same time he argues that Cyrus Era prevailed in India till 10th century A. D. even though the Cyrus Dyanasty's supremacy in India ended in B.C. 4th century only and nothing after Alexander's conquest. Further, it is not known why Sri Venkatachalam does not give sufficient weight to the ancient Bhashyakartas like Neelakantachary, Parameswarachary and Suryadevayajwa and also Alberuni, the famous and reliable historian of eleventh A. D. century. Further, Kalhana, the author of Rajatarangini of Kashmir quotes this Varaha's sloka also and further adds that 653 years of Kaliyuga passed upto Yudhistara from the starting point of Kaliyuga (ie.) B. C. 3101—2. He thus admits that Kali began in B. C. 3101 but supports the Yudhistarakala noted in Varaha's books but Sri Venkatachalam alleges that Buhler forged such slokas in Rajatarangini. This is of course a baseless charge. Kalhana studied both the Puranas and Mahabharatam, but chose the tradition which suited the records of Kashmir and which agreed with Varahamihira. So, there cannot be any forgery of Buhler or of any other historian in this case. If Sri Venkatachalam wants to stick to this argument, he should at

least seek further evidence if any from Persian translations of Rajatarangini, made in 15th century. Even though we think that Varaha meant only Cyrussaka to make Yudhistarakala Kali 3102 upto B.C., it does not help to alter Kalhana's views, unless those slokas are proved as further additions. Amarasimha writes that Varaha died in Saka 509=587 A. D. at the age of 82 years.

We shall now proceed to check how far the statements of Kalhana and Varahamihira are correct about Yudhistarakala. To decide this, we must first study about the various scholars' views, which are more than ten as shown below. They are all based upon different evidences.

(1) Justice Pargiter	1810 B. C. Bharata war.
(2) Sree Sachandradvidyadhar	1763 ..
(3) Do. (another theory)	1922 ..
(4) Swamikannupillai	2402 ..
(5) Gopal ayyar	1177
(6) Jones	2402
(7) Bala gangadhara Tilak	1440
(8) N. Jagannadha Rao	3138
(9) K. L. Narayana	980
(10) Some Puranic accounts	1470
(11) Kalhana & Varaha	2448

Of all these, Jones bases his arguments on Parāsara Siddhāntam. 1, 2, 7 & 10 base their arguments on the Puranas only. The others base on Kalhana, except 9, who bases his arguments on the different rotations of Saptarishis. As the views of Kalhana and Varaha are discussed above, we shall now discuss the dates of Puranas. Vayu, Matsya and several Puranas say that 1500 years passed from Yudhistara's end or from Parikshit upto Mahapadma. In some readings, we get this figure as 1050, 1105 or 1015 from which several opinions noted above arose.

The original reading "Sahasrani panchāsattottaram" in the Puranas instead of "Sahasrani panchasaduttaram" is taken as correct by the majority of scholars including Sri Venkatachalam. So, there is no objection to say that 1500 years passed upto Mahapadma from Yudhistara. How much is the intervening period from Mahapadma upto Alexander and Chandragupta? Have the Andhra Satavahanas ruled before Alexander came to India? If these questions are correctly solved, we can get the correct time from the date of Bharata war.

Megasthenes tells us about the existence of Andhra rule in his time,⁴ Pliny also refers to it in about 70 A. D.⁵ Ptolemy says that

4. McCrindle, J. W. (Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian.)

5. Periplus & Natural history of Pliny.

Ptolemy of Andhra Satavahanas ruled from about 130 or 140 A. D. ⁶ These three foreign authorities agree with stating that Satavahanas ruled from about 200 B. C. after Alexander. Gadhasaptasati of Halasatavahana supports this. If Sri Venkatachalam does not care to take those foreign evidences, which are against his arguments, he can refer to Gadhasaptasati of Hala, who mentions Vikramarka of B. C. 57. So, Hala was existing after B. C. 57, probably at about 20 A. D. but not in 4th century B. C. as argued by him. Hala cannot be considered to have ruled in 3rd or 4th century B. C. as Sri K. Venkatachalam wants to make out. So, the end of Satavahanas, it follows, was in 3rd century A. D., as Satavahanas ruled for about 460 years, according to several accounts of Puranas. Coins of Satavahanas with Roman coins of 1st century were found in some places. This also proves about their probable time.

When it is settled that Satavahanas ruled till 3rd century A. D. it follows that Guptas politically succeeded them. Sri Venkatachalam has no objection to this though he does not admit these dates. His argument that Guptas ruled at Alexander's time cannot be sustained in view of the time of Satavahanas noted above. So, Guptasaka must be counted from 320 A. D. only as told by Alharuni but not in 326 B. C. as Sri K. Venkatachalam suggests.

What is the period between Mahapadma and Alexander? It is the next question to solve.

Some Puranas say that 100 years passed from Mahapadma to Maurya Chandragupta. This may be treated as the period upto Alexander also in view of the above argument about Guptas. The Buddhist and Jain accounts give only a duration of 22 years for the Nandas. To this, we must add Mahapadma's reign of 43 years. We can calculate in another way also, which is given in Mahabhagavatam. It is a known fact that Kali years were astronomically 3102 years in B. C. According to Mahabhagavatam 1200 Savaṇ years⁷ passed upto Srikrishna's death from this astronomical Kali beginning. This is 1182 solar years. Deducting these, we get 1920 years only upto B. C. from the time of Srikrishna's death, otherwise known as 36th year of Yudhistara's rule and beginning of a Sub-yuga.

As the Bharat-War took place 36 years before this Sub-yuga and as Yudhistara ruled 25 years in this Sub-yuga, it follows that Yudhistara ruled 61 years (ie) till B. C. 1895. Deducting 1500 years upto Mahapadma from the end of Yudhistara rule in 1895 B. C., we get 395

6. Geography of Ptolemy.

years up to B. C. from Mahapadma. If we further deduct 326 years of Alexander's time in B. C., there is only a period of 69 years after Mahapadma upto Alexander's or Maurya Chandragupta's time. This is a reasonable period of time deducted scientifically from the Puranas and Mahabhagavatam. The total time from Yudhistara, according to this argument comes to 1956 years only in B. C. against 2449 noted by Kalhana, Varaha etc. and 3102 in other accounts noted by Sri K. Venkatachalam. Kalhana has given only 653 years upto Yudhistara from the beginning of astronomical Kali. A perusal of ruling time of kings noted in Kalhana's Rajatarangini leads us to think that some ruling periods were exaggerated as 60, 70, 80 years by the previous scholars and that is why he gets a short period as 653 instead of 1182.

As all the Puranas agree in saying that sub-yuga came by the death of Krishna during the rule of Yudhistara and as the original astronomical Kali is even now continuing in our almanacs, it is seen that 1200 years seven or 1182 solar years passed by the time of Yudhistara's rule from astronomical Kaliyuga. So, we can conclude that Kalhana was guided by some wrong accounts of others and Varahamihira too erred in counting the Era of Yudhistara, just like Jains and others.

We see some evidence in the local records that only about 2000 years passed up to Trilochana Pallava of 5th century A. D. from Kali, which is perhaps calculated from Yudhistara sub-yuga and on the misreading of the Puranas⁸. So, we need not discuss about this here again.

The other arguments on Saptarshi Basis and Paramera Siddhanta cannot give us a correct idea of the time, as there are several methods in fixing their positions and as there are different views about shifting periods. (Vide N. Jagannadha Rao's Andhramahāsāmṛjyam).

Some scholars including Sri Venkatachalam admit that Saptarshi motion was 2575 years only for a whole cycle of 27 stars⁹ but Sri K. Venkatachalam wants to account 2700 solar years for it in his history of Kashmir, as Kashmirians erred. So, about 225 years for a first cycle is to be adjusted in Kalhana's time of B. C. history. It appears that Kashmirians took solar years for Saptarshisaka also from about 800 A. D. to avoid confusion but unless we deduct syste-

7. Dr. N. V. Ramanayya's "Trilochanapallava and Karkala", and Kaifits noted against footnote No. 1.

8. Kalimaka vijñanam, Part 1 by K. Venkatachalam.

matically some years from solar years, they will not coincide with Kali years. So, it is better to leave this account for another occasion by an astronomer. The only correct time that can be deducted from the Puranas is the starting point of Kaliyuga, based on astronomical data. The Sub-yuga mentioned in Mahābhāgavatam gives one more data. The planets Sun, Moon, Venus and Jupiter were in one Rasi at the starting of the sub-yuga time. This has not been checked by any astronomers but these conjunctions may come very often. Astronomers will do well to see whether there is sure conjunction of planets in B. C. 1920 or thereabouts.

The detailed geneologies mentioned in the Puranas also support the theory of 1500 years upto Parikshit and hence this figure as well as the one 1956 of B. C. from the date of Bharat war arrived at according to Mahābhāgavatam should be taken into consideration in fixing dates of our ancient history of India.

If these are accepted, there will be no change of present history till 1st century B. C., as argued by Sri K. Venkatachalam. The times of Mauryan kings, Mitra kings and Kanvayanas should be adjusted as per Mahābhāgavatam, leaving the exaggerated times given in the other Puranas. They were probably shown so as to suit the times noted by Varahamihira but they do not stand any scientific check.

Matrugupta and his Emperor Vikramarka

According to Kalhana, Matrugupta was given the kingdom of Kashmir by Vikramarka when Hiranya died. Toraman was also ruling along with Hiranya. Toraman was his brother. This Hiranya may not be the Hiranya of Huna race living in 5th century, as this Hiranya relates to the family of Andhayudhistara, who lived in about 112 B. C. Hiranya's ruling time comes to 378-408 A. D. as per Kalhana's accounts, if we proceed back from Durlabhavardhana of Karkota dynasty, whose time is found to be 627-663 A. D., as per Huentson's statements. Hence Matrugupta was evidently under Chandragupta Vikramaditya only and not under Vikramaditya of B. C. 57 as noted by Sri K. Venkatachalam. Kalhana mentioned Pratapaditya as having lived some generations prior to Matrugupta. He tells us that he was from the lineage of Vikrama of B. C. 57. He also adds that according to some he was not of Vikrama lineage. Whether he was or not, it is clear that Kalhana placed him several generations before Matrugupta. So, there is no doubt that his time is further after Vikrama of B. C. 57 and that Matrugupta lived in the period of Chandragupta Vikramaditya. The dates of several kings of Karkota dynasty were unnecessa-

rily tampered with by Sri K. Venkatachalam in his history of Kashmir to suit his argument. The total period of Karkotakas was only 230 years according to Kalhana, but Sri K. Venkatachalam alters them to 630 years, which is baseless.

If Tormana and Hiranya of Huna race, found in some inscriptions, are the same as the kings of Kashmir, we will have to conclude that Kalhana's times should be further modified. But we cannot at the present stage pronounce so. The Archaeological investigations in Kashmir should answer this in future. Hence Kalhana's times are only tentative upto Avantivarma of 856-884 A. D. Future researches may yield better results. Sri K. Venkatachalam calculates the saptarshi years at 2700 for a cycle in his history of Kashmir just to show some coincidence with his alleged figures but says that 2475 years only will be the reliable period for a cycle in his book "Kalisakavijnanam, Part I". Which is the one to be adopted when checking the times of Indian kings noted in the Puranas etc?

Salivahana's successors and Bhoja

On the basis of Bhavishyapuramam, Sri K. Venkatachalam writes that about 10 kings ruled upto Bhoja after Salivahana and 10 more after Bhoja upto 12th century. But we find no mention of these kings in inscriptions or coins. They may be feudatory kings under others, who are mentioned in inscriptions and coins. From them, we understand that the line of Chastana, (referred to by Ptolemy) and his grandson Rudradaman, ruled at Ujjain till 388 A. D., when they were evidently removed by Chandragupta II, whose predecessor started an Era of 320 A. D. in the name of his family from the time of their occupation, as noted by Albaruni. These imperial Guptas however ruled till about 585 A. D. Devagupta, who was ruling Malwa before 605 A. D. was defeated and killed by Rajyawardhana, brother of Harsha as stated in Dandi's Dasakumaracharitra. He is probably the last of Malwa Guptas. As Chastana's grandson was a relative of Satavahana as seen in an inscription, he cannot be considered to have lived in B. C.^{8a}

There was no famous Bhoja, who conquered the whole of northern India in 7th century, except Harsha. The dark period is however between 647 after Harsha's death and 730, the date of Yasovarman. Vinayaditya of Western Chalukyas, it appears, conquered Malwa between 681-96. If there was a famous Bhoja in 634 as written by Sri Venkatachalam, we ought to know of him from some sources but no such source other than Bhavishyapuramam exists. The only geneology of the Bhoja kings of Paramara line of Salivahana traceable

8. a. Zunagad inscription.

from inscriptions is as follows.⁹ One Mihira Bhoja ruled from 835 A. D. to 890 A. D. and he belonged to Gurjara Pratihara.¹⁰

Geneology of Paramara kings.

Krishnadevaraya	875-900
Virasinhadeva	900- 25
Seevakadeva	925- 50
Vakpatideva	950- 73 (Amoghavarsha aparabhima)
Munjaraja	973- 77
Sindhuraja Bhoja	977-1058

It is understood that the country was split up on the death of Yasovarma into a number of principalities from 730 A. D. Though one can say that Paramara ruled Ujjain, we cannot give the names of rulers of Ujjain between 730 A. D. and 835. Future discovery by Archaeology or any evidence may fill up this blank. As the times and names of Paramara kings noted in Bhavishyapurana do not in any way tally with inscriptions, the evidence of the Purana is of no use. The inscriptional evidence goes to say that after Bhoja (977-1058) Udayaditya, Bhoja II or III, Jagaddevaraja, Chamundaraja, Paramardhadeva etc. were ruling in Ujjain. Paramardha was ruling in 1222 A. D.¹¹ How can we rely upon Bhavishyapurana, when it does not refer to any of these kings? And why will any genuine researcher rely on the authenticity and antiquity of Bhavishyapurana which appears to be only an unreliable book of stories? It may of course tell some thing about Vikrama of B. C. 57 and Salivahana of 78 A. D. The only fault of the previous historians is that they did not recognise the historicity of Vikrama and his grandson Salivahana, who ruled in B.C. 57 and 78 A.D. resp. Both of them might have had some sort of supremacy in several northern kingdoms. It is quite possible that Kuntal asatakarni of Pythan and Vikramarka of Ujjain were contemporaries and it appears that they both drove back Sakas etc upto Sindhu. Salivahana of 78 A. D. might have done similar work in his ruling period. We can therefore conclude that (1) Astronomical Kali began in 3101-2 B. C. (2) The time of Yudhistira Kalkali was in 1920 B. C. (3) The time of Bharat-war was in 1956 B. C. (4) Mahapadma ruled in B. C. 395 only. (5) Andhra Satavahana rule ended in 230 or 240 A. D. and not in B. C. 326. (6) Mahabhagavatam correctly gives the ruling times and the facts, which tally with foreign evidences, also. (7) There was only a period of 69 years between Mahapadma and Alexander, as identified. (8) There was no other Bhoja in 634 A. D. except Harsha. (9) Gupta saka started in 320 A. D. as stated by Albaruni and not in B. C. 326 at Alexander's time. (10) Kalidasa and Varaha lived in the time of Vikramarka III (Kumara gupta II)

9. Ind. Ant. Vol. 6, pages 51-54.

10. 11. History of India by M. S. R. & Ep. Ind. Vol. 18, 19, 22, Ind. Ant. 4.

Gajula Lakshminarsu Setti - A Pioneer of the Freedom Movement.

by

Y. VITTAL RAO M. A. B. Ed.

(Lecturer in History, W. G. B. College, Bhimavaram)

In our attempt to re-construct the History of India, that too to gather material for the chapter on Freedom Movement in India, proper attention must be paid to the personages who played not a little part in fighting for civil liberties. The Madras Province and especially the Andhras are proud to have pioneers in the Freedom Movement beginning even before the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny, as is illustrated in the noble example of an Andhra merchant settled in Madras, by name GAJULA LAKSHMI NARSU SETTI. He belonged to the 19th century and his efforts were directed to protesting in a peaceful but effective manner against the encroachments on the civil liberties of the Indians by the East India Company's Government. I am indebted mostly to two Works in Telugu, (1) Biographies of Great Men 'Mahapurushula Jeevitamulu' by Sri Chilakamarti Lakshmi Narasimham one of the famous and brilliant Telugu writers and poets of the Modern age and. (2) British Indian History in Telugu by Sri Digavalli Venkata Sivarao who has contributed so much to the cause of Modern Indian History basing his work on original sources as far as possible. There are other references to the men and events of the time gleaned from the sources mentioned in this paper.

Gajula Lakshmi Narsu Setti was born in Madras in 1806 at Periamet. He was the son of Siddhula Setti a flourishing Indigo merchant. Lakshmi narsu was educated in a small Indian Elementary School. Though not educated in English, he was taught in all the essentials required for the business. Even while young the boy showed love of independence, boldness and courage. He loved to discuss with his student friends matters of general interest. On the completion of his education, he carried on business along with his father under the name 'Siddhula Setti Company.' They dealt not only in Indigo but also in Madras Kerchiefs. On his father's death he carried on the business independently. He also had a flourishing trade in cotton in view of the great demand then, and soon became a very prosperous merchant.

Besides being a merchant, Lakshminarsu was interested in the welfare of the country as would be seen in the varied activities to safeguard the interests of religion and rights and liberties of the people. Like Raja Ram Mohun Roy of Bengal, in Madras also, in the time of of the East India Company, there were leaders like Lakshminarsu actuated by genuine patriotism, liberalism and humanitarianism. He was responsible for bringing home to the Company authorities certain wrongs and irregularities in the Company rule. He it was that started 'Channapatna Swadesa Samgha'.¹ The very name would indicate the motive to serve the country against foreign encroachments. He also set up an English Paper called 'the Crescent'² in 1844 and appointed an Englishman Harley as the Editor. The paper unflinchingly condemned the activities of the Christian missionaries which roused the religious and political sentiment of the natives. The main aim of the Association and the Paper was to make known to the Government about the people's conditions in a peaceful manner by frequent conferences and deliberations and presenting Mahajars to the company authorities in England. Thus, an Andhra Merchant whose family had settled in Madras laid the foundations for the formation of what is called Public Opinion which is the bed-rock of any good Government. The People's voice in India under the Company in the province of Madras could be heard long before the time of the Mutiny, and the efforts to be free from foreign domination in every way had their beginning in the work of this Association.

Lakshminarsu's best companion in this movement was one famous Madras Barrister John Bruce Norton. J. B. Norton (1815-1883) had been the Advocate General at Madras, after serving as the Sheriff of Madras. He was the First Lecturer of the Indian Law at the Temple in 1872. He wrote on Indian Law and Administration.³ Mr. Bruce Norton has been credited⁴ with (1) a good knowledge of Indian matters, (2) the just and generous spirit with which he used to treat of the Indian subjects in the columns of the Madras Athaenem and (3) his accurate appreciation of the 'native races, their feelings and virtues.

To give an example of his observations he states in 'The Administration of Justice in South India' in 1853, "I start with these two simple propositions: first, that throughout the length and breadth of

1. Andhra Sarwaswamu. p. 159. 2. Ibid.

3. The concise Dictionary of National Biography p. 956.

4. Native Fidelity during the Mutiny-(Copy with the A. H. R. S. Rjy.)

the whole of this Presidency those who occupy the judicial bench are totally incompetent to the decent fulfilment of their duties, and secondly, that so long as the present system continues, there is not only no hope of amelioration, but on the contrary, things must go on for ever from bad to worse, until in the lowest depth there is at last no lower bottom still."⁵

The Company Government did not accord the same warm treatment to the Crescent as to the other English Journals of the time. Even then the Crescent was not afraid to carry on its mission. Its most important work was its attack on Christian propaganda and the Company's deliberate encouragement of the Missionaries. The Company officials were indignant of the comments in the Crescent.

About this time, the Government were contemplating to introduce Caste Disabilities Removal Act in order to remove disabilities of the Hindus to have property rights when they were converted to Christianity. This was intended to favour the Christian Missionaries attracting people to become converts to Christianity. In order to prevent this, Lakshminarsu convened a Conference in Madras on 9th April 1845 and prepared a Mahajar appealing to Govt. not to pass the Act for, it would be against the Hindu interests. Moreover, in spite of the efforts of Lakshminarsu, the Christian Missionary Educational Institutions began to teach the Bible and made it compulsory for all. This was protested in a Conference held on 7th Oct. 1846. The main resolutions of the Conference were i. though the government assured non-interference with the Hindu Religious affairs the Ex-Governor acted quite to the contrary, ii. Christian missionaries encouraged by the government officials were converting Hindu children into Christianity, iii. They were also discouraging the Hindu boys from getting through the examinations and getting jobs, iv. Even though schools were set up in the Madras Presidency, English was not imparted in them. v. The Indians were not appointed to the high posts in the government, and vi. In the Law Courts justice was not administered properly.

Besides the above, some other points relating to the difficulties of the people under Company's rule were specified in the Mahajar. Lakshminarsu presided over the conference. Though the meeting went on peacefully without any politically objectionable speeches, the Europeans in India misrepresented that seditious speeches were made and that there was fracas in the gathering. On the contrary, Lakshminarsu emphasised that, if their difficulties were made known to the

5. Quoted in the footnote P. 462 of 'The Three Presidencies of India' John Copper.

authorities in the proper manner, they would not fail to remedy them. With nearly twelve thousand signatures, the Mahajar was sent to England. The result of all this peaceful agitation was that for the time Bible teaching was prohibited in schools. When an attempt was made to revive the practice, a checkmate was given by Lakshminarsu along with John Bruce Norton.

Another event at that time was the visit of a Member of Parliament named Dombay Seymour (டம்பை சீமர்) to India to know the Indian conditions first hand. He had already been acquainted with the name of Lakshmi Narsu. The Indian Merchant took him round the places in Cuddalore, Kumbhakonam and Coimbatore. The English M. P. saw with his own eyes the inhuman punishments and penalties inflicted upon the poor ryots who could not pay taxes. He recorded what he had seen and returned home with some specimen implements used in punishing the ryots in order to show them to his countrymen. This resulted in the appointment of a Commission (Madras Torture Commission). Such inhuman ways of inflicting penalties on the ryots who fell into arrears were prohibited.

It was time that the Company should get the renewal of the Charter. In 1852, before the renewal was made, Lakshminarsu prepared another Mahajar, which, while stating the lack of proper facilities for means of communication, education, sanitation and proper steps for development, gave an account of the corruption of the officials, uselessness of the Courts of Justice and the undesirable activities of the Christian missionaries. It was pointed out that the Company rule was not satisfactory. A better government was urged with a view to work for the material development of the country. Just as the Chennanatra Swadesa Samgha was busy in this way in Calcutta, there was the British Indian Association in Calcutta and a like Organisation also in Bombay. Each in its own way was busy sending Mahajars to the Company authorities in England. It was urged that the Company rule must change for the better and that the Parliament must show greater concern in the affairs of India and that there must be periodical review of the Company's rule whether it was in the interests of the country or not. The Mahajar was presented in the Parliament in the House of Lords by Lord Nelumbra (நெல்முப்ரா) on 25th Feb. 1863. He told the House about the letter of Lakshminarsu to him, dated 25th Jan. 1863. The letter suggested the appointment of a committee to enquire into the Indian affairs. Mr. Bryde (பிரைட்) another member of Parliament also attested the authenticity of

the letter of Lakshminarsu. Anyway the Sepoy Mutiny resulted in the Company's rule coming to an end and the Crown assuming direct responsibility for administration.

Lakshminarsu became elected to be a member of the Trustees of the Pachiappa's Charities. Because of his part in the agitation for the cause of the people he was suspected by the Government and was regularly haunted by the C. I. D. and the Police. Several attempts were made to impair his business. But with undaunted courage, indomitable will and steadfastness of purpose, he continued to fight for people's liberties. During the Mutiny, he never advocated violence. He was for peaceful methods of agitation and reform from within. Strangely enough, his policy excited the admiration of his enemies even in Britain. Out of recognition and realisation of the real spirit of the merchant, the British Government conferred on him the honour of C. S. I. He was also made a member of the Governor's Executive Council in 1863. This appointment was universally applauded by all sections of the people. Even though he was honoured by the British he never changed his attitude and he carried on his mission of service to the people.

One of the most significant of the services of Lakshminarsu was what he had done to the ruler of Mysore. He persuaded the childless Rajah to adopt a son. The State had been under the charge of the British Government since the time of Bentinck, taken over on account of misrule. The adoption must be recognised by the British, who might restore Mysore to its ruler. There was also a possibility of the British not recognising it and annexing it. It must be prevented from being annexed by the British. So he carried on diplomatic negotiations with the Minister of the Nizam of Hyderabad, Sir Salar Jung. The result of all this activity of Lakshminarsu was that it was agreed that Mysore if not restored to the Rajah must be shared equally by the Nizam and the British as per the previous agreement. On this, the English were forced to recognise the adoption of the Rajah of Mysore. He also strove to relieve the distress of the Queens of Tanjore and the family of the Nawab of the Carnatic, in 1864. In every work of his, Lakshminarsu got the unstinted support of John Bruce Norton.

It is worth noting that John Eardley Norton, the son of John Bruce Norton was also Bar-at-Law in Madras and Calcutta at a later date. He practised in Madras Courts for well nigh thirty years from 1879. He was also like his father interested in the natives. He was alleged to have made observations derogatory to the government. He

defended himself successfully. Later, he settled in Calcutta and then came temporarily to Madras to defend Sir George Arbuthnot. He was a staunch supporter of the Indian National Congress Movement from its start.⁶ Thus, the Nortons, father and son were associated with the Indian Freedom Movement.

Lakshminarsu's health was shattered on account of severe strain. He sacrificed his all for the paper *The Crescent*, even as Sri T. Prakasam to his paper *Swarajya*. The huge income that he derived from his trade was consumed by the paper. His son did not prove equal to the father's expectations. Lakshminarsu left the mortal coil in 1868. But he has become immortal by his services, actuated by patriotic fervour and spirit of sacrifice, seasoned by peaceful agitation with effective results. He has won a permanent place in the roll-call of public men who fought for freedom and liberties of the people. He got the appreciation of the Maharajah of Travancore and his good minister Sir T. Madhavarao. To commemorate the fair name of Lakshminarsu setti the citizens of Madras decided to erect a statue in the Pachappa's College. Not only that. It was also decided to institute a scholarship in his name to deserving students of Sanskrit in the Presidency College, Madras. Contributions were made liberally and thus his name is perpetuated even now.

Lakshminarsu was a true patriot in the sense that he fought against the injustices of the British even at the stake of his trade. His activity was all-embracing, not only in the political field but also in the social, economic and religious spheres of native states. Peaceful methods of agitation under the name of Satyagraha adopted later by Mahatma Gandhi had the beginning in the methods followed by Lakshminarsu. At a time when elected bodies were not introduced, when Public Opinion in its true sense was absent, when there was no means of association between the government and the governed, Lakshminarsu played the part of the people's leader. Without allying himself with the vested interests, Lakshminarsu became the friend of the people. When Rajaram Mohan Roy and his followers were busy with their programme of social and religious reform in Bengal, Lakshminarsu had been busy in Madras. In the history of the Freedom Movement Lakshminarsu occupies a prominent place, for his efforts could be seen before the Mutiny period. He is one of these unnoticed and forgotten gems which shine with lustre only when they are discovered and noticed by the world.

6. Indian Biographical Dictionary (1915) p. 30J-8.

♦ A paper read before the All India Indian History Congress held in Dec. 1955 at Calcutta.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS IN ANDHRA DESA

BY

T. N. Ramachandran, M. A.

(Joint Director General of Archaeology, New Delhi.)

Andhra-Desa is a wonderful land of rivers such as the *Godavari* with its tributaries *Manjira*, *Pranahita*, *Indravati*, and the *Sabari*; the *Krishna* with its tributaries the *Bhimarathi*, *Tungabhadra*, *Dindi*, *Musi* as well as the *Muni*, *Pinakini*, *Paleru*, *Manneru*, *Gundlakamma*, the *Sarada*, *Nagavalli*, *Vamsadhara* and the *Rsikulya*. Along the Andhra Sea-coast which extends for about 400 miles, there existed sea-ports at the mouths of the large rivers. Navigation and commercial enterprise were very much encouraged and sea-farers left the Andhra shores for colonisation beyond the deep seas. The *Godavari* and the *Krishna* were navigable in ancient times.

The earliest mention of the Andhras is in the *Aitareya Brahmana* as one of the tribes of South India. Andhra-Desa was the original home of the Andhras in the earliest times as it is even today. After the fall of the Mauryan Empire, the Satavahanas extended their dominion into the north, west and south until Andhra-Desa embraced a great portion of the Indian Peninsula. Its early history is borne out by Buddhist and Brahmanical literature, by copper-plate inscriptions, stone inscriptions, coins, ancient structures such as *Stupas*, *Chaityas* and *Viharas*, and by manuscripts and the writings of foreign travellers. Magasthenes (300 B. C.) and Pliny (77 A. D.) referred to the Andhras as a powerful tribe, who possessed numerous villages, 30 towns defended by high walls and towers, and an immense army of one lakh infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants. In the *Periplus* of the Erythraean Sea of the 1st Century A. D., the ports of *Barygaza* and *Vaijayanti*, are mentioned as places of export of onyx stones, porcelain, muslin, cotton, perfumes, gum and silk. Ptolemy locates *Barygaza* in *Larika*, a name evidently derived from a *Prakrit* form of *Skt-Lata*. He mentions a port *Byzantion* in the country of the Pirates. The name has been explained from *Vejayanti*, but this is more than doubtful. Ptolemy mentions a country under the name *Ariaka Sadenon* i. e. *Ariaka* of the *Sadenoi*, and we may safely assume that this *Sadenoi* is a Greek rendering of a *Prakrit* form of "Satavahana." Also he mentions five ports and in 82-83 eighteen inland towns belonging to that country. Recently at *Kondapur*, in *Hyderabad* (Deccan) where coins of the Andhra Kings *Gautamiputra* and his son *Pulumavi* were

discovered, pieces of Porcelain were dug out as were also Buddhist Figurines made of *Kaolin* (a pure white porcelaneous clay). Ptolemy (2nd Century A. D.) speaks of the Andhras, the trade on the East Coast, and the ports of Kontakossyla, Koddura and Allosygne. He also mentions Apheterion in Maisolia region (Krishna Delta). Apheterion is not a proper name as some writers have believed but a word meaning "a point of departure".¹ The Puranas refer to the Andhra-bhritya Line of kings also called Satakarnis and Satavahanas, who ruled from the middle of the 3rd century B. C. to the first quarter of the 3rd century A. D. Their territory extended from the east coast to the west coast; Mysore in the South and Avanti or modern Ujjain in the north, were included in their kingdom. The Kondapur excavations by Yazdani² and the recent excavations in Chittaldurg Dist, Mysore³ have yielded valuable results and thrown further light on this Andhra period. Ancient market towns were Dhannakatak (280 B.C.), Kevurura, Vijayapura (1) and Narasala.

Maritime traffic is attested to by the find of a large number Roman coins on the Coromandel (Cholamandala). Regarding the migration of Hindu colonists to the Far East in the 1st century A. D., the Andhra country in general and the Vengi kingdom in particular had a good share in it. Ptolemy's Apheterion to the north of Allosygne was the starting point of ships for Golden Chryse, Farther India and the Archipelago. The coinage of the times reveals that lead and potin predominated over copper and the issues were large and varied such as would be the case with an Empire from sea to sea. Sea-bound trade was largely responsible for the flourishing state of Buddhism in Andhra Desa for nearly 6 centuries (from 300 B. C. to 300 A. D.). Buddhists were largely recruited from the commercial classes whose wealth was utilised to raise Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda and other *Stupas*. Buddhism spread like wild fire more quickly among non-Aryan tribes in the Andhra country than in Aryan Society.

The Buddhist sites in the Northern Districts of the Madras State, particularly in the Andhra country are vast as against a fraction in the Southern Districts. From Salihundam in the Visakhapatnam District in the North to Chinna Ganjam in the Guntur District in the South, and from Gooty in the Anantapur district in the West to Bhattiprolu in the East, the Andhra country witnessed in the three

1. See J. W. McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Ptolemy. pp. 66
2. History of the Deccan. Vol. 1 pt. VIII, 1852, pp. 6.61 and 68,
3. Ancient India No. 4, p. 180.

centuries preceeding and following the birth of Christ a phenomenal growth of Buddhist culture and art. Ramatirtham (*Skt. Aramatirtham*) Sankaram (*Skt. Sangharama*), Salihundam, Kodavalli, Arugolanu, Guntupalle, Jaggayyapeta, Ramireddipalle, as well as Alluru, Bezwada (Vijyawada), Gudivada, Ghantasala (*Kantkossyla*), Garikapadu, Goli, Nagarjunakonda, Amaravati, Peddamaddur, Chinna-ganjam, Peddagangam, Kanuparti and Bhattiprolu are a few places among the many that have yielded to the magic touch of the Archaeologist, relics of a glorious civilisation that flourished in the Andhra country in the early centuries. *Stupas* or spulchral monuments, *Chaityas* or *Chetiya-gharas* or prayer chambers or halls, and *Viharas* or monasteries were found in large numbers, particularly in the Guntur and Krishna districts along the banks of the river Krishna which was known to the Greeks as *Majsolor*.

A study of the various Buddhist sites in South India proves the existence of five early roads which converged at *Vengi* in the centre of the Andhra country. Almost all the Buddhist sites were located on these roads which lead to Kalinga, to Dravida, to Karnata, to Maharashtra, and to Kosala (Kosala includes Dakshina Kosala).

It was indeed a golden age of Andhra when the Satavahanas, Satakarnis and the Ikshvakus ruled. Inspired by nature and undaunted by the material they carved out of hard rock *Chaityas* and *Stupas* as at Karli, Bhoja, Nasik, Kanheri, Nanaghat, Guntupalli, Kapavaram, Vijavawada and fashioned out of stone beautiful stupas with rails as at Sanchi, Goli, Amravati and Nagarjunakonda. The Sanchi, Amravati and Nagarjunakonda stupas and rails with their rich carvings illustrating Buddha's life, his past births (*Jatakas*) and other legends of Buddhist lore have won for the Andhra Kings the credit for making India a veritable wonderland of temples.

The latest accessions to our knowledge of the Schools of Buddhist art, architecture and iconography have been contributed by the discovery in Andhra-Desa, of a number of Buddhist Sculptures, *stupas* or *Mahachaityas* and *Viharas* dug up at Nagarjunakonda in the Guntur District, Salihundam and Ramatirtham in the Vizagapatam district and Kapavaram and Adurru in the East Godavari District.

The discoveries made at Nagarjunakonda in 1926-30 and 1938-40 are of singular interest in that they include not only monasteries *Viharas*, *Stupas*, *Chaityas*, but also a palace, a wharf and a large

number of inscriptions relating to the Ikshvaku Dynasty that ruled over the country in the 3rd century A. D. Most of the *Stupas* here were richly carved with scenes drawn from the life and past births *Jatakas* of the Buddha and from every day life. Decorative and ornamental designs also became the subject matter of the carvings. Religion was here, as elsewhere, an inspiring agent for promotion of the arts. The Nagarjunakonda sculptures also go to prove that by 'religion' was not necessarily meant ritual or doctrine, but that latest spiritual quality that finds "tongues in trees, books in running brooks, sermons in stone and good in everything". A memoir (No. 71) of the Archaeological Survey of India on *Nagarjunakonda* by the writer is under print and will be out of press in two months more.

On the hill at Salihundam, Vizagapatnam district overlooking the R. Vamsadhara and the Bay of Bengal, 3 miles further down, was discovered a curious but very interesting monastic orientation with a high apsidal *Chaitya* on the summit of the hill crowning the hill as it were, a circular *Maha-chaitya* behind it with tiles laid flat completely on its entire surface instead of the usual wheel, spokes and hub arrangement that one meets with in the Andhra *Stupas*, and with the regular monastery and smaller *Chaityas* and votive *Stupas* scattered on the sides and slopes of the hill. It is of great interest that crystal reliquaries shaped like stupas with gold relics in them in the shape of flowers (*Svarna-pushpas*) were found in the *Maha-Chaitya* behind the apsidal *Chaitya* on the crown of the Salihundam hill. Katakaharama or Kattaharama is the name of the monastery and this reminds us of Katak (Kedah) in Sumatra. An account on the "Excavations at Salihundam" by the writer in 1946-47 has just been printed in the *Epigraphica Indica* Vol. XXVIII, P. 133-137. Though the *Chaitya* is actually in ruins one can judge from its remains that it should have stood to a considerable height and being juxtaposed on the topmost and narrowest point of the hill should have been clearly visible from the sea-port of Kalingapatnam which is only three miles away from the hill. Evidently, Buddhist pilgrims and merchants came here to offer their tributes from the sea-side along the Vamsadhara river.

Ramatirtham (Aramatirtham) reveals high on the local hills and on their precipitous slopes a random groping of brick *Stupas*, *Chaityas* and monasteries, suggesting either a fugitive existence to the Buddhists on the hills or a whim or caprice of the Buddhists to build their sacred edifices on dangerous heights and precipitous slopes of the Ramatirtham hills. Judging from the exis-

tence of late sculptures and Buddhist idols both at Ramatirtham and at Salihundam, the local Buddhist Establishments appear to have continued to 8th and 9th centuries A. D.

Kapavaram: Kapavaram, 14 miles from Rajahmundry is another hill station of the early Buddhists which awaits scientific excavation. Interestingly indeed monastic cells were scooped out of the rock on the Kapavaram Hill and the bond-stones for the brick parts, where bricks were used, were often found to be of the local shaly rock. Reservoirs for water were noticed in deep cisterns dug on the top of the hill for use in Monasteries. In view of its archaeological importance, the Kapavaram hill has recently been protected under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act.

Adurru: Yet another Buddhist site of importance is Adurru in Razole Taluq of East Godavari District. Two stupas—one is of the *Maha-chaitya* style in the usual plan of the wheel, spokes and hub,—were partially exposed by the owner of the land in search of bricks for temple building. The site is now protected. Judging from the size of the bricks and pottery and four Andhra coins discovered at Adurru, we can attribute the site to the 2nd and 3rd century A. D. Regular scientific exploration has not yet been done in the Andhra Desa but if this were possible, it can be prophesied that the Buddhist sites in the Andhra Districts are vast as against a fraction in the Southern Districts.

Side by side with structural Temples and *Chaityas*, the traditional mode of rock-hewn shelters continued in Andhra Desa up to mediaeval times. Guntupalli, Karle, Nasik, Kanheri, Vijayawada, Undavalli and Bhairavakonda are only land marks in Andhra Desa's Golden age of architecture and art. While the high quality of limestone carvings of Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda melts our hearts into *Sahrudaya-nanda* or spectacular gratification, the rock-hewn shelters have a different effect. Here, thanks to better tools, superior skill of architects and continued and spontaneous patronage of royal artists, living rock was cut in or cut out, nay, literally split to bring out of it shrines, columns, sculptures, images—in short, a veritable wonderland, a heavenly retreat, a world of *Moksha*, where mortals associated momentarily with the Celestial gods and goddesses and their glory rooted in their *Lilas*, *Puranas*, *Nidanas*, *Avadanas*, and thus realising *Brahmananda* or Supreme Bliss. "Far from man ran their godly race."

N. B:—Several lead (potin) coins, discovered at Adurru bearing the symbol of *Kumbha* and other Buddhist devices, were obtained for Society Museum long ago by the Secretary. Editor.

A paper read before the Telugu Festival held at Delhi in 1953.

Beginnings of Telugu Literature: Its Dravidian Origins

BY

K. Ramakrishnaiyya M. A.

(Head of the Telugu Dept., University of Madras (Retd.))

I should like to deal with a few points about the beginnings of Telugu Literature, with a view to show that like the Telugu language itself, Telugu literature also indicates traces of its origin in early Dravidian. Telugu language may now, fairly be considered as one belonging to the Dravidian family of languages, a family comprising all the main languages spoken in Southern India. Thanks to Rev. Dr. Caldwell who, having instituted a comparative study of these languages, laid their family relationship on a strong foundation. I think, nobody here at least in this assembly will be prepared to controvert the idea, though I may tell you, in the Telugu country itself, there are many scholars who do not like this idea—I mean this idea of these South Indian languages being considered as a family group, leaving alone Sanskrit the revered *Dēva Bhāṣha* which is considered as being the source of all languages on the face of the earth. No doubt one must admit that this plant of the Dravidian family, has at a very early age, been grafted on the well-grown tree of the Sanskrit language and the resultant graft, planted on a congenial soil on the banks of the Godavary and tended carefully with the waters of the river by the king Rājārājanarēndra of the Chalukya family, produced its first fruit of rare excellence in the form of Mahābhārata of Nannaya Bhaṭṭa. Overpowered by the grandeur and beauty of this work produced as a result of the careful grafting on the precious tree of Sanskrit, and so now generally considered as the very first work in Telugu literature, we are naturally apt to completely ignore the original Dravidian plant or the special qualities of that plant that went into the graft. That is why I should think that the present day historical accounts of Telugu literature generally begin with poet Nannaya and his Mahābhārata, Nannaya being hailed as the *Ādikavi* and the originator not only of Telugu literature but also of the Telugu language, as some would put it. Some of the present day scholars even seem to consider mere translations of works of other languages into Telugu as 'everlasting contribution to Telugu culture and Telugu versions or catalogues of such works

† A Paper contributed to the "Dravidian Culture Section" of the "All India Oriental Conference" Annamalai Nagar, Oct. 1955.

as an untrodden line in the field of Telugu research'. Leaving alone this line of Telugu research and culture I make bold to urge upon the earnest Dravidian scholars of this assembly the necessity of trying to trace the nature and extent of the Dravidian element—I mean, the common features of the early Dravidian culture that can be found in individual literatures and languages of this family group.

The Dravidian culture section of this Conference provides us with a platform for the expression and the discussion of some of the original problems connected with the origins and development of those traces of Dravidian culture in various languages of this family, as this happens to be a meeting ground for all those who work in individual languages on comparative lines. Dr. Caldwell himself urged upon scholars of these languages to apply his principles and further work upon them independently, as he has concentrated only on Tamil. He said: "I trust it will be found I have not left much undone that seemed to be necessary for the elucidation of Tamil, but I hope this branch of work will now be taken up by persons who have made Telugu, Canarese, Malayalam or Tulu their special study, so that the whole range of Dravidian languages and dialects may be fully elucidated". In this connection he has referred to a desideratum—also a comparative Vocabulary of the Dravidian languages distinguishing the roots in the four most distinctive languages from those found only in three, two or one. My comparative vocabulary with philological notes though on a small scale, has been published by the Madras University and a comparative study of the Dravidian roots and their development in the various languages is still being worked out and awaits publication.

Meanwhile, many students of Dravidian linguistics seem to have been much inconvenienced for want of copies of Caldwell's Grammar, and it is highly gratifying to learn that the Madras University has undertaken to bring out a new edition of that work under the able supervision of our President to-day. Some editing or editorial notes on this seems to be highly necessary, at least on some points which I wanted to place before you in another paper of mine. But now I don't propose to read that paper and take your time. I would only mention a few points which appear rather controversial. One such point is the derivation of the native word 'Tamil', the very name of the people and language of that name from the word 'Drāvida' said to be Sanskritic. Caldwell himself has struggled hard to effect this derivation, and some modern scholars seem to lend support to that theory by bringing in some novel ideas regarding the sounds in Primitive Dravidian. The

theory now put forward about the existence of sonant sounds *g, j, d, b* in the Primitive Dravidian which are said to have disappeared sometime before the age of Tolkappiar without leaving any trace or tradition in Tamil, as also the theory of the sonants and combined consonants standing as initial sounds in words of early Dravidian, as 'dr' in 'Drāvida'—both these seem to require further investigation and proof. For, these seem to be against the genius of not only Tamil, but of all other Dravidian languages. A mistaken notion of Caldwell that is being repeated without contradiction is with regard to some euphonic insertions which, he thought were introduced in order to prevent hiatus. The use of the particle 'n' in *tinnagā-n-ēgenu* instead of *tinnagā-y-ēgenu*, and Tamil *irukkindra-n-a* instead of *irukkindra-v-a*, in Tamil *padi-n-eindu* and *padi-n-āru*, Coorg *padu-n-anie*, *padu-n-āru* etc., of 'm' in *enna-m-ō* instead of *yenna-v-ō*, of 'r' in Telugu *poda-r-illu* and *sundaru-r-ālu*, of 'd' in Kannada *mādi-d-a*, of 't' in Telugu *karaku-t-ammu*, of 'g' in *āru-g-uru*, and of 'k' in Telugu *pade-k-ondu*. All these are not particles euphonicallly introduced to prevent hiatus, but either regular significant parts of words or those formed on the analogy of those forms.

When we consider the development of literature in these languages, the very first idea that occurs to our mind is the nature and the form of the metre or the chandas used in them. When we think of Nannava's *Mahābhārata* in Telugu or Pampa's *Bhārata* in Kannada, or Kambaramāyana in Tamil, or Bhāshā Naishada in Malavālam, we will at once be struck by the Sanskrit metres or metrical forms that are imported into these languages, may be with some necessary adjustments affected. But when we go to far earlier literature in these languages we find its nature to be quite different. Tamil literature, leaving aside its fantastic claims to a far higher antiquity, can easily be traced to the beginnings of the Christian era. The metres *venba*, *ahavalpa* etc. employed therein based on the native *ganas*, *ner-nirai*, *asai* as they are called, and not on the *akshara ganas* of Sanskrit, not only differ very much from that of Sanskrit vrittams but accord or adjust themselves easily, with what is called the *desi chandas* in other South Indian languages. This *dēsi chandas* is based on what are called *mātrā ganas*, the *in-ēndra-chandra ganas* of Telugu and *Brahm-ēndra-Rudra ganas* of Kannada which go to form *dēsi* metres like *dvipada*, *ragada*, *sisā*, *shatpadi*, *akkara*; etc. etc.—metres which were used in early Telugu and Kannada literatures before Sanskrit vrittams were

adopted in these languages. These are generally set to music and sung instead of being read like the Tamil songs of old Tamil literature which seem to have had definite 'puns' of their own, each 'pun' representing a different mode of singing.

2. Another feature of Telugu and Kannada literatures whose roots can be traced to the early Dravidian is the common binding factor of *monai* and *yadugai* of Tamil. Unlike the Vrittams as *Sragdhara*, *Sardūla*, and *Mattabha* etc, these are things not borrowed from Sanskrit but are quite indigenous. Though each of them in Tamil is of eight varieties, whose use is left to the choice of the poet, Telugu and Kannada adopted only one variety which is observed compulsorily in all the forms of the verse either indigenous or borrowed from Sanskrit. This is an instance where a Dravidian feature has been extended to Sanskrit borrowing also. Just as in language Sanskrit words were converted into Telugu by suffixing Telugu terminations, so also we may say in Telugu literature Sanskrit vrittams were converted and adopted into Telugu by making *yati* and *prāsa* compulsory.

3. With these features as the basis, indigenous literatures in Telugu and Kannada countries began to grow; in Telugu, *dvipadas* which resembled *Kural Venbas* and *Sisas* one line of which having eight *ganas* may be said to have been made up of two 'ahavalpa' lines of four *ganas* each, *ragadas*, *gitas*, *udāharāṇas*, *ēlas*, and *shatpadis* all of which depended on *matra ganas* for their composition, came to be written in the language of the country. Though these were looked down upon by Sanskrit scholars, the Chalukyan kings began to patronise them.

Originally, in the early centuries of the Christian era, Telugu and Kannada literature was probably in the form of short poems or stanzas like those of early Tamil literature, made up of lines of three or four *matra ganas*, set to music and amenable to various *tālas* and sung by people at various festive occasions or in tune to various family or outdoor duties. These were probably in the form of *dvipadas*, *ragadas*, *gitas*, *ēlas*, *shatpadis* etc. There must have been a lot of literature at that time only handed down from mouth to mouth like the *Pāṇas* or the songs of our women folk even until very recent times, without ever being committed to writing. After the advent of the Andhra rulers into this middle country, the Telugu, Kannada area, this *Dēsi* or Dravidian element was undermined before the superior culture and

attainment of the Sanskritists. Further south, the Tamilnad was under the rule of its native kings who fully patronised the language and literature of their country and so even the Buddhists and Jains who migrated there had to use language of the country and compose works in the language of the soil. In the Telugu and Kannada countries, owing to Andhra rule for about four or five centuries and the Brahmanic faith of the rulers that prevailed over Buddhism and Jainism in these countries respectively, Sanskritists got an upper hand and they managed to gradually give a Sanskrit turn to the indigenous language and literature. What did they do? They imported a large amount of Sanskrit material and even big Samāsas in the tatsama form by adding mere desya terminations at the end. They have adjusted the desya nēr-nirai-formed gaṇas and native Dravidian Chandas into their own akshara gaṇa system, and by transferring the *monai* and *yadugai* of the Dravidian system to the various akshara gaṇa vrittams of the Sanskrit Chandas and by making them a compulsory feature there, they have managed to effect an easy synthesis of the indigenous Dravidian system of chandas.

The earlier poems of the Desi type were not restricted to four-line stanzas. There was no particular limit to the number of lines. But most of the Sanskrit vrittams were four-line stanzas. So, what did they do? Since the Dravidian metrical stanza generally consisted of short lines composed of three or four gaṇas only, in order to make them appear big or bring these into line with the long-footed Sanskrit stanzas of the Sanskrit metre like Sardula or Mattebha or Sragdhara, they have converted two of these short lines into one pāda and by putting three more pādas of the same type together they made up the quatrain which now resembled those of Sanskrit chandas. For instance, two lines of dvipada were converted into one line and four of such lines were bound by what is called *yati* and *prasa*, and this was made to appear under a new name called 'Taruvoja'. Similarly with a slight adjustment in gaṇas, a new type called 'sisa' was brought into existence. What is called 'madhyākkara' is formed by doubling lines of three gaṇas each.

Later on, these Sanskritists tried to bring about a mixture of these indigenous and Sanskrit metres into one composition. That is they used to compose a number of stanzas in desi metre and then add one or more Sanskrit vritta at the end. This kind of composition they called an 'udāharana'. A similar kind of combining marga and desi

types of chandas was also seen in Kannada as early as the 8th c. A. D. As such they were referred to by the author of Kavirajamarga as old types of Kannada literature in the name of *Chattane* and *Bedende*.² Many of the indigenous metres were frequently used in what are called Yakshaganas which may be considered as a popular drama which came into prominence particularly in the age of the Naik kings of the South. These indigenous types in their ensemble may be called the Desi literature as opposed to the Marga literature introduced by the Sanskritists and excelled in the works of Nannaya and his followers.

Thus, it is clear that there is a common literary and prosodial tradition of Dravidian origin in all the desi literatures of the South Indian languages.

1. కందంగళ పలనాగిరె

సుందర వృత్తంగ, శక్కం, చవుపది, మ

త్తందద్దిలికె, తివదిగ

శందంబెత్తెసెయ, పెట్టికడుచత్తాణం॥

2. కందము మమళిన వృత్తము

మొం దొందెడగొందు, జాతి జానెసెయ చెడం

గొంది పరిశమరేపేటి

ల్లుందరూపిం; బెదెండ గబ్బ మదక్కుం॥

(వి. రా. 1, 34, 35)

MUSIC

BY

SRI M. R. SASTRY.

Importance of Music:-

Music is an essential component of the cultural expression of a country and even a civilisation. It is on the cultural plane of music that men and women of all races and sects can meet together and realise the psychological homogeneity of human race. Realisation of that common humanity which points to the whole world and which transcends all national boundaries and linguistic separations is the essential call of music. Hence, we must eliminate all racial and provincial prejudices.

The greatness of a nation does not depend on what its political men or intellectuals do but it depends on the creative achievements of men in art and literature. Of these, music has been the greatest instrument of creation.

Synthesis, on the basis of a fundamental unity, is the mouth-piece of the Soul of Asia. Indian music as vast as its territorial expansion, is now a subject of serious thought. History reveals to us as to how music has brought out the inner soul of a people and encouraged them to lofty endeavours. It is in this sacred land of the Hindus that music became the vehicle of highest spiritual attainments and self-realisation, and that is why our ancient religious preceptors or Acharyas such as a Sankara or a Vidyaranya or a Buddha interlaced music with temple rituals, as the fundamental conception of music is the source of all creation.

Origin of Music:- The Creator has transformed Himself into Nāda or sound and became Nāda-brahma (God of sound). Music has emanated from Omkara Pranava. Indian music has an unparalleled splendour of beauty in which was established the Divine Soul of God. It essentially is a creation and production of a very refined and sophisticated society and is intended mainly for the delectation of the trained few. All Art and Education are concentrated on Brahma-Vidya or Science of the Absolute. Mathematics, Metaphysics and Music are the three great things which lead to the Infinite in the ascending order of a merit

Indian music has the back-bone of mathematics and the soul of meta-physics, preserving its unique melody to appeal to the heart as well as the head. If India were to give a message of the 'Free

Country" "She should give the message of "Freedom of the Soul" bereft of the multifarious materialistic influences of to-day.

2. *The Origin and development of Indian music:-* It is difficult to assess the origin of Indian music with mathematical precision. But one can say with authority that it is as old as the Vedas and that its richness, range and variety, are marvellous and it attained the highest degree of excellence in the Samavedic period i.e. 4500 B.C. Sāma Vēda is said to be one of the 4 Vedas or Religious Scriptures of Hindus, created by Brahma (the Creator of the Universe and one of the Indian Trinities) from which arose Sama Gayan performed during the sacred rituals of Hindus. Brahma imparted music to Saraswati - the Goddess of Learning (Vidya) who in her turn initiated the Divine Sage Narada into the mysteries of music. Nārada taught it to Gandharvas (Aerial Beings) and it is through the latter that it was spread in this world of humanity. The names of Ganesa, Siva, Dakshināmurti, Krishna, Saraswati and Tumbura, are associated with Indian music for, they are the experts in Drum, Flute, Veena and Tumbura chiefly in the Divine Concerts in Swargaloka or Paradise. This music is known as Gāndharvam or Celestial music which is extinct now. Prabandha Jati Gana, emanated later from this.

(3) *Bharata Acharya (B. C. 200 to 4. cent A. D:-* He is the first and foremost Acharya who propagated music in Aryavarta - the land of the Aryans. The Aryan music is the music of Upper India which the Aryans spread wherever they went, as a specimen of their culture and civilisation. Their music is vibrant with rich emotion and deep religious fervour.

(4) *Relics of Aryan Music and Culture:-* Speaking of Indian music and culture before 4500 B.C., Dr. Heras, a great Research scholar stated that in the excavations of Mohanjadaro and Harappa (Panjab), a veena similar to that of the Yazh (Lion-faced veena) of the Dravidians, was found. This confirms the truth that Aryan civilisation is by far the most ancient civilisation in the whole world.

Melodies or Ragas are the soul of Indian music, which are based on the permutation and combination scheme of the Saptaswara Aksharas or Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni. Initial letters or Bija-Aksharas are also known as Divine Nymphs or Sapataswara Sundari-manula by Saint Tyagaraja of Andhra, in one of his compositions (Kritis). But there is an old fantastic theory, that five Parental ragas viz Bhairavi, Hindola, Malkaus, Megha and Dipak emanated from the five facets of Lord Siva or Osiris, and the sixth from the face of his consort Parvati. These

Ragas which are masculine have their wives known as Raginis, which gave birth to many children. Thus a family has been formed as it were. Bharat, Hanuman, Siva, and Krishna were the originators of Banis or systems, which were followed by musicians of by gone ages. These later developed into Gharanas or Traditions of the Dhrupad school, as the Dagur, Gobarhari, Nohar and Khandari in the time of Akbar the Great. Miya Tansen the foremost Kalāvant or Professor of Music in Akbar's court, was the author of Dagurbani which his descendants are following at Jaipur, Alwar and Rampur States.

We have got three types of music in the parlour of music. They are the Sātvic or spiritual music, "Rājasic" or Darbari music sung in Royal Courts and the "Tamasic" or Democratic music sung for the people at large.

A. Dhrupad or Dhruva pada-an off-spring of the Prabandha gayana of old, is Satvic music which is dignified & serious by nature. Religious songs were composed in Dhrupad style by Haridasa swamy of Brindavan, and Baiju Bavra, Gopala Naik and Tansen, the Mystic saints of India. Mostly, these songs were dedicated to God. The Holi and Dhamar also are holy compositions, attributed to Lord Krishna's frolics or leelas. These musicians never sang for any fame or remuneration. Hence their compositions are sacred and the ragas sung by them produce spiritual effects. For Ex. Rag Dipak created fire and Megha Raga brought forth torrential rains. Unless music is treated as an 'Upāsana' of God, Ragas do not give the desired effect.

B. Now, I shall define the various types of Musical Composition. A *khyal* is the off-shoot of the cross-fertilisation of the Hindu-Muslim culture. It is a "Persian" word which means a 'Stray thought' in which the extempore flight of imagination with embellishments, flourishes or variations of notes or sangatis, and graces not admissible in a Dhrupad, symbolises the spirit of an expert musician; Proper use of *tānas* or cluster of notes in quick succession, without repetition and improvised tempo are its chief characteristics. Usually, the theme is a love topic.

C. A *Tumri* is an off-shoot of a *Khyal*, which is sentimental and amorous. Panjab, Delhi, Lucknow, and Allahabad are the chief centres noted for it. A *tumri* is a love song in an impure dialect of Brijā Bhasha. The subject matter is love episode, and the originator of it is Gulam Nabi. A *tumri* describes the sportive attitude of Sri Krishna with Gopis. As these are more suited for *abhinaya*

dance they are usually sung by the Kathak dancers of Lucknow, Jaipur and Banaras. As a sweet and expressive tone is the desideratum, it is more suitable to ladies. Famous *gāyikis* (Songstresses and dancers like Goharjan, Malka Jan, Zohra Bai of Agra) were the foremost exponents of this type of music. A *tumri* absolutely prohibits any jerks, trills or flourishes, forceful gamakas or graces, as they mar the effect of the *Rasa-Bhava*. (Sentiment)

D. A *Ghazal* in Urdu and Persian poetry, represents the finest in lyrics. But it often suffers from lack of unity in them, because the poet does not confine himself to the emotion. The magical cadences and the music ecstasy of the lyrics have made them immensely popular. Transforming simple *occasions* or incidents of life into passionate experiences and communicating them to audiences in vivid and moving imagery is the secret of a *Ghazal*. The theme may be either love or philosophy. Poet Ghalib is the most popular composer, whose *ghazals* have achieved All-India popularity.

E. A *Kavali* which is the innovation of Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia, whose tomb is found near Delhi, is equivalent to a devotional song or Bhajan of the Hindus. It is sung by a group of musicians in an exciting manner. The theme is the life of Prophet Mohamad, and other Saints like Nizamuddin Chisti of Ajmer. An annual fair or "Urs" is celebrated in memory of the great saints when great *Kawaliyas* assemble and pour out their Heart's libations extempore.

F. A *Geeta* is a light song under which come the Boatmen's songs, Shepherds' Songs, Lullabies, and love songs of the country side like Laila-Majnun or Shirin Farhad, or Lakshmandevar Navvu in Telugu (Lakshmana's laughter.) You hear most of these in modern Talkies. There are exact parallels to all of these, in Karnatic music like Kirtans, Kritis, Pallavis, Varnas, Bhajanas, Javalis and Padas. A Kirtan of T. Annamāchary, an erudite Telugu scholar and composer is equivalent to a Prabandha, a Varna to Dhrupad, a Kriti to Khyal, a Pallavi to Asthayi and a Javali Pada to Tumri mostly used in Abhinaya or the art of dance by the Bharata Natya dancers of Madras and Tanjore. A Bhajan is a devotional piece set to chorus. Kritis and Kirtans are lyrical compositions composed by the Great saints, like Tyagaraja, Samasastri, Pooch Iyengar etc. in Telugu in adoration of Rama, Krishna, or Amba.

A common system of music, gradually bifurcated into two Rāgās is the basis of Melody in the Indian system. Rishis

of yore created the "Seraphic" forms called ragas that could recapture for us the magic starlit dawn, tremulous with dew-pearls and the silvery effulgence of day, the golden magnificence of sunset, and the unfathomable solemnity of night. The Ragas or melodies voiced earthly passions and anguishes, cosmic sorrows and inconceivable ecstasies. Dipped in them, words shone like pearls with an eerie diaphanous sheen. Some of them were masculine and others were exquisitely feminine and lovely. Like unto the Ganges (Swaraganga) on the head of Lord Siva, the art of music flowed down into two streams, one of which is known as the Karnatic and the other as the Hindustani tradition. Both these were born together, grew up together, enriched each other in the course of ages like twin-sisters and constituted twin faces of the same eternal truth in music. The materials, pattern, and outlook are common to both, but the schools differed in the style and the manner of treatment like Gowdi and Vidarbhi-Provincial dialects, a difference which the intangible medium of sound tends to magnify though it cannot disguise the identity. If the one is Sanskrit, the other is Prakrit of the old style, if one is Gupta or the Northern, the other is Chalukyan or the Southern. To stress unity in diversity, it is better to emphasise that the two units are one, instead of distintegrating them as though, they had any racial significance or distinction. We can postulate a law by which a Hindustani Raga can be converted into its Karnatic analogue and vice versa, for e.g. Reva or Regupti, Khambavati or Kambhoji; Hamsanandi or Sohni, Bhupa or Mohana, Durga or Suddha Saveri etc. In some of these, there is close similarity of names and in others, the musical substance tallies though the nomenclature differs. From this, we can deduce that there is good affinity between the two systems even before the bifurcation. The connecting link between the two schools of music, the Gamut or Grama of 12 semi-tones, is the same to both. The 10 Gamakas or graces like Zamazama Kampita or tremor, Meend or Glide or Jaru, Vali, Dhalu, and Murki Ghasit, Khatka in Hindustani are same. Humphita of Hanuman, Rama's messenger- a peculiar humming noise of monkeys- is a speciality to Hindustani music from which Hanuman Mata or Hindustani Sadgit came, and Narad mata is known as Karnatic music. Mukhaband is also a peculiarity of Indian music. The essentials are identical to both. Hindustani music is highly melodious, Sruti Sudha (Tonal purity) Bhavayuta (Full of feeling) and noted for its voice, culture and subtle melodic graces. It is spicy and full of sweetness like honey, as its chief

element is pleasure. Although Karnatic music is highly systematised it is more terse and rigid, on account of its swarasanchara or movement of notes, and layachitras (rhythmic wonders) which is dry and does not easily attract a lay man, at the very outset. It is alive to the subtleties of gamaka and microtones, swara and tala aspect and does not pay the least attention to pure melody or language. One needs time to get into form and appreciation as one keenly watches the display of pyro-technics. Hence there is wider scope for creative art and art-expression, which is more swayed by calculation, cold reasoning and caustic wit. Thus, while the Karnatic music is highly intellectual, the Hindustani music is more liberal and broader in outlook. Unlike the North, the South is Tapobhumi and therefore it is absolutely free from foreign aggression and could develop its arts in peace and plenty without any pollution.

Bifurcation.

All art is progressive and so is music. Indian music has undergone changes from time to time, according to the tastes of different ages the tempermental and psychological views of art-lovers. Indian music is one and the same till the time of Harpala Deva, an Andhra Ruler, and the Sangita Ratnakar of Sarangadeva remained as the common text book for the whole of India. But actual bifurcation came in the 15th cent. i.e. in the Post-Ratnakara Period. Hordes of Persians came into India in the time of (Emperor) Allauddin Khilji (1295-1316), amongst whom was Amir Khusro, a Persian scholar and versatile genius, who invented new melodies, talas and instruments. Thus came the fusion of the Hindu, Arabic and Persian melodic elements and new ragas came into form, like Zillaph, Sarparda, Gara, Hamir etc. After Khusro, Tansen, the court-musician of Emperor Akbar, brought a radical change in the system of music, by blending the Persian and Hindu elements and created new ragas like Miyaki Mallar, Miyaki Todi, Miyaki Saranga, etc. An immediate descendant of Tansen and court-musician of Mohd/Shah of Delhi, Sadarang, created the Khyal system and popularised it throughout the length and breadth of India, and the several musicians attached to the courts of Native Princes in India are now the torch-bearers of this tradition. The secret of the popularity of the khyal is its profuse usage of graces, flourishes, trills, tremors, tans and embellishments. Thus Hindustani music had been modified by the impact of Islamic culture. The theoretical development of Classical music is the work of the Hindus and the finest sadhaks or practitioners are the Musulmans. A death blow came to

Hindustani music in the time of Aurangzeb in the latter part of 17th cent, denouncing it, as nomadic and irreligious, as most of the songs were dedicated to Hindu Gods, Rama, Krishna of the Hindu Pantheon. and the rules of music lay hidden in Sanscrit, the religious language of Hindus. Hence, all the musicians had to flee to the courts of native rajas, for shelter. As they neglected the study of science, great corruption crept into the system of music which changed the fundamentals, as a result of which real Ragas like Dipak and Mallar which produced supernatural effects, have proved ignoble and futile. Although Karnatic music still claims its superiority as the very outcome of Marga or Divine music, and is related to the main stem of Sanscrit textual traditions, it too has undergone some change and it also suffered equally the fate of her sister art, Hindustani music, as the ragas Amritavarshini, Jyotiswarupini, do not produce the same results as those produced by a Muthuswami or Tyagaraya. The present standard of music is far deteriorated, as people developed a taste for the voluptuous and licentious strains of music. Now we find the base and vulgar film-geetas and other varieties of lower type, as music fell into the hands of harlots and professional dancers of lower strata of society. Indian music has partly lost its religious character and became a democratic art being left to the mercy of the illiterate folk and the unsophisticated middle class people. In spite of several vicissitudes, Indian music still remains in its purest and unalloyed form. Its purity and excellence are objects of great marvel to musical connoisseurs of a broad mind like Arnold Bake, Fox-stra gways, Maud McCarthy, Rev. Popley and others. The rich heritage of Indian music which Tansen, Gopal Naik, Naik Baiju, Tyagaraj and Purandar have bequethed to posterity will ever command the admiration of all as embodying the work of genius, unprecedented in the history of any nation.

Time-Theory and Ragamala Pictures.

The novel things which attract the attention of any Foreign musical Scholar and Researcher, are the Musical Pillars and Pipes of the South Indian temples at Suchindram, Madura, Tadpatri, Hampi etc. and the Ragamala Pictures exhibited in the Public Museums at Lalkilla, Delhi, Sir Salar Jung Bahdur's Museum, Hyderabad, the Palace Libraries at Bikaner and Baroda and Dharmapur, noted for their many valuable Art-collections. The one specific thing which differentiates Western music from the Eastern is, its Time Theory and Seasons. Raja Sourindra Mohan Tagore of 19th cent was the first Pioneer in Indian music, who wrote a book "The Ragas and Sea-

sons." O. C. Ganguly, an authority on Painting, who wrote Visualised Indian Music, and the late Maharaja Vijayadeo Mohandeoji of Dharmapur, a famous enlightened scholar and author of "Sangita Bhava" are India's greatest exponents. Now coming to the topic, *the Indian Time Theory*, Time and Season for singing particular ragas is of great importance to Hindu musicians. e. g. all varieties of Mallar Raga are sung during rainy season, *Vasant* during spring season, *Dipak* in summer. We have got Morning, Noon, Evening and Dusk Ragas. It is mentioned clearly in our sciences, that one who transgresses the rule receives the curse of the particular deity ruling over a particular Raga. There is a good deal of resemblance between the moods of nature and the moods of man. Great musicians like Tansen, Baiju not only executed Ragas but interpreted the appropriate also with equal grace.

Psycho-Therapy of Music.

It is also said that certain Ragas like Malkaus, Bhairavi, Sindhavi etc. have relation with the zodiacal signs and can cure ailments like rheumatism, paralysis, and sleeplessness. *The human body is made of 5 elements*, (1) Prithvi (earth) (2) Apah (water) (3) Tejah (agni or fire) (4) Vayu (air) and (5) Akasa (sky) and the diseases which arise out of (Pitta) Bile, Sleshma (Phlegm) and (Vata) Cold can be cured by singing appropriate ragas like Malkaus, Jayajavanti etc. It seems Nabob Kalbe Ali Khan of Rampur engaged a musician to sing Jayjavanti to get cure for paralysis. Pandit Omkar Nath Thakore of Benares Hindu University sang Raga Puria and cured a patient of sleeplessness and brought down rains in Guzerat by singing raga Megh Mallar. Mostly stringed instruments like the Rudra Vina or Gottu or Sihtar can produce the desired effect. The highest art is purely extemporaneous and every musician is a creative artist and an independent improviser and not merely an interpreter as in the West. The singer's voice is capable of the tremendous agility and is trained to achieve a purely "white tone". Voice is not important to him but quality. (Evolution of Music by Menon).

Luminaries like Tansen, Baiju, Tyagaraj, and Muthuswami are supposed to have lighted lamps, brought forth rains from the clouds and even melted stones by their mystic powers. (Musical theraps). It will not be improper if I quote an instance in this connection, that Mrs. Satyabala Devi of Calcutta who visited America in 1910, gave a demonstration of some Vedic chants and songs of Tansen, Gopal Naik and others to the accompaniment of Veena, in the Carnegie Hall and produced some mystic effects." She first chanted a verse from

Sama Veda which lulled to sleep a patient suffering from sleeplessness, headache, and nervous exhaustion as per dictum in our old Sastras that different melodies have curative effects on different diseases. She played Raga Dipak, the third eye of Lord Isiris (ESWAR) in the course of her lecture, which had the power to cure heart diseases and dyspepsia. When she played a composition of Ramadas in Raga Malla, instantaneously the temperature came down from 104° to 100° in 12". She received warm applause from the generous American audience, such as a Caruso or a Paderewski could receive. The President of the function, Dr. Wheeler, paid a very high compliment."

It is also stated that certain ragas like Malkaus, Jayjavanti, Bhairavi etc. have relation with the Zodiacal signs and can cure ailments, like rheumatism, heart-ache etc.

The Raga-Raginis of systematised sound vibration, were naturally arranged according to the number of seasons or vibrations, peculiar to seasons. The nature of the several ragas should be improved by the difference of temperature naturally incidental to the variations of seasons. Under the physical laws of consonance, air-vibration of appropriate music may sympathetically strengthen like vibration in the atmosphere. The atmospheric vibrations have their time and season. The Indian scientists have restricted the raga music to proper time and season. This then perhaps is the origin of the Time-theory, in Indian Philosophy of music. The message of Oriental music will be one of Inter-national contact, World-co-operation, and Universal harmony in the humanity's onward march to peace and progress.

Renaissance

Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore, the Founder of Santi Niketan and Poet of World Fame may be called the '*Pioneer of Modern Indian Music*' which is current in the Talkies of today. Tagore indeed has studied all types of music, the Eastern as well as the Western during his first trip to the Continent in 1878. He did not accept the old conception of music, which revolves round the execution of melodic pattern and melodic elaboration. To him, music was a synthesis of literary composition and melodic pattern. In his music, he blended the folk-melodies of Bengal the Baul-Bhatiali (Boat-songs and Pastorals) and composed songs to suit the tastes of the modern public which created great stir in orthodox circles. The Irish and Scotch Folk melodies made some impression on his mind, which he infused in his music. He gave importance to language and he reawakened the sense of unity between word and music. His conception of classical music is,

that the melody expresses the essence of the word and the ornamentation in alap or tan; and repetition of words will spoil the sense of the song. Thus, he became an ideologist with his followers like R. C. Boral, Timir-Barn, Tarapada Chakravarty, Anil Biswas, Pankaj Mallik, Sachin Dev Burman, etc. who brought a change in the Film-world. Music Directors like Nowshad, Gulam Haidar, have gone a step further to copy the very models of the foreign Zajj-Ramab music and Panjabi Dholak Geetas. As a result, the film music has become vulgar and hackneyed. The modern Talkie hits reflect the context and tempo of the present age. They are an expression and the urge and passion of the average man who passes through a process of mental disintegration and seek fresh avenues and expression and fulfilment. Their desire is to exploit sex for matters of cheap amusement. In it, we find most common Western airs. Probably this kind of music to suit the taste and commercial design of Film concerns is the poorest product of a long process of the cross-fertilisation of two cultures. First the halcyon days of Bengal's Baul, the Mahrata rustic lore, the strains of Panjab (Mahia and Pehdi), the Lucknavi pathetic Soz, and Marsia (mourning songs) gradually crept into the people's imagination. Now, you find repetition of several types of songs all over India.

Rendering of songs in the Pseudo- 'Hindustani or Western style by popular singers like Miss Lata Mangeshkar, Hemant Kumar, etc. or the vulgar cocophony of the buffoons vitiated the musical taste of young school-going people (gentry and ladies). The musical Directors are solely responsible for the baneful step, as many of them have not got sufficient knowledge to make use of the musical wealth of India in which several Ragas are embedded. The materialistic tendency of Western music has reflected on Indian music and reduced its quality to haphazard noise to fit in with the 'Hectic Sensationalism' of Modernism. In British rule, the vitality of our music is crippled for want of patronage. The practice of music fell into the hands of cheap courtezans and degraded society, lacking social status and culture, who cannot be expected to realise the potentialities of their inheritance. They have no power to reclaim it from its less reputed concomitants to call forth all its latent virtues and place it on the Throne of Honour.

So long as Indian music depends on foreign support and supply, there is no scope for it to improve and raise its head in the Commonwealth of Nations. This is exemplified in the Talk of Prof. Yehndi-Menulin, the great Violinistes of the West.

Comparison between the Eastern and Western Music

Western Music

The dominant factor in Indian music is "*melody*," while that in Western music is "*Harmony*." In the one case, notes are related to the definite notes of a raga (tonic solfa) and in the other, to the varifying chords. Indian melody is produced by a "*regulated succession of concordant notes*," while Western harmony arises from "*the agreeable concord of various related notes*." The qualities in music which lend it charm, melody and grace are like poetry, rhythm, tune, and melody which contribute to the aesthetic appeal of music. A martial strain may urge a soldier into the battle rather than into argument. A fine anthem may induce devotion more effectively than a logical discourse; similarly, community singing or chorus is a type of music which has an artistic and social purpose. In Europe, authority in music is respected scrupulously, whereas in India, there is no such thing, as different gharanas or schools follow different rules. The reason for this is that Hindu artists have neglected the rules laid down in the old Sastras. In Europe they have only one type of notation for all and either a vocalist or an instrumentalist follows the tune according to the chart. Hence orchestration is feasible with the amalgamation of several instruments of different pitches and tones. In India, although orchestration was in existence in Vedic times, with the combination of Veena, Venu (flute), Drum and Tambura, independent elaboration is allowed. One can independently improvise any raga for hours and hours together. The great difficulty in adapting several instruments is not possible, as Indian music is developed on the melodic scale, with gamakas (graces) like jaru, vali, etc. Western musicians use Kampita Gamaka (tremor) frequently, which is more applicable to pathos, melancholy, and separation. Westerners are the worshippers of nature and so they produce sounds of nature, like the cry of a skylark or the humming of bees or the fall of a Niagara cataract. We in India produce ragas and improvise them in adoration of a Deity, Siva or Vishnu. We concentrate always on the specific form of the Devata (Deity) which rules a particular element, to have a desired effect. All these ragas are pictorised in Rajastani paintings.

Exchange Between the Eastern and the Western Countries

When South India carried on extensive trade with Babylon, Egypt and Assyria, musical instruments like Yazh (lion-faced Lyre) were discovered from the tombs of the ancient Egyptian kings in Thebes. The Egyptian instrument which resembled the Yazh had seven strings

and one such Egyptian Yazh was found in the Paris Museum. Probably it lay buried for 3 thousand years in Thebes. In it is found the ornamental work of the South Indian Veena. On the walls of the sepulchre of the Egyptian kings there were paintings of men and women playing the Yazh. In addition to Yazh, there were paintings of other musical instruments bearing resemblance to the Southern instruments. Even Assyrians and Grecians were influenced by South Indian music, through Egypt. The harp is based on the principles of construction of a yazh. The Greek Strabo found affinity between the Indian and Western systems of music. Another point to support that Indian music entered the foreign countries is that Emperor Behram Ghor (417 A. D.) requested King Shankol of India to send 10 thousand musicians to his court. Alexander (325 B. C.) took with him some Indian artists. Thus Indian music reached foreign countries and again came back with a different colour. Research scholars like Fox, Strangways, Arnold Bake, William Jones and others visited India to study the principles of Indian music. They were fully convinced with the greatness and elaboration of Indian music.

19, *Mr. E. Clements tried to prove that the Harmonium is equally efficient* as Sarangi or Violin to accompany Indian music. But it failed to produce the gamakas and hence condemned at the A. I. M. Conf. Baroda (1916). The Majority of the scholars have arrived at the conclusion that only stringed instruments like Veena and Sitar can produce gamakas. John Foulds Ex. Station Director, All India Radio, Bombay denounced the Harmonium thus: "It is a strangling vocalisation, fettering rhythm, fouling both tala and raga, ousting the subtle and lovely Indian instruments, the Lordly Veena, charming Sitar, lovely Sarangi (Indian Violin) the naive bamboo Flute, debauching the sensitivity of the ear, checking and stifling improvisation and is in every way doing incalculable harm". The absence of Harmonium in the West, in classical music, grand opera, chamber music and the Cine-theatre, proves that Europeans do not recognise it as a musical instrument at all. "It takes off all elasticity, all spontaneity, all flexibility and naturalness out of the vocalisation. It is fouling both raga and tala, the corner-stone on which the edifice of Indian music rests, as it is quite incapable of registering the smallest degree of the splendid subtlety, variety and artistry of the skilful drummers. It drags along in the wake of tala. The harmonium, being tuned to the European tempered scale, never really coincides with the notes of the raga sung in natural tuning, hence the fouling of raga by the harmonium." The harmonium as the medium of accompaniment of music increases the difficulties of singing the Indian ragas with correct intonation, since the singer has constantly to adjust his natural sense of pitch to these false values and thus he loses sweetness of tone and accuracy of

pitch. Such an instrument is imported in to India in the latter part of the 18th century and was introduced in (Persian) Theatres in Calcutta and Bombay. Though it is instrumental in spreading music all over India, on account of its cheapness and feasibility, it has done a lot of havoc by leading astray many juvenile youths from learning and practising music. But the advantage it has over the stringed instruments is that it can cover the defects of the vocalist which no other instrument can do. In spite of its defects, we have got best experts, like Ganpat Bhayya of Gwalior, Gulam Rasool of Baroda, Govindarao Sadashiv Tembe and Vithalrao of Maharashtra, who mastered the harmonium and who produced delicate strains of the Veena on it. Now coming to the scales, (1) the Greek Scale, Doric Mode is dignified and manly. (2) The Lydian Mode is voluptuous, licentious and orgiastic. The glories of the period of Bharata were codified in the monumental 10th century. The Persians developed a singular complete melodic scale. The Sivamata of old seems to have some affinity with the old Egyptian music invented by Osiris (Eswar) resembling that of Pavana or Hanuman (Air God.) There are documents which suggest affinity between the inhabitants of the Nile, the Tigris and the Euphrates. It is through the known migration of the Aryan races to Persia (Westwards,) and particularly into Greece that their connection with the European music is genealogically established. Under the name of Pelasgians, these races settled in Asia Minor and Greece 2 thousand years before the Christian Era. Greeks who were the successors of the Orientals received from the Orientals of Asia Minor, some of their modes which were shortly afterwards to reappear with their ethical designation in Occidental music. Thus, it appears, in history, music established in the world, intellectual contact which includes Scientific relation between East and West.

In fact, the similarity between the music of Egypt and Greece and our own country has been traced out by Capt. Willard in the Treatise "Music of India." The Vibrating concept of sound originated from India. Plato, Aristotle and Theophrastus perceived the real nature of sound from the data given by the scientific intelligentsia of India. India had also chromatic scale. The Epic Ramayana mentions 7 jatis and perhaps they have begun on each of the 7 notes of the gamut (Grama). This might have suggested the 7 Diatonic scales of Western music. Pandalika Vittal used 12 frets for his Veena and Govinda Dikshitar, author of Sangraha Chudamani made use of semitones in describing his ragas. The use of 12 frets or semi-tones was introduced in Western Music in the middle of 16th century known as the "tempered" scale. The conception of simultaneous harmony also went out from the East to Europe just like the night melodies, the West having Nocturnes, Serenades and others. (Dr. Bani Chaarjee)

The British Administration and its effects on the Indian Law and Society.

BY

Dr. U. C. Sarkar, M. A., M. L., L. L. D.,
Kavyatirtha, Vidyāranjan,
Reader in Law, East Pnnjab University.

The Dharmasūtras, the Dharmasāstras and the Arthasāstra of Kaṭīya along with the Commentaries and the Nibandhas reveal a state of the Indian society in which the Hindu law was highly developed both in its civil and criminal side including their substantive as well as adjective aspects. But this highly elaborate and perfectly developed system of ancient law was almost entirely eclipsed¹ by the Muslim legal system when the Muslim rulers succeeded in establishing and consolidating an empire in India. Though Hindu law did not die out during the Muslim rule in India, it almost ceased to have the official prominence and recognition. But when the Britishers came to settle in and dominate over India, they found, for obvious reasons, that the Muslim system of law was not at all adequate for the purpose. The then Muslim system in general with its peculiar and archaic conception of criminal law² in particular and the most artificial and useless law of evidence,³ gave rise to a very unhappy and chaotic state of things which required immediate improvement. Things became more favourable⁴ after the passing of the Charter Act of 1833 which

1. Even at the present time, it is clearly seen that all legal terms other than English are of Perso-Arabic origin. No Sanskrit term has ever survived except in certain Sanskrit judgements themselves.
2. The first systematic attempt to modify the Muslim criminal law was made by Lord Cornwallis in 1790. Thus intent was made the criterion of the offence of murder instead of the nature of the instrument. The occasional modifications continued till the passing of the Indian Penal Code in 1860.
3. The rule of Muslim law to determine the competence of witnesses on the ground of religion was abolished by Lord Cornwallis in 1792. (Vide Resolution of the Governor General in Council dated April 27, 1792).
4. The influence of Bentham also was felt greatly in making all-out efforts for codifying the various branches of the Indian law. The moment was opportune and the idea was welcomed even by the Indians themselves.

made provisions for the creation of an All India legislature and appointment of a Law Member as well as a Law commission.

A third system⁶ of law was yet to be introduced into India after the advent of the Britishers and the introduction of the British system of administering justice in India. The British system more or less equally affected the existing laws of the country, namely, the Hindu law and the Muslim law.

The bias or prejudice that was to be seen explicitly or implicitly in the distinctions⁷ of Hindu law and Muslim law during the Muslim period was, for obvious reasons, not to be noticed in the British period.

5. Hence, Warren Hastings began with the reservation of Hindu law for the Hindus and Muslim law for the Muslims in certain topics at least; still in no time, it was discovered that the then prevailing system was under the imperative necessity of modification. The result was that measures were being taken from time to time to pass certain general laws to bind both the Hindus and the Muslims only having some topics of personal laws to be regulated by their own respective systems and that again subject to some modifications.
6. Nobody could dream that a simple trading concern which was incorporated in England on the last day of December, 1600 A. D. would one day be responsible for including India in the British Empire as its "brightest jewel". The political growth and prosperity of the East India company could not be possible in a day or a year. The company established its first factory at Surat in 1612 and in 1615 Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador of King James I of England, succeeded in securing certain privileges for the English people from the Mughal Emperor Jahangir. Thereafter, the powers of the Company began to grow from more to more to be ultimately divested of the administration and governance of its territorial units in 1858 when, mainly in consequence of the Sepoy Mutiny, the crown of England took the responsibility of governing India. During this long period covering almost two hundred and fifty years, the Directors of the company frequently adopted different measures for legislation and administration of justice in both civil and criminal cases not only among the English peoples themselves but also among parties involving both the English or the Indian or even the Indians alone.
7. During the British period, Hindu law and Muslim law were affected almost in an individual way so far as their subsequent development was concerned. As a matter of fact, it was one of the general principles of the Britishers that in certain specific topics, Hindu law was to govern the Hindus and Muslim law was to govern the Muslims; including these topics specified, the residue was affected uniformly in order to do away with the distinctions of the two systems of law. The Britishers, undoubtedly, succeeded in greatly

Thus, the advent of the British opened a new chapter for the Indian society and legislation. The original inhabitants of the country (Hindus) could not heartily welcome the Muslims as they could do to some extent in the case of the British. From the very outset, there was a sort of antagonism and conflict between the Hindu and the Muslim culture and social conventions, but most of the Western ideas were welcome and imitated sometimes too blindly. Hence, if the Muslim rule was responsible for suppressing the progress of the original Indian society in its natural and orthodox channel, the British rule was

narrowing down the scope of the differences between the two systems of law.

8. The East India company added to the complexities that were already existent in the Indian society. There were already two principal and distinct communities with two distinct systems of law more or less based on their respective religion. With the incorporation of the East India company, many English people came to India. They had their own religion and law and naturally they could not be very readily agreeable to submit to the Indian laws and tribunals. Hence the first thing that was sought to be done by Sir Thomas Roe from the Mughal Emperor Jahangir was to secure for the English people the application of their own laws inter se though it was agreed upon at the same time that the disputes between the English and the Indians would have to be adjudicated by the then prevailing Indian courts following Indian laws. Again originally, the English law was to be applied by the Governors and their councils or their employees only in disputes concerning the servants or the workers of the company. But in course of time, English law was being applied even to the Indians also in general, irrespective of the question of residence and employment. This aspect of administration of law gave, in course of time, an inexhaustible scope for introducing the principles of English law superseding those of the Indian laws. There was also difference in the constitution and authority of the different courts. Above all there were constant conflicts between the executive and the judicial organs of the company.

9. On account of the slow and gradual method of introducing British principles of legislation and administration of law in India, it is not possible to point to any particular year or Regulation for ascribing the British influence. Theoretically, the Mughal rule in India lasted upto the year 1858 when the last Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah II was sent to Rangoon in exile on allegation of his having participated in the Sepoy Mutiny. But by this time, the Britishers had already introduced many legislative and administrative measures. Things developed differently in the different provinces. But direct and material intervention began from the year 1772, shortly after the assumption of Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

responsible for expanding and liberalising the society in its various directions. Whether these changes were absolutely good or bad for the Indian society is another question and cannot be fully answered by jurisprudence alone. As it has already been noticed, there was hardly any social legislation during the Muslim rule; as a matter of fact there was no well-defined and systematic legislation or legislative organ at all. Everything at that time was virtually entrusted to and done by the society. This fact gave a very peculiar conservatism and narrowness which reacted very quickly and readily during the British legislation and administration. The Britishers also had some genuine motives for social welfare or at least social reforms in India, of course, in the narrow implication of the term society. The British administrators, undoubtedly, effected many improvements in the sphere of education in general and female and Western education in particular, establishment of Hospitals and social reforms specially with the help of some Indian leaders. Even in these affairs, the Hindus were more responsive. Whatever might be said otherwise against the British administration in India, it must be admitted by all means that they did render some real service to the country by introducing Western education and affecting certain social reforms. There were indeed certain social customs and practices which perhaps could not strike the people of the country as they were accustomed to them more or less traditionally, but they attracted the notice of the foreign administrators who were at once struck by these appalling and irrational practices. Reference may be made to the legislations that were effected in connection with "Sati", Infanticide, Slavery and so on. Though there was a vehement criticism against them also, still there is no doubt that the foreign administrators were really inspired by humanitarian spirit and social service though political consideration also was there at the same time.

In order to get rid of the chaos and the lack of system which were the legacies of the Muslim administration, the Britishers had necessarily to take some legislative measures which were really very helpful, specially in view of the peculiar shape that was assumed by the Indian society on account of its contacts with successive alien people and their cultures and customs. Reference may be made to certain very important statutes¹⁰ which alone succeeded in making the society amenable to the changing conditions. It must be said to the credit of the Britishers that though they were not very just and considerate regarding the recognition of the political rights of the people, still they really intended to help the social growth of the people by effecting

various changes through legislation. These social legislations, resulting in social improvements, social consciousness and social awakening ultimately took a formidable shape, so much so that the political rights also could be wrenched from the alien rulers though they were for obvious causes only for progressive realisation of constitutional rights and gradual recognition of political privileges. Some social reforms were effectively made and certain amount of interference with the personal systems of law was successfully and wisely commenced. The policy of the British rulers was very significant in matters of modifications of the personal laws of the Hindus and the Muslims. They began with the policy of non-interference and generally allowed the then existing systems of law to prevail; but gradually they began to assert themselves being, of course, backed by a strong section of public opinion. In some of the cases, the British legislation, specially on Hindu law resulted in unmixed blessings for the society though even in these cases as well, there was a vehement opposition from the orthodox section of the Indian society. Thus, the "Sati" rites and the sacrifice of children into the Ganges are not mis-understood by the present generations of the people.

Though, as a matter of fact, the British rule was introduced in India by the assumption of 'Diwani' by the East India Company in 1765, the actual influence of the British legislation and judicial administration could not take place so prominently before the middle of the 19th century. Constitution of the legislatures and the establishment of the High courts with their subordination to the Privy council served as an impetus for the development of the Indian law and the society. The legislature began to introduce new laws modifying old ones and the courts of justice also began to pronounce judgments which were not always in keeping with the orthodox native systems of law. Thus, though major changes were wrought in the Indian law and

10. The Caste Disabilities Removal Act of 1850; The 'Native Converts' Marriage Dissolution Act of 1866; The Hindu widows Remarriage Act of 1856; Act III of 1872; Act XXX of 1923 and the Arya Marriage Validation Act XIX of 1937; Act III of 1870 (Hindu wills Act). Act V of 1881; The Indian succession Act; The Indian Majority Act (of 1875); The Guardians and wards Act of 1890; The Hindu inheritance (Removal of Disabilities) Act of 1928; The Hindu 'Law of Inheritance (Amendment) Act of 1928; The Hindu women's Right to property Act; The Child Marriage Restraint Act; Hindu Gains of Learning Act (XXX) of 1930; Hindu 'Married women's Right to separate Residence and Maintenance Act, Hindu Marriage Disabilities Removal Act of 1946 etc; The 'Wakf' validating Act of 1913,

society at a rather late stage during the British administration in India, still many important changes and modifications were effected even shortly after the assumption of Diwani by the East India company.

The first rule of substantive law according to Field¹¹ for the courts in the Mofussil was to be found¹² in section 23 of the Judicial Regulation¹³ of the 21st August 1772. In the Regulation of the 5th July, 1781, drawn by Eliza Impey, the rules for the Hindus and the Muslims were retained but there was an additional provision that in all cases for which no specific directions were given, the judges should act according to "justice, equity and good conscience"¹⁴. Though the British

11. Vide Introduction to the Regulations of Bengal Code, p. 211.
12. The Section provides that "in all suits regarding inheritance, marriage, caste and other religious usages and institutions, the laws of the Koran with respect to the Mahomedans and those of Shastar to the Gentoos shall be invariably adhered to."
13. For other Regulations vide Judicial Regulation of 11th April, 1780; Regulation VIII of 1875; Regulation of the 5th August, 1772; The Regulation of the 21st August, 1772; Regulation XVII of 1817; see also William Markley Hindu and Mahomedan Law, p. p. 7, 8; Kave, Administration of East India company, p. 83; The Reply of Warren Hastings to an enquiry made by John Butler, Minute on the administration of Justice in British India (No. 89 of selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department, (1872); The Seventh Report of the committee of secrecy Governor Verelst's Instructions to his supervisors in 1770.
14. Immense has been the effect of this juridical expression in the development of Indian law including both the Hindu and the Muslim systems. The essential ideas of justice, equity and good conscience were always working in the ancient Indian jurists even from the very earliest times; but this compendious expression acquired a peculiar and rather arbitrary meaning at the hands of the British administrators who understood by it, the principles of English law, as far as they were applicable to Indian circumstances. This was undoubtedly an arbitrary and artificial connotation attributed to the above legal expression resulting mainly from political domination of England over India. It is for the Indian judiciary to decide now, after attainment of political independence, as to how far this interpretation can still be retained. The true import of justice, equity and good conscience should have been strictly devised from the comparison of international law, morality and the Laws of Nature. It was necessarily too narrow a conception to have looked to only one system of law, viz, the English law for formulating a body of principles based on equity and justice unlike the Roman praetors who took recourse to the Jus Gentium for a similar purpose.

administrators were trying to narrow down the scope of differences between the different personal systems¹⁵ of law in the country, the Shariat Act of 1937 in a sense gave rise to certain reactionary consequences¹⁶. Most of the deviations and innovations were absolutely rational. As a matter of fact some of them also proved very useful expedients. Who can deny at this stage that Wills are not serving one of the most important purposes in Hindu Law regarding the free disposition of property though the original Sanskrit texts are silent about them? The gains of learning also to which the acquirer has been un-equivocally declared entitled will go to encourage both learning and earning. The difference of opinion and the resultant confusion have been done away with by relevant legislation. The Pinga theory, as supposed to have been advocated by Jimgtavahana has been found helpful in including some cognatic heirs in preference to some remote agnates. Thus, without multiplying instances, it can be generally asserted that the modifications effected during the British period through legislation and adjudication on the original Indian laws were largely in consonance with the spirit of the society resulting from the contamination of the Western and the Eastern civilisations; orthodox adherence to the pure ancient law, divorced from the ancient social

The expression "justice, equity and good conscience" served as a principle of substantive law even from a very early period of the British rule in India. (Vide Dada Vs. Babaji, (1865), 2 B. H. C. 36, 38; Waghala Raj Sanji Vs. Sheik Mashuddin (1887), 11 Bom. 551, 561; Pollock and Mulla's Indian Contract Act, 4th Ed., P. 6; Field's Introduction to the Regulations of Bengal, p. 174; 6 M. I. A. 53; Gazette of India, Supplement, May 4, 1872, p. 529, 9 M. I. A. 303, 5 Beng. Sad. Reports 176, 2 Beng. Sad. Report 227; Indian Decisions (old Series) VIII, 469; 6 M. I. A. 448; I. S. C. R. Beng. 894; 9 M. I. A. 240.

15. Warren Hastings began with the general proposition that the Hindus should be governed by the laws of their Sastras and the Muslims should be governed by the laws of their Koran. The policy thus enunciated towards the very early years of British contact was on the whole scrupulously adhered to throughout the whole administration. And further more, for an effective and sincere realisation of this scheme, Hindu and Muslim Law officers were appointed to help the foreign judges by correctly interpreting their own laws. The posts of these Law officers were abolished only when it was perceived that the foreign judges were on a firmer ground to administer the law independently of these Law officers. (Vid. Act XI of 1864)
16. From the 7th October, 1937. Section 2 of the Act XXVI of 1937 in cases where the parties are Muslims applies the Muslim personal law to a number

surroundings and atmosphere would clearly be an anachronism at this day. Thus the law as administered during the British rule reflects in a very large degree the peculiar character of the society of the time. As a matter of fact, to an impartial observer, the spirit of the Hindu Code Bill and its fragments has been virtually for the accentuation and acceleration of the tendencies that have been manifest in the modifications effected during the British administration.

of important matters. The Act operates throughout India and Pakistan excluding N. W. F. P. which has a more far reaching Act of its own. The section is as follows: "Notwithstanding any custom or usage to the contrary, in all questions (Save questions relating to agricultural land) regarding intestate succession, special property of females, including personal properties inherited or obtained under contract or gift or any other provision of personal law, marriage, dissolution of marriage including talak, ila, Zihar, Lian, Khula, and Mubaiat, maintenance, guardian ship, gifts, trusts and trust property and wakfs (other than) Charities and charitable institutions and charitable and religious endowments) the rule of decisions in cases where the parties are Muslims shall be the Muslim personal Law (Shariat). Most customs have been abolished by the Shariat Act. The effect of the Shariat Act is to abolish (except as to agricultural land and other matters to which the Act does not apply) the customary law of succession of Khojas and Cutchi Memons and to make them subject to the Mahomedan Law.

Character and Scope of Social legislation in ancient and medieval India.

BY

Dr. U. C. Sarkar, M. A., M. L., L. L. D.,

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Kavyatirtha, Vidyāranjan,

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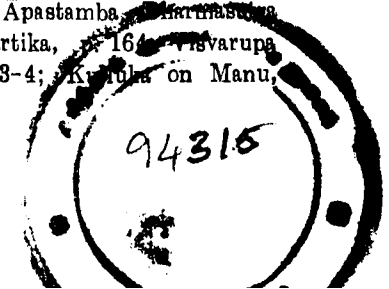
Reader in Law, East Panjab University, Jallandar.

In ancient India, originally, society was the organisational unit rather than the state. There was, no doubt, the King; but he was, in a sense, subordinate to the Brahmin who was supposed to be the head of the society. Many kings were subjected to curses and banishments by Brahmins. In course of time, of course, the king came to assert his own position, with the result that the Brahmin was, later on, confined only to the religious and sacerdotal duties whereas the king emerged out as the head of the state or the political society. Again, originally, legislation in India was by the society. The society legislated through sages and philosophers. It is not absolutely correct to say that the ancient Indian Law was of divine origin.¹ It was only a theory, which like other theories of the earlier periods attributed everything to God or religion.² The ancient law also was made by human agents like the sages and the philosophers – in the same way as law is made today by human legislators. The society was already there however crude its form might have been. It is an historical

1. "The ultimate traditional sources of all law and necessarily the oldest historical material are the Vedas.... They are mainly collections of hymns addressed to different Gods—the compilation of which is ascribed by tradition to Veda-Vyāsa.... The texts clearly indicate their origin long before their compilation and had already acquired at the date of their compilation magic virtue" Dr. N. C. Sengupta, Tagore Law Lectures, P. V.

2. Sruti, Smṛiti and Ācāra are supposed to be the three important sources. According to the theory of the ancient writers, the Smṛitis were based on the parts of the S'rutis and the practices of the S'iṣṭas must be inferred to have been in conformity with the Sruti. For customs and their relations to Pūrva Mēmānsā, see Kane's Hindu Customs and Modern Law, p.p. 1st seq.

Also vide Gautama I, 2; Āpastamba 1, 1, 1, 1-3; Vasiṣṭha, 1, 4-7; Manu, II, 6; Yājñavalkya, 1, 7; Haradatta on Āpastamba, 1, 1, 1, 1; Jaimini 1, 3, 1-2; Kumārila, Tantravartika, 1, 16; Visvarupa on Yajnavalkya, 1, 7; Sabara on Jaimini, 1, 3-4; Kṛtva on Manu, III, 7; Medhatithi on Manu, II, 6.



assertion that the ancient Indian society was mainly based on Varna and Āsrama. The sages, no doubt, legislated with a view to regulating and benefitting the society. They never legislated for an imaginary or non-existing society. The cap was for the head and not vice-versa. When the conditions of the society gradually crystallised, the sage-legislators formulated certain rules and regulations which later on became stereotyped and took the form of law more or less permanent and unchangeable or at least not so easily changeable. Law is generally conservative and it leans heavily against precedents. Once the laws are framed and established, it takes a long time to change or replace them. The processes of making law and also of repealing it are equally elaborate and more or less dependent on the element of time and the teleological efforts on the part of the society.

From the rudiments of the society, as they existed, the ancient sages formulated and elaborated certain general principles which eventually came to take the place of positive law in the modern conception of the term. Thus we find that the sages gave us the different Sūtra-literatures which contain the earliest elaborate rules of the society from the stand points of religion, domestic duties and the mutual relation between the different members of the society. Hence we have got the S'ranta-Sūtras, the Grihya sūtras and the Dharmasūtras. All of them were conceived on the basis of Varna and Āsrama. Hence, it can be said that the entire norm or ideology of the society was to conform to the fundamental doctrines thus conceived and elaborated by the sages. The speculations of the sages again, were also greatly and reciprocally inspired by and based upon the conditions of the society as they actually prevailed at that time. The laws that were thus given by the Sūtra-writers to the people, specially in the Dharma sūtras are even today more or less binding on them. Though there were many amendments and adaptations, the laws in the Smritis are more or less based on the Dharma-sūtras, and the laws of the present society (specially the Hindu Society) again are largely what we find in the Smritis subject of course, to certain modifications as they were or had to be effected by the Muslim and the British administrators of the later epochs. The nature of ancient Indian law, its

3. The Dharmasūtras are not the exclusive treatises on civil or positive law. These are treatises giving the rules of guidance for the different stages of life and the rights and duties of persons of different castes. In course of these discussions, something has been spoken on law in the modern justice sense of the term in as much as they were necessary for the regulation of the society as a whole.

sources,⁴ and the methods⁵ of study were all quite significant. Law was never made by the king; nor was it the command of the sovereign. As a matter of fact, the king also was equally subject⁶ to the "rule of law", as the subjects themselves. Nor is it correct to say, as it has already been described, that the ancient Indian law was of divine origin. A sort of sanctity was attempted to be given to ancient Indian law by characterising it as of divine origin. No law could be given by God. It is also misleading to say that ancient Indian law was divinely inspired. We are not so much concerned with the inspirations as with the actual speculations and deliberations, as they are found to have been embodied in the scriptural literature of ancient India. Apart from certain religious and supernatural elements, the speculations of the ancient Indian jurists also can be most profitably and favourably compared with the speculations of the modern jurists of the East and the West.

As it has already been seen, Varna and Āsrama were the two main props on which the ancient Indian society was supposed to have been based. It was for this reason that all juristic speculations were concentrated on and saturated with these two fundamental conceptions.

4. The different sources of positive law must be sought in the different aspects of Vyavahāra which have been enumerated as, Dharma, Vyavahāra, Charitra and Nripājñā. (Vid. Hārta, as quoted in the Smṛiti Candrikā; Nārada, Introduction, 10: For the definition of Vyavahara also see Hārta.
5. The principal thoughts of all the representative Western Schools were already reflected in the writings of the ancient Indian sages who quite consciously and competently conceived and applied the synthetic or the unified method of studying jurisprudence which took different shapes in the Western speculation only in the beginning of the present century. None of the methods can be sufficient by itself. A synthesis of all the methods is a *cause sine qua* for the proper approach to the study of jurisprudence. In order to be able to produce perfect juristic concepts and institutions, a synthetic jurist must take into account the past with the Historical school and must have an eye to the future with the philosophical school for a proper understanding and appreciation of the present with the Analytical School.
6. Danda was to be exercised by the king, but he was equally subject to punishment in case of transgression. The King and the Brahmins were to be punished more heavily than other ordinary offenders on account of their more exalted political and social position. Vide. Viṣṇu III, 70; Kautilya, I, 29, Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity (N. N. Law), p. 135.

The caste-system⁷ might be regarded as a social or group-institution whereas the Āsrama was meant for the regulation of the life of an individual.⁸ The sages were never unduly⁹ conservative or orthodox as they were generally believed to have been. They could and in fact they did perceive that with the changes in the society the law also had to be changed.¹⁰ The sages not only made laws, they also had to amend and repeal laws according to the exigencies of the situations. It is for this reason that we find references to "Kali-varjya"¹¹ "Āpaddharma"¹² and "Lokavidīṣṭa".¹³ The laws that were made by the sages were very comprehensive and rational. The sages made provisions for all regulations beginning with the daily routine of an individual and ending with the religious and secular duties of all members of the society. The different stages or Āśramas of life have been given in so elaborate and detailed a fashion that no aspect of human life was left undiscussed or unprovided for. Undoubtedly, the stage of the house-holder was rightly regarded as the most important of all the stages. The last two stages, again were the peculiar conception of the Indian philosophy on life. The richness of the Upanishads and all other philosophical speculations could be attributed to these stages of the span of human life. Of course, castism is now condemned; but it can by no means be denied that whatever is best in the Indian culture and philosophy are due to the Brahmins who on account of the caste system, having the advantage of a sort of "division of labour" could exclusively devote

7: 8. As between Varna and Āsrama, the former played by far the greater role than the latter. The reasons were not far to seek. Āsrama concerned the attainment and development of an individual in his private life. Thus whether a man would study the Vedas or enter into married life were questions which concerned the individual rather than the society or the State. A much greater responsibility was, however, enjoined on the King to observe the rights and liabilities of persons belonging to different castes. To compare one thing with another, an analogy might be drawn on this point of Āsrama and Varna on one hand and civil and criminal law on the other.

9. Parāśara (I, 24) specifies the different Smritis for the different Ages.

10. See the Author's Introduction to Social Legislation in India, Section 4.

11. 12. 13. All of them indicate the different circumstances and conditions when laws have to be amended or repealed. The "Kali Varjya" enumerates certain practices which have to be given up in the Kali age. This is a repealing provision. 'Āpaddharma' again enumerates certain exceptions when the usual regulations can be relaxed. Lastly "Lokavidīṣṭa" indicates certain practices which have to be abandoned on account of the dislike of the society for them.

their attention which alone could have crowned their efforts with success. The Brahmins and the Sages also were not blind to the defects of the caste system. Most of the ancient writers clearly mention that a Brahmin is not a real Brahmin simply because he happens to be born in a Brahmin's family. To be a real Brahmin, he must have the necessary virtues also. A Brahmin without the qualifications can not be called a real Brahmin as an elephant made of wood cannot be called a real elephant.¹⁴ The strongest defence of caste system thus came from the Gita—"Caturvarṇam mayā sṛṣṭam Guṇakarmavibhāga-tah." Hence, whatever might be the defects of the ancient Indian Law or the society if there were any—there cannot be any doubt that they had certain unique contributions. The Student life or Brahmacharya, for instance was a conspicuous achievement. Now-a-days, the discipline of the students has become a problem not only to the educational institutions but also to the States. But what a wonderful discipline it must have been when the students in ancient India had to submit to the "Gurukulam"—irrespective of their social position and wealth. Studentship at that time was regarded as a part of the status and it was never based on the system of contract as it is today.¹⁵ Again the ordeals, as referred to in ancient Indian law, were regarded as its defects. But if the different conditions and restrictions are minutely scrutinised, it will be readily seen that even in applying these ordeals, if at all, the modern conceptions of the presumption of innocence of the accused were really working.¹⁶

References may be made to the other merits of the ancient system of Indian law as compared with the other ancient¹⁷ systems of

14. According to one of the verses quoted by Baudhāyana, an unlearned Brahmin has nothing in him except the name like an elephant made of wood or an antelope made of leather. The same analogy was quoted by Vasiṣṭha also.

15. This is one of the most apt illustrations of the theory that the progress of the human society has been from status to contract as advocated by Sir Henry Maine.

16. In the first place ordeals were to be resorted to only in absence of human evidence: 'In litigation documents should be sought first; in absence of documents human witnesses; in absence of witnesses; recourse may be taken to ordeal; this is the injunction of the wise men'. In the second place, ordeals could be applicable when both the parties were agreeable and when the plaintiff or the complainant declared himself ready to take punishments himself in case of defeat. In the third place, it was practically a religious appeal and hence could not be applicable to the unbelievers, irreligious persons. Vratyas and hardened criminals. (Nārada. 1, 332, 338).

law like the Roman law,¹⁸ Babylonian law,¹⁹ Egypt law,²⁰ Hebrew law²¹ and so on.²²

The original conception of social welfare which pervaded the entire ancient Indian administration, directly and indirectly inspiring and prompting social legislation came to be arrested with the advent of the Muslim rulers¹ – and the consolidation of their power in India.

17. The Dharma sūtrās were the earliest types of Indian literature embodying the details of the legal systems of ancient India. From a perusal of the different legal topics and the modes in which they were treated in them it can be clearly asserted that the Indian jurists even of the earliest epoch developed a highly rich legal system to be comparable favourably with any other known system of ancient law.
18. According to the provisions of the XII Tables of Rome, there were retaliation, slavery, extreme form of Patria potestas (even to kill sons) and the most cruel law of debt according to which a debtor could be killed and his flesh distributed among the different creditors even without any regard for the principle of pro-rata distribution (XII Tables, III, 6).
19. The Code of Hammurabi, as translated by W. W. Davies, illustrates that capital punishment could be inflicted even for offences like trifling theft. There were slavery and sorcery in ancient Babylonia; extreme form of Lex Talionis prevailed there. Thus "If a Builder builds a house for any one and does not build it solid and the house falls down and kills the owner, he shall put the builder to death." (Section 229). "If it kills the son of the owner of the house, one shall put the son of the builder to death" (Section 230). For other illustrations, see sections 209, 210, 116.
"Ancient Accadian laws" translated by A. H. Sayce gives us the laws of the Accadians who were one of the earliest tribes of Babylonia.
20. The Edict of Hammurabi translated by J. H. Breasted provides only for punishment of public officers including judges (Vid. XII, 16).
21. The Hebrew Law also inflicted death penalty but not on the innocent child of the perpetrator but direct on the guilty person. (Dent 24, 16).
22. The Laws of Grotyn. discovered in Crete and translated by H. J. P. Roby provide for rules mainly for slavery; of course there were references to partition, adoption, and suretyship.
1. The Sultans of Delhi had very little time and opportunity for legislation or administration of justice or their organisation. They chose, therefore, to have the Hindu personal law alone undisturbed and uninterrupted. They introduced and maintained Islamic law in general administration of justice. This Islamic law was taken from Egypt or Turkey on the Abbasid model. Generally speaking, the Mughal emperors also followed the Sultāns in many respects. As a matter of fact, there was hardly any systematic machinery either for making law or for administering justice. Sometimes, royal Firman

The norm of the ancient society based on Varna and Āsrama and its corresponding regulations were all conceived and enunciated by the sages. But the alien rulers with foreign culture and different social conceptions never cared for social welfare; they were busy over their own power, position and luxury. Though social welfare was originally found in the ancient society, the Muslim rulers were more for aggrandisement and exploitation than for any real well-being of the society. The reasons were primarily political. Having lost their political independence, the people were deprived of social progress, social justice and initiation also. The Muslim and the British contacts gave marked impressions on the Indian society² which could no longer easily grow in its natural course following its own genius.

The advent of the Muslims and the consolidation of their rule in India were considerably responsible for the arrest of legislations³ in general and social legislation³ in particular. There was hardly any legislation by the Muslim rulers. Specially, the Hindus had to depend on their own caste courts, councils⁴ and Panchayats.⁵ The Muslim

were issued to the provincial Governors. Sher Shah, undoubtedly made some valuable contribution in the matter of administration in general and administration of justice in particular. But after his death, the system did not survive long. Similarly during the rules of Babar and Humayun also, there was hardly any attention bestowed upon the administration of justice except some summary trials without any reference to any regular code or procedure (Vide. Humayun nama by Gulbadan Begum and also Mughal Administration by Sir J. N. Sarkar, pp. 6, 8-9, 11-12).

2. In order to understand the true and peculiar nature of the present Indian society, we have to remember that it had come in contact with the Muslims and the Britishers. Though in a sense the Indian society was relatively static during the Muslim period it was dynamic during the British period. Whether the changes brought about by the Britishers through legislation and adjudication were exclusively good, bad or mixed for the society is a question which cannot be fully answered by jurisprudence alone. The correct answer will depend upon the approach to the question from the stand points of religious, social and cultural sentiments.
3. I could never hear of laws written among them. The king and his substitute's will is law. The Governors in the cities and provinces proceeded, in the like form." Terry. Early Travellers in India by Foster, p. 236; Sir Thomas Roe also corroborates Terry. Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe. p. 120.
4. No social legislation in the wide sense of the term is strictly speaking possible unless there is a well-organised and clearly conditioned society. The people of the country were divided into two major communities.

rulers had neither the intention nor the opportunity to attend to social legislation. The social conditions of the country also were greatly disturbed by these foreigners. The religion and culture were diametrically opposite. Hence there was a sort of distrust and antagonism between the two communities from the very outset. The natural growth of ancient Institutions and organisations came to be concomitantly arrested. The society and the law also became more static than dynamic. Muslim law,⁶ however, could not exert any influences on the Hindu law and its institutions.

As a matter of fact, there was no systematic⁷ legislative or judicial organ except *Fatwas*. The Muslim law was absolutely based

5. The Indian villager in the Mughal empire was denied the "greatest pleasure of his life in our own time, viz. facility for civil litigation with Government courts of first instance at his door and an abundance of courts of appeal rising upto the highest court at the capital; men had, therefore, to settle their differences locally by appeal to the Caste courts or Panchayats, the arbitration of an impartial umpire (*Salish*) or by resort to force". Sir J. N. Sarkar. *Mughal Administration*, pp. 19et seq.
6. "Most quarrels" says Dr. Jothy, "did not come within the cognizance of the courts at all but were decided by private arbitrations. This has been pointed out by competent English observers of Indian life and the same result may be gathered from the impartial study of Indian law books ancient and modern; orientals do not like public tribunals to meddle with their private affairs. As, therefore, the public courts had far less legal business to transact than the Panchayats or other private tribunals established ad-hoc, it was but natural that customary law should have played a more prominent part in those days than written law"....Tagore Law Lectures p. 32-33; *Judicial Administration of East India Company in Bengal* by Dr. B. R. Misra, J. B. R. S. Vol. XXXVII, Parts 1-2, pp. 230-31.
7. In the Muslim period, the growth of ancient Indian law was arrested though at the same time, there was hardly any influence of Muslim law upon it. But during the British period, the ancient Indian law was greatly influenced by the principles and notions of Western jurisprudence, not always in strict consonance with its own genius.
8. This may be particularly explained by the presence of the fundamental points of similarity between the basic doctrines of the Hindu and the Muslim systems of law. Though their two personal systems were widely different in details, nevertheless regarding these doctrinal basis they were essentially identical. Thus both the systems had a religious conception of law based upon revelation, binding the Kings, the judges and the subjects alike; the rule of law governed both the systems and the rulers were

on Islam which had no application to the Hindus. The Hindus had to revolve within their own social groups or circles for their guidance and governance. There was, however, some distinction in Northern and Southern India in respect of the extent of the Muslim influence. The Britishers of course, had a levelling tendency to minimise the scope of difference between the two different personal systems of the Hindus and the Muslims. From this standpoint, the *Shariat Act* of 1937 had undoubtedly some reactionary effect. During the Muslim rule there was very little legislative change even in the Muslim law itself.

supposed to have been entrusted with the administration of justice (Vide *Alamgir namah* p. 391; *Mirat* Vol. 1 p. 251; *Barni* p. 278).

9. As there was no written law or legislative organ, so also there was very little consideration for established customs or precedents. It was specially true of Aurangzeb. (Vide Mannuci, *Alamgir namah* pp. 1096-97; Sir J. N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 112).
10. The Muslim rulers had no code for their guidance. They would occasionally issue *Firmans* and *Fatwas*. But they could not be regarded as Codes by any stretch of imagination. Akbar also issued some *Firmans*. The *Fatwa-i-Jahangiri* contained some rules. The most important Code was the *Fatwa-i-Alamgiri* which was compiled by Sheik Nizam at the instance and patronage of Aurangzeb.
11. Kane, *History of Dharma Sāstra* Vol. I p. 467.
12. *Outlines of an History of Hindu Law* (T. L. L.) p. 24; cf. Buhler, *Kashmere Reports*, pp. 50-52; Sir J. N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration* p. 116.
13. Hindu law continued to exist and function by the side of Muslim Law during the Muslim rule in India; the Britishers were the first to evolve a set of laws common to all the communities. This had the effect of narrowing down the limits of the independent legal systems of the separate communities.

BUDDHISM IN THE DECCAN.

ROLE OF IKSHVAKUS.

[Gist from late Dr. K. R. Subramaniam's Address.]

By the Editor.

Prof. Subramaniam observed that after the Satavahanas, who were Andhrajatijas, their servants rose to prominence. Among them the Ikshvakus were the most important. It was possible that Captain Kumaradatta, who served the last Satavahana, was of the Ikshvaku lineage. The Ikshvakus were the "Parvatiya Andhras" of the Matsya Purana. They had Satavahana titles and continued the Satavahana traditions. There were Ikshvaku associations with the Deccan from the earliest times. It was possible that the Dynasty escaped to the South from Uttara Kosala in Mahapadma's time, for Mahapadma uprooted all Kshatriya dynasties. Or the Satavahanas might have taken them into their service while they were Imperial rulers.

Alliance with Ikshvakus was very much coveted. As many as five Kadamba kings bore Ikshvaku names, and in the Deccan and South India only two families had Skanda as a familiar royal name, namely, the Pallavas and the Chutu Nagas. In the Nagarjunakonda inscriptions, four out of the five Naga chiefs bore the name of Skanda. The Ikshvakus formed marital alliances with the Pallavas, Nagas, Kadambas, Chalukyas and Chutu-Nagas.

After discussing the sources and the date of the Ikshvaku dynasty, Dr. Subramaniam dealt with the important events of the reigns of Ikshvaku rulers. Santamula, the founder, was the first Asvamedhin. He ruled over a very large part of Andhradesa. He was a great Vedin, but he was very tolerant. Buddhism was treated only as a part of the Hindu religion. He was a munificent donor. Mahatalavara, Maha Danda Nayaka, Koshta Garika were some of the chief officers.

In the reign of his son, Vira Purushadatta, Andhras attained great fame. The Andhras were well-known then even in distant countries. The Andhra art of that time was splendid. Santisri, his aunt, and Bodhisri, a lady disciple, made large benefactions. The Mahachaitya, containing the relics of Buddha, was built by them then. Many other buildings were erected at that time. The seat of the king's capital was Vijayapuri. As many as four Schools of monks flourished there.

The last known king was Bahubala whose sister was married by the Maharaja of Vanavasi. The Ikshvakus reached their heyday

in the third century A. D. The dynasty, however, continued to be prominent as late as the fifth century A. D. The Pallavas, the Salankayanas, the Vakatakas, and the Kadambas expanded from all sides. The Pallavas owed much to the Ikshvakus. According to Fahian's testimony, many foreign pilgrims visited the capital of the Ikshvakus. The Greek medallions, traces of Greek art, remains of Greek commercial intercourse, Saka figures, a Saka inscription, Puranic evidence all these went to prove that there was great foreign influence in the Ikshvaku Empire. Bodhisri's and Santisri's inscriptions also prove the existence of foreign contact. There was close contact with Ceylon and Malay Archipelago.

Nagarjunakonda as a Buddhist centre was older than the Ikshvaku period. Dhanyakataka, described by Huen Tsang, was identical with Nagarjunakonda. It was beautified after the Bactrian style of art. Fahian and Huen Tsang had also spoken of the same place. The University centre referred to by Taranadha was there. This was the most extensive Buddhist site in India. There were traces of a quay on the Kistna near this site.

"The part played by the Ikshvakus has not yet been well appreciated. It is the last glorious Epoch of Buddhism in the Deccan. This period is noted for all-round activities."

In the course of the lecture, Dr. Subramaniam praised the excellence of the Andhra art, and explained the traces of the influence of Greco-Roman art on Andhra artists. The drawings of elephants and horses, a four-horse chariot, and the figures of Rama, Sita and Lakshmana on Hanuman's back evoked the admiration of the audience. From the similarity between two of the figures in the panels of a King's conversion to Buddhism, and in the memorial slab of Santamula the lecturer surmised that the King was, perhaps, a contemporary of Nagarjuna at whose instance he left his kingdom and became an ascetic.

MONUMENTS FOUND AT NAGARJUNA KONDA, PALNAD Tq., GUNTUR. Dt.

(Gist from I. A. Vol. LXI Oct. 1932, p. p. 183-92)

By the Editor.

Nagarjuna Konda is 15 miles off Macherla on the right bank of R. Krishna. The hill was once fortified. From the several ruined Buddhist monuments found, we learn that it was larger than Amravati. Several Prakrit inscriptions in Brahmi Characters of 2nd C. A. D.

are discovered near the Great Stupa. (Vide Ep. Ind. Vol. XX) Andhra lead coins, Gold & Silver relics, pottery, statues, & bas relief sculptures were all excavated (Vide An. Rep. of Arch. Survey of India 1928-31)

The Inscriptions belong to Southern Ikshvaku dynasty who were ruling in the Kistna Valley in the 2 & 3 C. A. D. They made marriage alliances with the rulers of Vanavasi (N. Canara) and Ujjain (C. India). While the Kings followed Brahmanism and performed Vedic sacrifices, the Queens were devoted to Buddhism and built Chaityas and donated to Stupas. Compare Chamta Sri's gifts to Great Stupa, in the 6th year of Sri Virapurnushadatta. Another lady Bodhisree built a temple & monastery for Ceylonese monks settled there. The Inscription relates that these monks converted the people of Kashmeer, Gandhara, China, Ceylon, Bengal, Kanara etc. It is learnt from the Inscription that the Dharma-giri hill is called Sri parvata and the town Vijayapuri. In early times probably the Nallamalais were known as Sri parvata for, 50 miles S.W. of Nagarjuna Konda there is Sri Sailam.

From the fact that a Monastery and Temple were built for Ceylon monks, it is learnt that cordial relations existed between Andhra and Ceylonese Buddhists and they are due to sea-borne trade between Ceylon and Kantakasela of Krishna Delta. This trade way responsible for the flourishing state of Buddhism which enabled Buddhist merchants and their Royal masters to raise great monuments at Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda. The loss of this trade as well as the Roman trade and the rise of Brahminical dynasties led to the decline of Buddhism. The rise of Gupta, Pallava and Chalukya powers led to the same result. The Stupas were built in the form of wheel with hub, spokes and tyre with largesized bricks. The Andhra Stupas have got Ayaka platforms or altars and on them, pious donors are portrayed as depositing their offerings of fruit and flowers. The inscriptions show that these pillars represent gifts made to the Stupas in honour of Buddha and to the merit of pious donors. The chief scenes portrayed in the sculptures recovered from these Andhra Stupas represent the five great miracles of Buddha namely (1) nativity (2) Renunciation (3) Sambodhi (4) First sermon and (5) Buddhas death. Bas relief scenes are tree, wheel and Stupa represent the events. Sometimes, the five pillars (Ayaka-Kambhas) denote the five miracles or events. (Compare Asoka's erecting pillars in Nepal and Behar) Thus, the events which took place in North India are commemorated locally. In earlier times, the Ayaka Pillars were unknown but in Andhra Stupas especially at Amaravati they are found. (2nd or 3rd Cent. A. D.)

A GUIDE TO NAGARJUNA KONDA.

S. K. DIKSHIT, M. A.,

(Formerly Curator, Archaeological Museum, Nagarjuna Konda, now Curator, State Museum, Dhubela,

Nowgong (Bkd.) M. P.

NAGARJUNA KONDA (the Hill of Nāgārjuna), properly so-called, is only the northern part of a ring of table-topped hills. The valley, encompassed by this ring, is about eight to ten square miles. It is about 14 to 15 miles North of Macherala, the terminus of a branch-line from Guntur to Macherala. In the middle of this valley rises the hill of Mallikāhārjuna or Mallayya-gutta, for about 500 feet high. This valley is divided into two parts by the river Kṛishṇā, which is also the dividing line between the State of Andhrā and that of Hyderabad. With the high hill of Mallayya-gutta and the river Kṛishṇā, this ring undoubtedly presents one of the most picturesque localities in the whole of South India.

No wonder, therefore that this locality was known in ancient times as *Sri-Parvata*, the "Hill of Splendour." At present there are only three or four small villages in this valley, and hence it presents a deserted appearance, but there are vestiges all over of a glorious past. For here once stood the city, called in the early inscriptions '*Vijayapura*' or '*Vijayapuri*' which was in all probability the capital of the *Ikshvāku* emperors. It must have been an important city in the early centuries of the Christian era, during the days of other emperors also.

The credit of discovering this site belongs to an Indian, one Mr. A. Rangaswami Saraswati of the Epigraphical Branch at Madras. He found some Stūpas and some Ayaka-stambhas or marble pillars, "at the entrances of the Stūpas", bearing Brahmi inscriptions, in 1926. The site was excavated by Messrs. Longhurst, T. N. Ramachandran,

*This *guide* was handed over to Archaeological Dept. Govt. of India, for publication in 1954. Because of the Departmental delay and the new materials it will not be published by them any more. Hence it is being published in this form.

- (1) It is this valley, that will serve as one of the reservoirs of water, when the Nandikonda dam project is completed. The general ground level of the valley is between 350 to 400 feet above the sea-level. After the completion of the dam which would be 590 ft. above the sea level, the water will rise in this valley to a height of above 590 feet, above the sea level.
- (2) Now united under the name of Andhra Pradesh.

and others. In view of the proposal of erecting a high dam at Nandikonḍa, fresh excavations are being conducted by Dr. R. Subrahmanyam and his assistants for a few years next.

So far, the excavationists have hardly touched any real habitation site of ancient times in this valley. The latter have concerned themselves only with the spiritual vestiges of the city of Vijayapuri, that one meets in the monastic establishments. It was almost a tenet with the Buddhists that such establishments should be removed from the din and hubbub of the city. It was far from the maddening crowd's ignoble strife that one could have the peace of mind for study and meditation. It is further curious to observe that these establishments are often found in this valley and in other localities in South India and Kashmir, often on the top or slope of some hillock or natural eminence.

Thus, there are eight or more monastic units on the slope of or around the Mahādhamma-giri, three, if not more, on the top of Chulādhamma-giri, and two on the Chamdaka-pavata. Each monastic unit consisted of three components, viz. a Vihāra, a Chaitya-griha and a stūpa. The first of these consisted of two parts, (1) an Āvasatha or monastic rooms, and (2) a Mandapa. In this valley, the mandapa was often of stone, though instances of brick-built ones are not lacking. The Mandapa is encircled mostly on three sides, but occasionally also on the fourth, by a set of rooms, which together comprise the Āvasatha. It would be clear that the Āvasatha was the place of residence of the monks, while the Mandapa was the place of public recitations or lectures, delivered by Ācharyas.

There appears to be little doubt in the building of these monastic units. The monks were guided by certain rules or regulations. Thus, the vihāra proper was invariably situated in one of the cardinal directions of the stūpa. Further, proceeding from the Stūpa towards the Vihāra one came across the Chaitya-griha on one's right. Again, the Āchārya, delivering his sermons on Dhamma from his central position in the back of the Mandapa, could easily see the central Āgāka pillar of the Stūpa, through the entrance.

The Stūpa itself was the object of worship, representing the death of the Buddha, or rather the Buddha in his death. It was a place of public prayers or public worship, just as the Mandapa was the place, of public study or a public lecture hall. On the other hand, the "Chaitya-griha" was a place of both private worship and private study; for here, the monks could concentrate on the recitation of Mantras or

on the study of their religious texts. Stūpa is a well-known structure, easily recognizable by its original hemispherical shape. Chaitya is the same thing as a Stūpa. It will thus be clear that a "Chaitya-griha" is *griha* or *mandira*, a temple, containing a "Chaitya" or a "Stūpa". It is an elongated structure, apsidal or semi-circular at one end. There is evidence to show that it was covered by an arched roofing and ceiling.

The great number of these monastic establishments betrays the existence of a prosperous and continuous settlement in the neighbourhood. That settlement, *Vijayapuri*, could not have been the capital of the Ikshvākus, ordinarily speaking, if it had no special features to attract it. The ring of hills around and the citadel of Mallayya-guṭṭa were undoubtedly features, that, on account of the great safety they afforded, must be included among such. Such a place could indeed have a long and continuous history, as indeed a study of this locality and of all the inscriptions in this place and the neighbourhood would show. All the same, this history is often nebulous, conjectural, or at best legendary.

It is widely believed among scholars that Mahādeva, a missionary sent by the Mauryan emperor Aśoka to regions near Mysore, was responsible for bringing the ashes of the Buddha to this valley. This belief is not an improbability. It is also believed that these ashes were enshrined in a Stūpa, that is to be identified with the one, mentioned in local inscriptions as the "*Mahā-Chaitya*." This is, however, quite problematical. There is no doubt that this Mahāchaitya enshrined in its "womb" the ashes (or Dhātu) of the Buddha, i. e. it was a Dhātugarbha or Dāgobā. But both architectural and epigraphical considerations make it certain that not only a majority of the Āyāka-stambhas (Entrance-pillars) of this Mahāchaitya, but indeed the Mahāchaitya itself was built primarily by Mahātālavari Kshānti-sri, in the 6th regnal year of her nephew and son-in-law Mahārāja Śrī-Virapurushadatta. It is said to have been constructed after the Mahāvihāra had itself come into existence. And it is quite in keeping with the things, that first of all residential quarters for the monks should have been built, and then the Stūpa should have been erected, for them to worship.

From the inscriptions *in situ*, we indeed get the whole chronology of the construction of the various parts of the Mahāvihāra. From this it would appear that the Āvasatha, the Mahāchaitya, the Mandapa, and the Chaitya-griha were built in this order. This Mahāchaitya is the biggest of all in this valley, and measures about 92 feet in diameter and about 289 feet in circumference. It is also the only one that is defi-

nitely known to have been "blessed by the best of the ashes" (Dhātu-*vara-parigahita*) viz. those of the Buddha himself. This Mahā-chaitya, together with the adjacent Mahā-vihāra and the Chaitya-griha were built for the sake of the Aparā-mahāvīna-seliyas. This fact alone is sufficient to show that all these were constructed in times not far removed from each other's.

En passant, we may learn something about the connections of the donoress Chāntisiri (*Kshānti-sri*). She proudly calls herself a full sister of the emperor Chānta-mūla (*Kānta-mūla*), who had performed a number of Brahmanical sacrifices, including Asvamedha, Agnishtoma, Vājapeya, etc. This would show that although the male members of the Ikshvāku line followed the Brahmanical faith, the female members were free enough and intellectually intelligent enough to follow a different faith. Indeed, in this the Ikshvākus merely follow the tradition set up by their predecessors, the Sātavāhanas. This was no doubt made possible by the religious freedom that everybody enjoyed as well as by the fact that the Mahāyāna or Mahāsāṃghika Buddhism was in reality a compromise with Hinduism. If Nāgārjuna, the most eminent philosopher of this school, started this idea here in about the first century A.D., it was with the object of popularising the creed. This idea is witnessed in a number of Brahmanical concepts, symbols, and even divinities being assimilated in the Buddhist religion and iconography. Kshāntamūla is further described as a devotee of Virūpāksha-pati Mahāsena, i. e. Śiva, the lord of the host of Virūpākshas. This Śiva is no doubt the far-famed Mallikārjuna of Śrī-Parvata. Kshāntisri is described in her inscriptions also as the wife of Skanda-sri of the family of the Pūkiyas, who was a Mahasena-pati (Great General) and a Mahatalavara. It is also stated in her inscriptions that she had given her daughter to her brother's son, Śrī-Virapurusha-datta, the reigning emperor.

Towards the north-east of this Mahā-vihāra, there is a hillock that was called in ancient times 'Chulla-Dhamma-giri', the Smaller Hill of Piety and is now known by the more prosaic name of Nallarāla-boḍu (the Hill of Black Stones). Here, in ancient times, there were at least three monastic establishments, the most important of which was the *Simhala Vihāra*, a monastery built specially for the Ceylonese monks, who had come all the way here to study the tenets of Buddhism. Now at that site we find a small *vihāra*, in which the Maṇḍapa contains not a vestige of a lithic pillar. It is therefore easy to conclude that this *vihāra* had no stone colonnade or Sāla-Maṇḍapa, but only one of wooden pillars.

The Chaitya-griha connected with this Simhala-vihāra contains a very important inscription on the floor. That inscription states that the donor of that Chaitya-griha, a lady by name Bodhisiri (*Bodhi-sri*), had constructed a temple of the Bodhi Tree within the Simhala-vihāra itself. This temple is identifiable with a room in the South-eastern corner, which has got a decorated platform within it, undoubtedly the platform of the Bodhi tree. It is clear that the Ceylonese monks, who were used in their country to worshipping the Bodhi tree, were provided with a branch of the Bodhi tree here also, to enable them to worship it.

But what is more interesting is the fact that the Ceylonese monks no more looked to Kalinga (portions of Orissa) for their guidance or their texts, as they did in the days of Asoka, etc. but they found here almost half way an important centre of Buddhism, where they could easily get their teachers and texts.

The inscription of Bodhisiri in the Chaitya-griha further informs us that in this monastery a number of monks from the following countries had come, in order to learn their lessons, viz., China (China), Chilata (Kirata-Tibet), Kasmira (Kashmir), Gandhara (Taxila-Peshawar region), Varga (portion of Bengal), Tosali (Kalinga), Aparanta (western coast roughly from Narmada to Goa), Vanavasa (western coast south of Goa), Damila (Tamil-nāḍu), besides some other provinces. It is clear from this that this region had become much more important than Kalinga; for monks from that province also came up here.

Like a number of other *vihāras* in Śrī-Parvata valley, this Simhala-vihāra also was built during the prosperous regime of Śrī-Virapurusha-datta. This prosperity of his reign was not due to a single regime. His reign was preceded by those of Rudrapurushadatta and Kshantamūla, the earliest known rulers of the Ikshvaku dynasty, and the thirty emperors of the Sātavahana dynasty. Nāgārjuna himself was a contemporary, not of any of the Ikshvaku rulers, but of an early Sātavahana king, by name Hala. This would bring out the fact that the growth of Buddhism and of the monasteries in this valley was not a sudden growth, but that it took numerous decades. At the time when Nāgārjuna preached, there must have been only one sect of the Mahāsāṃghika school here. But about the time of Śrī Virapurushadatta and Bahuvala Kānta-mūla, we find Aparā-sāliya, Bahu-srutiya, Mahimsāsaka and other sects of that school, in this valley. This also proves the same thing, that at least a few decades must have intervened between the days of Nāgārjuna and the days of Śrī-Virapurushadatta.

Proceeding towards the eastern end of the valley, we come to what is popularly called the "*University Area*." Here, we have a couple of Vihāras adjoining each other, and each of them is a more complicated structure than the early Vihāras, like the ones, studied by us so far. It is because of this that this whole area is taken to be a conglomerate, worthy to be called a "University." Each Vihāra is at best a "College," if such modern terminology is to be applied, the Simhala-vihāra being a "Foreigners' College." And the whole of the S'ri-Parvata valley should be termed a "University" after the name, say, of Nāgārjuna.

One of the Stūpas in this area, the one on the Southern side was a highly decorated structure. Carvings on it included many representations of the life of the Buddha and of the Jātaka tales, that narrate the events of the former lives of the Buddha. Such representations were to be found on the beams at the entrance as well as on the vertical slabs, fixed to the dome (aṇḍa) of the Stūpa. There were also miniature representations of this and allied classes of stūpās, carved on other vertical slabs. These are now known as Stūpa-slabs, and are mentioned in ancient records as "Chaitya-patas." All these slabs have been removed to the Museum, where we can study them along with others, of similar types, from other Stūpas.

Here too some "Dhātu" (ashes), kept in golden casket, itself preserved in a silver one, were found. Probably they belong to some important Āchārya. In the monastery attached to this Stūpa there exists a well-formed drain, which the modern archaeologists have often called a "Urinal." It is, however, extremely doubtful, if the Buddhist monks ever used this drain as a urinal, which is not more than sixteen feet removed from the Maṇḍapa or the preaching hall. We must remember that this hall was entirely open on all sides and that monks and nuns of all categories, including those of the royal family, gathered in it to listen to the sermon on "Dhamma", preached by the venerable Āchāryas.

In the adjoining Vihāra, there are certain interesting circular structures in a courtyard, four in number, and square inside. One may conjecture these to be the temples of some Buddhist symbols like the Dharma-chakra, Bodhi-maṇḍa, Agni-skandha, Bodhi Tree etc. In this Vihāra there is a Sanskrit inscription, of about the fourth cent. A. D. which contains its description as '*Vihāra-mukhya Vigata-jvarālaya*' a phrase, which is rather difficult to interpret. Possibly "Vigata-jvarālaya" signifies no more than "Jinālaya" or a Buddhist shrine. A Vihāra or a Saṅghārāma is indeed a sacred place, for Saṅgha itself is

one of the three *ratnas* of the Buddhist faith. Another thing, that attracts our attention is that in the place, where we usually have a Chaitya-griha in other monastic units, i. e., on the right hand side while proceeding from the Stūpa to the Vihāra proper, we find here a Buddha-griha instead; and this Buddha-griha, unlike the Chaitya-grihas and the Buddha-grihas elsewhere in this valley, is square. Many of these features of this monastic unit make it apparently clear that this is one of the latest Vihāras to be seen here.

In the north-eastern corner of this valley, there is another monastic unit, now shrouded or surrounded by a thicket. Here was built perhaps the *most decorated Stūpa* in the whole valley. A number of beautiful carvings, found on Dachepalle limestone, that are now in the Museum, hail from this locality. Like the Stūpa in the so-called "University site", this Stūpa also possessed decorated beams or transoms at the entrances, and the whole Stūpa appears to have been covered to a great height by vertical slabs of two types, viz. the Chaitya patas or Stupa-slabs, containing miniature representations of the class that they adorned, and the "Chitra-patas" or slabs containing the representations of the events of the life of the Buddha or of his past lives. From the classes of the Stupa-slabs found here as well as from other evidence, it is clear that here we had one of the latest varieties of Stūpas to be found in the valley of S'ri Parvata.

Passing alongside the hill of Nāgārjuna on its South, about three furlongs to the North of the Mahavihāra, one comes across a big monastery, containing a large size lithic Maṇḍapa. It is formed of a double set of six rows of decorated pillars, surrounded by residential quarters of the monks. One of these pillars contains an inscription, which speaks of this as the Vihāra of the Āchāryas of the Bahusutiya (Bahusuttiya in Prakrit and Pāli and Bahusrutiya in Sanskrit) sect, of the Mahāsāṃghika or Mahāyāna school. The name of the "Dayika" (donor) is given in this record as "Bhaṭṭi-deva" which in Sanskrit would be Bhaṭṭi-devī. She is described as the daughter-in-law of Kshāntamūla, the wife of Vira-purusha-datta, and the mother of "Bahuvula" Kshāntamūla. This "Bahuvula" is no doubt intended to represent "Bahuvula" found in other records. Whereas "Bahuvula" has no meaning, "Bahuvula" is evidently to be equated with "Bahubala" meaning a "man with great prowess." Two similar inscriptions, recording the gift of the same Vihāra by the same lady, are found on two Āyāka-stambhas of this Stūpa, which also is known to have yielded some relics.

Continuing our sojourn towards the West alongside the southern flank of the hill of Nāgārjuna, we come to a hillock by the side of the river Kṛishṇā. On the top of this hillock, or along its slope we come across two Vihāras of moderate dimensions. One of these contained at the entrance of the Stupa a few carved beams or transoms. On one of these was found an inscription, which mentions this locality as "Chhadaka-pavata" or *Chandaka-parvata*. The "Dāyikā" of the beam is said to be one Saga, wife of a Bania by name Chana-paduma.

One of the Viharas in this locality was favoured by the Āchāryas of the *Mahisāsaka* sect. The donoress of this Vihāra was Mahādevī Koḍabali, who describes herself as the daughter of Virapurusha-datta, the sister of Bahuvala-Kshāntamūla and the wife of the Mahārāja of Vanavāsa, perhaps a king of the Pallava line. In this record the name of the brother of the donoress is mentioned twice and quite clearly as "Bahuvala" Kshāntamūla, and it is dated in his 11th year.

A little over half a mile to the South of this Chhadaka-parvata, there is a hill, now known as Pedda-Kundel-gutta, but anciently called *Mahā-Dhamma-giri*. Among a number Vihāras, with which its slopes and vicinity appear to be studded, there is one, which has yielded to the excavators eight *Stupa-slabs* of Class II. Seven of these have enriched the collection in the Museum, while the eight is still *in situ*. This clearly proves that the main Stūpa itself at this site (Site No. XI of the archaeologists) belonged to this variety. Taking a comparative view, on the whole it would appear that the Stūpas in the Vihāras nearer the city of Vijayapuri belonged to an earlier date than those further away from it. And out of the decorated Stūpas, the later ones were the more decorated.

This enables a general classification of the decorated Stūpas found in this valley of Sri-Parvata. Since the Stūpas themselves have been destroyed now, it is the contemporary miniature representations thereof, found on the *Chaitya-patas* or *Stupa-slabs*, that allow us a glimpse into this classification, at the present date. These Chaitya-patas enable us to study the gradual development of the art that flowered in this valley during the time of the Sātavāhanas and the Ikshvākus. We have been able to divide the Stūpa-slabs of this locality into seven classes. Of these, the first four are to be found in both Amaravati and Sri-Parvata valley; and they belong to the times of the Sātavāhanas. On the other hand, the last three classes are peculiar to the valley of Sri-Parvata, and in all probability belong to the time of the Ikshvākus. The main characteristic that distinguishes these two

groups is that in the former the Buddha is represented symbolically and not in a human figure, below the Āyaka-pata; i. e. his statue was not worshipped in a "Budda-griha" in the vicinity of the facade; while in the latter a human figure is shown, i. e. some shrine containing such a figure must have been in the vicinity of its prototype.

The sculptures, that were found on or in the vicinity of the Stūpas in the valley of Sri-Parvata, which we studied so far, are kept in the Museum of Nāgārjuna-konda. Here we can study about half a dozen types of slabs or patas among these sculptures, viz. (1) The Stupa-slabs, (2) the frieze-slabs, (3) the Āyaka-patas, (4) the Jātaka-slabs, (5) the Life-story slabs, and (6) the Symbolic slabs. Besides these, there are the beams or transoms and the statues of the Buddha.

We have the *Stupa-slabs* of Class II to Class VII arranged with a view to enable one to see the development of decoration on the peculiar type of Andhra stūpas. This type differed from the general one may say, all-India type in having four offsets in the four cardinal directions, each of them supporting five stone pillars. These offsets and the pillars added greatly to their beauty.

One can see that the decoration tends to become more and more profuse, and at a later stage even stylized. Many earlier features, testifying to the simplicity of taste, disappear, yielding place first to fondness of details, and later even to cumbrous exuberance of intricate designs.

Thus in Class II of Stupa-slabs, we find the dome (anda) mostly plain and without frieze decoration of the style that we find in succeeding Classes. This Class has on the Āyaka-pata the figure of some animal, symbolising the Buddha or referring to some event of his life. Below this Āyaka-pata, we often come across a small shrine, containing some symbolic representation of the Buddha, in the form of Agni-skandha, or a Pūrṇa-kumbha, or a Dharma-chakra, etc. All these symbols were originally taken up by the Buddhist faith from the Brahmanical faith, and applied with reference to some event in the life of the Buddha. Thus Agni-skandha is actually styled after Sivalinga, as identical with Agni-Rudra, a pillar, out of which flames (Yahvis) arose. A comparison of this with Jehovah, who appeared as a "pillar of flames" would not be uninteresting, to bring out wide-spread nature of this cult. Pūrṇa-kumbha is the earlier Mangala-ksheta, and Dharma-chakra the original Surya-chakra.

Above the Stupa, there is the representation of a flying Gāndhārva on either side, and below him a royal figure, standing. The latter

is missing in subsequent varieties; and when we get in them a glimpse of this portion near the top of the dome (*anda*), we find more than one figure on either side.

In *Class III* and following classes, the *Āyāka-paṭa* mainly depicts the scene of the Buddha preaching to the 33 Gods, headed by *Brahmā* and *Sakra*. A majority of the actual *Āyāka-paṭas* in the Museum (Nos. 160, 161 and 162) depict the same scene, which was naturally regarded as the most important in the life of the Buddha. In the miniature representations on the *Stupa-slabs*, we often find *Brahma* and *Sakra*, accompanied by a few representatives of other Gods.

The most important characteristic of *Class III* is that the dome (*anda*) is decked with the friezes of symbols like *Pūrṇa-kumbhas*, Animals, Tri-ratnas, etc. These are placed immediately above the *Vedikā*. One of the slabs of this *Class* (No. 8) bears letters "Dhamasa" in characters that may be relegated at the latest to the first or second century A. D. This would support the dating here assigned to *Classes II to IV*, viz. the *Sātavāhana* period.

In *Class IV*, we find the frieze-symbols going high up on the dome (*anda*). Between them and the *Vedikā*, there intervene representations of the past lives of the Buddha (or *Jātaka-kathās*) and of the events of the life of the Buddha himself.

In *Class V*, we find the figure of the seated Buddha coming for the first time. Here it is represented in the beginning together with the older symbols, e. g. the Bodhi Tree, *Nāgarāja Muchilinda*, etc. Later on, these older symbols disappear.

In *Class VI*, we have the figure of the standing Buddha, first alone, then with *Vajrapāṇi*, and later on with *Vajrapāṇi* and a Court of seated devotees. Lastly, we find the standing *Vijrapāṇi* replaced by two standing figures. It will be noticed that the Buddha is standing on a lotus (*Padmāsana*), and that he has his right arm and right shoulder bare, whereas his left arm (with the exception of his hand) and his left shoulder are covered by *Samghāṭi*. It is in this dress and fashion that we actually meet him in his bigger representations (of statues) at both *Nāgārjuna-konḍa* and *Amarāvati*. Most of the figures of the Buddhas of the *Stupa-slabs* of *Class V* and *Class VI* have haloes, that are quite plain, with out any "rays" whatsoever. But one of the latest varieties in *Class VI*, viz. No. 242, displays a halo, in which rays, like those of the Sun, are seen radiating from the centre. It is

in this *Stupa-slab* that standing *Vajrapāṇi* is replaced by two standing figures.

In *Class VII*, we come across, not the figure of the Buddha, but that of *Bodhisattva*, e. g. the prince *Siddhārtha* or a figure of a former birth of the Buddha. This would show that the *Bodhisattva* form had gained in importance by the time, this sort of *Stupa* came into existence, foreshadowing the future worship of the *Bodhisattvas* in the period of decline of Buddhism. When this worship comes into being, the Buddha is automatically raised to still higher status. In one such example, the prince *Siddhārtha* is seated, while in another he is standing, wearing his ornaments quite prominently. In a third, we find *Bodhisattva* as *Chakravartin Maṇḍhatā*, with his four (out of seven) *ratnas* or jewels. These four *ratnas*, *Chakra*, *Hastin*, *Arva*, and *Parīṇayaka*, symbolise his sovereignty over the four-fold army of ancient times—the *chaturanga-bala*. No. 58, depicting *Brāhmaṇa Droṇa*, holding the caskets of the ashes of the Buddha, also belongs to the same *Class*, in which the Buddha is substituted by something, that is either connected with him or symbolises him in some form.

Whether it is in the carving of such a prosaic subject as a *Stupa* on these slabs, or it is in that of the emotional themes of the life of *Gautama Buddha* or of his past births, the artist of *Sri-Parvata* was even at his worst no third-rate artisan, whose excellence lies in faithful imitation. Here we no doubt see him imitating his predecessors, but always with a view to improve, and hence always experimenting with newer and newer forms.

The miniature representations of the "friezes" on the *anda* may be compared with the actual big-size "frieze-slabs" in the Museum. One of the best instances of such "frieze-slabs" is to be found in No. 71 of the Museum. The friezes on this slab are, from top to bottom, those of the following:—(1) *Mālā* (Garland) and *Mālā-vāhaka* (Garland-bearer); (2) *Pūrṇa-kumbhas*; (3) *Stupas*; (4) Tri-ratnas and (5) Quadrupeds, consisting mainly of the lions. It is clear that these five friezes symbolise five important events in the life of the Buddha. It is to be noted that the *Mālā* surrounds in this and a number of other friezes a representation of the Bodhi Tree. It can be, therefore, easily taken to symbolise the event of *Sambodhi* or Enlightenment, that took place at *Bodhi Gaya* under the "Bodhi Tree." The *Pūrṇa-kumbha* is found invariably in the scene of the birth of the Buddha, and in fact, represents in those scenes the child *Siddhārtha Gautama*. The *Stupa* is a wellknown and probably the most worshipped of all the symbols of

the Buddha. It represents, as is well-known, the death or Mahāparinirvāna of the Buddha, or rather, the Buddha in his death. The Tri-ratna symbol stands for the Buddha-ratna, Saṅgha-ratna and Dharma-ratna. The Buddha preached about these three jewels for the first time probably on the occasion of the first sermon. Hence, in such friezes, the Tri ratna symbol should be taken to signify the event of the First Sermon or Dharma-chakra-pravartana. The quadruped frieze contains mostly the figures of lions, with their own mouths or with birds' beaks. The lion here represents the Sākya-siṃha. It was as Sākya-siṃha that the Buddha—he had not become the "Buddha" at that time—set out on the mission of his life of finding out the Truth. The horse, Kanthaka, that he rode at that time may also be represented (as in this frieze) in lieu of the lion, to symbolize the same event of Mahābhiniṣkramana.

Instead of such five friezes on one and the same stone-slab, one often sees a lesser number of friezes, e. g. four, three, two or even one. The most popular one is found to have three; and in them those symbolizing the most important events like birth, death and first sermon are found to be popular representations. In view of these five symbols, representing five main events of the life of the Buddha, it is possible to conceive that even the five Āyaka-stambhas that adorned the projections at the cardinal points of the Stūpa also represent the same five events. In any case, when in earlier stages of the history of Mahāyāna Buddhism, the Buddha was not being represented in a human form, he was being worshipped in some symbolic form. And the Āyaka-stambhas were also an object of worship, certainly not for themselves but for some aspects of the Buddha or events of his life, that they symbolised.

To the same category of symbolic representations belong those that have been mentioned above as the "Symbolic slabs." In No. 235 of this type, we find Nāgarāja Muchilinda with five hoods, supporting a Chhatra above. This Snake-king protected the Buddha from a great sudden shower, when the Buddha was enjoying the "Vimutti-sukha" (corresponding to Brahmānanda of the Brahmanical faith) during the week following the event of Sambodhi or Enlightenment. The Chhatra above this Nāgarāja is only intended to show symbolically the presence of the Buddha, seated under him. In No. 33, we find a representation of the Bodhi Tree, with two regally-dressed persons standing on two sides of it, holding a jala-kumbha (or a pot filled water); in order to water it. The figures of these two princes may be reckoned among

the most beautiful carvings to be seen in the Museum. One of them with an undamaged face bears a pleasant smile, and both are standing in an elegant manner. In two other examples of this category, No. 140 and 41, we have the scenes of Dharma-chakra-pravartana and Mahāparinirvāna represented symbolically by an empty, *Svastika-stupa*-casket, respectively.

As noticed above, in the huge Āyaka-patas, Nos. 160, 161 and 162 the most important event of the life of the Buddha, viz. his First Sermon (Dharma-chakra-pravartana) to the very gods in the Tāvātimsa-bhavana, is shown. In this "bhavana", 33 gods dwelt; and one could count all these in the round panels, depicting this scene. These 33 gods are mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and other early Brahmanical texts. It is these that multiplied, through 3300, then 33,000 later 33,00,000 to 33,00,00,000 gods, that we find in modern Hindu religion. We have texts for all these number. These 33 gods themselves have developed from the original Trinity of Brahmā, Vishnu, and Rudra-Siva, who are themselves originally one, only representing different aspects of the same god-head. Vishnu multiplied into 12 Ādityas, and Rudra-Siva into 11 Rudras, and in this way, one got the 33 gods. These gods, headed by Brahmā and Cakra (one of the two popular forms of Indra, found in Buddhist mythology), requested the Buddha to preach the same "Dhamma" to themselves, which he had already preached to men. The First Sermon to human beings was delivered before his five disciples at the "Deer Park" of Sarnath, mentioned in Pāli texts as "Isipatana Migadāya" (Rishipatana Mrigadāva). This sermon was naturally represented, because of the presence of the deer in the vicinity, with a couple of deer seated in front of the Buddha. In the Tāvātimsa-bhavana or heaven, there was no deer nor the "Deer Park." But since this was also the First Sermon in heaven, it is represented with deer, after the fashion of the First Sermon on the earth. The Buddha is seated here on a 'Diamond-throne' (Vajrāsana).

The only other Āyaka-pata (No. 159) represents the carrying away of the "Ushnisha" of prince Siddhārtha by the gods to the Tāvātimsa-bhavana. When the prince handed over all his other ornaments to his groom Chhanna, he threw his Ushnisha (turban or crown) up into *antariksha*, saying: "If my mission is to be fulfilled, this crown will not fall on the ground." The gods who were around him all through Mahābhiniṣkramana immediately picked it up and carried it dancing and merry-making, to the heaven. In this representation we find a number of *musical instruments*, stringed (tata) drum-like (ānaddha), and blowable (sushira). While men's fashion of dancing

manifesting vigour and virility, is to be observed, here, women's is to be seen in No. 122, which is a pillar carved on all sides. In the latter you find the chief female dancer, accompanied by two others, entering the stage, and then performing the climax of the dance, and lastly, she is being rewarded by a golden bracelet by the emperor himself, while the drummer, who kept the beating during her dance, is seen with his drum behind her. Musical instruments are also shown elsewhere on this pillar and some beam-slabs etc. Thus in No. 17, we find that the ladies, who were to beguile the prince Siddhārtha with vocal and instrumental music, have gone to sleep over their own instruments. Elsewhere on the Stūpa-slabs also we occasionally come across representations of contemporary drums, etc.

The Buddha cannot be supposed to have attained his greatness in one life. Hence, he must have taken birth, not always of human beings, on a number of previous occasions; and on each such occasion, He must have performed some glorious deed, in the field of self-sacrifice, wisdom, etc. Indeed in all the tales that we get, who was better fitted than the Buddha to represent the man or the beast that acted wisely or with the best of motives, and in a sacrificing spirit? Thus out of the current folk-lore and the concept of rebirth (punarjanma) originated the *Jātaka-kathās*, a collection of tales in Pāli, that often betrays a striking resemblance with the A Esop's Fables, which originated about the same time in Egypt. Both of them obviously owe their birth to wide and shrewd experiences of the merchants, that traded between these two countries and in all the intervening regions.

In the Museum, you find the Ghaṭa-jātaka, based on the story of the birth of Kṛishṇa while his mother Devaki was in the imprisonment of her brother Kāṁsa. (No. 51). In No. 199, we have Bodhisattva in the birth of a pious hare, that used to preach the merit of giving donations (dāna) on fasting days (Uposathas), to his animal friends, a monkey, an otter, and a jackal. Once all of them determined to observe the next day, as an Uposatha, by offering *dānas*. So, Śakra visited them all to put them to test, in the guise of a Brāhmaṇa. Then all these friends offered what they had stolen, the monkey a bunch of mango fruits, the otter a couple of fish, and the jackal a curd-pot (dadhivāraka). Only the hare, not having stolen anything and also having nothing else to offer, offered his own body, by jumping into fire, for the Brāhmaṇa to eat his roasted flesh. But this fire could not burn even a single hair on his body, for which the Bodhisattva blamed the Brāhmaṇa. The latter, revealing his identity, consoled him by telling that he would put his figure on the moon and thus

immortalize him. Hence it is that the moon is known as Śasāṅka. In 180, we find the Bodhisattva as prince Vessaṁtara, who, because of his "inordinate munificence," was expelled by his subjects to the forest. Even there, a Brāhmaṇa pursued him and begged of him his sole possessions, viz. his kids, Jāli and Kanhājina. After giving the gift, he is seen here also in the form of a seated *muni*. He wanted to parry off the questening of his wife, who had afterwards returned from the forest, above her kids, this, for the reason that she might not die broken-hearted by the sudden shock. So he assumed this *mouna-vrata*, when, it was agreed previously between the two, he was not to be disturbed on any account. The next day he tells her of his gift. The Brāhmaṇa, carrying the Kids missed his way into the kingdom of that prince's father, and the kids were immediately recognized, this leading ultimately to the subjects being reconciled, the prince being found out, and all ending well. In Nos. 42 and 141, we have an eternal theme, of a step-mother falling in love with her step-son, and when the latter was not minded to requite that love, of his being accused as having molested her. This story from Mahā-padma-jātaka, in which Bodhisattva in the birth of Mahāpadma is hurled down a precipice, is comparable to similar stories in Egyptian inscriptions, Grecian legends, Kunāla's tale, the story of a Śrūgadharā etc. In 32, we find Chakravartin Māndhātā overcoming the defence of Nāga-loka before conquering the Tāvatisa-bhavana, the second heaven of the Buddhists. Learning of that deed, the lord of the latter, Śakra immediately parted with half of his throne to him in No. 39 (upper panel). But his pride, indicated here by his gesture, and his evil desire to kill Śakra and occupy the whole throne for himself, led to his downfall and death. The same scene of fall and demise is more artistically shown in No. 134, where his wife is offering water for him, and a man is, elsewhere, pointing to a shooting star, which signifies in Indian mythology the death of a great man. The story of Rāmāyana was also incorporated by the Mahāyāna Buddhists in their mythology and iconography. Here in No. 35 we find various events of the Daśaratha-jātaka. Kaikeyī and Mantharā conspiring; Daśaratha telling Rāma about the "boon" he has given to Kaikeyī, by which he has to go to the forest for 12 years. Bharata-kumara bringing the news of the demise of his father Daśaratha, after the 9th year, when Sita and Lakshmana-kumara had gone out to fetch fruits and roots, but Rāma-pandita refusing to go against the original order of his father and offering him *pādukas* to substitute for himself for the remaining three years; and lastly Rāma-pandita (without, of course, conquering

Ravana since there was no abduction by him) returning to Ayodhyā to occupy the ancestral throne.

In No. 95, Gods headed by Brahmā requested Bodhisattva to take birth, agreeing to which, he is later seen descending down from the fourth heaven Tushita-bhavana, to the earth, in the form of a white elephant, *s'vetaketu*, through a golden palanquin (*kanaka-vimāna*). In No. 35, Māyādevī, who gave birth to Gautama, while standing under a *Sāla* tree, in a garden near Lubin (Rummin-dei, in Nepalese *tarāi*) is seen holding a branch of that tree. The gods of the four quarters picked up the child on a piece of cloth, on which—the legend goes—it immediately stood erect and walked seven steps. On the cloth held by these gods in this and similar scenes, we find 7 foot-prints. Over the Pūrṇa-kumbha, which occasionally as in this panel, is represented in the form of an *Ibha-kumbha* (head of an elephant), is a *Chhatra* and a *Chāmara*, emblems of sovereignty, standing for the Buddha as Dharma-chakravartin. In another panel depicting the *Mahābhinishkramana*, *Sakra* is holding the *Chhatra* over prince *Siddhārtha*, seated on *Kanthaka*. Not only *Chhatra*, but Gods also are leading the way, *Yakshas* are holding up the hoofs of the horse, so that they may not make any noise and awaken the people in the dead of the night, and thus frustrate the mission. In the next scene of *Māravijaya*, *Māra* is first seen attacking the Buddha with his weapons, including a flowery arrow and his daughters, *Rati* and *Priti*. Later defeated, we find him making a bow to *Bodhisattva* and departing, while *Rati* wonders how all this could happen! In No. 43, we find prince *Siddhārtha* on way to his pleasure garden, when he comes across the third "*Mahā-parva-nimitta*" viz. a dead body. He recoils from the pleasures of the world and returns without visiting the garden. In No. 40, the prince hands over his ornaments to *Channa*; for taking them to his father *Suddhodana* and then he is to take to robes, that are kept ready by a monk. In 265/53, *Channa*, handing over the ornaments to *Suddhodana*, narrates the whole story of *Mahābhinishkramana* hearing which the whole harem is grief-stricken. But most afflicted is the lady *Yasodhara* (*Siddhārtha*'s wife) who is being supported by her mate; and even the dumb animal *Kanthaka* is sympathising with her in his own way. In depicting the emotions of the human and animal world, this sculpture alone is sufficient to prove the great mastery and skill of the artists of *Sri-Parvata*, as being almost unrivalled in the history of sculpture. Below this scene are two already met with, viz. the carrying away of the *Ushnisha* by the gods to the *Tāvātimsa-bhavana* and the handing over of jewelry by prince *Siddhārtha* to *Channa*. In No. 54, we find gods, headed by

Brahma, requesting the Buddha to preach "Dhamma" to the world, and not become *Pushchaka Buddha*; or perhaps, we have here the Buddha preaching to the *Tāvātimsa* world. Below is the scene of *Māravijaya*, with *Rati* holding a mirror while "attacking," and making a gesture of being unable to bear the "insult" while defeated. The Lowest panel depicts "*Sujata-payasa-grahana*." *Sujata*, daughter of a chief of *Senani-grama*, near *Uruvela*, had made a vow to the divinity of the Bodhi Tree, that if she got a good husband, she would offer "payasa" (milk-preparation to that divinity. Being satisfied with her luck in the marriage, she came to fulfil the vow, but found instead of the divinity *Bodhisattva*, who had just made up his mind to end his great fast, since he came to believe that fasting led one nowhere. *Bodhisattva* accepts the offering, after revealing that he is no divinity. No 136 (lower panel) and 96 (upper panel) repeat the scene of *Māravijaya*, but without *Rati* and *Priti*, the most effective weapons of *Māra*. In 96 (lower panel) we find the river *Nairanjara* making way for the *Bodhisattva* on the way to the Bodhi Tree and the *Nāga-rāja Kāla* predicts that within the next week he would obtain *Sambodhi*. He and his wife bowed down, as shown here. In No. 34, we find him delivering his First Sermon to the *Tāvātimsa* world, in the upper panel. In the central one, we can identify the four figures with bowls as those of the four gods, who had come with four golden bowls (or according to other texts with different types of four bowls). But *Bodhisattva*, not wishing to displease three of them by accepting the bowl of only one of them, accepts all the four bowls, and pressing them together makes one bowl out of them. The outer scene in this panel is not very well identifiable; but it may represent *Tapushya* and *Bhalluka*, who gave the first alms to the Buddha. It was at this time that he had no bowl to accept them; and hence the gift by the gods. The lowest panel shows the Buddha arriving at the Bodhi Tree, on one side, and as seated under *Muchi linda* on the other. The former signifies *Sambodhi*, while the latter the protection after *Sambodhi*. In 135 and 98, (upper panels) we find the scene of *Dharma-chakra-pravartana* or the First Sermon, delivered before the *Pancha-Mahā-vargiyas* or the five comrades, *Kaundinya* and others. The latter had accompanied him during his penance at *Uruvelā*, but left him when he decided to leave fasting. After Enlightenment, the Buddha found them out at the Deer Park. In 98, we find them, three represented by standing figures with bags, and two by bags only. Here and in the adjoining group, not all are shown probably for want of space. In Nos. 98 (lower) and 92 (upper), we find *Ajātasattu* of *Magadha* asking the Buddha a knotty question, which six other philosophers (including *Niganttha Nātaputta* or *Jina*

Mahāvira) had failed to answer, and which the Buddha answers methodically and completely. The question was "What was the good of wearing a monk's robes?" This episode is narrated in *Sāmañña-phala-sutta*. In 38, six Sākya princes, headed by 'Bhaddiya Sakka' are seen approaching the Buddha. Princes, with their monopoly over elephants and horses, are often (as these) represented as seated over them. In another panel we find Bhaddiya undoubtedly followed by others—being shaven and initiated into monkhood, over an elephant. None was ever so shaven; but the artist wishes to represent here a prince. In No. 90, Sakra, wishing to get his term of Sakrahood extended, approaches the Buddha in the Indra-sila-guha near Rājagriha, and is being introduced by his friend Pañchasiṅha, a Gandharva. The latter, mixing the praise of the Buddha with the description of the exploits of Sakra with Apsarases, makes the six Bodhisattvas shut up their ears, in disgust. In No. 31, Vajrapāni, supported by the Buddha, is subduing *Nagaraja Apalala* (a serpent of draught), as Indra, supported by Viṣṇu, subdued Vritra (a serpent of draught) in the Vedas, or Indraputra Arjuna, supported by Krishna (a form of Viṣṇu), subdued Dhārtarāshtra Kauravya. In 91, Vajrapāni subdues the Nāgarāja of the *agnisālā* of Urvela Kāsyapa, for the sake of the Buddha. The latter puts him in a pot. In 44 and 202, *Yaksha Alavaka*, who was about to devour the last child, the prince, of Alavaka-gramā, and who, learning that his wife was converted into Buddhism, wanted to kill the Buddha, and is seen rushing with a spike, and being prevented by his wife. When waiving her aside, he still fails to kill, the Buddha converts him with a parable, comparing him with a man clinging to a twig, with the Mahānāga of his past below him, the elephant of his future threatening above him, and the rat of present tense gnawing at the root of that twig. No. 58 depicts the *Division of the Ashes* of the Buddha by his Brāhmaṇa disciple Drona. When eight principalities began fighting over the same, to divide them and erect 8 Stūpas over them he suggested the way out. They requested him to make the division. Then the gods and the Nagas wanted their share. Hence this initial division into 3 parts.

No 290 depicts an outline of a *Sala-bhūjika*, together with a pillar and a cornice. This represents the initial stage of carving, and affords a glimpse into the craft of the sculptor. In No 209 and 210, we have two excellent examples of "*Buddha-padas*"—known to inscriptions as "*pādukā-patas*"—marked by Purna-kumbha, Tri-ratna, Swastika, Mina-yugala (a pair of fish), and other sacred symbols. Some huge decorated slabs

provide examples of beams or *transoms*, brought from the Stūpas. Of these Nos. 18 and 236 depict the *subjugation* of Nālagiri, an elephant set upon the Buddha by his vile cousin Devadatta. Although he trampled many on way, he bows down and takes the dust off his feet. In No. 236 (and also on the Āyākapata of the Stupa slab No. 200), we see Ānanda, who refused to leave the Buddha, when all other monks ran away to save their lives. In No. 233, Chakravarti S'ibi of the *Sibi-jātaka* is cutting the flesh of his thigh, to save the dove of Agni from the hawk of Sakra (Indra). In Nos. 203, 70, 17, and 14, we find the whole life of the Buddha from Māyādevi's dream onwards especially the 5 main events, depicted. In No. 17, we have a few scenes viz. the Buddha's visit to the Sākya temple and Asita's visit to Suddhodana's palace, not found in others. Another scene in it depicts Siddhārtha's last night in the harem, when he finds the ladies gone to sleep, in various postures and gestures, and gets disgusted of all charms of life. No. 19 depicts equally interesting tales of Dīpaṅkara Buddha predicting about Sumedha-pāṇḍita, a Tāpasa, who covered his muddy path with his back, that he would become Gautama Buddha; of the initiation of Bhadrīya Sākya; of Nanda the hero of *Saundarananda-kavya*, being finally weaned from the charms of his wife, after seeing the heavenly damsels, reward that awaits pious life; and of the Buddha predicting that Jaya, (Brother of Vijaya) who had put earth into the bowl of the Buddha through compassion, would be born as emperor Aśoka. In No. 204, Buddha in his former birth of *Nagaraja Champeyya*, was captured by a Brāhmaṇa juggler, when on the way to a temple; this evil was dreamt of by his wife, who, then, went to the court of the king of men, to ask for his aid; simultaneously, the juggler brought him there, but the snake king refused to play any trick; when the king enquired of the reason, the snake-queen said: "How can he play the tricks in the presence of his own wife? He is Nāgarāja Champeyya, my husband. If you set him free, he will assume his own form." So, after being set free he assumed his form; and being Nāgarāja, he is seated on the same throne as Manushya-rāja, since they enjoy the same status.

THE ANDHRA STAGE

BY
M. R. SASTRY,

The most fascinating study about India is her traditional culture of fine arts, viz. *Dance, Drama and Music*. For, in the historical glory of nations, no culture in the world has boldly faced the devastation of time as the Indian and India's lamp illumines dazzling through ages. To-day, the spiritual beauty of Indian culture has revealed itself to the world through the philosophical dissertation of a Vivekananda or a Rahman or Arabindo or Meharbaba or Inayat Hussien (Sufi) or Sivananda, the sublime doctrines of a Gandhi, the poetic genius of a Tagore or Sarojini and the musical excellence of a Tansen or Tyagaraja.

India's art literature is a vast ocean which reveals to an enthusiastic explorer, a rich panorama of life and her culture manifests itself in diverse ways through her drama, dance and music. The link with the past which for a time was lost during the dark ages in our history, is being forged afresh, for the *impact and influence of an alien civilisation has awakened in us a new yearning for the study of our own culture and traditions*.

It is the special purpose of this article to examine the achievements of Andhras in the realm of Drama. To study the present position of the Drama, we have to go back to the ancient traditions which gave birth to it. Unlike the Western drama, the Indian drama has a didactic purpose. The dramas that were in vogue in the Telugu country, were called "*Miracles*" or "*Moralities*" or "*Puranics*" and the themes are based on God and His "*Leelas*".

Varieties of Dramatic Forms.

In the course of her long cultural history, the Andhra has developed a variety of dramatic forms. They are:— (1) *Geya Natakas* (2) *Nritya Natakas* (Dance dramas) with Bhagavata Mela Natakas and Koravanji as its two sub-heads.

Geya nataka is the one, in which a story of a Prince or God is presented in the form of song and verse. It is to be merely recited and not to be acted on the stage. It provides entertainment to the audience who gather round the reciter. The Yakshagana and the Kathakali of Malabar are "Dance-dramas".

The Geya and Dance dramas have the same type of songs known as "*darus*" which depict raga and rasa of the topic chosen. Traditional acting is common to both. Dance with its ramified foot-work is incidental in the Geya where as it is an integral part of Nritya.

Nritya Nataka,

The germ of the dance-drama can be traced to the Geet Govinda of Jayadeva. Krishna Leela Tarangini of Narayana theertha in Sanskrit is a dance-drama. There is a school of dance-drama indigenous to Andhras known as the *Kuchipudi dance*, and Kuchipudi is the home of Andhra dance tradition. Merattur Venkata Rama Sastri of Tanjore composed dramas in Telugu which were practised by Brahmins to whom inams of lands were granted by the rulers of Tanjore and the Nizam of Hyderabad.

The origin of Telugu plays. (h)

Elakuchi Balasaraswati wrote the first Telugu play in the 17th cent. Many play-wrights such as Kokkonda Venkataratnam, Korada Ramachandra Sastri, Vaddadi Subrayudu, K. Viresalingam, Veda Venkatarya Sastri, Tirupati Kavulu followed in his wake and translated several Sanskrit plays into Telugu language. The influence of English education inspired the poets to translate Shakspeare's Hamlet, Othello, and Romeo and Juliet. Although these plays played a great part in making the stage popular, they were not easily appreciated by the modern public on account of the woeful ignorance of the language. Hence a new school of dramatists sprang up. The production of dramas in the regional languages with a liberal blend of music and verse became an absolute necessity to suit the tastes of the play-goer. D. Krishnamachari of Bellary became the pioneer in the Renaissance of the Telugu stage. His achievement as a dramatist brought him a nation-wide significance. The Telugu stage came on the threshold of a new era. After him came the social drama and the effete social customs found a back-ground for the modern dramatist. The great pioneer of Brahma Smaj, Viresalingam pantulu, gave a lead to the dramatist to turn to the portrayal of contemporary social life. Gurujada Appa Rao fanned it into a place.

After the advent of the 19-20 centuries, several puranic and historical plays were written. Some of them are propagandist and few are intellectual. Some are translation of D. L. Roy and R. G. Gadkari's plays and a few were from English of Ibsen, Shaw, Galsworthy and Materlink. Therefore it is rather difficult to assess the value of the Telugu plays in view of the above facts.

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore contributed to the resuscitation of the stage. In his foot-prints followed eminent writers like P. V. Rajamannar (now Chief Judge of the Madras High Court) and late T. Raghava Bellary of International repute; Bhamidipati Kameswara Rao and Malladi Kaviraj & Avadhani authors of a series of Satires and farces and lastly Sripada Kameswara Rao and B. Gonda Reddy imported plays into Telugu from other languages. Of these, one who followed Mr. Tagore to the very letter is the most outstanding personality, Mr. Raghava, who with a genius for detail has made the stage, a living University of the people.

After the Great European War, in 1945, tastes have been reformed, when people have gained Political consciousness. Hence National dramas like Desha Bhakti Satires, Farces and Melo-dramas gained momentum; and after the attainment of Swaraj, Political themes based on the burning topics of the day, such as *Eduritha Munda-dugu*, *Parivatna*, *Potugadda*, *Akali*, *Atmarpanam*, N. G. O. etc. were written and staged.

In a land like ours inhabited by people speaking different languages and professing several gods, it is no wonder that social plays are bound to leave their impress on the development of modern Indian culture.

To some extent we may say that English Education has taken us adrift from the legitimate moorings but the love of God is still there for the masses as may be seen from the packed halls of the theatre, when religious plays like Rama Janma and Droupadi are staged. But if the stage has to play its part in the nation's life, mere repetition of Puranas will not serve any real purpose. With the aid of the past, we must build up the future edifice of the Indian Drama.

The origin of the Telugu drama has been traced by some to the old crude type of Yaksha Gana, in which music, dance and gesticulation form the main features developed out of the court Panegyrics or the glorification of the Deities. These can be dated beyond the 18th century to the Records of Mr. B. P. Rice. Yaksha Gana is a popular traditional composition, suitable for recitation before the village folk represented by a set of interact band of actors known as Jakkus or Yakshas of Guntur Dt. who are adepts in music and dance. The Kuchipudi Bhagavatars have popularised these plays. The Marionette or Shadow-plays of Ramayana and Bharata akin to the Javanese plays are played by a sect of Jangam caste, by means of coloured leather dolls. (Tholubommallata)

The Bhagavata Mela and Karawanji Natakas.

The above are of a Puranic nature and are characterised by a highly classical and spiritual tone. The music, sahitya, and dance are of a very high order and provide entertainment and moral uplift. These operas are priceless items of our musical heritage. Steps must be taken for the preservation of these art treasures which are fast dwindling into oblivion.

South India can justly boast of Royal musical calogists, and composers such as Swati Tirunal Shahaji, Raghunath Naik, Vijaya-raghava Naik and Ananda Gajapati of Vijayanagar State, (Andhra). Of these Shaji and Vijaya Raghava occupy an honoured place in the sphere of Yaksha-gana and Palaki Seva Prabandhas. Shaji, the Marata prince, is the author of Sankara and Vishnu pallaki seva Prabhandas, in Telugu, the earliest operas. When these works are published, the world will have an opportunity of assessing the greatness of Shaji in the realm of music and letters. These Prabandhas are performed before the Deities in temples, on festive occasions.

The Modern Stage.

Surely the modern drama has emanated out of the "*Yaksha Ganas*" as we don't find any perceptible difference between the two in the nature of the padas, verses, metre, raga and tala.

The drama as a popular form of literary expression, was not realised till the second half of 19th century. i. e. till the reign of Ananda Gajapati (1850) A.D. Anandagajapati, a patron of letters and a versatile scholar and musician who paved the way for the renaissance of Andhra Sangeeta and Stage. He encouraged colloquial telugu as a result of which, Sri Gurujada Appa Rao wrote his first 'social' Kavya-sulka' play vehemently criticising the *Vridha Vivaha* and *Dowry system*. The Raja Saheb started his own troupe of actors and coached them up in acting, to elevate the Sanscrit plays. He invited Mr. Gomatam Srinivasachari, founder of the Madras oriental Dramatic Coy. and asked him to write Harichandra, in English for stage purposes. The drama helped the spirit of patriotism. He also gave rich endowments in the year 1870 to *Philharmonic Society of Bombay* and *Poona Gayan Samaj*, which did yeomen service to the cause of Music. Mr. Appa Rao rightly takes his place as the "*Herald of Navya Sahitya*". The Raja's successor, Sri Vijaya Rama, founded the Vijayarama Dramatic club and the Music College, in 1919 and encouraged artists, and kept aloft the banner of Vijayanagar, as the seat of culture.

It was the Marata stage Actors of Dharwar and Sangli which visited Andhra in the last quarter of 19th cent. and laid the foundation for the modern Andhra stage. They staged Historical and Puranic dramas like Peswa Narayana Rao and Pahlada either in Marathi or Hindi which fired bands of enthusiasts all over Andhra, especially at Masula, Guntur, Rajahmundry, Pithapur and Vizag; to emulate and start indigenous dramatic companies. The harmonium and tabla changed the old order of things and replaced the fiddle and drum. Parsi tunes were profusely introduced. Gorgeous scenery, lavish settings, costly velvet dresses, dominated the stage. Emani Lakshana Swamy of Masula staged Hindi plays. Immaneni Hanumantha Rao Naidu of Rajahmundry and Singitam Abbayi of Kakinaada founded private troupes and employed Poets like Chilakamarti and Jayanti Bhavanarayana, to write dramas for them. The Rajahmundry company staged Gayopakhyanam, Prasannayadavam, Harichandra and Veni Samharam, with an efficient band of actors, like Gandrapu Venkanna and Durgi Gopalakrishnayya, Tanguturi Prakasam (patriot) and others in 1818 and transferred them latter to Gunneswara Rao S. Nageswar Rao Bros. in 1907. Gunneswar Rao started his own Coy under the name of the Chintamani Theatre in 1913-1920.

The Second phase of the stage, started with the Commercial Theatre in 1914 which continued till the year 1934. Papayyarao Zemindar of Mylavaram and Mothey Narayana Rao, a rich aristocrat engaged professional actors. A qualitative change in the structure of the stage was the emergence of star actors like Yedavilli, Uppuluri, Parupalli, Sthanam, Jonnavittula. *This period was the golden age of the Andhra Stage.* The lure of the stars made stage financially successful but latter ended in financial embarrassments. Towards the end of this period; emerged a new personality, Mr. Kapilavayi, R. Sastri who dominated the stage with his powerful music and the drama is sacrificed for his music. Actors were hired for a night's performance by contractors. Financial mismanagement and exorbitant demand of the actors led to the downfall of the professional stage. But there were exceptions to this type of stage dramas on contract basis. Mr. D.V. Subba Rao of I. D. Club (Masula) never hired actors but maintained his own staff in a regular way. The *Ramavilasa Sabha* of Tenali, and Kalabhilashini of Rajahmundry, and Nellore club founded by V. Venkataraya Sastri and Hari Prasada Rao's Coy of Guntur were all amateur associations which staged puranic and historical plays. S. K. Rao of Rajahmundry experimented some prose dramas of D. L. Roy's to give momentum to the amateur actors and set an example of what real act-

ing was, when the stage is in a state of deterioration. Till 1930, lavish presentation and spectacular staging had given lush pictorial, quality to the Andhra Theatre. The extravaganzas, Savitri, Droupadi, Sakuntala, Ramadoss, Thulabhara, reached the greatest popularity. Next comes the Reformation of the Stage, and the introduction of females in the roles of heroines in 1929, by T. Raghava of Bellary. *Histrionic* talent found its fulfilment in the appearance on the stage, of such actors like Raghava, whose personation of Epic and historical characters is the very quintessence of his keen dramatic perception and command of technique. He is the most brilliant and successful Shaksperan actor in South India who won laurels from eminent men like Dr. Tagore, G. S. Arundale, Bernard Shaw, and Alexander Forbes Robertson of continental fame. "Mr. Arundale compared him to Sir Bheerbhoom Tree and Sthanam's feminine roles were the envy and despair of the actresses."

Cultural decay of theatre.

The theatre is the test case. For the theatre is an art form in which a direct relation to the audience cannot be avoided, and between the wars, our theatre was not in the least healthy. It has shown every sign of cultural decay. In spite of the individual efforts of class actors like *Raghava, Sthanam & Banda*, the theatre could not thrive in the normal course of circumstances. The decadent stage however was called to face the powerful competition of the Talkie. No wonder then, that the stage succumbed before the onslaught of the Talkie. *The Talkie.*

The introduction of women on the stage paved the way for the unpopularity of male heroines. A bevy of beautiful girls on the stage, became the craze of the day. Eminent female actors like Sthanam, received a shock and in their place, actresses like Purnima, Kannamba, Rajeswari came into prominence. The Cinema grew more potent after 1934 and worked as a serious rival to the stage and the stage dwindled and lost favour, as talent was diverted to the screen and the Films and the Radio changed the tone of public entertainment. Satires like Malapilla, Vande Mataram, Brahmachari, influenced the public mind.

After the close of the last war in 1945, a new trend became apparent in the Andhra Theatre. *Communist plays* best exemplified in the powerful voice of K. Gopala Sarma. Atreya, Narsaraju created a new tradition with Mundadugu, Eduritha, Akali, Boots, Atmarpana, Parivartana, Potugadda etc. The emotional warmth and democratic ideals of these plays were dynamic contributions, to the contemporary theatre. India has an authentic dramatic tradition and only a new

orientation is required to make it once again a power for good in this ancient land. A theatre which does not contain within itself the capacity for reflecting change is doomed to sterility.

Whether it is a full-dressed Drama, a Harikatha, Burra-Katha (Ballad), the Andhras could easily take to it with a whiff of native air and strike a richer note. There is no more eloquent evidence of Andhra versatility in Art and Letters than the spontaneity with which the men and women of the country-side raise their voices when the "curfew tolls the knell of parting day and the lowing herd wind slowly over the lee" and reach the homes singing the folk-songs. Poet Harindranath Chattopadhyaya openly acknowledged that he composed some songs having got inspired by the Andhra Boat-men's Ditties. The revival of the theatre became an urgent necessity but its path is obsessed with innumerable obstacles. Year after year all the play-houses were converted into picture palaces so that it is rather difficult now to secure a hall to stage dramas. A house built exclusively for staging plays is a necessity.

The Commercial Theatre was started in 1914 and ended in 1934. It is the bane of the artistic enterprise. A movement that can harness the talent of the actor is an urgent necessity. Proper and well written plays and produced at a cheap cost are the necessary adjuncts to a living stage. Another difficulty is finance. We cannot make the theatre a financial gambling venture. Dependence on light and shade effects rather than on solid scenery will be quite helpful as our people are accustomed to have touring companies from the beginning. Therefore portable equipment and cheap tickets are necessary to allow more people to attend the quality play. *The Andhra University* should create a branch for the purpose of improving the Dramatic art just like Annamalai and Mysore Universities. The University must have a *Laboratory Theatre*, where production, Theatrical craft, play-writing, make-up, acting, stage-direction, should be taught to young students and diplomas issued to them.

It is an appreciable feature that Mr. K. S. Rao, of Bezawada started the "Little Theatre Movement" and attached it to the P. T. I. The Natya Kala Parishat (Academy) started in 1929 awards prizes to successful amateur troupes every year and honours old actors. Satires, Farces, etc. That are being staged every year by students of colleges, is a happy prospect.

"Dramatic Renaissance will not be truly Indian if it is only going to create an imitation in India of the European theatre; An organic and truly Indian theatre has to be raised in this task. The

ancient Sanscrit literature on dance, drama and music, the examples of sanscrit dramatists, like Kalidasa, and the many vernacular survivals, in the various provinces, in the shape of dance and drama have to play a great part. Drama is not to be brushed aside by stale catch words of criticism. Indian drama is a preservation of a fine unification of *Bhāva*, *Raga* and *Tāla*. It must be preserved from modern contamination and slander".— (Dr. V. Raghavan)

Andhra Dance Movement.

All dances are based on the symbolism of old religions, whether of Animistic, Buddhist, the Moslem or Hindu Faith. Kuchipudi Dance in Andhra, was originated by Siddhendra Yogi-who got divine inspiration from Nataraja, and Movva Gopala of Movva.

Among the great men that lived and died in obscurity, in Andhra, the name of Kshetravaya, alias Varadayya, poet, philosopher, dancer and devotee, who spread the art of Kuchipudu Dance in Andhra, can be mentioned as one. Usually a prophet is not honoured in his own country. Kshetravaya's name which is lost in the Labyrinths of history, deserves renovation. The life-story of the troubador is very vague and there is lot of controversy about his nativity. The only fact that the natives of Kuchipudi are still pursuing the art of dance to-day in the foot-steps of Varadayya, is the only proof of establishing the latter's birth place. Varadayya was the author of several thousands of Padas (erotic-songs) describing the amours of Krishna of Brindavan. These Padas remain till today like a casket of untarnished jewels ever glistening with a refreshed radiance. These padas usually displayed with Abhinaya are the means of recreation to the villagers. The Kuchipudi dancers have developed a characteristic method of make-up dress and speech in the plays and their abhinaya is in comparable. Veteran dancers Chinta Venkatramayya, Vedantam Lakshminarayana, were well-versed in many types of Bharata Natya as promulgated by Bharata Dattila, Kohala, Nandikeswara, Arjuna. To prove the similarity between the Balinese and the Andhra dances, one should be acquainted with the sources of the historical migration of Andhras to the coastal areas. Besides preserving, practising and propagating the Kuchipudi dance, the Andhras should endeavour to establish a *school of dance and drama* to train young aspirants in the twin arts of drama and dance. In this move, the Govt. of Andhra, should extend their whole hearted co-operation, and journalists should give due publicity as it is with Kathakali or Manipuri, and research scholars should carry on researches into the very life of the famous dance.

Conclusion

A Band of trained workers with tap-recording machines and sound apparatus start a survey of India's treasures of folk music, new horizons will be opened for the study of musical history throughout India. It is only then that we will be able to preserve past art. *A borrowed musical system of any foreign nation can never bring to the life of a people the elements of interest and active participation which a create tradition can offer.* The forms of folk music are precious land-marks in the history of a country and can often represent remarkable contributions to the World's Musical Culture. They are as worthy of preservation as are ancient manuscripts or documents.

Folk songs must be recorded and assembled in permanent form. The library of Music Congress must supply duplicates of folk song records to the libraries of schools and colleges prepared under the supervision of the recording laboratory. The singers must comprise of every variety viz *Shepherds, boatmen, hunters, acrobats, farmers, coolies, artisans, jugglers, mendicants* and the records must be preserved in the National Archives of Govt. of India. Their songs are descriptive of the work and play of the many national groups which contribute to the cultural heritage of India. Portable recording sets can facilitate the work. A detailed catalogue of musical instruments both classical and folk should be prepared and a similar record of songs also is needed. Thus a nucleus of a "*National library of Indian music*" with recorded and visualised music in classical and folk forms can be established under a **MINISTRY OF ARTS**. After the inductive process of collecting data in the sphere of music, useful and practical deductions could be made in order to make the knowledge of music more systematised. Several systems of notation are in vogue to-day but a uniform system will have to be evolved. Foreign system of notation hardly suits us.

ICONOGRAPHIC STUDY OF MUSIC AND MUSICAL THERAPEUTICS.

By M. R. Sastry, Kovvur.

Kala is the common term applied to arts in ancient days. Music, dance, painting and sculpture are regarded as its various modes of expression. All the arts obeyed uniform canons of literary criticism and appraisal and it was well known that the scholars were mainly concerned with the consideration of the fundamental concepts of beauty and its spiritual significance. Consequently there grew up a unique harmonious relationship between various arts including poetry, painting, and music. Poets, painters and musicians joined hands and worked in unison to carry out the mission with the result that at the end of the 16th cent. we have a Ragamala series, the distinguishing feature of which is the lyricism, which revealed the influence of the literary traditions of the time. All these pictures have reference to a prescribed tune, performed under some precise condition, defined by specified hours of time, and by the seasons, thus providing diagrammatic guides to the proper use of the melodies. Leaving aside the earlier pantheon of the Vedas, the desire to visualise the abstract in colour by the doctrine of image worship as known in Theistic Hinduism where the method of the Yoga is employed to focus the attention in order to lead to the realisation of identity, by consciousness with the object worshipped by means of Dhyāna Mantra, Trance formula giving to the subtle form, a gross form descriptively.

The idea of personification of musical modes seems to be absolutely Indian in origin, and we mark it since very ancient times. The earliest reference to this subject is found in Bruhaddharma Purana, where a story runs that a sage Nārada fancied himself to be a master singer, when he had no correct knowledge of music. To curb his pride, Sri Maha Vishnu took Nārada on a pre-conceived pleasure trip, to an illusory Paradise somewhere near Simla (So the belief goes) where entering a spacious apartment, Nārada saw many women lamenting over their mutilated limbs. Seeing this, Nārada enquired Mahavishnu who these maimed beings were. At the command of Vishnu, the sufferers answered straight, that one Sage Nārada was the cause of their pitiable state, and that they were Raga-Reginis created by Lord Maha-Deo. Being imperfect in music, Nārada had invoked them recklessly with the result that their features were distorted and limbs

broken and that unless Mahadeva sings, they would not be restored to their formal position. Hearing this, Narada was humiliated. No adequate proof is needed that great masters like Tansen, Muthuswami Dikshitar and Tyagaraja, Gopal Naik, Baiju and Vidyaranya Swami, the founder of Karnatic Samrajya, performed miracles by singing ragas in proper seasons and hours of the day.

Now-a-days, people have grown secular, irreligious and have lost faith in the Canons of Sangita Sastra. Therefore it has become doubtful, if our raga 'devatas' are after all mythical and the principles laid down in our Sastras are false, as the modern musician is not capable enough to produce the mystical effects of Ragas.

The possibility of visualising the Melody modes is due to the peculiar conditions of Indian music based on the principles of melody, giving out various musical modes of ragas. A raga is a melodious arrangement of musical notes in an octave, so made as to express a definite mood, from which several aspects of emotion arise and lead to different effects. This melodious arrangement is a homogeneous one having a succession of notes rather than a cluster of notes, as a fixed rule. Each of these model arrangements belonging to certain cognate and agnate groups express clearly, different psychical values and interpretations. Ear, eye and intellect combine to create these pictorial representations of ragas, which have been a peculiar contribution of Hindustani music. In Medieval period, great metamorphosis came in the regime of the Mughals, and as a result, several gharanas sprang into existence.

Music has become more or less a practical art in the hands of sangita "vidwans" and 'ustads', who never cared to study the old Sanscrit treatises in which the mysteries of music lay hidden. Hence raga purity suffered a great deal and music lost its efficacy as a supernatural element. The painter's job became difficult due to these classifications of schools but he selected only such ragas which were of more emotional value for his canvas. There are distinctive schools viz, the Rajput, the Moghul and the Kangra, whose pictorial illustrations of Personified ragas are known as "Ragamaya" or "Devatatmaka" pictures, generally thirty six in number, possibly found in the public libraries and museums of native Rajas and Jagirdas of Hyderabad.

There is a belief inherent in the theory of music, that each raga or ragini over and above its personal form possesses a psychic form, which marks a visible appearance before its votary, when the particular raga, has been correctly executed. So an invocative form of prayer for con-

templation has led to the concept of the graphic representation) psychic forms having been visible appearances and as such they may be considered to be the origin of all these graphic representations of musical modes.

It is impossible to say definitely when the concept of the graphic representation of musical modes came into existence. What is certain however, is that the idea was unknown to the poets and the painters of the 14th cent and also to Sarangadeva, the celebrated author of music. It is not improbable that Ragini pictures came into vogue in the reign of Mughal Emperors when the life of man was undergoing subtle changes due to the Bhakti cult, propagated by Sri Chaitanya, Jayadeva and others. Somanatha's Ragayibodha (1609 A. D.) was the first treatise in which ragas were described in pictorial form. The next book is Raga Darpana of Damodara Misra which clears the alluded visual forms of these ragas. Ragamala by Gangadhara, Nāḍavinoda, Nāḍa Chintamani of Pannalal, Visualised music of O. C. Ganguly, Calcutta, Sangita Bhava by Maharaja of Dharmapur, are some of the best reference works on the subject.

In foreign countries, sound waves converted into electric rays were transfused on patients to cure some chronic diseases. Kalbe Ali Khan of Rampur, heard Raga Jayajayawanti, continuously for three years to be rid of Paralysis. Prof. Kasalkar of Allahabad, sang Raga Purbi and cured sleeplessness of Major Ranjit Singh. Pandit Omkarnath Thakur of Banaras University is now a living authority on 'Ragas and their effects' and he made experiments of Raga Dipak and Mallar in Nagpur University and Sourashtra. Malkaus has the effect to melt a stone, to cure epileptic fits, and de-phlegm the system. Raga Hindol cures head ache and sorrow. Thus there are many Ragas whose effects are marvellous according to Musical Therapeutics.

THE NELAKOTA FORT: A HOME OF REDDY KINGS OF ANDHRA.

by

Sri V. SRINIVASACHARI, I. A. S.

This article draws attention to the ruins of Nelakota fort in the East Godavari District and its status at the time of the Reddy Kings of Andhra.

The village Nelakota is situated at a distance of three miles from Purushothapatnam in Rampachodavaram Taluk, in the Agency tracts of the East Godavari District in the Andhra Desa. Purushothapatnam is accessible by road by the eastern bank of the River Godavari, and is at a distance of about 21 miles from Rajahmundry.

Nelakota village has a population of barely 200 mostly of Reddy community, and near the village there is a fort of mud-walls, fast disappearing completely. The ground-fort is divided by a cross-wall, similar in structure to the walls around, into two portions, one larger than the other; and they are known locally as Pedda Kota (Large fort), and Chinna Kota (small fort) respectively. In the damaged portions of the mud-walls, which have more or less completely disappeared, a few large size flat, broken bricks of 12" X 10" X 4" which are stated to be bullet-proof, could be found exposed. Obviously, the two mud wall fortresses (which incidentally is the meaning of "Nelakota") at the bottom of the hill, must have been built to protect the main hill-fort on the top from the invading forces.

The main hill-fort is on the top of the hill known as Durga Hill. Even though the approach upto the hill is not very difficult, the hill is very steep and the hill-fort as such should have played an important role in early Andhra History. The Fort Nelakota finds mention in the rule of the Reddy Kings of the Andhra Desa in the 14th and 15th centuries.

On the way near the top of the hill, there is a dilapidated temple dedicated to Sri Rama, situated on a portion of the hill known as Ramadurgam or Ramagiri which attracts thousands of pilgrims during the annual Sree Rama Navami festival.

The main fort on the top of the hill was built of very large sized stones, and in construction this resembles the forts of the early Reddy Kings. The walls are found broken with lots of debris nearby. All the constructions are of large sized cut-stones, large-sized flat

bullet-proof bricks made of mud and the entire fort wall is made up of huge stone walls upto 9' width. The walls on the hill-top are upto 50 feet in height. It is surprising that no water source exists on the top of the hill at present. Many tunnel like caves are also in existence nearby. In the center of these walls is a dilapidated temple and brick Vimāna (tower of large bricks) similar to the Temple of Ramadurgam. The images are Vaishnavite in character. Outside the temple is seen the base stone of a Siva Linga, which shows that the original temple was perhaps that of Siva. There are vestiges of large structures with stone-walls, like a water cistern made out of cut-stone, a tank etc., on the top. There is a flat piece of about 20 acres of land on the top, which must have been the main centre of the activities of the fort at its zenith. More exploration on the top is ordinarily not possible due to the heavily wooded nature of the area on the hill top.

The main fort-hill is surrounded by several other hills of lesser height nearby, the former dominating the others. The entire place full of mythology, is reminiscent of the visit of Rama and his entourage, as seen from the names of the hills, etc., in vogue. For example, one hill is known as "Bāllintarala metta," on which are found yellow turmeric-like pieces of stones, reminiscent of Seetha's visit to the place. On the way to Nelakota there is another hill consisting of two large-sized stones, standing erect, named after Rama and Lakshmana.

Most of the hills nearby have some temple or other situated on the hill-top. However, almost all the images are found with heads and limbs lopped off. It therefore appears that the Muslim invasion passed through these hills across the Godavari river in the sixteenth century from Polavaram to Purushothapatnam on the way to Rajamahendravaram, which attained its pinnacle of glory during the regime of Raja Raja Narendra in the 11th century. Most of these temples have bhajantri, washermen, and barber inam service lands and it is surprising to note that no inam services were instituted by the then ruling Rajas and Zamindars for daily service of performances in these temples by large grants.

From the Rajahmundry Museum Copper-Plate inscription of Anna Deva Choda published in the Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society (vide pages 172 to 189 in volume I-No. 4), we learn that he ruled over Chodavaram (the present Rampachodavaram), Yellavaram, Polavaram and other neighbouring hilly tracts for a period of twenty years from 1367 A.D. to 1387 A.D. Anna deva Choda, being a strong

devotee of Lord Kasi Visweswara, named his son as Veerabhadra, made several gifts to the Veerabhadra temple of Pattisam (situate in the midst of Godavari river on a hillock), which he gilded with gold and further granted among others an Agrahara named after himself, viz., Choda Anna Deva Varam (which is the present Anna Devara Peta in Polavaram division), to several learned Brahmin pandits. Anna Deva Choda who transferred his capital from Kamavaram in Yellavaram division to Ramavara-pukota, viz., Ramagiri for security reasons and ruled there for twenty years, was conquered in 1387 A. D., by the Reddy Kings Kumaragiri and Kataya Vema, after whose fall, it passed into the hands of the Gajapathis, of whom Purushothama Gajapathi ruled from Ramagiri and named it after himself. Thus, the village Purushothapatnam must have played an important part during the periods of rule of the Reddy Kings and the Gajapathis, in particular at the time of Purushothama Gajapathi (1469 A. D. to 1497 A. D.)

GUNUPUDI BHIMAVARAM COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF MAHAMMAD KUTUB SHAH OF GOLCONDA (1612-26.)

by

*Sri Y. Vittol Rao, M. A., B. Ed. Head of the Hist. & Eco.
Dept., W. G. B. College, Bhimavaram.*

This copper-plate inscription of Sultan Mahammad Padshah (Kutub Shah) is dated Kalayukti Samvat Sravana Suddha 14, Sunday (1617-18). The Inscription has been found with Sri Rayaprolu Kumara Swamy, Telugu Pandit, S. Ch. B. R. High School (W. G. College) Bhimavaram. With his co-operation, the details regarding the inscription are published in this journal.

The Copper-Plate measures $13\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$. The script is Telugu and language of Inscription is throughout Telugu. The inscription fixes the boundaries of Gunupundi village (Bhimavaram) and contains inscription on both sides.

The Seal unfortunately is lost. But it contains the lunar and solar signs at the top, and between them are found the Linga and Panupattam (of Someswara). To the right of it is the figure of a Bull with the tail raised, indicating victory. At the left of the Linga and Panupattam is found Ganesa in sitting posture with battle axe in left hand and Damru in the right hand. By his side to his right is found standing the figure of Kumaraswami with a Velayudham in hand, and to his right is the sitting figure of Dakshinamurti (?), with double axe in the left hand and a Kumbham in the right.

In the presence of several gentlemen of the neighbouring villages of Gunupundi, Undi, Vissa Koderu, Bhimavaram, Kumudavalli, assembled, the boundaries were fixed as per the custom among the Hindus according to a regular religious procedure. The Kutub Shahis of Golconda were in power from 1512 to 1687. Golkonda comprised the old Hindu Kingdom of Warangal. Golkonda as a separate independent Kingdom rose on the ruins of the Bhamini Kingdom, along with Bidar, Berar, Ahmednagar and Bijapur. Golkonda was founded by Kutb Shah (Kuli Kutb-ul-Mulk), a Turki officer of the Bhamini Kingdom. During the reign of Muhammad Shah Bhamini, he was the Governor of Telangana. He declared his Independence in 1512 and ruled up to 1543. He was succeeded by Jamshid (1543-50,) then Ibrahim (1550-80), Muhammad Kuli (1580-1612), Md. Kutb Shah (1612-26,) (Abdulla 1626-72.) Then Abdul Hasan ruled till 1687 when it was annexed by Aurangazeb, the Moghul Emperor. The Sultans of Golkonda of

Kutb Shahi dynasty, though Muhammadans in religion, were tolerant to the Hindus. There were fanatics like Mir Jumla, no doubt, but in general they had a great regard for the Hindus, and gave them high appointments. Ibrahim Kutbshah (1550-80) had a taste for learning and literature, and Poets like Ramaraja Bhusana were honoured by him. In the several Chātuvās, Ibrahim is mentioned as 'Malki bharam'. He was so sensitive a ruler that when he saw the rich spoils and plunder (Gold & Silver idols) brought by Gen. Murari Rao after raiding the Ahobalam temple, he died of broken heart. Muhammad Kutb Shah (1612-26) to whose time the present Copper-Plate inscription must be ascribed also took interest in philosophy and was an enlightened ruler who patronised several poets, musicians & artists. K.M. Panikar writes, "In all Hindu courts, music was of course an essential part of life, and the Sultanates of the Deccan maintained an army of musicians-Golkonda as many as 20,000." With Abul Hassan or Tana Shah's name is associated the devotee of Rama, Kancharla Gopanna or Ramdas. Muhammad Kutb Shah is said to have done royal Honours to Sri Kamareddi of Domakonda.

The Sultans of the Qutbshahi dynasty were famous for their works of public utility and their regime saw flourishing trade with the Western Countries.

The Copper-Plate inscription in question now is another indication of the tolerant policy of the Qutbshahis. The inscription begins with "Sultānu Muhammanddu Pādusā Rājyāna". The Sultans of Golkonda had affixed the titles "Padshah and Tana Shah". This is clear from the reply given by Abul Hasan when the Moghul representative at his court took objection to Hasan calling himself "Emperor in my own country." "If we are not called Padishahs, how can Aurangzeb be styled the Padishah of Padishahs?" Sultānu Muhammanddu Pādusā of the Copper-Plate inscription is Sultan Muhammad Kutb Shah who ruled from 1617-26.

The transcript of the Inscription is given in English thus for the benefit of the readers.

Text:—(At the top of the figures noted at the beginning of the plate)

Sultānu Muhammanddu Pādusā Rājyāna.

Kāla yukti Samvatsara Sravano S'u 14 Abi Hujuru—

Kakitarāju Krishno	Gadirāju :	Kunatharāju.
Timmarsu jānibu	Timmarāju	Venkkatarāju.
Khoja Hakuwardi	Ganttasāla	Vissākoderu
Agāhavāri Sallvundi:	Sattenāyō	Prajalu
Disa iyyānisamutu	Kaddam Sall,	Adinēni Kalisapūndi.
Vundi	Yanamadurru,	Chanamallu Sarparāju.

Mente Somaya	Palakoderu,	Pattisam
Kondda Venkkadi	Ayyaparāju,	Korubilli Kāsinātha Bhatia
Patūri Chīna Peddirāju:	Kulkarņi	Perubhatlu
	Bhimavarapu Prajalu,	Tontā.
	Mentasetti Balmeya,	Venkkadi.
	Brinddavanam, raya,	Vaāla.
	Peraya, Venggali Mallaya,	Kūnaya.
	Sagāmajannu,	Pālūri.
	Bhatlu.	Kāmarāji, Kulkarans.
Gudipūndi Prajalu	Nāddamudi	
	Venkkadi	
Bontthu Timmaya	Kasirāddi Kasinggana	
Vaidya Peddi pūjari	Komati Kolluri	
Potaya	Lachaya	
Kamppalavanji Perubhatlu	Vadlakomppa	
Nādam Bāmpē Setti	Battudi.	
Kumudavalli	Prajalu.	
Donthatya	Linggaya	
Devalneni Sarpaya	Pasapuleti Ganggaya	
Rānem bantravutulu		
Venggadiseti Sarpaya	Siddapeḍi.	

Second side of Plate,

Adapa Sobaya, Gurugu Bhadrī, Mūlapūri Ayyapa.

Viri mundarannu Gudipūdi lo majarā Sūpūdiki Vuttaramunnu Nagati Varaku Kumudavelli Tūru Dakshināla kunnū Polimera Ninnayāna kai Gudipūdi Arādhyula Ammirājunnū, Kumudavelli Kampu-Linggayānu, Peddalu cheppina lāguna. Tamalo Tamaru chēsukunna maryāda. Ammirāju Snanamchesi Arudra vastrāla tōnu, Nava dhānyalunnu, odigattukuni Nalugu valla mrittika nettippottukuni Devani prasādamunnu, Darbhapattu kuni Munddarai nadavanunnu, vepakanu Kumudavelli Lingayya nadavanunnu, Voppi Alage-ya dīnāraṇḍa. Yi sadarahi peddala Mundarāna Nadachina Haddu maddulu, Bhimavaram Polimera Nūru Atmakodu Modakukoni Sapūdi Kumudavelli Bāndhu Polimera Yimpalakara battukoni, Kumudavelli Kāmelamma Chhruvu Dakshanam Modulukoni Cheruvu Tūru Banṭalovelli, Mattala kara vattukuni Somana Cheruvu Padamara Vissākoderu Komucuvelli Chūpūdi Mattala Polimera Kambham Vaddiki Haddu chesi, Yindulanu Vrasina Chopuna Arādhyula Ammirāju Nadechenū. Yi Haddu Maddulu Achanāra Sthāyigānu Teragaḍa Ayenu. Yinduku Karakambhalu Vesinavi, Kāmelamma Cheruvu Dakshināna Vokitinni, Mattala karadharni Vokatini, Yi Chopuna Kara Kambhalu Vesi Tirugada Ayenu. Gudi-pūndi Ammirāju Vralu. Kumudavelli Lingayya Vralu. Yi Jaya Lekha Vrasinavāndu Nematī Dharmapuri. Chekkina Vāndu Vānapalli Chīna Garagaya.

రాగిరేకురెండవప్రక్క

అడప సోబయ్య గురుగు భద్ర మూలపూరి అయ్యవ వీరిముందరను గుడిపూడి లోమజరా సూపూడికి పుత్రరమున్ను. నాగటివరకు ముదవెల్లి తూపుక దక్షిణా లకుంన్ను, పొలిమెరనిన్న కొనకై, గుడిపూడి ఆరాధ్యుల అమ్మిరాజున్ను కుముదవెల్లి కాంపులింగయాను, పెద్దలు చెప్పినలాగున తమలోతమరు చేసుకుంన్న మర్యాద. అమ్మిరాజుసానంచేసి ఆకుద్రవస్త్రాలోను నవధాన్యాలున్ను వొడిగట్టు కుని నాలుగు పూళ్ల మితికి నెత్తి పెట్టుకుని దేవుని ప్రసాదముంన్ను గభాక పట్టుకుని ముందరై నడవనుంన్ను వెనకను కుముదవెల్లిలింగయ నడవనుంన్ను వొప్పి ఆలాగె యీ దినవారాన యీనడరహి పెద్దల ముందరననడచిన హద్దుమద్దులు. భీమవరము పొలిమేర నూరు ఆల్లంకొడు మోదలుకొని సూపూడి కుముద వెల్లి సంధు పొలిమేర యీంవలకర బట్టుకుని కుముదవెల్లి కామెలమ్మ చెరువు దక్షిణా మోదలుకుని చెరువు తూపుక బంట్టలోనెల్లి మట్టలకరవట్టుకునిసామన చెరువు పడమర విస్తారించెను కుముదవెల్లి సూపూడి ముత్తల పొలిమేరకంభం నడ్డికి హద్దుచేసి యింద్రులొని, వ్రాసిన చొప్పున ఆరాధ్యుల అమ్మి రాజునడిచెను. యీ హద్దు మద్దులు ఆచంద్రస్థాయిగాను తెరుగడ ఆయను. యిందుకు కరకం భాలు వెళినవి కామెలమ్మ చెరువు దక్షిణన వొకటిన్న మట్టలకరధరి వొక టిన్ని యీచొప్పున కరకంభాలు వెళితిరుగడ ఆయను ॥

గుడిపూడి అమ్మిరాజువ్రాలు, కుముదవెల్లి లింగయవ్రాలు, యీ జయశేఖ వ్రాసిన వాండు నెమరి ధన్యు పురి చెక్కిన వాండు వానవల్లి చిరగరగయ ॥

WRONG THEORIES ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF THE ANDHRAS REFUTED. ★

By

Sri Kota Venkatachalam, Bezvada.

(1) The Western Indologists and their followers invented certain theories about the Origin of the Andhras which I propose to examine here. One such theory is : *The Story in the Aitareya Brahmana*.

"Viswamitra cursed his fifty elder sons, owing to their disobedience to him in respect of their relationship with Sunassepha. According to this curse they became out-castes and they are mentioned in the Aitareya Brahmana along with such tribes as Pulinda, Pundra, Sabara, Mutiba, etc." These sons of Viswamitra were called Andhras and the name of the eldest son of Viswamitra must have been "Andhra".

It is wrong to conjecture that the name of the eldest son of Viswamitra was "Andhra". The most reliable source for the history of India is the historical material contained in the vast Sanskrit Literature. Our conjectures can lead us only to wrong theories like the present one. From Sir William Jones (1774 A. D.) to V. A. Smith (1915 A. D.) all the historians were led by the unfair motive of courtailing the antiquity of Indian civilisation and of showing that all the Indian peoples are so many mixtures of castes and races, as their own European nations are. The name of the eldest son of Viswamitra is 'Ashtaka', that of the second son is Harita, that of the third is Jayanta and that of the fourth is "Sumada". This is clearly stated in the ninth Skandha of Bhagavata. The conjecture that the name of the eldest son is "Andhra" is therefore wrong.

It must be pointed out that the Andhra tribe is not the creation of Viswamitra's curse but had been there long long before Viswamitra, from times immemorial as is known from the mention of Andhra, Pundra, Pulinda etc., as Bahyajatis or out-castes in Manusmriti, where certain laws regulating the lives of these out-castes are also mentioned. The cursed sons of Viswamitra became degraded, forgot their vedic lore, took to theft and other foul occupations and got mixed with the out-castes. The Aitareya Brahmana clearly says that the

* A Paper sent by "Bharata Charitra Bhaskara" Pandit Sri Kota Venkatachalam to be read at the Indian History Congress, 16th Session 1953, Waltair.

sons of Viswamitra mostly got mixed with the "Dasyus". "*Bahavo Viswamitra Dasyunam Buishtah*".

These European authors of our history have thus misinterpreted the version of the Aitareya Brahmana. A worse concoction of these historians is the statement that the cursed sons of Viswamitra settled on the territory between the Krishna and Godavari rivers. This has no basis in the Aitareya Brahmana or any where else in the whole of Sanskrit literature.

The Un-Aryans, the Ayajvans, the Dasyus, the Mlechchas, and the Bahyas were all formed from the Aryans. As the Aryans grew in numbers, they migrated gradually from Brahmavarta, the land between Saraswati and Drushadvati (rivers in Northern India) to the various places of Bharata-varsha. The Brahmavarta, was in fact, the birthplace and the cradle of the Aryans, who were the original Human race, from which sprang up all the other races of the world. All through the ages, the Aryans and the out-castes were living side by side in all the parts of our country and the point that they lived as neighbours in the Vindhya region is of no special significance, although the historians thought that it lent support to their theory.

(2) *The "Andhakas" and the "Andhakavana"*.

It is said that a tribe named "*Andhaka*" is mentioned in the Buddhistic literature and that "*Andhakas*" must be synonymous with "*Andhras*"! It is a wonderful bit of research! Still more wonderful is the statement that there is a forest called "*Andhakavana*" in Uttara Kosala and the "*Andhras*" originally lived there! Our historians thought that this would lend support to their theory but we shall presently see that it cuts at the very root of their theory.

It is ridiculous to assert that the "*Andhakas*" were identical with the "*Andhras*". *Andhaka*, also called "*Jindanodaka Dundhubhi*" was the 48th person in the line of Yayati of the Lunar Kshatriyas. Ugrasena was the 7th person of this line after '*Andhaka*'. His son '*Kamsa*' was killed by his nephew Sri Krishna at the end of Dwapara in the year 3218 B.C. These '*Andhakas*' were kinsmen of the Yadavas. Theirs is a pure respectable Kshatriya Dynasty following Vedic Dharma. The Brahmanda Purana and Bhagavata say that, those that read the history of this dynasty will be blessed with widespread progeny and prosperity' It is absurd to say that this dynasty is of a Bahyajati. (Out-caste).

Three terms, here, are to be clearly understood. 1. The "*Andhras*" (with short initial "A"—"*Andhra*") mentioned in the

Aitareya Brahmana. 2. *Andhakas* of the Lunar Kshatriya line. 3. "*Andhras*" "with long initial "Ā" are pure Aryans who had among themselves the fourfold caste-system & who followed the Vedic Dharma. The western historians have miserably confused these three terms and made a mess of the whole thing.

Andhakavana is, our historians say, the forest inhabited by the out-caste "*Andhras*". (Vide article by Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma, in *The Hindu* dated 1-10-53).

This conjecture appears to be silly. The following is the history of "*Andhakavana*" as told in *Dēvi Bhāgavata*.

Long ago, there lived an 'Asura' called "*Mahishāsura*" inhabiting the Himalayan regions. He conquered the whole of North India and ruled over it. He was killed by "*Parasakti*". Among his vassal kings there was one "*Andhakāsura*" ruling over Uttara Kosala, which he had conquered after driving out the Solar Kshatriya king of that country. The forest territory in which he lived was called *Andhakavana*. *Andhaka* too was killed by "*Parasakti*". After the death of *Andhaka* and *Mahisha*, this empire passed into the hands of "*Sathrugna*", a descendent of *Lakshmana*, the brother of *Rama*.

There was another occasion in the history of *Andhakavana*, when its name might have become significant. In the *Bhagavata Purana* (X th Skandha) we are told that *Kamsa* persecuted the *Yadus*, the *Bhojas*, the *Vr̥ṣnis*, the *Maruts*, the *Dasarhas*, the *Kukurus*, the "*Andhakas*" who were forced to leave *Madhura* and its surroundings and migrate to other places. Among these the *Andhakas* settled in *Uttarakosala*, (perhaps in this very *Andhaka* forest which had abundant grass for their cows). Later on, it is stated in *Bhagavata*, that all these refugees were called back by Sri Krishna after *Kamsa's* death. (*Andhra Mahā Bhāgavata* By Bammara Potanāmātya X-54 verse).

What on earth "*Andhaka*" has to do with "*Andhras*", our historians alone know!!

(3) *Asmaka and Mulaka*.

Our historians say that according to the Buddhistic literature (*Suttanipatta*) the *Asmaka* and *Mulaka* were the first kings to settle in the Godavari valley and rule over that territory. (Vide article by Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma, in *The Hindu* dated 1-10-53).

They conclude from this that the *Assakas* and *Mulakas* were two sub-tribes among the '*Andhras*'. They say that the *Satavahanas* also were a sub-sect of the '*Andhras*' who were out-castes and that the

Andhra Desa has derived its name, from the 'Andhrasect' who were out-castes.

It is a pity that many of our countrymen are misled by the western Indologists and blindly follow their theories, little caring to know what our own ancient literature has got to say on the subject. Disrespect and contempt for everything Indian and a blind superstitious faith in the writings of the westerners seem to be the guiding principles of our historians.

Now, let us see what our own literature has got to say of Asmaka and Mulaka. The Bhagavata and other Puranas say that Asmaka was a king of the Solar dynasty ruling over the Ayodhya kingdom, and his son was known by the name of Mulaka, because he became the Mula or the only seed of the dynasty left after the extermination of the Kshatriyas by Parasurama. It is also stated that he was called 'Narikavacha' because he sheltered himself from Parasurama's axe by hiding himself among the Kshatriya ladies.

After Asmaka, Mulaka was the only remnant of the Suryavamsi dynasty. So, it is absurd to suppose that he migrated to the Godavari valley and it is equally absurd to think that Asmaka who had died much earlier came down to the Godavari valley along with Mulaka. Except these Solar kings, there were no other kings of these names. There is absolutely no ground to suppose that there ever existed two tribes of these names.

It is a pity that the Andhras are represented as an out-caste, uncivilised tribe engaged in such vile professions as 'robbery, and butchery' while as a matter of fact there is abundant material in Sanskrit literature to show that they were a highly civilised and cultured Aryan community.

THE GENUINE HISTORY OF THE ANDHRAS. ★

By

Sri Kota Venkatachalam, Bezwada.

Swayambhuva Prajapati was the first progenitor of mankind, as also the first Arya and he was followed by the ten Prajapatis, Vasishtha, Atri, Kasyapa, Daksha etc. Swayambhuva prajapati was born in the Brahnavarta Desa, in North India, the land between Sarasvati and Dhrishadvati (Rivers in Northern India). The Puranas which describe all this history say that he was an Arya, the first Arya. In the beginning of every cycle of creation, the Aryas are born here.

The ten Prajapatis and their progeny gradually spread over Panchala, the land to the west of Brahnavarta. The Aryas in Brahnavarta gradually spread over Madhyadesa, which is to the east of Sarasvati river and west of Prayaga. There, a group of Aryas (following Varnāśrama system) electing Videhamadhava as their King who had Gautama Rahugana as his Gurn, spread towards the east upto Ganga and still later upto the river Krbha in the west. The land occupied by Aryas was called Aryavarta. As the Aryan community grew, it extended itself even to the South of the Vindhya upto Kanyakumari. Wherever they went these Aryas were observers of Varnāśrama Dharma, which included the order of the four castes and mixed castes. It was then that the whole of India was called Aryavarta and the first ruler of the expanded Aryan country was Swayambhuva Manu also called Bharata. Those among the Aryas who gave up the Vedic Dharma and took to other ways of life and faiths were called Dasyus, and Mlecchas and several such people settled in North Asia, Europe and Africa, where to they carried some elements of Aryan culture.

In the Sanskrit literature, we find the history of all the races of the world.

At the end of the Treta Yuga lived a king called Bali, who was of the 15th Pramukha vamsa after Yayati. Bali, like his ancestors, ruled over the Prāchyaka territory which lay from the Northern end of

★ This is the second paper sent by "Bharata Charitra Bhaskara" Pandit Sri Kota Venkatachalam to be read at the Indian History Congress, 16th Session 1953, Waltair.

Bengal to the present Madras city. He had six sons namely Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Samha, Pundra and Āndhra, who, after the death of their father, divided the Prāchya kingdom among themselves and each man's kingdom was named after him. Thus, the kingdom of the sixth son 'Āndhra' came to be known as 'Āndhra Desa'. The people of this territory as those of the others were pure Āryas of Chaturvarna system and, their language 'Telugu' came to be known as the Āndhra language'.

In the Devi Bhagavata, we read that, as long ago as the 24th Mahāyuga (1½ crores years back), a Kshatriya king of Simhala wanted to give his daughter in marriage to the then Andhra king. In the Bhagavatam it is said that among the suitors of Ushākanya, the Āndhra king was one. Such instances show that the Āndhras were pure Āryas worthy of matrimonial alliances with the other Āryas following the traditional Vedic Dharma.

The first Andhra king of the historical period was Srimukha of 833 B.C., who occupied the Magadha throne and later ruled over the whole of India, with Girivraja as the capital. It is said that Srimukha was a native of Srikakulam on the banks of the Krishna. Before he became the king he had been the chief minister and military commander of Susrma, the Kanva Emperor of Magadha.

For certain reasons, he killed the Emperor and usurped the throne. This dynasty ruled for 506 years and is known as the Āndhra (Satavahana) dynasty.

The Puranas give a succinct account of the various kings that ruled over Magadha from the time of the Mahabharata war upto 1193 A.D. The point to be noted is that the period given above as the ruling period of the Andhra dynasty exactly fits in to this setting. The following table may be examined :-

The beginning of Kali 3102 B. C.

(All the western Indologists accepted this. Vide my "Indian Eras").

36 years before the beginning of Kali, the coronation of Yudhisthira took place. Yudhisthira reigned for 36 years. On the death of Sri Krishna and at the commencement of Kali, he left the throne.

The year 26 Kali is marked by (1) the ascent of Yudhisthira to Swarga and (2) the passage of the Great Bear from Makha to the next Star. That very year marks the beginning of 'Yudhisthira Kala' (Era) or the Laukikabda. The Western scholars have accepted this. 3076 B. C.

The coronation of Somadhi or Marjari in Magadha 3188 B. C.

(1) Somadhi's Dynasty, known as the Barhadra-dha dynasty of 22 kings ruled for 1000 years i. e. Till 2182 B. C.

(2) Pradyota dynasty of five kings ruled for 138 years. i. e. Till 1994 B. C.

(3) Sisunaga dynasty of ten kings ruled for 360 years. i. e. Till 1634 B. C.

(4) Nanda dynasty of 9 kings ruled for 100 years. i. e. Till 1534 B. C.

(5) Maurya dynasty starting with Chandragupta (1534) of 12 kings ruled for 316 years. i. e. Till 1218 B. C.

(6) Sunga dynasty of 10 kings ruled for 300 years i. e. Till 918 B. C.

(7) Kanva dynasty of 4 kings ruled for 85 years i. e. Till 833 B. C.

(8) Andhra dynasty of 32 kings ruled for 506 years i. e. Till 327 B. C.

(9) Andhra Bhritiya dynasty (or Gupta dynasty) of 7 kings ruled for 245 years i. e. Till 82 B. C.

(10) Padwar dynasty of which the eighth king was Vikramaditya. His dynasty ruled for 1275 years i. e. Till 1193 A. D.

(Vikramaditya ascended the throne in 82 B. C., and started the Vikrama Era in 57 B. C. There were 24 kings of this dynasty that ruled for 1275 years.)

The Puranas unanimously say that Sri Mukha Satavahana the first Emperor of the Andhra dynasty ascended the throne in 833 B. C.

Thus, the history of India given in Puranas is consistent and connected and clearly shows that the history constructed by the European Indologists and blindly accepted by our own people is full of mistakes and baseless conjectures.

A NOTE ON THE NEW EDITION OF DANDIN'S AVANTISUNDARI

By

Sūranād Kunjan Pillai, M. A.,

HON. DIRECTOR, UNIVERSITY MSS. LIBRARY, TRIVANDRUM.

It is a matter of immense gratification that we were able to bring out the present edition of the Avantisundari Kathā, a fragment of which was published in 1924 by Sri M. Rāmakṛṣṇa Kavi. The edition of Sri Kavi was based on a very defective, fragmentary manuscript full of lacunae, discovered from Kōṭṭakkal, Malabar. Only the beginning of the book was available to him and his edition covers only 25 pages in print. The present edition is based on a far fuller manuscript although this too is defective and fragmentary. This runs to 246 pages in print and carries the story to the narration of the tale of Kādambari by Mandakini. It may be seen that this covers nearly half the story in the Pūrvapithikā of the Daśakumāracarita, the subjectmatter of which is identical.

This work is bound to be of great interest to the students of the works of Dandin, the celebrated rhetorician and story-teller of Sanskrit. Much has been written about the works of Daṇḍin by several scholars. There is no consensus of opinion regarding his works.

From a verse of Rājasekhara, we know that Daṇḍin was the author of three works. Only about one work viz., the Kāvyaḍarsa, there is absolute unanimity of opinion. The majority of scholars favour Daṇḍin's authorship of the Daśakumāracarita also. (See History of Sanskrit Poetics—Introduction to Sāhitya Darpana by P. V. Kane, p. 89). The third work is taken to be Chandōviciti by some, Dvisandhāna, Mr̥chakatika or Kalāparicchēda by others. Detailed discussion on the question of identification of the third work may be seen in the Introduction to the present edition. But a more important problem has been raised by the discovery of the Avantisundari Kathā which is specifically attributed to Dandin. The question is whether Dandin wrote only three Works as stated by Rājasekhara, and whether he

* Kāvyaḍarsa, Daśakumāracarita, Mr̥chakatika, Chandōviciti, Kalāparicchēda, Dvisandhāna and Avantisundari are attributed to Dandin by several scholars.

wrote both the Daśakumāracarita and the Avantisundari, the latter being only a more elaborate and altered version of the former so far as we are able to judge. From the data available, it is doubtful whether the statement of Rājasekhara can be accepted as correct, as in that case, the authorship of certain works like the Dvisandhāna etc., now assigned to him, will have to be re-examined.

What is, however, more important in this connection is the identification of the authors of the Daśakumāracarita and the Avantisundari. From the colophons of manuscripts available here, we find that both are works of Daṇḍin. The colophon in the Avantisundari, according to the manuscript available in this library, is as follows:—

“इत्याचार्यदण्डिना कृता अवन्तिसुन्दरी समाप्तः ।”

It is also stated in the work itself that the story is narrated by Daṇḍin at the instance of his friends. This is sufficient proof that the Avantisundari is the work of Ācārya Daṇḍin. There is also strong evidence to ascribe the Daśakumāracarita to Daṇḍin. Tradition is quite in favour of this attribution. In the colophons of the manuscripts of the Daśakumāracarita, we find Daṇḍin being mentioned as the author of the work. The colophon in one paper manuscript (14035 A of the library) is as follows:—

‘इति दण्डिनः कृतौ दशकुमारचरिते अपहारकर्मचरितं नाम द्वितीय उच्छ्वासः ।’

In another palm-leaf manuscript (10635), again, we find the name of Daṇḍin being mentioned:

‘इति श्रीदण्डिविरचिते दशकुमारचरिते प्रथम चरितम् ।’

On this question, new light is forthcoming from an old Sanskrit work, Abhijñāna Śakuntala Carcā, by an anonymous author now being published in the Sanskrit Journal of this Institution (vide Vol. VIII, No. 1. p. 9). A passage from the Daśakumāracarita is quoted in the Carcā with the preface ‘अत्राह दण्डी’. This also supports the tradition of Daṇḍin's authorship of the Daśakumāracarita. There is doubt as to the authorship of the available version of the Pūrvapithikā of that work. The question does not require detailed consideration here, as we are not directly concerned with that.

The facts stated above in regard to the authorship of the Avantisundari and the Daśakumāracarita are sufficient to ascribe both the works to Ācārya Daṇḍin. But some scholars and critics cannot willingly accept that both these are works by the same author, on

account of the difference in style between them Dr. A. Berriedale Keith, for example has, in his preface to 'A History of Sanskrit Literature' stated that "if a Daṇḍin wrote the work (the Avantisundari) he was assuredly not the author of the Daśakumāracarita, and its date may be centuries later than the great Daṇḍin, for there is no reason to accept the suggestion that a writer of the Katha lived sufficiently soon after the famous Daṇḍin to be familiar with his genealogy and to work it into his story" Dr. Keith was greatly influenced in his opinion by the views of Dr. S. K. De 'that even the most careless reader of the Katha and the Daśakumāracarita should have been struck by the extraordinary difference of style between the two works, the Katha rivalling unsuccessfully the worst mannerisms of the Harsacarita and the Kādambari, (See the Preface to 'A History of Sanskrit Literature' by A. B. Keith, p. xvi). But other scholars who have examined the question of authorship of these works have adopted different conclusions. Dr. P. V. Kane in his 'Introduction to the Sāhitya Darpana' has stated that "the Avantisundari Katha is the first portion of the whole story, the current Daśakumāracarita is the middle portion, and there is one Uucchvāsa for the Uttarapīṭhikā (p. 92). Considering all that has been said by several scholars, Dr. Kane is inclined to hold on the whole (though with some hesitation) that the Avantisundari Katha is the work of Daṇḍin and constitutes the prelude to the current Daśakumāracarita". This view seems to be quite acceptable. Arguments based merely on the style of composition in these works cannot be considered as convincing proof that the works are by different authors. The contrary is established by categorical statement.

The Edition, as above stated is based entirely, on one manuscript and that too defective (No. 10863) The editors have not, therefore, been able to convince themselves that the readings are quite correct. Several portions of the manuscript have crumbled down, and so the text as now available is full of lacunæ. Scribal errors are also numerous which make the work of the editors extremely difficult. But they have endeavoured to the best of their ability to present as good an edition of the work as possible. Their apology is that this work, with all the shortcomings of the present edition, is bound to be of immense interest to the students of Sanskrit literature.

We hope that the indulgent scholars will overlook the defects and extend their warm welcome to this publication.

(Contributed)

THE ANDHRA SAKA.

A necessity for Rectification of Chronology of Indian History.

Sri V. Thiruvenkatacharya, M. A. L. T., M. E. S. (Retd.)

1. *Introduction*: Research scholars in the field of Indian History will, I am sure, be kind enough to pardon me for my having trespassed into their field. I have been a Lecturer in Mathematics all these years and my only excuse in dealing with this subject is that mathematicians can also, contribute their mite in solving intricate problems of Chronology with as much confidence as non-mathematicians. I have been at this subject of Indian Chronology for some years and in the following few pages, I propose to discuss my theory at some length. My theory is revolutionary upsetting the existing systems of Chronology; simply because it is revolutionary, it should not be summarily rejected but considered on its merits. It is the object of this article to show that the Saka mentioned by Varahamihira and Bhāttotpala is not Salivahana Saka but another Saka forgotten by the subsequent historians for which I give the name of *Andhra Saka*. I adopt the periods of rule of the Andhras and the Imperial Guptas, as given in Bhavishya Purana as extracted in the History of Classical Literature by Dr M. Krishnamacharya M. A. PH. D. Vide the Introduction pp XLV to LXII, as the total period in this allies with the total period according to the Saptarshi Era or Yuga whereas the List given in the other Puranas does not satisfy this test. As the article will be fairly long, I split up the whole article into two parts. Under the titles (a) The Andhra Saka and (b) The Saptarshi Era. I shall now deal with the Andhra Saka.

2. *The Existing Chronology*: The father of the existing Chronology of Indian History is Sir William Jones, Founder-President of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, who identified Sandrocottus of the Greek records with Chandragupta Maurya of the Maurya dynasty. According to the Greeks, Sandrocottus was the son of Xandermes, who can in no way be identified with Chandragupta Maurya's father. Vishnu Purana states:—

तेषां वामवे भौर्माः पृथिवीं मोक्षयन्ति ॥ 27—

कौटिल्य एव चन्द्रगुप्तमुत्पन्नः (नन्दत्यैव भार्यायां

भुरायांसंजात इति श्रीधरस्वामि) प्रभिषेक्ष्यति ॥ 28 Amsa IV, Chap. XXIV

"When the Nandas cease to exist, the Mauryas rule the earth. Kautilya Crowns Chandragupta as the ruler ; and Chandragupta according to Sridharaswami is the son of Mahāpadma Nanda by his wife Mura". This difference in father's name never worried Sir William Jones; his colleagues and successors doing research in the field of Indian History fixed about 320 B C as the date of the accession of Chandragupta Maurya to the throne of Magadha Empire and moved backwards and forwards in fixing the reigns of the other kings of Maghadha as enumerated in the Puranas. All the Puranas do not agree as regards the lengths of the reigns of the different dynasties who ruled over Magadha; these differences and errors are not due to any inherent defect of the Puranas but are certainly due to the cumulative copying errors in the manuscripts. (1) "Nevertheless there can be no doubt that, corrupt as they are now, the Puranas were originally accurate documents" (2) "The fourth Book contains all that the Hindus have of their Ancient History. It is a tolerably comprehensive List of Dynasties and Individuals. It is not essential to its celebrity or its usefulness, that any exact chronological adjustment of the different reigns should be attempted. Their distribution amongst the several Yugas, undertaken by Sir William Jones, or his Pandits finds no countenance from the original texts farther than an identical notice of the Age in which the particular monarch ruled or the general fact that the Dynasties prior to Krishna precede the time of the Great War and the beginning of the Kali Age both of which events were placed Five thousand years ago. This may or may not be too remote.....In the Puranas we have a record, which, although it cannot fail to have suffered detriment from Age, and may have been injured by careless or injudicious compilation, preserves an account not wholly undeserving of confidence, of the establishment and succession of regular monarchies amongst the Hindus Col. Tod considers that paucity of national works on History is due to Foreign invasions and Moslem bigotry. (3) advancing research has also proved that written records of events or of traditions concerning them have by no means been wanting in Ancient India".

Attempts have not been made to find out whether there are tests in the Puranas to rectify the errors due to copying. I consider the

(1) A Catalogue of Indian Coins—by Prof. Rapson, page XXV.

(2) Prof. Wilson in his Introduction to the translation of Vishnu Purana.

(3) Mr. M. A. Stiens. Rajatharangini Vol. I Introduction (page 3)

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authors of the Puranas were wisemen who certainly anticipated these difficulties and did their best to make their statements accurate and fool proof by introducing another type of reckoning according to the Saptarshi Era. The mistake according to me does not lie with the Puranas but with us as we have not taken all the factors into consideration in fixing up the Puranic Chronology. I make bold to assert that so far no correct approach has been made to solve this riddle of the Puranic Chronology and all evidence, Astronomical and Puranic contrary to the theory of Sri William Jones, was either ignored or mutilated to suit their theory. As regards research in Indian Chronology, the simple maxim of Quetelet, the celebrated French Statistician, "Never reject data, which are contrary to your expectation" was woefully neglected causing eternal confusion in Indian History. Tradition in this respect has been completely ignored.

3. *The Tradition*: The tradition is that Kaliyuga started on the 18th Feb 3102 B. C. i. e. at midnight of 17—18th, just on the day when Lord Krishna gave up his mortal coil.

यस्मिन् कृष्णो दिवं यात स्तस्मिन्नेवहि वत्सरे ।

प्रतिमन्त्रं कलियुग मितिप्राहुः पुराविदः ॥

यावत्समगवान् विष्णुः पश्यदो मां वसुधराम् ।

तावत्पृथ्वीं पराक्रान्तुं समर्था ना भवत्कलिः

"Kali began on that day of the year when Lord Krishna passed away: so long as Lord Krishna was alive and walking on this earth, Kali was not bold enough to occupy this earth"

The Mahabharatha war was fought 37 years earlier. Sahadeva, son of Jarasandha and king of Maghadha, fought on the side of the Pandavas and died in the battlefield. Sahadeva belonged to the Brihadratha Dynasty and 22 kings of his line ruled over Magadha for full one thousand years.

द्वाविंशति नृपाहोति भावितारो बृहद्रथाः ।

पूर्ण वर्षमहसंतु तेषां राज्यं भविष्यति ॥

Matsya Purana. 169—30

"22 kings of the Brihadratha Dynasty will rule for full one thousand years over Magadha". By totalling the individual reigns, the total period comes to 1006 years. The Pradyota Dynasty succeeds to the throne.

..... पञ्चप्रद्योतना इमे ॥

अष्टत्रिंशत्तरशतं भोक्ष्यन्ति पृथिवी नृपाः ॥

Vishnu Purana XII—2

"The five kings of the Pradyota dynasty rule for 138 years".

इत्येते भावेतारेवै शैशुनागा नृपादश ।

शतानि त्रीणि वर्षाणि द्विषष्ट्यभ्याधिकानितु ॥

Vāyu Purana

"Then, the ten kings of *Sisu Naga Dynasty* rule for 362 years

महापादः तत्पुत्राश्च एकं वर्षशतं अवनिपतयो भाविष्यान्ति ॥

"Mahāpadma and his sons rule for one hundred years."

All the Puranas agree very well up to this dynasty; but afterwards deviations creep in. The whole subject is ably discussed by Pargiter in his *Dynasties of the Kali Age*.

Then, the ten Mauryas, according to many Puranas, are said to have ruled for 137 years, then the Sungas for 120 years and the Kanvas for 45 years. The periods of the individual reigns differ widely; for example, Brihadratha, the last king of the Maurya Dynasty, has been stated to have ruled for 87 or 70 or 7 years. For astronomical reasons, which I shall explain in a concise manner in para 5, I am obliged to give up the readings as quoted by Pargiter and follow the readings of Kaliyuga Raja Vrittanta Bhaga III, Chap II, as quoted by Dr. M. Krishnamacharya in his *History of Classical Literature*. The same figures are given by another Research Scholar, the late Nadimpalli Jaganatharao in his Book—the Age of the Mahabharatha War.

द्वादशौतो वौर्याः चन्द्रगुप्तादयो मही । शतनितानि भोक्ष्यन्ति दशषट्च समाः कलौ ॥

Kaliyuga Raja Vrittanta Bhaga III, Chapt. II.

"The twelve kings, Chandragupta and others, of the Maurya Dynasty will rule for 316 years."

इत्येते दशद्वेच भोक्ष्यन्ति वसुन्धराम् ।

शतानि त्रीणि वर्षाणि तेभ्यः शुङ्गान् गमिष्यति ॥

[Matsya Purana as found in an old palm-leaf manuscript of Dr. M. Krishnamacharya.] The twelve kings will rule for 300 years and then the Sungas will succeed them.

दशैते शुंगराजानो भोक्ष्यन्तिमां वसुन्धराम् ।

शतं पूर्णं शतेद्वेच तेभ्यः कण्वान् गमिष्यति ॥

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चत्वार एते भूपालाः कण्वगोल समुद्रवाः ।

थर्मेण भोक्ष्यन्ति महीं पञ्चाशीतिस्तु कत्सरान् ॥

एते द्वाविंशः प्रास्तु भोक्ष्यन्ति वसुधामिमां :

शतानिपञ्च पूर्णानि तेषां राज्यं भविष्यति ॥

.....

भोक्ष्यन्ति द्वेद्वेच पञ्च चत्वारिंशद्वैसमाः ॥

मागधानां महाराज्यं खिलं भिन्नं चसदाशः ॥

साकर्मैतै महागुप्तं वश्यैर्यस्यति संस्थितिं ॥

"The ten Kings of the Sunga dynasty will rule for 300 years. Then the four Kings of the Kanva dynasty will rule for 85 years according to Dharma. The thirty-two Kings of Andhra Dynasty will rule for 500 years. The sum total of the duration of the reigns of the individual kings of Andhra dynasty comes to 506 years. These will be succeeded by eight rulers of the Imperial Gupta (महागुप्त) dynasty and they will rule for 245 years."

The following is the Puranic Chronology as stated above;

Dynasty	No. of Kings.	Period.	No. of year.
		B. C.—B. C.	
1. Brihadratha dynasty	22	3139–2133	1006
2. Pradyota dynasty	5	2133–1995	138
3. Saisunaga dynasty	10	1995–1635	360
4. Nanda dynasty	9	1635–1535	100
5. Maurya dynasty	12	1535–1219	316
6. Sunga dynasty (Sringa)	10	1219–919	300
7. Kanva dynasty	4	919–834	85
8. The Andhra dynasty	32	834–328	506
9. Gupta (Imperial) dynasty	8	328–83	245

But in the existing histories, as studied in the educational institutions, the date of Chandragupta Maurya is brought down to 320 or 322 B. C. from 1535 B. C.

4. *Current regnal periods of these Dynasties*:— What are the current regnal periods of these Dynasties as shown in all the text books on Indian History? According to most of these text books,

“the values of the Puranas increase with the advent of the Saisunagas of Magadha” 1 The following are the regnal periods according to some Standard books on Indian History.

(a) *Indian History by R. Sathyanadha Iyer* :—

No. of Kings.	Dynasty.	Period of rule-yars.	B. C.—B. C.
10	Saisunagas	321	746—425
9	Nandas	100	425—325
2	Mauryas	137	323—186
10	Sungas	112	188— 76
4	Kanvas	45	76— 31
30	Andhras	454	B. C. 235—220 A. D
8	Guptas	300	A. D. 300—600 A. D

There are breaks and overlappings of Dynasti rules in this List; and this I consider to be a grave drawback necessitating rectification.

(b) *Ancient and Hindu India by V. A. Smith* :—

Dynasty.	Period of rule.
	B. C.—B. C.
Mauryas	326—185
Sunga	185— 73
Kanva	73— 28
Andhras	B. C. 233—225 A. D.
Guptas	A. D. 320—480 A. D.

There are gaps and overlapping as in the present case which must be set right. The other text books follow more or less the same chronological order. Is it a satisfactory state of affairs when Indian History, as at present, is subjected to a searching critical analysis? This unsatisfactory condition is due to certain causes which are not difficult to find out. They are:—

(i) Identification of Chandragupta Maurya with Sandracottes of the Greek records and thus fixing the date of his accession to the throne of Maghadha in 320 B. C.

(ii) Refusal to believe in the long rule of some of the kings as mentioned in the Puranas. Historians refuse to believe in the statements of even Greek historians when they mentioned that the Hindus lived to a very old age. “.....their (people of lower Indus valley) term of life extending to 130 years. (1)

“The Indians are not afflicted with headache or toothache or ophthalmia do not have any mouthsores or ulcers in any part of the body.

1. Indian History Vol. I by R. Satyanadha Iyer, page 49.

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The age to which they live is 120, 130 and 150 years, though the very old live up to 200 years (2)

(ii) Failure to rectify errors in Puranic chronology by using the tests according to Saptarshi Era or Yuga suggested in the Puranas.

5. *Saptarshi Era or Yuga*:— I have already stated that cumulative copying errors in the Puranas are responsible for the discrepancies noted in them as regards the chronology of the regnal periods of the different dynasties. In rectifying these errors, the Bhavishya Purana does not appear to have been consulted by the authors of Indian History. I have not been able to see the original Purana; and I am guided by the extracts given by Dr. M. Krishnamā charya in his History of Classical Literature. I have accepted the regnal periods of the Bhavishya Purana and Kaliyuga Raja Vrittanta, as they satisfy the tests according to the Saptarshi Yuga. I shall give a more detailed description in a subsequent article; and I shall now limit myself only to a brief analysis. It is stated in our Puranas and Kaliyuga Raja Vrittanta that the Saptarshis have a *backward* motion among the twenty seven Nakshatras at the rate of *one hundred years* in each Nakshatra. Then the Saptarshis or Great Bear were in Magha when Yudhishtira was ruling this earth. They entered into Magha 75 years before Kaliyuga began and entered Aslesha after 25 years of Kali have elapsed synchronising with the end of Yudhishtira rule. Let us not take into consideration at present the astronomical truth of this backward motion of the Great Bear, but let us only satisfy ourselves with the time—measure aspect of this statement. Here are the relevant Slokas of the Purana.

सप्तर्षयेमघा युक्ताः काले यौधिष्ठिरे शत ।

श्रवणे ते भविष्यन्ति काले नन्दस्य भूपते ॥

चतुर्विंशत्य नक्षत्रे भविष्यन्ति शत समाः ।

आन्ध्र राज्यरंम कालादारभ्येते सप्तर्षयः ॥

महापद्मभिषेकात्तु यावज्जन्म परिक्षितः ।

एकमेव सहस्रन्तु ज्ञेय पञ्चशतोत्तरं ॥

आन्ध्ररज्योपक्रमात्तु यावदभिषेचन ।

(1) History of Ancient India by Dr. Ramasankar Tripathi, page 139.

(2) Ancient India as described by Krescas translated by J. W. Mc. Crindle, page 18.

अंतरं तच्छतान्यष्टौ प्रमाणज्ञैः समा स्मृताः ॥

गदा पुनर्वसु यास्यत्येते सप्तर्षयः पुनः ।

तदा श्रीगुप्तवंशानां राष्ट्रं दन्वं गमिष्यति ॥

पूर्वानाद्रां यदतितु प्रवेक्ष्यन्ति पुनर्द्विजाः ।

गुप्तोभ्यो मागधं राज्यं तदा पल्लभमिष्यति ॥

"The Saptarshis were in Magha for one hundred years at the time of Yudhishtira. At the time of Maha-PadmaNanda, they were in Sravana. They will be in the twenty fourth Nakshatra when the Andhra. begin their rule. It is 1500 years from the birth of Parikshit to the crowning of Mahapadma Nanda and 800 years from Mahapadmananda to the beginning of the Andhras. When the Saptarshis again reach Punarvasu, the Gupta power will be in the decline and when they reach Purvabhadra, the kingdom of Maghadha will pass on to the Palas."

If the test is applied to the regnal periods of the Dynasties as given by the modern Historians, they do not stand the test. So I reject these Dynastic periods.

Some scholars of Indian History were landed in confusion as they ascribed forward motion to the Saptarshis instead of backward motion.

(i) Counting backward, Sravana in the 16th Nakshatra from Magha it will take 1500 years for the Saptarshis to reach Sravana from Magha. Parikshit was born in 3139 B.C. (date of the Mahabharatha war) and Mahapadmananda according to the scheme given in para 3 ascended the throne in 1635 B.C., $3139 - 1635 = 1504$ satisfying the test.

(ii) To reach the twenty fourth Nakshatra it will take 2300 years. The Andhras came to power in 834 B.C.; $3139 - 834 = 2305$, again satisfying the test.

(iii) From MahapadmaNanda to the Andhras, the interval is 800 years; $1635 - 834 = 801$, again satisfying the test.

(iv) The Saptarshis will reach Punarvasu again in the second round in 3000 years and the Gupta rule ends in 83 B.C. So $3139 - 83 = 3056$ again satisfies the test fairly approximately.

(v) When the Saptarshis reach Purvabhadra again in the third round, the Maghadha Empire will pass from the Imperial Guptas to the Palas. From Magha to Purvabhadra in the second round, counting backwards, it is 39 Nakshatras and therefore the interval is 3900 years. Now $3900 - 3138 = 762$ A.D., the Maghadha Empire will

1. Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta Bhāga II, Chap. III.

pass from the Guptas to the Palas. 'The Chronology of the Palas has been much discussed and we may adopt the scheme of Dr. H. C. Ray. Gopala I (761—766 A.D.) was elected to the throne of Bengal.....

(1) I am myself surprised at the accuracy of the results. why is the test coming out correct for A.D. years? The answer is simple. After 78 A.D., Salivahana Saka was practically in use throughout India and the Chronological calculations of Indian Historians never went wrong, whereas in the B.C. years, their calculations were always wrong as they did not take the correct date of either Kaliyuga era or the Saka (Andhra) mentioned by Varahamihira and other astronomers. So a lot of confusion has resulted in the chronology of Indian History. The purpose of my article is to set right this confusion by astronomical tests. Almost all the Puranas give the Saptarshi Yuga tests, which were unfortunately ignored by all authors of books on Indian History.

I have given my unequivocal arguments for accepting the chronological order of Dynasties as given by me in para 3 as the correct order. Every thing else is inaccurate and therefore unacceptable. Let us now consider other astronomical data.

6. Astronomical data, the sheet-anchor of Indian Chronology.

There are a number of astronomical references in our ancient literature which give the lie direct to the existing pet theories of Historians. One of the references is as follows and it is given by Varahamihira.

आसन् महासुमुनयः शासति पृथ्वीं युधिष्ठिरे नृपतौ ।

षट्द्विकं पंच द्वियुतः शककालः तस्य राजस्य ॥

"The Great Bear-Saptarshis—was in the Constellation of Magha, when Yudhishtira was ruling; add 2526 years to his Era to get the Saka Kala".

Mahābhāratha says that Yudhishtira ruled at Hastinapura till 25 years of Kaliyuga elapsed i.e. till 3077 B.C. and an Era called Yudhishtira Saka was started in memory of him.

पंच सप्तति वर्षाणि प्राक् कलेः सप्तते द्विजः

महास्वासन् महाराजे शासत्युर्वी युधिष्ठिरे ॥

पंच विंशति वर्षेषु गतेष्वथ कलौ युगे ।

समाश्रिष्यन्त्या श्लेषां मुनयस्ते अतं समाः ॥

तदेव धर्मपुत्रोपि महाप्रस्थानं माश्रितः ।

Kaliyugaraja Vrutanta.

"The Great Bear-Saptarshis- entered the Constellation Magha 75 years before Kaliyuga began and was in Magha when Yudhishtira ruled over the earth. When 25 years of Kaliyuga elapsed, the Great Bear will enter into Aslesha after spending 100 years in Magha. Then the King Yudhishtira will start on his great Pilgrimage to reach Swargaloka". So, if 2526 years are added (algebraically) to 3077 B. C., we come to 551 B. C. Since elapsed years only are reckoned in Hindu Astronomy, we come to 551 B. C. elapsed or 550 B. C. It is the object of this article to discover this Era. But considering that the Saka, mentioned by Varahamihira, to be Salivahana Saka, Indian Historians have brought down the date of the Mahabharatha war to about 2473 B. C; and others have assigned even much later dates to the same.

(a) *The date of Varahamihira*: What does Varahamihira give as his date? In *Panchasiddhantika*, he gives the following data :—

सप्तारिष्वेद संख्य शककालमप्यस्य चैत्र शुक्ला द्वौ ।

अर्धास्तमिते भानौ यवनपुरो॥ सौम्य दिवसधि॥ 8. अ. 1.

"Subtract 427 from Saka Kala. When the sun is half-setting at Yavanapuri at the beginning of Chaitra Sukla Pratipatti (that is when the Chaitra new moon ends), it is the beginning of *Wednes day*" 'Wednes day' is the reading given in some books I have consulted. but in the text edited by Dr. Thibaut, *सोम* (Monday) is put down instead of Wednesday. Sankara Balakrishna Dikshit* gives *भौम* (Tuesday) as his reading. Which are we to take? Dr. Thebaut, unfortunately, does not give the alternative readings, whereas S. B. Dikshit gives them, but prefers Tuesday to Wednesday. But both of them took Saka Kala as Salivahana Saka, which naturally led to textual modifications. I shall quote S. B. Dikshit

"The real Epoch and the initial day of the *Panchasiddhantika* is the Amanta Vaisakha Sukla Pratipadi of Saka Samvat 428 current (427 expired) which ended on Tuesday (*भौमवार*) 22-3-505 A. D.

The Amanta *Chaitra* Sukla Pratipadi (*अमान्त चैत्रशुक्ल प्रतिपादि*) ended not on a *Tuesday* but on a *Sunday*, while *Chaitra* Sukla Pratipadi in Saka Samvat 427 current ended on a *wednesday*. Some *anti-*

* Ind. Antiquary, Vol. XIX, page 46. Original *Suryasiddhanta* by Sankara Balakrishna Dikshit.

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-quarian of the present century seems to have altered *भौम* into *सौम्य* (Tuesday into Wednesday) to suit these results. Arguing in this manner about the *Kashepas* also, Dikshit ends as follows :—

"And the nearest Sukla Pratipadi viz. the Amanta Vaisakha Sukla Pratipadi of Saka Samvat 428 current is in fact the Epoch selected by Varahamihira for calculating the *Ahargana*." The conclusions are peculiar and unscientific. Quetelet's maxim has evidently not been followed. Dikshit says that some antiquarian of the present century seems to have changed *भौम* into *सौम्य* i.e. Tuesday into Wednesday. All these arguments had to be resorted to simply because Dikshit was under the impression that *Salivahana Saka* was meant whenever *Saka* was used. *Panchasiddhantika* is a *Karana grantha* — a text book of rules for calculation. It stands quite to reason that the *Kshepas* or additive constants at the epoch would have been changed with date of the epoch. No Astronomer would worry himself whether it is *भौमदिव* साधे (beginning of a Tuesday) or *सौम्यदिव* साधे (beginning of a Wednesday).

Another defect in the arguments and conclusions of Dikshit is when he wants to accept Vaisakha Sukla Pratipadi instead of Chaitra Sukla Pratipadi. No astronomer of the status of Varahamihira will mean *Vaisakha* when he states *Chaitra*.

Again, when Varahamihira states, "सप्तारिष्वेद संख्य मप्यस्य" (when number 427 is subtracted) it means only an *elapsed* year and never a *current* year as Dikshit would have us believe. So the arguments and conclusions of Dikshit are untenable and fallacious. Now, let us take the week days of Chaitra Sukladaw for each of the saka years 427 current and elapsed. I am following Swamikannu Pillais Ephemeris for the calculations :—

Salivahana Saka.

(i) 427 (elapsed), Chaitra Sukla prathipath begins at 22 gh 48 v. gh on Friday March 10—A. D. 506.

(ii) 427 (current), Chaitra Sukla prathipathi begins at 28 gh 48 v. gh on Saturday Feb. 19 A. D. 505.

Vikrama Saka.

(iii) 427 (elapsed) Chaitra Sukla prathipath begins at 19 gh 12 v. gh on Thursday March 3-371 A. D.

(iv) 427 (current) Chaitra Sukla prathipath begins at 57 gh. on Saturday March 13, 370 A. D.

Saka 550 B. C. Andhra Saka.

(v) 427 (elapsed) Chaitra Sukla prathipath begins at 6 gh. on Tuesday 22nd Feb. 123 B. C.

(vi) 427 (current) Chaitra Sukla prathipath begins at 5 gh. 8 v. gh. on Saturday 11th Feb. 122 B. C.

The results speak for themselves and do not require an advocate to prove that *Varāhamihira* did not mean either the *Salivahana Saka* or *Vikrama Saka* when he used the word *Saka*, but meant some *Saka* commencing with 550 B. C. which I, for the sake of convenience, designate as the *Andhra Saka*. It is very clear from the above tabulation, that the Epoch chosen by *Varāhamihira* is Tuesday 22nd Feb. 123 B. C. corresponding to Chaitra Sukla dawn of Saka 427 (elapsed). आदौ means the beginning and the beginning of Chaitra

Sukla prathipath, i.e. the ending of Chaitra new moon, is to be taken as the moment of epoch. According to Hindu astronomy, when the Sun is half-setting at Yavanapuri, it is midnight at Ujjain—a town on the standard meridian for India. Therefore, the first thithi of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, चैत्रशुक्लादौ must begin at midnight on Monday—Tuesday or Tuesday—Wednesday at Ujjain. So if Tuesday is taken as the week-day of the epoch, the moment of epoch we get, in (v) of the table given earlier, is 21 ghatas later; but if Wednesday is taken as the week day the moment of epoch is 39 ghatas earlier. Such errors are to be accounted for as being due to difference in the constants or bijas. Finally it is clear that the Saka of 550 B. C. is the Saka used by *Varāhamihira*.

Thinking that Saka Kala mentioned by *Varāhamihira* is nothing other than *Salivahana Saka*, Oriental scholars have assigned $427 + 78 = 505$ A. D. as the period of *Varāhamihira*, whereas according to the present scheme, his period must be about 123 B. C. — [550 – 427]. This result refutes the existing theory of all Oriental scholars that the Indians were indebted to the Greeks for their knowledge of astronomy; for Hipparchus, the first Greek astronomer lived about 160 B. C. and Ptolemy came later and worked from 127 A. D. to 151 A. D.

What has been proved now helps us to clarify the doubts of Dr. Thibett expressed by him in his Introduction to *Panchasiddhāntika* page XXX :—

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“There may have been special circumstances rendering the year 427 a more convenient starting point than a later; but I am not for the present able to point out any such.”

“I consider it altogether improbable that any of these treatises should have originated so late as 505 A. D.” These treatises were written about 600 years earlier i. e. in 123 B. C.

(b) The date of *Bhattotpala* :—

Bhattotpala is a commentator of the treatises *Brihatjātaka* and *Brihat Samhita* of *Varāhamihira*. At the end of his commentary on *Brihat Jataka*, *Bhattotpala* stated as follows :—

चैत्रमासस्य पंचम्यां सितायां गुस्वासरे । क्वष्टाष्टमिके शके कृतेयं विवृतिर्मया ॥

“This commentary was written by me in the year 888 of the Saka on Thursday, Suklapaksha Panchami of the Chaitra month

Neither 888 of *Salivahana Saka* nor *Vikrama Saka* will tally with the week day. This matter can be easily verified from *Swamikannu Pillai's Ephemeris*. *Salivahana* 888 (elapsed). Chaitra Sukla Panchami correspond to 18th March 967 A. D. but the week day is Monday and not Thursday. *Vikrama Saka* 888 (elapsed). Chaitra Sukla Panchami corresponds to 10th March 832 A. D. but the Weekday is Sunday and not Thursday.

But March 20th of 340 A. D. falls on Chaitra Sukla Panchami with Thursday as the week day. So, if 888 of the Saka mentioned by *Bhattotpala* corresponds to 340 A. D., when did the Saka begin? The Era began in 548 astronomical or 549 B. C. Since according to Indian Chronology, elapsed years only are reckoned, whereas according to Western methods, current years are reckoned, we may take 550 B. C. as the starting year of the Saka mentioned by *Bhattotpala* and *Varāhamihira*.

From the sloka, “आसन् मवासुमुनय.....”, we get $550 \text{ B. C.} + 2526 = 3076 \text{ B. C.}$ as the year of *Yudhishtira* Era which began after the expiry of 25 years of Kali, i. e. in the 26th year of Kali.

$3076 \text{ B. C.} + 26 = 3102 \text{ B. C.}$ is the beginning of Kaliyuga tallying with the traditional date given in the Puranas. Astronomical and Puranic data lead us to the same Conclusion. What more is necessary to establish the validity of our arguments?

The late Nadimpalle Jagannadha Rao of Narasaraopet, Guntur district has made a lot of research in this field and published the results

of all of his researches in a Telugu Book under the title *Andhra Mahāsāmājyām*. In his research, he found that three or four published editions of Bhattotpala's works contained the sloka as given above, whereas in some editions, published by Sudhakara Dvivedi, the sloka is corrected as follows:—

फाल्गुणस्य द्वितीयाय मसितायां गुरुर्दिने । स्वव्याष्टमिके शक्रे कृतेय विवृतिर्मया ॥

Late Jagannadha Rao's contention is that Pandit Sudhakara Dvivedi purposely changed the original sloka since Chaitra Sukla Panchami of 888 Salivahana Saka is not a Thursday as required. But I kept on open mind till now as I could not come to a definite decision as to which version is the modified version. Fortunately, in an old Edition of Bhattotpala's commentary of Brihatjataka in Grantha characters, published in South India and so more reliable, I found the version "चैत्रमासस्य.....etc....." So I have come to the conclusion that Sudhakara Dvivedi's version is the modified version and has to be rejected.

Some scholars ★ feel other wise as regards the dates of completion of the Commentaries by Bhattotpala on Brihat-Jataka and Brihat-Samhita:—

They state that, according to Bhattotpala, the commentary on Brihat Jataka was completed on Chaitra Suddha Panchami, Thursday of Saka 888 elapsed and that the commentary on Brihat samhita was completed on Phalguna Krishna Dvitiya, Thursday of Saka 888 elapsed. The following results of mine calculated with the help of the tables of Swamikannu Pillai's *Ephemiris* are given below:—

Sukla Panchami of Chaitra month; चैत्रमासस्य पंचम्यां सितायां....

i Salivahana Saka 888 elapsed:— Chaitra Sukla Panchami begins on Monday 18th March 967 A. D at 15 ghahts and ends on Tuesday.

ii Salivahana Saka 888 current:— Chaitra Sukla Panchami ends on Wednesday 28th Feb 966 A. D. The weekday is not a Thursday

iii Andhra Saka 888 elapsed B. C. Chaitra Sukla Panchami begins at 16 gh 12 vgh on 19—3—340 A. D. Wednesday and continues on 20—3—340 A. D. *Thursday* which is the required weekday.

Krishna Dvitiya of Phalguna month:— फाल्गुणस्य द्वितीयाय मसितायां.....

i Salivahana Saka 888 elapsed:—Phalguna Krishna pratipad ends on Tuesday 17th February 968 A. D at 51 ghatas: Dwitiya falls on

★Dr. Fleet on Utpala the commentator of Brihat Jataka and Brihat Samhita. Vide Ind. Antiquary Vol. XIX page 41.

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Wednesday 18th Feb. 968 A. D. The week day is not a Thursday.

ii Salivahana Saka 888 Current:— Phalguna Krishna pratipadi ends on Thursday 28th Feb. 967 A. D at 11gh 24 v gh. So we might take that Dwitiya falls on Thursday in this case.

iii *Andhra Saka*. 888 elapsed. Phalguna Krishna Dwitiya begins at 16 gh 12 v gh on 19th February 341 A. D. Thursday, which is the required week day. This table gives an unequivocal proof that the Saka referred to by Bhattotpala is not the Salivahana Saka but the forgotten Andhra Saka which began in 550 B. C. as this satisfies both the dates whereas Salivahana Saka satisfies only one date.

Let us next consider the meaning of the word Saka and discuss the reasons for describing this new Saka as Andhra Saka.

7 *The word Saka and its meaning*:— According to *Vāchaspatya*, the word *Saka* comes from the root शक — सम्र्थ्य meaning 'able'.

One who can start a *Saka* must be a very capable king.

निक्षन्तियो भूतक मण्डले शकान् संपंचकोद्यद् दलान् कलौ ।

स राजपुत्रो शककारको भवेत् नृपाधि राज्ये द्यत शक कर्त क्षा ॥

Only that prince, who conquers Saka (Non-Hindu tribe) armies five crores strong, is entitled to start a Saka or Era or one who conquers another Saka Kartha.

8 *The Andhra Saka*:— Let us refer to the table of Dynasties ruling over Maghadha given in para 3. The Andhras or Satavahanas or Satakarnis were ruling from 834 B. C. to 328 B. C. In Kali Yuga, only the rulers of Maghadha were considered in the Puranas as belonging to Imperial Dynasties and the other independent kings were not considered to be of any importance; because till the end of the rule of the Imperial Guptas, the kings of Magadha, to whatever dynasty they belonged, held sway over a major portion of India as shown by inscriptions etc.

"..... it is certain that Satakarni is called "the Protector of the West" a designation justified by the Westward extension of Andhra Power which had already taken place as is proved by the Nasik inscription of King Krishna of the Satavahana Race". *

During the time of the Andhras, many foreigners came into India lured by her wealth and the Andhras must have successfully en-

★ *A Catalogue of Indian Coins* by Prof. Rapson, page XVIII.

gaged themselves against these invaders to deserve the title of Protector of the West". This is indicated by the sloka.

आन्ध्रणा मेव कलेतु बक्षयो लमेच्छ वंशजः ।

सिन्धुं तीर्त्वा ऽ भियस्यन्ति आस्तश्री जिष्ठक्षया ॥

Kaliyugaraja Vrittanta.

According to the scheme of reigns adopted by me from Kaliyugaraja Vrittanta, Meghaswati or Megha Satakarni of the Andhra Dynasty ruled for 38 years from 558 B. C. to 520 B. C. His rule is second longest in duration and he must have consolidated his power completely over the whole country. Inscriptions of these Andhra Kings show that most of them indicate the year of the rule of the individual kings while a few indicate dates or years with reference to some earlier Era.

Before I take up the Inscriptions and analyse them, I shall give the list of Andhra kings, according to Kaliyugaraja Vrittanta, adopted by N. Jagannadha Rao in his book, the Age of the Mahabharatha War.

TABLE A.
The Andhra Dynasty.

Name.	Years.	Date. B. C. B. C.
1. Simuka or Sipraka or Simhaka or Sri Satakarni	23	834—811
2. Krishna Satakarni	18	811—793
3. Sri Malla Satakarni	10	793—783
4. Purrothsanga	18	783—765
5. Sri Satakarni	56	765—709
6. Skandha Stambhi	18	709—691
7. Lambodara	18	691—673
8. Apilaka	12	673—661
9. Meghaswati	18	661—643
10. Sataswati	18	643—625
11. Skandaswatikarna	7	625—618
12. Mrigendra Swatikarna	3	618—615
13. Kuntala Swatikarni	8	615—607
14. Saumya Swatikarni	12	607—595
15. Satasakarni	1	595—594
16. Puloma Satakarni	36	594—558
17. Meghaswati or Megha Satakarni	38	558—520

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18. Arista Satakarni	25	520—495
19. Hala	5	495—490
20. Mundalaka	5	490—485
21. Purindrasena	21	485—464
22. Surendra Satakarni	1	464—463
23. Chakora Satakarni	6 months	
24. Mahendra Satakarni	3 months	
25. Siva Satakarni	28	462—434
26. Gautamiputra Sri Satakarni	25	434—409
27. Puloma or Vasistiputra Sri Satakarni	32	409—377
28. Siva Sri Satakarni or Siva Sri Vasistiputra Satakarni	7	377—370
29. Siva Skanda Satakarni	7	370—363
30. Yajna Sri Satakarni or Gautami putra Yajna Sri Satakarni	19	363—344
31. Vijaya Sri Satakarni	6	344—338
32. Chandra Sri Satakarni	3	338—335
33. Pulomavi	7	335—328

TOTAL 506 years in round figures.

TABLE B
Analysis of the Inscriptions of Some Andhra Kings.
Volume X. Epigraphica Indica.

Name of the King.	Description of the Inscription place.	Year mentioned
1. Gotami putasa Sami Siriyana Satakarni	1024 S. 16, Kanhari Buddhist Cave. Inscription 1146. S. 7	106 107
2. Gotamiputra Sri Satakarni	Buddhist cave Inscription. 1125 S. 18 1126 S. 24	10 [8] = 18 20 [4] = 24
3. Vasithiputra Sami siri Pulomavi	1147. S. 2 1100.	2 107
4. Vasithiputasa Siri Pulomayesa	1122. S. 6	106

5.	Vasithiputasa	1106.	24
	Siri Pulomavisa	1123. S. 19	19
		1124. S. 19	19
		1124. S. 22	22
6.	Gotamiputasa	1310. S. 27	207
	Araka -- Siriyana		
	Satakanesa.		

Comparing the two tables A and B, we come to the following Conclusions:—

(1) The Andhra kings do not follow a systematic method as regards the dates of the inscriptions.

(b) If the king Gotamiputra of items 1 and 2 of table B is taken as one and the same, he has not evidently followed a uniform method as regards the dates of his inscriptions.

(c) Taking the dates of the inscriptions, we have no other option left but to identify King Gotamiputra of items 1 and 2 of Table B with the 26th King of Table A and Gotamiputasa araka—Siriyana Satakanesa with the 30th king of Table B

(d) We are led to the conclusion that by (c), 'the previous para' the kings of the Andhra Dynasty used the dates of their individual reigns on some occasions and an *Earlier Epoch* for the dates on the rest of the occasions—

(e) King Vasithiputasa Pulomavesa or Pulomayesa or Pulomavi mentioned in items 3, 4 and 5 of table B most probably be the 27th king of table A. It is not possible to reconcile the years 106 and 107 mentioned in items 3 and 4 with reference to a common earlier epoch as suggested in (d) as both Gotamiputra Sri Satakarni (the 26th king) and Pulomavi or Vasishtiputra Sri Satakarni (the 27th king) mention years 106 and 107. Does it prove the statement of Prof. Rapson: "There may be two kings of the name of Vasithiputra etc."? That is a point to be considered dispassionately.

(f) The year 207, mentioned by Gotami putesa araka Siriyana Satakanesa, whom we have taken as the 30th Andhra king (B. C. 363, —344.) suggests the earlier Era 550 B. C. with a margin of one year. Further if Gautamiputra Sri Satakarni, the 26th king, to whom we have assigned the inscriptions mentioned in items 1 and 2 of table B, be made the 25th king, his years 106 and 107 can easily be made to start from the common epoch viz. B. C. 550.

* Vide. Catalogue of the Indian Coins by Prof. Rapson, Page 27.

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(7) The inscription 1340 S. 27 of Gotami putesa araka Siriyana Satakanesa runs as follows:—

"Rano Gotamiputasa Araka—Siriyana Satakanesa Vasusataya Samvachhara Satavi mam 207 hematanam pakham Cathutham 4 di..... mam 5 etiya pavaya".

It might be argued, as in the case of other inscriptions, the number 207 may mean 20 [7] i. e. 27. But the 26th king rules for 25 years only and the 30th king Gautamiputra rules for 19 years only according to the *Kalīyuga Rājovrittānta*. Further, the phrase "Satavi..... mam", occurring before the figure 207 leads us to the conclusion that the number must be taken as 207. But there is a margin of one year, as $550 - 207 = 343$ which may necessitate a slight readjustment of the years in Table A. But the readjustment must be done only after further examination of all available data. We cannot expect non-mathematicians like the Inscription-writers of those days to be as accurate as Varāhamihira. But the margin of one year disappears if elapsed year is replaced by current year, in reckoning the year 207; then the elapsed years will be 206 and the Earlier Epoch must be $550 - 206 = 344$ showing that the inscription 1340 S. 27 of Gotami putesa Araka Siriyana Satakanesa, whom we have identified with the 30th king Gotamiputra, of the Andhra dynasty, was made in 344 B. C. the last year of his reign and 207th year from the Epoch 550 B. C.

(9) Other Corroborations:—

"Chandragupta was succeeded by his son Bindusara. The Greek writers call him Amitrachades (Athenaios) or Allitrochades (Strabo) which appears to be a corruption of the Sanskrit Amitraghata or Amitrakhada." I am afraid that the Sanskrit equivalent suggested here is not the most apt one. I suggest अमित्रच्छेदि = destroyer of enemies as the correct equivalent. The *Puranas* do not give any indication of Bindusara being a great conqueror. The statement of Taranatha, the Tibetan Historian of Buddhism that Bindusara destroyed the kings and ministers of sixteen Kingdoms is not completely accepted by Satyanadha Iyer (1) "The destruction of sixteen kingdoms mentioned by Taranatha could not be thought of in Northern India." But where else can it be? So there is *not* sufficient historical evidence to prove that Bindusara was an Amitrachhedi. So it is not Bindusara whom the Greek records mentioned as Amitrachhedi. Who else can it be?

(1) *History of Ancient India* by Rama Sankar Tripathi, page 160.

(2) *Indian History* Vol I, page 86.

If we consider Samudragupta as Sandracottus of the Greek-records, then his son Chadragupta II is a great warrior and conqueror and can certainly be described as Amitrachhedi. We have from *Kaliyuga Rāja Vrittānta*,

तस्य पुत्रो ज्येष्ठ उचद्रगुप्तस्यो वीर के सरी ।

यवनांच तथा क्षणन् देशद्रिर्वयन् बलात् ॥

"His (Samudragupta's) son, Chandragupta the second was a great hero; driving away all the Yavanas and Hunas from the country". The Greeks, remembering the terrible pounding of Chandragupta II, would certainly have every reason to call him Amitrachhedi. This is an additional evidence to prove that Sandracottus cannot be considered as Chandragupta Maurya but should be taken as Samudragupta.

There is another proof for my statement. Fa-hian, the Chinese pilgrim spent 15 years in all from A. D. 399 to 414, with 9 years in travel and 6 years in Gupta Empire". (1) But "the enthusiastic pilgrim was so absorbed in the religious task to which his life was devoted that he never even mentions the name of the reigning sovereign" (2) even though his stay in India fell wholly within the limits of the reign of Chandragupta II. But unfortunately the historians have committed an error in stating that Chandragupta II was a contemporary of Fa-hian. It was not so. No traveller, however much absorbed he might be, with his religious preoccupations would have failed to mention the name of the reigning king if he was worthy of mention like Chandragupta II. All these inaccurate assumptions of historians are due to the fact that they started on wrong premises which led from one mistake to another, from one false position to another. At the time of Fa-hian's visit to India, the Imperial Guptas were no longer ruling over Maghadha.

मागधानां मक्षा राज्यं छिन्नं भिन्नं च सर्वशः ।

सागवेते यक्षागुप्तं बंध्ये र्यास्याति सस्यति ॥

Kaliyuga Rāja Vrittānta.

"The great kingdom of the Magadhas is completely broken into bits simultaneously with the decline of the power of the Maha (Imperial) Guptas". So, at that time, Fa-hian saw only innumerable petty kings all over India not worthy of any mention by him. This visit of Fa-hian is an additional proof of my theory as evolved in the preceding pages.

(1) Indian History Vol. I, by Sathayanaāha Iyer, page 187.

(2) Ancient and Hindu India by V. A. Smith, page 153.

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(10) *Conclusion*:- So, we come to the conclusion by the study of Astronomical, Puranic and Archæological data about the existence of a Saka Era commencing in 550 B. C. This must have been started by Meghaswati or Mega Satakarni (B. C. 558—520), the 17th Andhra king. That was why I called it the Andhra Saka. My conclusions in arriving at this result are based on better and more scientific grounds than those which led Sri William Jones to identify Sandrocottus of the Greek records with Chandragupta Maurya mainly on similarity of sounds, and thus fix 320 B. C. as the date of accession, to the throne of Magadha, of this Maurya king. It is a wonder how this mistake has been left unrectified so long even though the theory of Sri William Jones must have been summarily rejected on the ground of dissimilarity of father's names.

The Imperial Guptas who succeeded the Andhras started their own Saka (Era) in 328 B. C. Chandragupta I, the first king of the Gupta dynasty, ruled only for 7 years from B. C. 328 to B. C. 321, and he was succeeded by Samudragupta who is also known as Asokāditya, (B. C. 321—270). This Samudragupta is without doubt Sandrocottus of the Greek records and Xandermes is his father Chandragupta I. The Guptas naturally saw that their Saka or Era, the Guptakala of the Inscriptions, became popular and therefore the common man, excepting the Astronomers, slowly forgot all about the Andhra Saka of 550 B. C. The later Astronomers and Historians like Kalhana thought that Saka always meant only Salivahana Saka of 78 A. D. leading to a lot of confusion in the Chronology of Indian history.

I have given my theory and it is for the Scholars to judge the trustworthiness of this theory. I feel confident of explaining all the events of Indian History according to my Chronology. I keep an open mind about the whole matter and I am ready to be convinced even to the contrary on purely scientific grounds. For, no student of Research can ever ignore the maxim of Quetelet, "Do not reject data contrary to your expectation".



"A STUDY OF TELUGU PLACE-NAMES"

(Continued from Page 138 of the Silver Jubilee Volume of J.A.H.R.S.)

A. S. Thyagaraju, M. A.,
Principal, Govt. Arts College, Rajahmundry.
Chapter iii. Section 2 (Contd)

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'-paṭṭa-paṇnam-pātam'

CALDWELL in his Glossarial affinities "WORDS PROBABLY BORROWED BY SANSKRIT FROM THE DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES" notes the words '-pattana-pattiana-paṭṭa'. Discussing the origin of the word 'paṭṭa' he says, "Professors Wilson and Williams conjecture that 'paṭṭa' is probably identical with the 'petah' of Southern India; but the word from which I conceive it to have been derived is 'paṭṭi', a fold for cattle, a pound, a small village, a word which constitutes the final portion or termination of the names of so many towns and villages in the South, eg. 'Kōvil-paṭṭi' = Temple town. In Canarese the same word is 'haṭṭi' eg. 'Dim-haṭṭi'. The ultimate root of 'paṭṭi' is probably 'pāḍu', to settle down, to sink. Sanskrit, seems to have adopted this word 'paṭṭi', in addition to its own 'pura' (which is a true Indo-European word), and formed from it first 'paṭṭa and then paṭṭana'. (p. 459, 2nd edition).

This very common ending in the names of villages in the Tamil country, is not found in the Telugu area. In Telugu we have, however, a form 'paṭṭa'. It is not known if this is cognate with Tamil 'paṭṭi' or with paṭṭu. These two forms should be carefully differentiated in Tamil place-names, as they do not seem to have the same origin. By a study of parallel, we may say that Tamil 'paṭṭi' is cognate with Telugu 'paṭṭa' and is ultimately related to Sanskrit 'paṭṭanambu-paṭṭana'. While 'paṭṭu' is a pure Dravidian root which seems to mean as a verb 'to hold' and therefore anything which is held together 'a place, a place of refuge or security, a nest, a dwelling, a village, a conglomeration of rock' etc. This meaning is evident from a comparison with such words as 'Tēnipaṭṭu = hive or honey comb 'Literally the nest of honey; uniki-paṭṭu; paṭṭu = a bundle of sticks, a weight. The value in 'Telugu is "Paṭṭu" to hold. The ending of 'Paṭṭu' is however very rare in the Telugu country. The following list from the Tamil country illustrates the origin of the word. 'Chingleput' (<) from 'Senkalnir paṭṭu' = the Place of red lakes; 'Mambalappattu: Attipattu: S embattu: Varakalpaṭṭu: Annpambattu' etc.

But the ending 'patti' is usually attached to proper names, or names of occupations, caste, or of words connected with religion. The following names from the Tamil country will illustrate the use of this suffix. 'Akkaraippaṭṭi: Andipaṭṭi: Budireddipaṭṭi: Chettrapatti: Chettiyaipatti: Dasampatti: Irulapatti: Kalipatti: Kanakkanpatti:

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Caru-patti: Koilpatti: Masinayakampatti: Samalpatti: Sumāsipatti: Solagampatti: Thinnappatti: Tippampatti: Tulukapatti: Usilampatti: Vadippatti: Vaṣṣompatti: Veppilaipatti'. (The spellings are those of the S.I.Ry Guide. June 1931). It will be noticed that the majority of these names are after people. It is therefore possible that 'patti' means the place or pattanam of those people.

Turning to our study of Telugu-place names, we have, as we have said the form 'paṭṭa', in addition to forms like 'patem, pattapam'. The two 'paṭṭa' forms, that we may take as examples are 'Bāpatla and Pallapaṭṭa'. The endings are surely in the plural number. The singular form must have been paṭṭu, or paṭṭa'. From the available older forms of these two places we discover, that the form was patla 'which was itself a shortening of the older 'paṭṭana', proving that both the names are of Sanskrit origin. The material before us is not sufficient for me to judge if 'patana' itself is a borrowing from 'patti', as Caldwell suggests. But these two forms, if they prove anything, prove the contrary, namely that the Telugu form at hand is a Sanskrit derivative not very elementary but that it belongs to a later stage. Proper name place-names as we said, are much more recent than topographical place-names (See later Chapters — Cf. 'Sinkalnir patlu' with 'Kanakkam-patti' and the difference in the connotation of the suffix becomes evident. The forms are:

1. Bāpatla (from) < Bhāvapaṭṭa (from) < Bhāvapaṭṭana 'in Sanskrit. It is dated 593 A.D.

2. Pallapaṭṭa (from) Pallapatanabu (from) Prudhivipallapaṭṭana' (the city of Crown-prince) in Sanskrit. Date is unknown.

Therefore, we may conclude, that the tendency in Telugu was to reduce 'paṭṭana' to 'paṭṭa' and then pluralise it to 'paṭṭa'. In Tamil it seems to have become 'paṭṭi'. But in a large number of cases, in Telugu, the form remained intact, as 'paṭṭanam', or else we must consider place names like, 'Masulipatam: (Machlipatnam); Vizagapatam (Vishakapatnam): Nizampatnam: Chennapatnam: Bhimilipatanam: Calingapatnam: Ibrahimpatanam. Pathapatnam: Malakapatnam' etc., as new formations. Indeed the names above, in this form at least are later developments. It must be noted that almost all these paṭṭanam place-name endings are of mercantile towns on the Sea Coast or River Coast such as Dēvi-pattanam on the Godavari.

In proof of this' let us take the names of these places and examine them. Firstly the form 'Bimilipatam' (as it was spelt by the Post Office). It is shortened to 'Bimli' in popular usage and is supposed to be derived from 'Bhimunipattanam'. But in Rangachary's Lis' of inscriptions No. 18, pp. 1668, there is a reference to a village 'Bimanapalli'. The date of this inscription is not known. It is conjectured that the name is the older form for 'Bimilipatam'. If it is true, it shows that

The JSN gives 'paṇnamu = city' as a Telugu word and 'paṭṭu' = dwelling place.

the ending 'patnam', shortened to 'paṇam' by the English, is a new suffix. As the ending 'Palli', comes to mean more and more a small hamlet, the more imposing ending or the "East India company ending" 'patnam' is substituted. Similarly, 'Masulipatam', was not always known as 'Machlipatnam'. 'Matchlipattanam'. It is believed that it was known as 'Maisolia', about the time of Ptolemy. It was known as 'Machli-bandar' during the Mohammedan rule. The form as we know it today, seems to have come into use during the days of the European control of the place. To the same late period belong names like: Ibrahim-patam: Nizam-patam: Malaka-patnam etc. The East India Company has used this ending very much, both in its original form and by shortening it to 'patam'. The Mohammedan rulers, in all their glory preferred high-sounding names. Malakapatnam a part of 'Masulipatam', is supposed to be the 'patam' or place where the Malik or Viceroy of the Nizam resided when he came to visit the city. 'Malik-pattanam' has become variously Malka-patnam: Malakapatnam etc. The same form is seen in 'Maliki-mahammadpuram' in Ellore District. Similarly 'Calingapatnam: Pāthapatnam' etc., may be dismissed as new formations. The city of 'Kalinga' is of course very ancient. We have the form of the name from the earliest times. It is known by the Greeks as 'Calington' (Pliny): and by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tshang, about the 7th Cent. A. D. as 'Kie-ling-kia'. In early records it is known as 'Kalingapura' by Tāranātha, a Tibetan author C. 1573 A. D. Nowhere do we find it known as 'Kalingapattanam'. Therefore the conclusion is, that the ending 'pattanam, patam', is added lately. Turning next to 'Visagapatam, we learn from the Dt. Gazetteer (W. Francis, 1907,) that the town is Vaisakha patnam, the city of Vaisakha or Kārtikeya, the Hindu Mars. "An Andhra king encamped here on his way to Benares and being pleased with the spot, built a Shrine to Vaisakha."

The conclusion then is, that the forms 'pattanam-patnam-patam' as we have it today are all new formations due to naming places, after some hero or other with the original Sanskrit place-name ending. They are not regularly descended from an older form. But in those few cases where an old 'pattanam' form, remained, it has become in Telugu 'paṇa'. Whether this is related to 'Paṇi' or not, cannot be said without a study of Tamil place-names. But it is most probably cognate with 'paṇi' and both seem to be derivatives of Sanskrit 'pattana'. (Cf. Note.) See Caldwell, well, above and below.

Note

CALDWELL.

pattana, paṇna paṇa = a city, town or village: assumed derivations 'pat' = to surround. Beames derives it from 'patta' = a leaf, thatch. The Dravidian languages have probably borrowed the word 'pattanam' as it stands, from Sanskrit; and yet as in the case of 'Kota, a fort.' it will be found I think, that the Sanskrit word itself was derived originally from an older shape of the word retained in the Dravidian vernaculars.....but the word from which I conceive it to have been derived is 'patti' a fold for cattle, aground, a small village' (See p. 459, 2nd edition of Caldwell).

ANNUAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJAHMUNDRY.

The Annual General Body meeting was held on 5-4-53 at 8 a.m. in the Society's Vijayanagar Gajapathi's House.

The Managing Council presented the following Report on the working of the Society during 1952-53.

"At the time of the last Annual Adjourned General Body meeting held on 4-5-1952, the following Office-Bearers and M. C. members were elected:—

OFFICE-BEARERS:—

President: Sri N. Kameswara Rao, B. A., B. L.

Vice-President: Sri Raja K. S. Jaganadha Rao Bahadur

Gen-Secretary: Sri R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., M.E.S. (Retd.)

Jt. Secretary: Sri D. Venkata Rao, M.A.L.T., M.E.S. (Retd.)

Treasurer: Sri N. V. Narasimham,

Librarian: Sri I. Suryanarayanamurthy B. A., M. L.,

M. C. MEMBERS:—

Messrs. K. V. Punneyya, M. A., B. E. D.,

G. S. N. Achari, M. A., „

M. A. Reddi, M. A., L. L. B.,

Dr. R. Subbaramayya

Of these, Messrs K. V. Punneyya & G. S. N. Achari could not attend a single m. c. meeting; hence under rule they cease to be members of M. C. The Jt. Secretary was elected as M. L. C. and so owing to frequent absence from town he could not do the work of correspondence Etc. which therefore fell on the Gen. Secretary. The Librarian also could not, during the latter half of the year, discharge his work owing to pressure of other work and hence that burden also fell on the Gen. Secretary. To the Trust Board was elected Mr. N. V. Narasimham, the three Life members being Messrs Raja K. S. Jagannadha Rao Bahadur, N. Kameswara Rao & R. Subba Rao.

M. C. MEETINGS :-

Six Managing Council meetings were held during the year to elect new members and to enrol new Exchanges, to pass Accounts and to transact other work of the Society. During the year, the Standard Vacuum Oil Co., wanted the lease to be renewed for 20 years but the Society was willing to meet half way but in vain. Hence the Co will quit the premises by the end of Feb. 1955 as under lease deed. Though the Society will lose Rs. 480 (taking Municipal taxes into notice only Rs. 380/-), it can open the Main Gate towards the Bund road thus attracting more public view.

MEMBERS :-

The Society incurred a very heavy loss by the demise of its first President & one of its founders in 1922, Viz. Dr. Kalaprapurna Chilukury Narayana Rao. It need not be stated what a sad and unfortunate loss it is to the Society. His inspiring and helping hand and his learned benefactions to the Society in the form of Nine Valuable C. P. Grants of E. Ganga & Vizianagar Kings and several hundreds of palm-leaf Manuscripts can never be forgotten. Hence to perpetuate his name the Managing Council resolved to name the new out house Building as his Oriental Mss. Library and to publish a Volume in his sacred Memory. There are altogether seventeen *Life Members*, two Honorary members for a Triennium, One Honorary Life member, Seventy five *Moffussil* and Twenty five resident ordinary members—Forty five Institutions are on the rolls of the Society as its permanent Subscribers. It must be admitted that the Number of ordinary members is on the decrease and it behoves the existing members to help the Society by bringing in at least one member each.

ACTIVITIES :-

The Govt. of India, Ministry of Education, informed the Secretary requesting to elect a representative of the Society for the Ind. Hist. Records Commission Session beginning from 1-4-53 and the M.C. elected Sri R. Subba Rao to be its representative. At the same time he was elected till 1955 as a member of the Research & Publication Council of I. H. R. C. New Delhi. The Madras Govt. too re-nominated him as a member of its Regional Council of I. H. R. C. for a further period of 3 years. The Secretary attended the two meetings held at Madras and contributed valuable information to its Sessions. At the same

time for Listing records of Kandregula Family he received from the Govt. & through the Society a Sum of Rs. One Hundred only.

During the month of August 1952 the Hon'ble Minister of Education Dr. Sri M. V. Krishtna Rao visited the Society & wrote thus in its distinguished Visitors Book:-

I had the pleasure of being shown round on 14-8-1952 the Andhra Historical Research Society Premises by Prof. R. Subba Rao. It redounds to the credit of Prof. Subbarao and his colleagues that they had succeeded in securing a site on the bank of Godavary with a building at a cost of about Rs. 30,000 which they secured as donations from the enlightened public. There is a good reference library of nearly 5,000 books in 10 languages, Indian and European. Besides this, there is a valuable collection of about 1,000 palm-leaf manuscripts in Telugu, Tamil. (discovered in Andhra Dists.) Sanscrit and Prakrit, several of which are rare and unpublished, dealing with the sciences and literatures. There is an impressive collection of copper-plates, coins of various dynasties all over India, archaeological antiquities. Work on all these has been carried on through this Association for the last 30 years. Many eminent and prominent workers in the field have been associated with this work. The Society has about 80 Publications in their own English Journals and Telugu works. As one of the few important Historical Research Societies, in India, and in our State, with a long and meritorious record, this Institution deserves encouragement and support from all quarters. Their main needs are improved accommodation and provision for research assistant staff.

(Sd) M. V. Krishna Rao, Minister for Education, Madras.

Dr. Ray ford Lagam, an American Historian of Howard University also visited it & enrolled himself as member.

In March 1953, H. E. the Hon'ble Governor of Madras Sri Sriprakash visited the Historical Exhibition arranged by the Society here and wrote thus:-

I am happy indeed to see this wonderful collection. I am grateful to Prof. Subbarao for having shown me round and explained everything, I hope the good work will prosper.

D. 20-3-1953. (Sd) Sri Prakash, Governor of Madras.

The Society also accepted the invitation of the Principal of the A. U. College & opened an Exhibition on the occasion of the Silver

Jubilee held at Waltair in Jan. 53 and the General public in thousands visited and appreciated the exhibition. At the personal request of the Gen. Secretary, the Madras Govt. passed two G. Os. directing the D. P. I. & D.P.L. to issue instructions recommending the use of the Society's publications, both Telugu and English, to all the public Libraries, Govt. Training Schools, Govt. Arts Colleges etc, etc. and as a result, the sale of publications brought a good increase to Society's Funds. Last but not least, the Secretary enrolled 3 Life Members of whom one Mr. N. Ramesan M.A. I. A. S. Sub-collector, Parvatipur distinguished himself and set up a noble example which may be best followed by one & all, by sending already two valuable and new Eastern Ganga Copper plates to the Society's Museum, by promising to send one more valuable set in a week, by purchasing all the old Volumes and by sending learned articles for publication in the Journal and by various other ways. How I wish that I could have a few more members like this Gentleman to further the work of the Society by helping its several activities!!

The Appeal made and the Memorial given for financial support to the Education Minister have not so far resulted in any good to the Society. It is also losing a decent rent of 480 Rs. from the Oil Co. The number of Members is decreasing. Some of the Office-bearers are not able to do their duty for it. The picture is gloomy but there appears a Ray of hope in that when our own Andhra Province is formed the new Govt. may give all possible help for extension of Buildings, for buying an Epidiascope and other equipment for the Society and for substantial help for the Society's Oriental Mss. Library and Museum & for publication by Society of the National History of Andhras in both Telugu & English.

LIBRARY, READING ROOM AND MUSEUM :

The library has gained in Books & Journals, received mostly in Exchange and partly as Gift or for Review, to the extent of 416. Eleven thousand visitors attended the reading room and studied Papers, Journals & Books to the extent of 7260. The Museum gained already two valuable Copper plate Grants of Ganga Raja Raja and Manendra-varma and stands to gain one more set, viz, the Ponduru Plates. Two coins of Moghal Kings were also added. The thanks of the Society are due to the Donors. Two Historical Exhibitions, one at Visag in Jan. 53 under the auspices of the A.U. & one at Rajahmundry recently, were arranged with about 250 Exhibits consisting of copper-plates, palm-leaf mss, Gold, Silver, Copper & Lead coins of Andhras, Salan-

kayanas, E. Chalukyas, E. Gangas, Yadavas, Vizianagar Kings and others. These Exhibitions were largely attended by thousands of people and widely appreciated

JOURNAL AND TELUGU PUBLICATIONS :

Vol. 14 which was out of stock is now being reprinted. Vol. XX named after Late Dr. C. Narayana Rao is also being printed here. The two Telugu publications are suspended for want of paper and due to lack of funds. It is only recently that funds were acquired, partly by enrolling three new life members and partly by selling Society publications to the tune of Rs. 1000 nearly.

FINANCES :

The report which will be read by the Treasurer is really encouraging. The Govt. library grant is received though in reduced figure. The Municipal grant is not yet forthcoming although the Society requested the Minister of education when he visited this institution in Aug. 1952 to grant funds for extension of buildings & other purposes and although he said he would consider the request, nothing has come out. We have to wait for better days. We are thankful to Sri T. N. Ramachandran, Jt. D. G. of Archy, Delhi, Sri N. Ram-san M.A.I.A.S. Sub-collector Parvatipur & others for sending good wishes to the Society.

THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJAHMUNDY.

Statement of Accounts for the year 1952 to 1953.

Presented by Sri N. V. Narasimham, the Treasurer.

		<i>Credits</i>		<i>Debits</i>	
1. Membership fees	490 0 0	1. Amount Deposited in the current-account with Andhra Bank.	185 8 0		
2. Subscriptions from Institutions.	358 3 0	2. -Do- Imperial Bank current account.	280 10 7		
3. Donations.	100 0 0	3. Electricity bills.	21 5 3		

(Contd)

4. Amount withdrawn from the Andhra Bank current account.	185 0 0	4. Municipal Taxes.	99 9 0
5. -Do- Imperial Bank	281 0 0	5. Reading room (Buying books.)	15 8 0
6. Ground rent from Standard Vacuum Oil Co.,	480 0 0	6. Postage expenses.	79 0 3
7. Library grant from Govt.	95 0 0	7. Establishment charges.	451 8 0
8. Loans borrowed.	200 0 0	8. Printing charges.	186 8 0
9. Sale of Waste papers.	21 8 0	9. Loans repaid.	718 13 0
10. Sale of Coconuts.	23 10 0	10. Travelling expenses.	119 2 0
11. Sale of photos.	3 12 0	11. Paid to the Secretary for listing out Kandregula family records.	50 0 0
12. Subsidy from Govt. for Listing the Kandregula family records.	50 0 0	12. Chairs purchased.	30 0 0
13. Amount received from Andhra University towards T.A. and Boarding expenses.	62 0 0	13. Almira purchased.	95 0 0
14. Advances received from the Secretary.	169 11 6	14. Paper for printing Journal.	380 0 0
15. Amount realised from sale of publications	610 11 10	15. Binding charges	56 0 0
		16. Papers, Periodicals and repairs To cycle etc.,	259 15 0
		17. Advances to the Secretary.	153 1 6
	Total.	Total.	3, 181 8 7
	Opening balance.	Closing balance.	29 2 6
	Grand total.	Grand Total.	3, 210 11 1
		Andhra Bank.	12 1 3
		Imperial Bank.	1 3 6
		Innespeta C. U. B.	6 1 2
		Bank balances.	

ANNUAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJAHMUNDRY.

The XXXII nd., Annual Report for the year 1953-54 on the work of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry was read by the Hon. Gen. Secretary Prof. R. Subba Rao.

The last Annual General Body meeting was held on 5-4-53 when the annual reports of the General Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian were read and passed. The following Office-bearers were then elected for 1953-54:—

- (1) President: Sri N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu, B.A., B.L.,
- (2) Vice-President: Sri Raja K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur.
- (3) Gen. Secretary: Prof. R. Subba Rao, M.A.L.T.M.E.S. (Retd.)
- (4) Joint-Secretary: Prof. D. Venkata Rao, M. A. L. T. M. E. S. (Retd.)

(5) Treasurer: Sri N. V. Narasimham

(6) Librarian: Sri I. Suryanarayana Murty, B. A. M. L.

Members of the Managing Council;

Messers:

- (1) M. Anna Reddi, M. A., LL. B.,
- (2) Dr. R. Subbaramayya
- (3) B. V. Krishna Rao, M. A. B. L.
- (4) K. V. Punneya, M. A. (Hons), B. ED.

Owing to the transfer of Sri K. V. Punneya, a vacancy arose in the Council and Sri Ch. Hanumantha Rao, B. A. was elected.

MANAGING COMMITTEE MEETINGS

Only five meetings were held during the year. In the M. C. meeting held on 28—8—53 the accounts were checked and passed and new members and new-exchanges were admitted. The audit reports for 1948-49 and 1949-'50 were read and adopted. The Society's thanks are due to the Auditor, Sri Ramachandra Rao for his suggestions. On 13—10—'53 another M. C. meeting was held and damage caused to Society owing to the Godavary flood was reviewed. The Society's thanks are due to the General Secretary and to his son Sri R. Rama Murty, B.A., B.E.D. a member of the Society for rescuing the books and several almyrahs from being drowned by the waters

which stayed in the Society's rooms for four days. On 20—12—'53 another M. C., meeting was held when the G. O. M. S. No. 100 dated 7—12—'53 sanctioning a token grant of Rs. 500/- to the Society in appreciation of its efforts was read and the thanks of the Society to the Government were recorded.

The Society also authorised the General Secretary to take the necessary Exhibits to the Indian History Congress Exhibition at Waltair. It appreciated the honour conferred on the General Secretary, Prof. R. Subba Rao by the All-India Indian History Congress which requested him to preside over the Local or Andhra History Section of the Conference. It also resolved to publish Sri B. V. Krishna Rao's History of East Chalukyas as Volume XXI in memory of late Chilukuri Virabhadra Rao under the Joint-editorship of Prof. R. Subba Rao and Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao. On 28—3—1954 a M.C. meeting was held to admit new members and new exchanges and to remove the names of those who failed to take Volume XX. A letter from Prof. D. Venkata Rao requesting the Society to participate in the Sri Ramanavami Exhibition in the Commercial Museum by lending exhibits was read but the Society regretted its inability to comply with the request. A final M. C. meeting was held on 10—4—54 to pass the accounts up-to-date and to adopt the annual reports of the General Secretary, Librarian and the Treasurer. These were read and passed.

Membership :

The number of members of all classes during the year was 160 and the number of subscribers 50. During the year the Society's membership increased. Two new life-members have been enrolled, one of whom being Sri P. V. Rajamannar, Madras High Court Chief-justice. The number of ordinary members increased by 10, the number of subscribers by 4 and the number of exchanges by 14. There was thus an all-round increase. The number of members that resigned is only ten and the number of subscribers four.

Additions to Library and Museum :

The Society's Library and Museum got many new and interesting additions. The museum was enriched by three sets of newly discovered copper-plate inscriptions, two of the East Ganga kings and one of East Chalukyan King Ammaraja II. The former two Sets were presented by Sri N. Ramesan, M.A.I.A.S, and the Chalukyan set was got at the instance of Hon. Gen- Secretary, Sri R. Subba Rao. They were all edited in Volume XX of the society's journal by the same scholars.

Coins of the Salankayanas, Vishnukundinas and East Chalukyas and other dynasties were added at the instance of the Gen. Secretary who got them as a gift from one of the Society's old life-members Sri S. T. Srinivasagopalachari, M.A.M.L. The thanks of the society are due to them. The coins will be published in the Society's journal Volume XXII by the Gen. Secretary.

Finances : This year we failed to get both the Municipal and Govt. library grant. The Standard Vacuum Oil Company has not sent its rent which will be the last to obtain. We gave notice to quit. If the Company clears out, then the society's main gate will open towards the Godavary bund road and the society will get a view of the Municipal Park to be laid and the river. In spite of these disappointments, it is fairly satisfactory to have got Rs. Thousand five Hundred. Govt issued a G. O. sanctioning a token grant of Rs. 100/- in appreciation of Society's work and we are hoping to get it soon. The Society resolved to celebrate 'Andhra Day' in summer recess at Guntur and the General Secretary went to Guntur recently to meet the District Collector and other members of the society and enlisted their support. If this event fructifies, the society can undertake the publication of the Andhra History soon.

Conclusion - The Society gave necessary notice to its tenants, the Standard Vacuum Oil Company to vacate its yard and it is hoped that when the company clears out, the main gate will be opened to the south to face the Municipal ground where Park is to be raised soon. The Society will have to put up a spacious Hall for the Reading Room and Library in the vacant space facing the river Godavary. Our own Andhra Govt. will, it is earnestly hoped come to our rescue and help the society by putting up the necessary new buildings. The present building can be used for housing the oriental manuscripts Library and the Museum. The Museum also got several Photo-Prints coins of different Countries and several stamps of different foreign Countries photos of images and inscriptions were also added. The Estampages of the new copper plates were also added to the Museum. The Library had 5000 books and 500 journals added to it. Most of them were got by exchange and some by gift, others by review and only few books and journals were purchased. Some of the U. N. E. S. Co., Countries and the India office sent some books and journals. Volume XX in memory of late Kalaprapurna Dr. C. Narayana Rao was published in January 1954. The Vengi Sanchika awaits completion. Volume XXI in memory of late Andhra Historian Chilukuri Veerabhadra Rao will be given for print soon. On 2-2-54, the library was inspected by the

Local Inspecting Officer who checked several registers and held that it serves the research scholar as well as the layman. It runs regularly and caters to the public.

The Godavary flood affected the society also. The water entered the library house two feet deep and stayed for four days inside the rooms. As a result, the floor and sides of the walls are affected and as a result white ants from underneath appeared in almost all the rooms and entered almyrahs and spoiled many books especially records of Fort St. George. Fortunately the palm-leaf books were spared. A Part of the Compound wall beached, and the loss is estimated at about Rs. 500/-.

Annual Report of the Librarian for the Year 1953-54.

1. Our Library received 259 Journals, 62 books during the year under review besides several weeklies. The number of visitors was about 300 per month on the average.

2. The Municipal grant for the library for the year 1952 was received during this year under review and the grant for the year 1953-54 will not be obtained as the Municipality owing to Godavary floods has to face deficit budget. The Govt. Library grant was also not paid.

3. The Godavary floods demand heavy toll from our library also. The level of the water inside the building rose up to a height of 2-1/2 feet. But the General Secretary Prof. R. Subba Rao assisted by his son Sri Ramamurty, also a member of our Society rushed to the Society buildings before the water began to enter the Premises. With his characteristic zeal and energy and with almost a sense of Propeitorship in the Society, its Library and Museum; he removed as many books as possible under the circumstances to the possessions of safety. Nonetheless, he could not prevent the walls becoming damp. The result was disastrous white ants sprang up in their millions in number of places and damaged a number of valuable books including a good number of Volumes of Fort St. George consultations. We are not yet free from the ravages of the white ants inspite of precautions taken. The Library requires a through overhaul and reorganisation. Unless a full timed clerk conversant with the library work is employed for at least a couple of months, it will not be possible to put it in Order.

Rajahmundry, }
10-4-53 }

(Sd) I. Suryanarayana Murty,
Librarian.

THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJAHMUNDY.

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Statement of Accounts for the year 1953 to 1954.

Presented by Sri N. V. Narasimham, the Treasurer.

Credits		Debits	
	Rs.		Rs.
1. Membership fee collected	626 0 0	1 Amounts deposited in the current a/c in Imperial Bank	224 10 7
2. Subscriptions collected from the institutions	247 4 3	2 Lighting charges	47 0 0
3. Amounts withdrawn from Imperial Bank Current a/c	245 8 9	3 Taxes	101 11 0
4. Municipal grant	100 0 0	4 Reading room expenses, papers Booke etc.	95 8 6
5. Loans borrowed	735 0 0	5 Library books purchase	19 8 0
6. Miscellaneous incomes by sale of waste paper, coconuts etc.	9 13 0	6 Postage expenses	156 8 6
7. Advance amounts returned by the secretary	100 5 3	7 Establishment charges	460 1 0
8. By sale of publications	665 3 10	8 Press charges for Printing & Paper etc.	837 2 0
Last years balance	29 2 6	9 Travelling expenses for conferences	114 0 0
	2758 5 7	10 Loans repaid	315 0 0
		11 Building repairs	36 10 6
		12 Miscellaneous expenses	245 1 6
		13 Advance amounts paid to secretary	101 0 0
			2753 13 7

(Contd) Credits

Details for Miscellaneous expenses:—

BANK BALANCES:

	Rs.	12	1	3		134	2	6
1. Andhra Bank					Rikshaw and Bandy charges			
					Cycle Repairs	29	3	6
2. Innespeta Co-op. Urban Bank Ltd.		6	1	2	Electric repairs and Building repairs	37	13	0
3. Imperial Bank		2	12	0	Railway Parcel charges	9	3	0
					Conference fees	11	10	0
					Miscellaneous Expenditure	23	1	6
						245	1	-

Checked & Passed
(Sd.) N. Kameswara Rao,
President.

True copy,
(Sd.) R. Subba Rao
Hon. Gen. Secretary

THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJAHMUNDRY.

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Statement showing the Receipts and Payments for the Official years 1952-53 and 1953-54.

Receipts Side:	1952-53	1953-54	Total
Opening balance	80 2 9	29 2 6	80 2 9
Membership fees	490 0 0	626 0 0	1,116 0 0
Subscriptions from Institutions	358 3 0	246 12 3	604 15 3
Donations	100 0 0	—	100 0 0
Andhra Bank (Withdrawals)	185 0 0	—	185 0 0
Imperial Bank	281 8 0	245 8 9	527 0 9
Ground rent	480 0 0	—	480 0 0
Library grant	95 0 0	—	95 0 0
Loans borrowed	200 0 0	735 0 0	935 0 0
Sale of waste paper	21 8 0	9 13 0	31 5 0
Sale of cocoanuts	23 10 0	—	23 10 0
Sale of photos	3 12 0	—	3 12 0
Govt. Subsidy	50 0 0	—	50 0 0
T. A. from University	62 0 0	—	62 0 0
Advances recovered from Secretary	169 11 6	100 5 3	270 0 9
Sale of publications	610 11 10	688 2 6	1,298 14 4
Municipal grant	—	100 0 0	100 0 0
Total Rs.	3,211 3 1	2,780 12 3	5,952 12 10

(Sd.) K. Ramachandra Rao, Chartered Accountant, 14-6-1955.

(Contd)

Payments side :

Establishment	451	8	0	460	1	0	Total.
Deposits in Bank	280	10	7	247	1	3	911 9 0
Imperial Bank of India	185	8	0	—			527 11 10
Andhra Bank	21	5	3	47	0	0	185 8 0
Lighting	99	9	0	101	11	0	68 5 3
Municipal Taxes	15	8	0	19	8	0	201 4 0
Reading Room	79	8	3	156	8	0	35 0 0
Postage account	186	8	0	837	2	0	236 0 9
Printing	718	13	0	315	0	0	1,023 10 0
Loans repaid	119	2	0	114	0	0	1,033 13 0
Travelling	50	0	0	—			233 2 0
Remuneration to Secretary	30	0	0	—			50 0 0
Chairs purchased	95	0	0	—			30 0 0
Almyrahs do.	380	0	0	—			95 5 0
Paper and Printing	56	0	0	—			380 0 0
Binding	259	15	0	132	3	0	56 0 0
Periodicals	153	1	6	101	0	0	392 2 0
Advances to Secretary	—			245	1	6	254 1 6
Miscellaneous	29	2	6	4	8	0	245 1 6
Cash balance	3,211	3	1	2,780	12	3	4 8 0
Total Rs.							5,962 12 10

K. Ramachandra Rao,
Chartered Accountant.
14-6-55.

AUDITOR'S STATEMENTS FOR 1952-53 & 1953-54.
Income and Expenditure Statement

Combined Income and Expenditure statement for the years 1952-53 and 1953-54.

Expenditure

Establishment	911	9	0
Lighting	68	5	3
Taxes	201	4	0
Reading room	35	0	0
Postage	236	0	8
Printing	1,023	10	0
Travelling	233	2	0
Remuneration to Secretary	50	0	0
Paper and Printing	380	0	0
Binding	56	0	0
Periodicals etc.	392	2	0
Miscellaneous	245	1	6

Opening stocks :-

Kalinga samchika	1280
Kakatiya "	1386
Reddi "	2496
Journals	10337

Total

Rs.

19,281 2 5

Income

Membership collections	1,116	0	0
Add. Arrears	66	0	0
Subscriptions from Institutions	604	15	3
Sale of publications	1,298	14	4
Donations	100	0	0
Ground rent	480		
Add. arrear	480		
Library grant	960	0	0
Sale of waste paper	95	0	0
Sale of coconuts	31	5	0
Photos	23	10	0
Subsidy by Govt.	3	12	0
do. from Municipality	50	0	0
Municipal grant	62	0	0
Closing stock on 31-3-54	100	0	0
Kalinga	800		
Kakatiya	1064		
Reddi	1820		
Raja Raja	30		
Journals	10,090		
Deficit for the year	13,804	0	0
Total Rs.	965	9	10
Total	19,281	2	5

(Sd.) K. Ramachandra Rao, Chartered Accountant, 14-6-55

Capital & Liabilities

Capital fund as per last Balance sheet
Less deficit for the year

Property & Assets

Capital fund as per last Balance sheet	56,073	0	4	Buildings : As per last B/S	21,448	15	3	
Less deficit for the year	965	9	10	Copper plates : As per last B-S	1,200	0	0	
				Telugu, Sanskrit & English Books:				
				As per last B-s	5,429	5	0	
	55,107	6	6	Museum : As per last B-s	100,00	0	0	
				Furniture:				
				As per last B-s	3000			
				Additions	125			
				Photos & Enlargements: As per last B-s	3,125	0	0	
				Water Tap: As per last B-s	549	3	0	
				Electric Fittings: As per last B-s	114	0	0	
	510	6	0	Deposits:	230	6	6	
				Rajahmundry Electric Supply Corporation	165	8	0	
	55,617	12	6	Arrears: Due from Members	138	0	0	
				Rent	480	0	0	
				Advances to be recovered: From Secretary	25	8	9	
				Stock on hand : As on 31--3--54	13,804	0	0	
				Bank & Cash Balances:				
	859	7	3	Andhra Bank	12	1	3	
	253	0	0	Imperial Bank	2	12	0	
				Urban Bank	6	0	0	
	5	0	0	Cash Balance	4	8	0	
Total Rs.	56,735	3	9	Total	Rs.	56,735	3	9
Liabilities to be discharged :-								
Sri N. Kameswara Rao								
„ N. V. Narasimham								
„ R. Subba Rao								

(Sd.) K. Ramachandra Rao, Chartered Accountant, 14-6-1955.

- (a) That I have obtained all the information, and explanations I have required.
- (b) That, in my opinion, the Balance sheet and the Income and expenditure account referred to above are drawn up in conformity with law,
- (c) That the Balance sheet exhibits a true and correct view of the state of affairs of the institution according to the best of my information and explanations given to me and as shown by the books of the institution.

2. The Closing stock as on 31-3-1954, as certified by the Secretary, is adopted by me while preparing the Income and expenditure statement. There are no separate registers for the various publications showing the number of copies printed, sold and the balance of stock on hand. There is no stock inventory by 31-3-1953 and hence a combined Income and Expenditure statement for both the years 1952-53 and 1953-54 is prepared and herewith enclosed.

The Secretary admits that the stock position given on 1-4-1952 is incorrect and that it is not possible to reconcile the opening and closing stocks with the sales and the issues printed during these two years. The sales accounted for during these two years total Rs.1298-14-4. The Secretary assures me that the Inventory position of 31-3-1954 now given to me is correct since he has taken the actual stock position on 16-3-1955 and the stock as on 31-3-1954 is arrived at by adding the stock sold between 1-4-1954 and 16-3-1955 to the stock of 16-3-1955 and that the correct stock position on 31-3-1954 has been arrived at.

3. Even the outstanding liabilities shown in the previous Balance sheet are admittedly incorrect. The actual amounts due to the various creditors have since been ascertained and incorporated in the present Balance sheet.

4. There is also no proper D. C. B. Register for the subscriptions due from members. While the arrear subscriptions due from

members as given by the Secretary as on 31-3-1952 is Rs. 72/-, it is said that the arrear figure should be Rs. 78/-. According to the Secretary, the arrear balance due from members by 31-3-1954 is Rs. 138/- as detailed below :—

Sri J. Ganganna	Rs. 12 0 0
„ Ch. Hanumantha Rao	6 0 0
„ K. Linga Raju	24 0 0
„ Ch. Nagaraju	12 0 0
„ P. David	12 0 0
„ A. Narasimhamurty	12 0 0
„ M. Sivaramakrishnayya	24 0 0
„ K. V. Punneyya	6 0 0
„ M. K. Srinivasa Raghavachari	24 0 0
„ T. Kanakaraaju	6 0 0
	Rs. 138 0 0

K. Ramachandra Rao,
Chartered Accountant.
14-6-55.

Proceedings of Managing Council meeting dated 27-6-55.

Resolved to adopt the Audit report and request the Secretary to explain the defects pointed out.

(Sd.) N. Kameswara Rao,
(President)
27-6-55.

A. H. R. Society's General Secretary's clarification on certain defects pointed out by the Auditor in his Audit Report for 1952-53 and 1953-54.

1. (a) There is a Register of the Society's Publications showing the number of copies printed and sold or otherwise disposed off.

(b) There is also a stock inventory of furniture and other belongings of the Society.

2. Owing to Floods and Ravages caused by white-ants, several publications of the Society (Books, Journals etc.) were spoiled or eaten away and the stock position taken on 16-3-1955 is correct.

3. The Society, from the beginning, has got Registers, showing number of Resident Members, Moffusil Members and Subscribers, and the amounts due from them and the amounts realised and the balances still due.

4. Regarding Moffusil Members and Subscribers, either V. P. or Bill System is adopted all these years. Now, as per instructions of the Auditor, a regular D. C. B. Register is maintained showing names of all classes of Members, Subscribers amount demanded, collected and balance still due. Most of the arrears have since been realised and 3 Members have to be given Regular Notice as they have to pay 3 or 4 years subscription arrears.

5. I would suggest that the Treasurer may be requested to look after all accounts affairs in future, such as D.C.B. Posting of V. P. Ps., etc.,

Adopted
at M. C. Meeting held on
31-7-55.

N. Kameswara Rao,
(President)
31-7-55.

R. Subba Rao,
Hon. Genl. Secretary, A. H. R. S.,
27-7-55.

REVIEWS
Madras University Telugu Series, No. 13.

General Editor :
N. VENKATA RAO M. A.,
(Head of the Department of Telugu)

LIVES OF TELUGU POETS.

[From earliest times to 1250 A. D.]

Published in 1953.

Pages XXVIII + 394

Price Rs. 12/-

This Book is the result of the learned author's work as Lecturer in Telugu in 1949. Out of the six parts into which he divided the work, the first three parts upto A. D. 1250 form this first Volume.

The author points out that the connection between Literature and History and between Religion and Literature can be fully brought out only by dividing into periods with connecting links of history and religion. The division of literary periods according to the out-standing poets as age-makers facilitates to understand the evolution of various literary types.

Accordingly, he has given 800 to 1000 A. D. as Pre-Nannayya period, 1000 to 1100 as the Age of Nannayya, 1100 to 1250 as the Age of Saivite Poets 1250 to 1330 as the Age of Tikkana, 1330 to 1400 as the Age of Errapreggada and 1400-1500 as the Age of Srinadha. But these divisions, in our opinion, are only artificial and not quite correct. He has maintained the chronological order of poets and all the Verseinscriptions from 850 to 1250 A. D. based on J. Ramayya's *Sasana Padya Manjari* are given with explanations. The work itself is based on K. Veeresalingam's *Lives of Poets*. We agree with the author that there are many problems in Telugu Literature which are not solved. This can best be undertaken by the Universities in Telugu area and by the Telugu Academy of Kakinada and Telugu Bhāshā Samiti of Madras.

In the Introduction, the Editor has described the connection of Telugu with Sanskrit, Paisachi, Prakrit, Tamil and Kannada. He has rightly pointed out that "Telugu literature is a happy blending of Aryan and Dravidian Civilisations, cultures and traditions. The origin of the language is essentially Dravidian while it is Aryan in its development." The contents give the sources, the details of Inscriptions, the names of poets that are mentioned in them and their other works. This History of Telugu Poets is really interesting and we must congratulate the Editor and the University. We earnestly hope that the literate Telugu Public will go through it and every educational Institution will get a copy for its Library.

—R. Subba Rao, Editor.

REVIEWS BY THE EDITOR.

No. 14 THE SOUTHERN SCHOOL IN TELUGU LITERATURE

By the same Editor.

Price Rs. 15/-

Pages XVI + 528

Published in 1954 by The Madras University.

This is again the result of the Editor's Research in the University. Unlike the Andhra University, the Madras University has, to its credit, very good chairs for Indian History, Literature and other subjects and as a result many scholarly Works are quickly forthcoming.

"The literature which developed in the Southern parts where Tamil is the spoken language i.e. Tanjore, Madura, Pudukottai, Salem and Uaiyur is known as the Southern School in Telugu literature. It includes Mysore also. This School of literature flourished under the patronage of Telugu Nayaks and their Subordinates during the 17th and 18th centuries. It is a peculiar phenomenon that even the Maratha rulers of Tanjore patronised Telugu which was neither their own language nor that of the people who were under their sway."

We cannot agree wholly with the idea contained in the last sentence. Even today 30 lacs of Telugus are living in the Southern Districts. (Tamil area). In those days, thanks to Vizianagar rule over those portions and subsequently the rule of the Araveedu dynasty—a purely Telugu dynasty and its successors the Telugu Nayaks of Tanjore etc, Telugu people, language, customs and culture flourished there. The Tanjore Serfoji Library containing several thousands of Telugu Books attests to this fact. Many of these books throw interesting light on the rule of Nayaks whose court language was Telugu [17th and 18th centuries.] This Southern School of Telugu Literature has these peculiarities:- Many poets and poetesses also excelled in writing works on various topics. Poetry in abundance consists of Dwipadas, Yakshaganas and Dramas. Not only poetry but prose works were written in easy style. Popular Poetry Lyrics (Gaya padas) music and fine arts developed. Prabandhams in Srungara (Love) came to be composed in great numbers. Also works on different sciences. The Telugu language borrowed freely words from other languages and also words in popular usage. Many Works are still in manuscript stage and unless all the Mss. and other works as well as Inscriptions found in Telugu language in the South including Mysore are collected, studied and printed, full knowledge of the state of Telugu in the South cannot be got. We congratulate the Editor and the University again on the production of the work.

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

BY

RAMAKRISHNA MUKHERJEE.

Published by Veb Deutscher Verlag Der Wissenschaften,
Berlin. 1955, XV+269 pages.

It is learnt that the Author who is at present a Guest Professor at the Humboldt University in Berlin is a Sociologist and a Statistician. He has conducted Sociological and anthropological researches in India, Great Britain, France, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Turkey and Africa. He is the Co-author of *Famine and Rehabilitation of Bengal*, *Social Mobility in Britain and the Ancient Inhabitants of Jebel Moya*. He has also published his researches in internationally reputed Journals published from India, U. S. A., France, Czechoslovakia, Germany and Sweden.

The book gives the history of the E. I. Co. specially in India from 1600 to 1858. It is divided into six chapters dealing with (1) Social background (2) Co. and English merchants (3) Co. and its European rivals (4) Co. and Indian rulers (5) Co. as the Ruler and (6) the last stage Co. and parliamentary influence and Co. as Industrial Bourgeoisie. There are detailed references or notes to each chapter for the benefit of readers and Three useful Maps of the time of 1. Akbar and Auranga Zeb 2. Second half of 18th cent. and (3) First half of 19th cent.

The foreword by the Author states that he does not claim any originality in his torical materials. But he claims to be the first to give a complete picture of the Co. (Rise and Fall) "in the light of social forces, as such social studies different from historical studies, are available for every stage. There may be inaccuracies or faults in his account, he admits, but his main problem is to answer the *Whys* of the apparent behaviour of the company." Which appear to have led to many fallacious views on its role in India and Europe. This he considers his duty as a social scientist." He summarises the three views on the character and role of the Co. in India. First, the view of, Ramsay Muir that though the Co. struggled against it, it became the ruler of India and it gave 3 priceless gifts to the people Viz. (1) Political unity, Assured peace and Reign of law. (2) The co's victory at Plassey roused their ambition and changed the peaceful traders into domineering rulers and powerful dictators and this view was accepted by R. C. Mazumdar, H. E. Roy Choudhuri and K. K. Datta and (3) The rule of the British Crown from 1858 did good to people though the Govt. was not popular. This view was expressed by Sir John Strachy and others. "It is to govern India with unflinching determination on the principles which our Superior Knowledge tells us are right, *although they may be unpopular*." Though this last point is beyond the scope of this work, yet it must be said that the national movement proved the falsity of this claim. The

Author rightly contends that the socio-economic roots of British Expansion and colonial policy are not well understood by many. The growth of merchant capital, its monopolist character and its expansion of Commerce to India and other countries necessitated the creation of conditions beneficial to marchant companies. To bring about such conditions, the Co. had to aspire for political power, first to defeat and to crush rival companies and then to oust and enslave the country powers and finally to obtain Mastery over India. But this acquisition of new power and wealth created Jealousy at home and brought about its fall as witnessed by the Sepoy Mutiny and acquisition of power by the crown. All these views have been fully stated and explained with proper references by the learned author in the several chapters. The paper, print and get-up are excellent and the book should find a place in every College and University Library. It can be had from "Peoples publishing house, Ltd. 6/4 Asaf Ali Rd New Dehli or Visalāndhra Publishing House, Buckingham peta p o. Vijayawada or National Book Agency, 12 Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-12.

SILVER JUBILEE

SOUVENIR OF THE ANDHRA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE (1928-1953)

It contains several photo-prints of the National Leaders and messages of sympathy by distinguished officials. The book contains 384 pages of beautifully printed matter relating to subjects like Commerce, Communications, Agriculture and Finance etc., so that the Govt. and Public may have all the necessary data regarding Andhra Pradesh. The Foreward by the President Mr. P. Suryanarayana and Historical Articles on Andhras and Andhra State and its place in Indian Economy are highly interesting. The main objects of the chamber namely, to protect and promote trade and Industry and to collect, classify, and circulate statistics, to take part in the settlement of disputes have been well realised and the chamber rightly got representation on eminent Public Bodies like Madras Corporation, Port-Trust, Railway committees etc. Its celebration of Silver Jubilee synchronises with the formation of Andhra State. Andhra has great resources in Agriculture and Industry and its Enterprising and Resourceful people are already making a study of the water and power schemes so that when fully developed the country may flourish. The chamber consisting as it does of

Eminent Andhra businessmen is expected to give a lead in important matters to both Government and people. It is good that the chamber is not a mere parochial body but always aims at developing Andhra Pradesh as an integral unit of the Indian Union. Much of the credit is due to Messrs P. Suryanarayana, J. V. Somayajulu, and M. S. Sambasivam, for publishing such a learned book which will be helpful not only to the Businessmen but also to the students in Colleges and Universities. Every literary Institution should have a copy. The several maps are really an asset.

MEMOIRS OF THE KERN INSTITUTE No. 1
THE EARLY WOODEN JUNGLES OF CHAMBAR
BY

HERMANN GOETZ

With 16 Plates, 12 Text illustrations and 1 Map Leiden,
E. J. Brill, 1955.

The large number of illustrations showing temples, images and wooden pillars and ceilings, the text illustrations such as Surya image from Gum, temple of Gautam Rishi bronze statue that of Yogini and River Goddess Ganga from the temple of Avanti Swami and the beautiful get up and the very interesting and learned matter make the book very attractive. The valley of the river Ravi (Ancient Hill state of chambha contains several temples with Sanskrit inscriptions. Dr. Vogel published in 1911 the antiquities of chambha State. The Kern Institute with which Dr. Vogel is connected now did well to publish this monograph on the three earliest temples of chambha (temple of Lakshajā Devi, Sakti Devi and Mar kula Devi) which present beautiful timber architecture and sculptural Decoration. The three temples deal with the worship of the Goddess Devi under different names. At Brahmer she is Lakshajā Devi (Parvati Mahisha Mardhini) At chatrarhi She is Sakti Devi. At chambha. lahul she is Kali (-Vajra Varahi) or Markula Devi. It is said that the beauty and variety of wood-carved decorations here sur-pass that of the two other temples. The brass statues are made at the instance of King Maruvarma which belong to 8th century A. D. Dr. Goetz who writes the preface and who is the author of this book and who edited Annual Bibliographies of Indian Archaeology is now the curator of the National Gallery of modern art at New Delhi. Hence his book is important as he studied the art in Situ. The latter Gupta and the Kashmiri Art could be best studied here as the region was undisturbed till Moghal invasions. It is a good thing that the Himalayan region was explored and the Art and Architecture found there, dealing mostly with Sakti-cult, reveal to us much with such beautiful plates at the end of the book. There is a good Map of chambha State at the end.

NEWS AND NOTES

ARCHAEOLOGY

The *Hindusthan Standard* of 24-4-56 publishes the following news:

Over a hundred seals and sealings, bearing pictographic signs reminiscent of the Harappa culture in the Indus Valley, have been excavated at the ancient site of *Lothal* in *Saragwala* village of Dhola Taluk in Ahmadabad district.

The excavations, conducted by the Western Circle of the Department of Archaeology, Government of India, indicate that *Lothal* 4,000 years ago was a very important and busy port having trade connections with the cities of the *Indus Valley*.

Animal figures such as unicorn, elephant and bull and birds are noticed on the steatite and terracotta seals, the clay impressions of which have also been recovered in large numbers. The writings on the sealings show that the Script used is the same or similar to the one used by the Indus Valley people.

A remarkable find in the course of the excavation at this ancient port-site was the unearthing of a huge Kiln (furnace). The Kiln consists of eight solid blocks of bricks with narrow chambers in between each and was used for baking terracotta objects such as sling balls and sealings. The floor of the Kiln is paved with bricks and its walls are mud-plastered.

The process of preparing sealings which was not clear after excavations at Harappa and Mahenjodaro can now be understood. It appears that impressions from different seals were taken on lumps of wet clay held by sticks and placed over layers of bricks in the furnace. These were covered with reeds and the whole kiln sealed completely with mud. After burning slowly for sometime, the sealings and terracotta objects became fit to be removed. Several such lumps bearing impressions have been recovered from the furnace.

In one corner of the kiln as many as ninety terracotta sealings with Indus script and animal figures were found along with ash, burnt wood etc. The discovery of such large number of sealings at one place in concentrated form is indicative of *Lothal* being a prosperous maritime city. Seals, used by merchants and manufacturers, it seems, were in huge demand.

Besides seals and sealings, a large number of chert blades, beads, stone-weights, copper hooks, pins, bangles and vessels have also been found. *Bead* and *Blade* manufacturing must have been a flourishing local industry. The pottery finds contain some beautiful painted designs.

The excavation reveals three phases of occupation. In the earlier phase there was no clay rampart. In the middle phase, the town was fortified. When the fortifications were damaged, they were repaired by providing a retaining wall of mud bricks. In the last phase of occupation, the town was unfortified.

In some portions solid mud brick platforms measuring 45' x 45' x 18' are found to have been built. The inhabitants must have lived in *constant fear of flood to the ravages of which the place was exposed*. Six structural periods with features of construction closely resembling those in Harappa were encountered in the course of excavation but frequent floods from the adjoining rivers—the Sabarmati and the Bhagave—seem to have washed away some of the structural remains.

All these archaeological findings and the facile conclusions drawn therefrom, which are apt to be demolished by some subsequent findings are characteristic. Originally they decided that the Aryans were invaders of India about 1000 B.C. and that India was a backward country peopled by aboriginal tribes. When the Aryans came they killed many, made others slaves and made them Sudras while themselves becoming the Dwijas. The first shock came when at Mahenjodaro and Harappa, they found structures and remains of a civilisation that was at least 5000 years old. Instead of admitting their mistake and accepting the view that the Aryan culture was at least 5000 years old, they promptly called it pre-Aryan, that it was a non-Aryan civilisation, because it did not suit them to consider that the Vedas and in short Hindu civilisation could be so old and ancient. Such is the honesty of the Archaeologists.

The Aihole Inscription of Pulakesin

by
KOTA VENKATACHALAM.

It was discovered in the temple of Siva in the Village of Iballi in the Dharwar district, recording a gift deed. The date of the inscription, as mentioned in it, is 37 + 3737 years after the Mahabharata war or

3735 years after the Kali Era or 556th year of the Saka Era or 634 A.D. The inscription is by Pulakesin II. The text has been published in the Indian Antiquary Vol. V. pp. 67-71. The same has again been published in No. 34 of the Kavya Mala Series, as the 16th document, with the title 'the stone inscription (*Sila Lekha*) of Sri Pulakesi of the Chalukya dynasty'. (Vide *Prachina Lekha Mala*, 16th Sila Lekha, pt. I, pp. 68-72). This author of Ancient Hindu History part II, entitled "Archaeological Evidence Misused" which is now in the press, has examined, with the kind help of Sri Rullabhandi Subbarao Panthulu, Retired History Professor of the Government Arts College, Rajahmundry, and Honorary Secretary of the Andhra Historical Research Society, the text published in the Indian Antiquary as well as the photographic copy of the inscription itself which are reproduced below:-

Trimatsu trisahasreshu Bhaaratasa daahavaaditah
Saptaabda sata yukteshu sateshvabdeshu panchasu
panchaasatsu kalau kaale shatsu panchasata sucha
samaasu samatitaasu sakaanaamapi bhubhujaam.

This has been published in the *Prachina Lekha Mala* with a little alteration in the 2nd line.

The text of the inscription should read, when arranged in the prose order, thus :

"Bhaaratasa daahavaaditah + Kalau Kaala, Trimatsu trisahasreshu, + saptaabda sata yukteshu + sateshu abdeshu panchasu, panchaasatsu + shatsu + panchasataasucha samaasu samatitaasu sakaanaamapi bhubhujaam".

Rendered into English, it is (37 years elapsed) after the Mahabharata war (upto the beginning of the Kali 1st year) and in Kali 30 + 8000 + 700 + 500 = 4230, and after 50 + 6 + 500 = 556 years (after the destruction) of the Saka kings.

But this reading cannot yield any cogent meaning. So a mistake is inferred in the carving of the letters of the inscription and two alterations have been suggested and incorporated in the translation and in the text as published in the *Prachina Lekha Mala*,

1. "*Saptaabda*" is altered into "*Sataabda*", and
2. "*Sateshu*" into "*Gateshu*"

With these alterations the inscription is made to yield the following meaning, viz. 3135 after Kali or 556 after the Saka kings.

According to this reading of the text:

Since 556 of the Saka era is equal to 634 A.D., 3135 of Kali = 556 of Saka era or 634 A.D., Kali 1 is $3135 - 634 = 2501$, and the Mahabharata war is located in 2588 B.C.

This does not tally with any determination of any school of historians of Ancient India, eastern or western, ancient or modern.

So, we suggest that two alterations are unnecessary. Only, the second, of "Sateshu" into "Gateshu" is enough. Then, the inscription means $37 + (30 + 3000 + 700 + 5) - (50 + 6 + 500)$ that is $37 + 3735 = 3772$ after the Bharata war, minus 556 of Saka or 634 A.D., and 3735 of the Kali era minus 556 of Saka era or 634 A.D., and in 556 of Saka era or 634 A.D.

Therefore, the year of the Mahabharata war is 3772-634 i.e. 3138 B.C., which tallies with our determination based on other indisputable historical and inscriptional evidences.

Dr. Fleet's translation of the inscription in the Indian Antiquary Vol. V, p. 73 is as follows:—

"Three thousand seven hundred and thirty years having elapsed since the war of the Bharatas and (three thousand) five hundred and fifty years having elapsed in the Kali Age and five hundred and six years of the Saka kings having elapsed, this stone temple of Jinendra, the abode of glory, was constructed by the order of the learned Ravi-kirti, etc., etc."

This rendering also does not hold good.

It is clearly revealed in this inscription that after the Mahabharata war, by the year Saka 556 (634 A.D.), 3772 years (had elapsed) and after Kali by the year Saka 556 (634 A.D.), 3735 years had elapsed i.e. the year of the Mahabharata war is $3772 - 634 = 3138$ B.C., and the first year of Kali era beginning with the death of Sri Krishna is 3735 634 i.e. 3101 B.C.

Recent Opinions of Distinguished Visitors about the Work of Society.

I had the Pleasure of going through the building of the Andhra Historical Research Society Rajahmundry. This is the first time I have a look into the building after its acquisition. I am very glad that a property worth several thousands has been acquired & the contents of the library are invaluable. Much work has yet to be done. The palmyra Mss have to be searched for new light about Andhra Culture, History and Art. The whole question has to be patronised by the Andhra Govt & the status and complexion of the Society have to be raised to a respectable position. The site and the surroundings have to be improved & modernised. Government grants have to be liberally given to widen the scope and use of the work.

It is really a great credit for the Committee and for the Secretary in particular to have been able to sustain it at least in this condition so long and also doing substantial work.

I wish a bright future for the Institution.

Prof. V. Appa Rao. 22-1-55

On my visit to the office of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry, Prof. R. Subba Rao, Secretary, kindly showed me round. I was greatly impressed by the splendid array of Society's publications and collections of copper-plate grants, palm-leaf manuscripts, old coins and books on Indology and Periodicals. We are thankful to the Society for what it has done for the elucidation of the past history of Andhra. Formerly, the Rajas and Maharajas of the Telugu-speaking area often came to its help. In the changed situation of today, the Society cannot flourish without the State Government's help. It fully deserves encouragement and financial support from both the Andhra Government and the Government of India as well as from the wealthy people of the State. Indeed, the collection of the Andhra Historical Research Society is representative enough to be the nucleus of a State Museum for Andhra. Some good sculptures may be easily collected for the Society from some of the numerous archaeological sites in the State.

But I am sorry to find that there are not many people even at Rajahmundry who are much interested in the Society. Unless young scholars can be drawn to the study of ancient Indian history in general and Andhra history and culture in particular, the future of the Society and of historical studies in the State can hardly be regarded as bright. The position can be improved if the State Government and the Universities in the State institute some scholarships in the study of these subjects. The Universities should also try to make historical studies popular in the State.

The publications of the Society including its famous Journal are consulted by scholars, interested in the study of ancient Indian history, in all parts of the World. This is especially because they often contain discussions on new inscriptions and it is well-known that Epigraphy is the most important source for the reconstruction of the lost history of our motherland. Unfortunately, the general standard of scholarship and research is very poor in India and it is possible here to write anything one likes and even to get it published. The Andhra Historical Research Society should undertake the responsibility of raising the standard of historical research in this part of India and refrain from publishing any unworthy stuff in its Journal. It should also see that too many misprints do not creep into the pages of its publications.

I wish the Society all success.

Camp : Rajahmundry,
January 28th, 1956

Dr. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D.
Government Epigraphist for India,
Ootacamund (South India).

I have had the opportunity of visiting the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry, on a few occasions. It has a rare collection of very valuable materials of Historical importance. The Society needs a large Museum Hall for preserving its rare contents for easy access to the public at large. I shall be happy to be an ordinary member of the Society.

I wish the Institution every success in its efforts of expansion.

V. SRINIVASACHARI, I. A. S.,
SUB-COLLECTOR, RAJAHMUNDY

The Members of the Government of India's Sanskrit Commission visited the Andhra Historical Research Society to-day and they were very kindly received by the Honorary Secretary Sri R. Subba Rao who showed them around and told them about the history of the Society and its work. The Members were very much impressed by the work of first class importance for the study of Andhra (other Indian) History, Culture and Literature which is being done by the Society under the direction of its erudite and energetic Secretary. We feel that the Society deserves the fullest support of the State and the people in Andhra in carrying on its great work in the national interest and we hope that in the New Andhra State, the Society will come to its own. We wish it greater and greater success and the recognition and support it fully deserves.

Rajahmundry
17-1-57

Suniti Kumar Chattarje, (Chairman.)
Vishva Bhandu, V Raghavan.
T. R. V. Murti. R. N. Dan dekar
(Member - Secretary)

గ్రంథ సమీక్ష

(1) ఆంధ్రుల చరిత్ర

(గంధకర్త : శ్రీ భట్టప్రోలు హనుమంతరావు గారు, ఎం. ఎ.

చరిత్రోపన్యాసకులు : హిందూ కళాశాల, గుంటూరు.

★ ★ ★

402 పుటలు— వెల మూడున్నర రూపాయలు మాత్రమే.

తొలిపలుకు— శ్రీ మామిడిపూడి వెంకటరంగయ్యగారి చేత.

చిగురున 15 పేజీలు గల ఉపయుక్తమగు గ్రంథ ఉల్లేఖన పట్టి గలదు.

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మామండలి సభ్యులగు శ్రీ హనుమంత రావుగారు ఈమంచినయమున ఈ సద్గ్రంథము వ్రాయుట మా కెంతయు సంతోషము. వారు తెగినవారు. చక్కని పరిశోధనజరిపి, గ్రంథాంతమున చూపిన బహుగ్రంథములను చదివి, సహేతుకముగా ఈ గ్రంథము విద్యార్థులకు, జనసామాన్యమునకు తెగిన రీతిని ప్రకటించినారు. ఇది వేదకాలమునుండియు నేటివరకు ఆంధ్రుల చరిత్రను తెల్పును. రాజకీయ, ఆర్థిక, సాంఘిక, విషయములన్నియు చక్కగా పరిశీలించబడినవి. వారి అభిప్రాయములన్నిటితో పోటీభవించజాలము. ప్రాచీనాంధ్రులు సంకరజాతివారు కారు. ఆర్యులే. ఆర్యమతధర్మములనే ఆచరించుచుండిరి. చరిత్రాత్మకమగు ఆంధ్రులు క్రీస్తుపూర్వము మూడవ శతాబ్దమునగాక తొమ్మిదవ శతాబ్దముననే పరిపాలింపసాగిన మా అభిప్రాయము. వారియజ్ఞయాగాది క్రతువులు, సంస్కృత, ప్రాకృతశాసనములు, అందలి విషయములు, ఇటీవల ఆమరావతిలో దొరికిన వండలాది (Punch-marked coins) అనేక చిహ్నములు, ముద్రలుగల నెండినాణెములు, పురాణ, భాగవత, భాగవతమండలి వారిచరిత్ర, ఇవన్నీయు వారి ఆర్యత్వమును, బహుప్రాచీనతను తెలియపర్చును. మగధ, మాలవ, మొదలు, మైసూరువరకు, తూర్పుతీరము మొదలు పశ్చిమతీరమువరకు సామ్రాజ్యమేలిరి. ఆంధ్రుల చరిత్రలు ఈ మధ్య రెండుమూడు ప్రకటింపబడినవి. ఇంకనున్నవి వెలువడ గలవు. మా మండిలియు సమగ్రచరిత్రను వ్రాయబూనినది. అందు

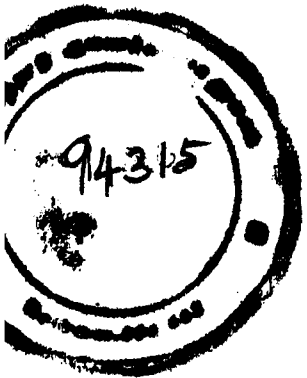
అనేక రాజవంశముల చరిత్రలు ఇదివరకే ప్రకటింపబడినవి వేంగి లేక ప్రాచీనాంధ్రుల చరిత్ర చాలవరకు అచ్చుపడ్డినది. ఇట్టిసమయమున ఇట్టిచరిత్రల మాకు అనేక విధముల ఉపయోగించును. ఈ గ్రంథాంతమునందివ్వబడిన ఉత్తరములు చరిత్రకారులకు, చరిత్రాధ్యాపకులకు సహాయపడగలవు. ఇంకన అనేకములున్నవి. ఈ గ్రంథప్రారంభమునందివ్వబడిన ఆంధ్రప్రదేశ్ పటము ఇప్పటి ఆంధ్రదేశము. ప్రాచీనాంధ్రదేశపటమును ప్రాచీనాంధ్రుల సమగ్ర సంస్కృతిని దెల్పువటములను పెక్కులు ఈ చరిత్ర యందుముద్రింపించి ప్రకటించిన గ్రంథప్రాశస్త్యము ఎక్కువగును. గ్రంథం వెలతక్కువ. గనుక, అనేకమంది విద్యార్థులు, ఉన్నతపాఠశాలలు, కళాశాలలు ప్రభాకరీము తప్పక ఈ గ్రంథము కొనవలెను.

(2) విజయ నగర సామ్రాజ్యము

గ్రంథకర్త : తణుకురామారావు, ఉపాధ్యాయుడు

మహాత్మాగాంధీ ఉన్నతపాఠశాల. ఆత్మేయపురం, మార్పుగోదావరిజిల్లా
రమారమి 100 పేజీలుగల ఈ గ్రంథము వెల రూ 1-8-0.

విజయనగరము నేలిన నాలుగు వంశముల చరిత్ర, అప్పటిరాజకీయ ఆర్థిక, సాంఘిక, విషయములు చక్కగావర్ణింపబడినవి. సులభమైనవ్రాయబడిన ఈ చరిత్ర అన్ని పాఠశాలలకు, జనసామాన్యమునకు, పుస్తకభాండాగారములకు చాల ఉపయోగము.



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