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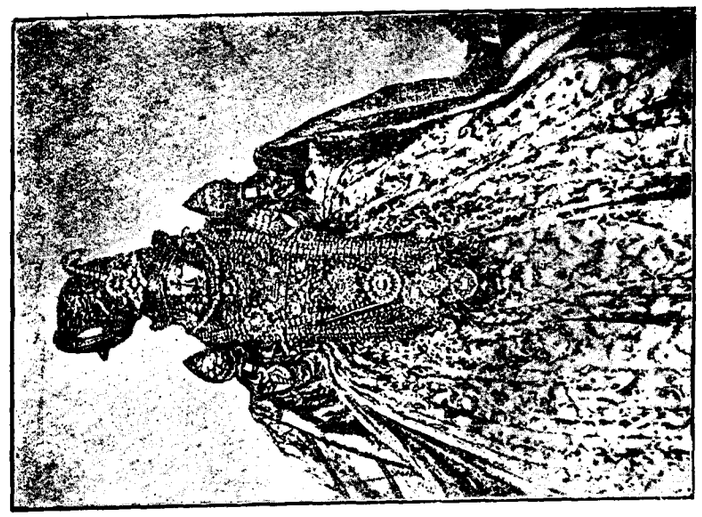
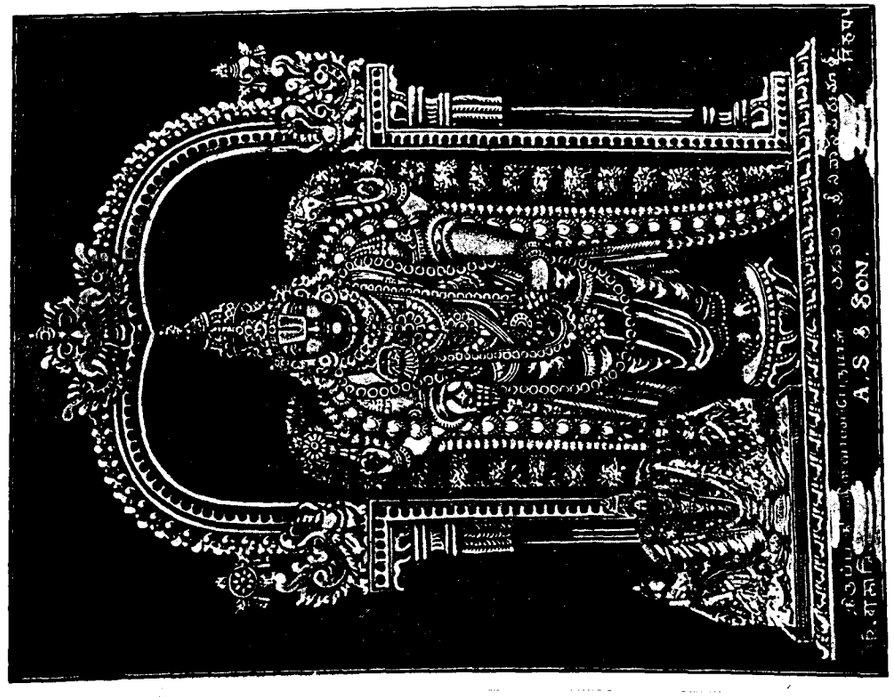


ŚRĪ PADMĀVATI-AMMA



ŚRĪ VEṄKATEŚVARASVĀMI

PREFACE

A "Preface", I take it, is an opportunity both for explanation and acknowledgment. The epigraphical publications of the Dēvasthānam are the fruition of the proposal gracefully approved in 1921 by His Holiness Sri Mahant Prayagadasji Varu, Vichāraṇakarta of the Tirumala, Tirupati, &c., Dēvasthānams, at the instance of the then Diwan-Peshkar of his, M.R.Ry., C. Doraswamiah Garu, B.A., B.L., (now Deputy Collector, Tanjore), and on the suggestion of the late Government Epigraphist, the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastriar, proffered during his visit to Tirupati in company with Dr. F. W. Thomas of the India Office Library, to give my humble self an adequate epigraphical training and then carry on the work in the Dēvasthānam through me under His Holiness' direct supervision. On being addressed in the matter by His Holiness, the Government of Madras were pleased to accord their sanction in G. O. No. 610 (Finance) dated the 14th June 1921, for my training in the Office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras. With a seven months' training, I returned to Tirupati in March 1922 and commenced copying the inscriptions from the walls of the Temples in Tirupati and Tiruchānūr, and on securing about 650, I compiled the first part of the Report relating to the religious routine in the temples. But the historical material furnished in these records as well as in those of the later collection prompted me to attempt an historical account of the South Indian dynasties represented in them and I set myself to the task. The dynastic rulers apart, the royal subordinates and religious preceptors that flourished in the different periods needed to be clearly identified and this involved a research extending over some time. Again, the epigraphs of Kṛishṇadēvarāya, registering, as they did, not merely the donations of himself and his two queens but also his military achievements in his wars against the Gajapati king Pratāparudra, necessitated a closer study of his military career in the light of his records found elsewhere correlated to contemporary literary evidence; and the inevitable discussion of the several campaigns and events of his wars as well as the dates thereof in relation to his frequent visits to the shrine of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara had tended to transform his account into a monograph on his Gajapati wars. Similar mention may be made of the

account of the Tāḷḷapākam poets. And this disquisitive Report I herewith present to the reading public, with illustrations of views of temples, *maṇṭapams*, *gōpurams*, *vāhanams*, water-falls, etc.

To have stimulated my propensity for historical research and helped me to carry on the work in this field for these eight years I offer my hearty thanks primarily to His Holiness Sri Mahant Prayagadasji Varu, Vichāraṇa-karta of the Dēvasthānams, and to the then Diwan-Peshkar M.R.Ry., C. Doraswamiah Garu, B.A., B.L., as well as to the Government of Madras for their permission for my epigraphical training to put me in the line. I hereby acknowledge my obligations to the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastriar and to the late Mr. G. Venkoba Rao, formerly Assistant Archæological Superintendent, and to Messrs C. R. Krishnamacharlu Garu, B.A., (now Superintendent for Epigraphy, Fernhill), G. Srinivasa Rao Avl, B.A., V. Venkatasubba Iyar Avl, B.A., and other members on the staff of the Epigraphical Office, Madras, for the facilities they courteously afforded me for my observation and exploration in the field. For the active co-operation and assistance rendered to me in the course of my working at the inscriptions in the Dēvasthānam, my thanks are particularly due to my Pandit M. R. Ry., V. Vijayaraghavachariar Avl., and M. R. Ry., R. Krishna Rao Avl, B.A., L.T., as also to M. R. Ry., M. Ramakrishna Kavi Garu, M.A., who looked through the proofs of the latter part of the Report during its printing. I cannot adequately express my thanks to M. R. Ry., K. A. Nilakanta Sastri Avl, M.A., Professor of Indian History and Archæology, Madras University, for the ready courtesy with which he contributed the Introduction to this Report at my request. I should be failing in my duty if I do not acknowledge my obligations to Messrs P. Chenchuramiah of the Dēvasthānam Engineering Department for his preparation under my direction of the Map of South India showing the conquests of Kṛishṇadēvarāya and K. B. Ranganatha Rao, my clerk, for the compilation of the Index under my instructions.

For having hitherto enabled me to fulfil my purpose partially, and for granting me strength and opportunity to fulfil that purpose fully in the near future, I offer my prayers to the benign Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara under whose protective care the epigraphical work has progressed so far.

As to the plan of the publication of the 1150 inscriptions altogether secured from the Temples here, it is intended to issue them in six volumes in

chronological order. The first volume comprises 236 epigraphs of the Pallava, Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and the First Vijayanagara periods which are provided with an English Translation and brief Historical Introductions for the different dynasties. The remaining volumes will similarly be issued with Translation and Introduction and will represent individually the periods of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha with 169 inscriptions, Kṛishṇarāya with 229, Achyutarāya with 251, Sadāśivarāya with 147 and the Kings of the Āravīḍu Dynasty with 135 inscriptions.

The Copper-Plates of the Tāḷḷapākam Poets are of two kinds, viz., minor poems treating of prosody, grammar, ethical rules, &c., and the Saṅkīrtanas, viz., Śṛiṅgāra-Saṅkīrtanas, Adhyātma-Saṅkīrtanas and Vairāgya-Saṅkīrtanas. The minor poems are now in print under the editorship of M. R. Ry., M. Ramakrishna Kavi Garu, M.A., who will also issue the Saṅkīrtanas after the publication of these minor poems in a small volume.

S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRY,
Devasthanam Archaeologist.

INTRODUCTION

It is with pleasure that I comply with the wish expressed by Mr. Sadhu Subrahmanya Sastry that I should write a few words by way of Introduction to his Epigraphical Report on the Temples of the Tirupati Dēvasthānam. This celebrated shrine which has for centuries attracted enormous numbers of pilgrims from all parts of India has, at least since the days of the Vijayanagar rulers, continuously enjoyed a magnificent income from the votive offerings of its devotees. Of all the sacred spots (Tirupatis) of Southern India, that on the hill of Vēṅgaḍam came very early to be recognised as Tirupati *par excellence*. Still the temple of Tirupati is not, either in its size or in its architecture and sculpture, comparable to the temples of Kāñchīpuram, Madura and many other places. The present structure is comparatively modern and dates from the 13th century A. D. and in recent times the growth of the town round the temple would appear to have encroached on its precincts. The earliest mention of the hill on which Tirupati stands is found in the Tamil literature of the Śaṅgam age. The Northern Vēṅgaḍam (Vaḍa Vēṅgaḍam) was at that time on the border land between the Tamil country and that of the Vaḍugar. A verse (No 211) in the *Ahanānūru* for instance speaks of the people in the land beyond the cool groves of Vēṅgaḍam where the language changes (from Tamil to Telugu or rather Vaḍugu as the Tamils then called it). For the first time, the hill is associated with Vishṇu in the phrase Neḍiyōn-kuṉṟam of the *Śilappadikāram* and in the beautiful lines in the *Kāḍuṅkāṇkādai* which portray the standing figure of Vishṇu on the top of the high hill called Vēṅgaḍam. Tirupati holds an honoured place in the minds of the Vaishṇava Āḻvārs. One of them, Kulaśēkhara, prays that he might be born again as a bird, a bush, a stream or something on the golden hill of Vēṅgaḍam. Another, Pēyāḻvār, describes how the kindly god of Tirumalai unites in himself the twin forms of Śiva and Vishṇu. The opinion often expressed that this temple was originally dedicated to Śiva and was subsequently converted by Rāmānuja into a Vaishṇava shrine is based only on a misinterpretation of one of the many legends in Vaishṇava hagiology that have centred round the name of the great reformer.

This temple like others bears on its walls several inscriptions of considerable interest not only to the scholars but to all persons who desire to know something of the ancient and time-honoured institutions of our country. These inscriptions together with others from the neighbouring temples in Lower Tirupati and Tiruchānūr, making a total of well over a thousand, furnish a continuous and authentic record of the transactions of the temple and its neighbourhood for the last seven or eight centuries. We have full information on the buildings and endowments and the numerous visits to the temple of the Vijayanagar rulers, especially of the illustrious Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya. Among the great rulers of South India, Rāja Rāja Chōḷa is the earliest who is known, from a late and faulty copy of an inscription of the sixteenth year of his reign, to have been directly connected with the main shrine of Tirumalai. We may infer from fragments of earlier records found in the neighbourhood, like that of Dantivarman in Tiruchānūr, that many of the more ancient inscriptions have disappeared beyond recovery as a result of restorations undertaken in the 13th century A. D. and later. Authentic information on the original construction of the flights of steps (*sōpānamārga*) leading up the hill of Tirupati and on other matters is very limited, as indeed is our knowledge of the early history of the temple itself.

The relative lateness of the bulk of the inscriptions treated of here does not in any way detract from the value of the undertaking. It is a great thing to have rescued the existing inscriptions from the possible chances of another renovation. The Dēvasthānam has earned the gratitude of the public by their employment for some years of a competent epigraphist like Mr. Sadhu Subrahmanya Sastry in the pursuit of this important and useful task. A work like the present Report necessarily labours under some disadvantages. It can neither offer a finished history nor simply present the original material as it is and leave the reader to study it for himself. It has to analyse the records to some extent under convenient heads, provide summaries of them, and hazard identifications and explanations as occassion suggests. Repetition of the same facts in different connections is often inevitable. Mr. Subrahmanya Sastry has done his best to overcome the intrinsic difficulty of his task and produced a Report which is full, well-documented and eminently readable. In Part I he gives a succinct account of the daily routine of services in the main temples, its occasional festivals, its *Vāhanams*, its flower-gardens and feeding houses, before he discusses the lesser shrines and the *Jīyar-maṭha*. He has, with

great skill and patience, fitted into this general sketch many little details drawn from the inscriptions. Part II is taken up by a historical account of the South Indian dynasties represented in the epigraphical collection that forms the subject of the Report. Though the treatment of the Pallavas, the Chōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas may strike the reader as being somewhat more elaborate than the few inscriptions of their times may warrant, he will on the whole be grateful to Mr. Subrahmanya Sastry for not having adopted a too restricted view of the scope of his report. The amount of fresh information Mr. Sastry has culled from Telugu literature on the kings of Vijayanagar and their feudatories, and on the religious teachers of the time will be read with considerable interest. In this section of the work, and this is the bulk of the second part of the Report, Mr. Subrahmanya Sastry has made a substantial contribution to the general knowledge of Vijayanagar history.

Before concluding, I wish to add that this Report, great as is its value, should be followed by the texts of the inscriptions without undue delay. However full and accurate an epigraphical report may be made by its author, and there is no question that Mr. Subrahmanya Sastry's Report is among the best of its kind, it is no detraction from the merit of such a report to say that it connot be a substitute for the texts on which it is based. It may also be suggested that a large and representative selection from the thousands of *Saṅkīrtanas* on about 3000 copper plates preserved in the temple, and these no doubt are the "two cartloads of copper śāsanams" that Sewell was told of, would constitute an interesting supplement to the texts of the stone inscriptions.

UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS,
Madras, 7—8—1930.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

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EXPLANATION OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE REPORT

G. T.	=	Inscriptions of the Dēvasthānam Collection from Śrī Gōvindarājasvāmi's Temple in Tirupati, Śrī Kapilēśvara-svāmi's Temple at Kapilatīrtham and Śrī Padmāvatiamma's (Alamēlumaṅgamma's) Temple in Tiruchānūr.
T. T.	=	Inscriptions of the Dēvasthānam Collection from Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvarasvāmi's Temple at Tirumala.
A. C.	=	After Christ (same as A.D.).
Ar. Sur. Rep.	=	Director-General's "Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India".
Mad. Ep. Rep.	=	"Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy" issued by the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras.
No. 179 of 1892 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.	=	The serially numbered epigraphs as per the List of Inscriptions appended as the year's collection in a summary form to the Mad. Ep. Rep.
S. I. I.	=	Volumes of the "South Indian Inscriptions" published out of the total collection of the Mad. Ep. Department.
Nellore Inscriptions	=	The three Volumes of the "Nellore Inscriptions" edited by Messrs. Alan Butterworth and V. Venugopal Chetty.
Ind. Ant.	=	"Indian Antiquary," a Journal of Oriental Research published at Bombay.
Ep. Ind.	=	"Epigraphia Indica" (a Journal published by the Government Epigraphist).
Ep. Car.	=	"Epigraphia Carnatica," being the 12 Volumes of Inscriptions of the Mysore State.

CORRIGENDA

Page	51	Line	26	for	lodigng	read	lodging
„	69	„	12	„	*āaiṭṭ*	„	*āṭṭai*
„	94	„	34	„	Āñjarēya	„	Āñjanēya
„	158	„	18	„	nearing	„	hearing
„	185	„	8	„	"Mahābhāratra"	„	"Mahābhārata"
„	285	„	1	„	*Chhappannaḍīśa*	„	*Chhappannadēśa*
„	293	„	15	„	Kavi-ārkika-kēsari	„	Kavitārkika-kēsari
„	300	„	26	„	*immani*	„	*immahi*

TIRUPATI DEVASTHANAM EPIGRAPHICAL REPORT

PART I

TIRUPATI DEVASTHANAM EPIGRAPHICAL REPORT

PART I

1. TOTAL COLLECTION OF INSCRIPTIONS.

From May 1922, when the copying of the inscriptions that are found to be engraved on the walls of the temples under the management of the *Dēvasthānam* was commenced, up to the end of March 1927, one thousand and sixty epigraphs in all have been secured. Out of these, 640 are from Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's temple at Tirumala, 340 from Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple in Tirupati and the remaining 80 from other smaller temples. This exhausts the number in all the temples except that at Tirumala where still remain about a hundred more to be copied. The inscriptions so far collected have been grouped under the different South Indian dynasties to which they relate and 200 of them ranging in date from about 800 to 1500 A. C., and comprising the Pallava, Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and the First Vijayanagara dynasties, are prepared for publication with translation.

2. DAMAGED INSCRIPTIONS.

A number of inscriptions, especially those that belong to the pre-Vijayanagara times, are either fragmentary, incomplete or damaged so much so that some of them contain almost no matter at all beyond a few disconnected syllables or words. This state of the lithic records is accounted for by the frequent renovations carried on to the *prākāra* walls and other structures in the temples during the past 5 or 6 centuries, indiscriminately pulling down old stones from their original position without heed to the writing contained on them and throwing them aside as being unsuited to

stand in their position any longer or utilising them in another place or position, perhaps after further dressing: all this unfortunately done in ignorance of the very valuable, illuminating and far-sighted injunctions of Vīra-Nārasiṁha Yādavarāya, a feudatory chief of the 13th century, communicated to the *Sthānattār* or Managers of the temple in the 40th year of his reign, while issuing orders on the petition of one Tiruppullāṇidāsar for renovating the central shrine of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara, to wit, to copy the inscriptions as they were then engraved on the particular parts to be repaired or rebuilt, and have them re-engraved in their original position on the completion of the work. And the existence at present of four Chōḷa records under this order is proof itself of the regard shown during those times to historic inscriptions and of the far-sighted wisdom of the royal mandate. Irreparable damage had been caused to these lithic records time and again since then, and the result is that a number of them remain either incomplete or fragmentary.

Besides these stone inscriptions, about 3000 **copper-plates** containing on the aggregate about 9000 devotional songs in the *Saṅkīrtana* style and other literary pieces in Telugu, composed by a group of three poets of the *Tāḷḷapākam* family who flourished in the 16th century under the patronage of the Vijayanagara kings of the Second dynasty and who were the hereditary musicians of the temple, were also transcribed during this period. Their publication either wholly or in representative parts is under consideration and it is hoped that this will be accomplished at an early date.

3. RANGE OF DATES.

The dates of the above-said stone records range from the 51st year of the reign of Kō-Vijaya-Dantivikrama-Varman of the Pallava line (No. 219—G. T.) (=about 830 A. C.), when a certain Ulagapperumānār of Śōḷanūr in Śōḷa-nāḍu instituted the service of a *nandā-viḷakku*, i.e., burning a lamp, down to the *Kaliyuga* year 5010, Kīlaka (1909 A. C.) (No. 242-T. T.), when the gilded *kalaśam* was fixed over the *vimānam* of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's Shrine at Tirumala during the regime of the present *Vichāraṇakarta* of the *Dēvasthānams*, His Holiness Śrī Mahant Prayāgadāsjī of *Śrī Hattirāmjī Maṭham*, by his brother-disciple, the late *Adhikāri* at Tirumala, *Bāvājī* Rāmalakshmaṇadāsjī. Though the records cover a period of nearly 11 centuries,

they are not fully representative of all the South Indian dynasties, for there is a disproportionately large number of inscriptions belonging to the Vijayanagara period, while the earlier dynasties are represented very scantily and the post-Vijayanagara times by scarcely any.

4. LANGUAGE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

Except a few, almost all the epigraphs are in the Tamil language and alphabet interspersed with *Grantha* characters and only about 50 are in Telugu and Kanarese. Of the period prior to the time of Kṛishṇarāya, we have only a single Telugu inscription (No. 237-T. T.) of Sāḷuva Maṅgidēva Mahārāya dated in Śaka 1281 and two Kanarese inscriptions, one of Vīrapratāpa-Dēvarāya Mahārāya (No. 188-T. T.) dated in Śaka 1351, and one of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha (No. 8—G. T.) dated in Śaka 1389. All the gifts of Kṛishṇarāya and his two queens and one of Achyutarāya are recorded in the three languages Telugu, Kanarese and Tamil in their respective alphabet, while a copy of one of the above relating to Kṛishṇarāya composed in the Kanarese language is engraved in the *Nandi-Nāgari* characters. After Achyutarāya there is a conspicuous absence of both Telugu and Kanarese in the inscriptions with the exception of one of the local chief Maṭli Anantarājayya (No. 269—G. T.) in Telugu of the Śaka year 1550 and one in Kanarese of Śaka 1606 (No. 263—T. T.).

5. CONTENTS OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

Epigraphs of the pre-Vijayanagara times generally record services of lighting lamps in the presence of the different deities or elsewhere, in the evening or throughout day and night. For this purpose the donors paid a certain sum of money into the temple—treasury to carry on the service. In a few instances, they purchased cows and presented them to the temple. In later times certain donors adopted this latter course, when they arranged for offerings of milk and curds or offerings of food mixed with them. We find that *ghee* alone was used for all lamps inside the temple and this practice still continues at Tirumala.

Besides gifts of lamps, we meet also with gifts of lands, jewels and money. Kings, chiefs and rich persons contributed their quota of offerings and endowments. The later inscriptions record provision for *nitya-naivēdyam* (daily food-offerings) and for several festivals, processions

and *āsthānams* in the temples for the different deities. To this end gifts of lands and villages as well as of money and gold were made to the temples. Money and gold thus deposited were only in a few cases lent out on interest, but usually they were invested in the *dēvadāna* (grant to God) villages belonging to the temple through the excavation of fresh irrigation sources or renewal of the existing ones which were in disrepair at the time. Some cases occur in which waste and uncultivated land in the *dēvadāna* villages was brought under the plough and adequate water-supply provided by the donors at their own cost, and, in return for this service, the temple was required to arrange for food—offerings to the deities in their name. Likewise, in the *dēvadāna* villages in which sufficient irrigation facilities were lacking and from which, therefore, full benefit could not be derived, certain devotees undertook the excavation of tanks, lakes and channels and thus provided for more extensive cultivation; and, as a mark of recognition of such services, the temple bound itself to perpetuate their memory by instituting in their name some charities, such as *naivēdyam* (offering food) to the deities from the enhanced yield obtained from these villages and distributing the offered food among the devotees assembling in the temple to receive it.

A number of flower-gardens comes to notice as having been formed through private individual efforts with flower-plants and trees reared and subsequently handed over to the temple for the utilisation of the flowers in the decoration of the deities daily and on occasions of processions in festivals. We find several *Rāmānuja—kūṭams* or feeding-houses instituted both at Tirumala and Tirupati, a larger number of them having been located at Tirumala, providing for the free boarding of the numerous pilgrims visiting the temple from all parts of the country almost throughout the year, and, the more so, on the occasion of festivals.

A few inscriptions register sales of houses and of house-sites to the temple. It cannot be now surmised under what circumstances they were purchased and for what purpose. One epigraph records the demarcation of the boundary line between Tirupati and Avilāli, about a mile to the south of the former, both being *dēvadāna* villages.

6. ROYAL BENEFACTORS.

The inscriptions clearly indicate that the temples of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara at Tirumala and Śrī Gōvindarāja at Tirupati enjoyed the patronage of sovereigns and chiefs who richly endowed them. Among this class of benefactors stand out most prominently :—

(i) The queen of Parāntaka II. Sundara-Chōḷa, "the King who slept at the Golden-Hall," and daughter of Chēramān. She presented to Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara a *paṭṭam* or plate for the forehead, set with precious stones, in the 16th year of the reign of Rājarāja I (equivalent to 1001 A. C.) (No. 17—T. T.).

(ii) A Pallava queen, by name Sāmavai, who presented a *kirīṭam* (diadem), a necklace of four strings and other ornaments for the hands, waist and feet of Śri Vēṅkaṭēśvara, and consecrated a silver image of His under the appellation of Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ, provided for processions for this image and endowed the temple with lands in Tiruchchukanūr (Tiruchānūr), sometime in the third-quarter of the 10th century, (Nos. 18 and 19—T. T.).

(iii) Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (1250 to 1275 A.C.) who placed a gilded *kalaśam* over the *vimānam* of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's shrine.

(iv) The queen of Vīra-Nārasimha Yādavarāya, a Chōḷa subordinate of the 13th century, instituted a fresh *Brahmōtsavam* in the Tamil month of Āni for Śrī Gōvindarāja, in addition to the primary one held in Vaikāśi, constructed a four-faced car and made a gift of half the village of Paiṇḍappaḷḷi for meeting the expenses of the newly started festival and for effecting repairs to the temple from the balance, if any.

(v) Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha Yādavarāya, a subordinate of the last Hoysaḷa king Vīra-Vallāḷa III, granted, in the thirties of the 14th century, two villages to the temple as *sarvamānya* (tax-free) for propitiating the deity daily with food-offerings.

(vi) Sāḷuva Maṅgidēva Mahārāja does not appear to have been keen about enriching the temples either in the form of lands or money. His fancy was for splendour and magnificence as testified to by his covering the *vimānam* or the tower over the central shrine at Tirumala

with gilded copper-plate, and placing a gilded *kalaśam* over it in Śaka 1281. This must certainly have been an expensive undertaking, and the temple should have presented, as he desired, a noble appearance, enthralling the minds of the pilgrims to its beauty.

(vii) Dēvarāya II merited extensive divine grace through the help he rendered towards the revival of the *Vēdapārāyaṇam* in Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's shrine at Tirumala in Śaka 1355. He had already granted three villages to the temple in Śaka 1351 as the usual royal benefaction.

(viii) Sāḷuva Narasimha's devotion flowed in the usual channel of making gifts of villages in the several parts of the kingdom between the Śaka yēars 1378 and 1410.

(ix) Kṛishṇarāya not only presented diadems and ornaments set with precious stones, and gold and silver vessels, both for the *Mūla-Mūrti* (the chief deity), *viz.*, Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa, and the *Utsava-Mūrtis* (the processional images), but also endowed the temple with villages in the districts of Chandragiri, Udayagiri and Penugoṇḍa. His two queens Tirumaladēvi and Chinnādēvi were present with him during almost all his visits to Tirumala and they shared with him the credit for the gifts and grants which were made by him between Śaka 1434 and 1442.

(x) Varadājidēvi-amman, the queen of Achyutarāya, comes next. She granted six villages to the temple so as to serve for the propitiation of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara.

(xi) Maṭli Kumāra-Anantarājayya is the latest of the royal benefactors. An inscription of his enumerates his variegated charities at several centres of pilgrimage, among which Tirupati figures as the recipient of three golden *aśva* (horse), *gaja* (elephant) and *samarabhūpāla* (chariot) *vāhanams* (vehicles); one *padma-pīṭham* (lotus-shaped seat), one *ratna-kirīṭam* (gem-set crown), one *naivēdya-bhājanam* (plate or dish for offering food), one *unnata-kēḷi-maṇṭapam* (a lofty porch for pleasure-swinging for the deities), one *sōpānamārga* (flight of steps on the side of the front hill), and one *agra* (top or front) *gōpura* (tower): all these services rendered in the name of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara; two golden elephant and horse vehicles for Śrī Gōvindarāja; and the charity of one *anna-satram* (free feeding-house) at the *Āḻvāri-tīrtha* at the foot of the front hill and another on the way up the same hill.

7. NITYA-DIPAM (DAILY LAMP-LIGHTING) AND NITYA-NAIVEDYAM (DAILY FOOD-OFFERINGS).

The Pallava inscription No. 219—G. T., dated in the 51st year of the reign of Kō-Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman, (corresponding roughly to 830 A. C.), the earliest in date in the collection, records an arrangement made for keeping a lamp burning before a processional image newly installed in the shrine of *Tiruvēṅkaṭattu-Emperumānaḍigaḷ*.

The Chōḷa records register donations and gifts intended for *nandā-viḷakku* (lamp-lighting) or for *ārādhanam* (food-offerings). A fragmentary record (No. 232—G. T.), dated in the 29th year of *Madirai-koṇḍa Kō-Parakēsarivarman* alias Parāntaka I, registers an arrangement made by Kaḍuṅgōḷūrān of Malai-nāḍu with the *sabhai* of Tiruchchōkunūr (Tiruchānūr) by which the *sabhai* undertook to keep a lighted lamp. Another epigraph (No. 234—G. T.), dated in the 10th year of the same king's reign, registers a similar deposit for lamp-lighting. In the reign of Rājarāja I, one Aruḷākki alias Rājarāja-Mūvēndavēḷān paid 40 *kaḷañju* of gold into the temple-treasury for maintaining a lamp (Nos. 212 to 216—G.T.). The epigraph No. 20—T. T., dated in the reign of *Śrī Koppātrakēsari-panmar* alias Śrī Rājēndra-Chōḷadēva, records a provision made for lamp-lighting. Besides, it gives us some interesting information regarding state-supervision over temples in those times. It was brought to the notice of *Adhikāri* (royal officer) Koṟṟamaṅgalam-uḍaiyān that the assembly of Tirumuṇḍiyam which undertook to light 24 lamps at Tirumala had failed in the discharge of their trust by discontinuing 22 and maintaining only 2 lights. The *Adhikāri* enquired into the matter, became convinced of the neglect on the part of the assembly, and ordered the continuance of the entire service through the managers of the temple. It is incidentally mentioned that all articles required for the daily food-offerings were transmitted from Tirupati every day to Tirumala, and also that the Tirumuṇḍiyam *sabhaiyār* had a certain service (*Parichārakam*) to render to the temple for which at the time a sum of 3 *Pon* was standing to their credit.

No. 71—T. T., belonging to the time of *Kō-Rājakēsarivarman* Rājēndra-Chōḷa (Kulōttunga I) refers to offerings of *Pāl-amudu* and *tayir-*

amudu, i.e., milk and curds, for the deity. No. 126—G. T. of the 19th year of Rājarāja III (=1235 A.C.) registers a grant of land made on the orders of the king by the *Periyanāṭṭār* of Tirukkuḍavūr-nāḍu for serving for daily food-offerings for Tirumaṅgai-āḻvār who had been installed in the temple of Śrī Gōvindarāja some time previously by the same body. Another inscription (No. 222—G. T.), dated in the same king's reign, mentions a gift of land by Pokkāran Pāṇḍiyataraiyan, probably intended for daily offerings.

Thus during the 13th century we find ampler provision made by devotees both for *nitya-dīpam* (lamp-lighting) and for *nitya-naivēdyam* (food-offerings). We also observe that, in place of the then prevailing practice of paying 40 *kaḷañju* of gold usually for a lamp, cows were presented to the temple to serve the purpose. Nos. 101, 118 and 176—T. T. and 112 and 113—G. T. belonging to the reign of *Tribhuvana-chakravartigaḷ* Śrī Vīra-Nārasimha Yādavarāya, and Nos. 73, 111 and 173—T. T. belonging to the reign of *Tribhuvana-chakravartigaḷ* Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāladēva, illustrate the above procedure regarding arrangements for the service of lamp-lighting through donations of gold and silver coin or through gifts of cows. During this period we have provision made also for offerings of food to the deities through a gift of a village, as in No. 164—T. T. in which Vīra-Nārasimha Yādavarāya granted as *sarvamānya* the village of Pādirivēḍu in Āsuvamukkilai-nāḍu, a sub-division of Kuḍavūr-nāḍu, for offering a *naivēdyam*; or through a deposit of money, as in Nos. 137 and 139—T.T. and 127—G. T., in the latter of which food-offerings were required to be made to Śrī Gōvindarāja during the festival in Vaikāśi and to Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara in the Chittirai festival.

In the Vijayanagara period, food-offerings took precedence over lamp-lighting and in certain cases presentation of cows was preferred to payment of gold, since, besides yielding *ghee* for the lamps, they served the additional purpose of offering the dairy products to the deities. No. 92—T. T. is a *Saṁskṛit* verse recounting in general terms the charities of *Amātyaśēkhara* Mallaṇa (chief minister under Dēvarāya I and Dēvarāya II of the First dynasty) in the matter of *naivēdyam* and *nitya-dīpam* for Śrī

Vēṅkaṭēśvara. This minister Mallaṇa is stated in more explicit terms in No. 93—T. T., dated in Śaka 1330 (=13-3-1409 A.C.), to have presented 82 heads of cattle including cows and calves for maintaining 3 lamps set up by him, besides at the same time arranging for one other lamp (*nandāviḷakku*) burnt with ghee to be supplied by the temple authorities in conjunction with offerings of food agreed upon by them in consideration of his investments in the excavation of an irrigation channel draining a *dēvadāna* village.

No. 70—T. T. of the time of Sāḷuva Narasimha records a gift in Śaka 1390 (=28-2-1469 A.C.) by Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgār, a zealous and influential *Vaishṇava* preceptor, of 40 cows to the temple for supplying curds for preparing *dadhyōdanam* (food mixed with curds) to be offered to Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara daily. The most prominent instance of such a gift of cows occurs in the case of *Śrīman Mahānāyaṅkāchārya* (chief-commander) Periya-Ōbaḷa-Nāyakkar Rāmā-Nāyakkar who served as a general under king Vīra-Narasimha, the elder brother of Kṛishṇarāya, and under Kṛishṇarāya also. He presented 100 cows in Śaka 1426 (=1504 A.C.) for burining a lamp (No. 305—T. T.); 50 cows a second time in Śaka 1434 (=1512 A. C.) for another lamp (No. 312—T.T.); and finally 200 cows in Śaka 1435 (=1514 A.C.) (No. 306—T.T.) for the supply of dairy products daily for one *nāḻi* of *Pālēḍukuḷambu* (i.e. thick-boiled milk with the cream formed over it) for being offered to the deity.

No 59—T.T. is a somewhat peculiar record. Instead of the usual gift of lamps that we meet with in other inscriptions, we find here an arrangement made by Kōnēri and Ulagaḷandavēḷān, head-men (*kartar*) of Śāttukuḍi-Marudūr, a village in the sub-division of Nārāyaṇapurapparṟu in the Chandragiri-rājya, by which they deputed in Śaka 1384 (=1462 A. C.), for the merit of Sāḷuva Narasimha, certain persons, being residents of the above village of whom four are mentioned by name, for the service of lighting lamps (*tiruviḷakkukkuḍi*) in the temple of Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān, and directed them to render service to the temple in perpetuity through their descendants. These persons were enjoined also to measure out two *marakkāls* of *ghee* every year with the measure called *Chāḷukya-Nārāyaṇan-kāl*, as they used to do till then and obtain the certificate

issued by the *Jīyar* under his signature. This measure was the one in use in Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple at Tirupati, while the one in use in Śrī Vēṅkatēśvara's temple at Tirumala was known as the *Malaikiniyaninṟāṅkāl*. It would appear that these men had to deliver two *marakkāls* of *ghee* to the temple in Tirupati by virtue of some previous agreement or contract, probably for any favour received by them in the form of loan of cows belonging to the temple or for some other reason which is not explicitly stated in the record; and this delivery of *ghee* of two *marakkāls* was declared to be imperative on them notwithstanding their prospective service in the temple at Tirumala. Neither is any reason given for the deputation of these men for lighting service in the Tirumala temple. Perhaps by the middle of the 14th century the duty of lighting the lamps presented liberally by the devotees had become very onerous and impossible of being fulfilled in the usual way by the then existing staff and consequently necessitated the appointment of additional hands to discharge it adequately.

8. SANDHIS (FOOD-OFFERINGS).

As noted already, during the Vijayanagara period, food-offerings came to be extensively provided for by the devotees in preference to lights which were observed to have been put up in the presence of the deities during the earlier centuries. This course was so universally adopted that the offerings were arranged not only for special occasions but for each day and on different occasions in the course of the day. Thus the quantity of holy food offered each time as well as the number of times it was so offered to the deities increased so much so that the particular duty must have entailed much labour and time and demanded the services of a large number of cooks. In addition to this large quantity of holy food offered each day, certain worshippers desired to have offered occasionally big heaps of cooked rice measuring about 200 *marakkāls*, styled *Tiruppāvāḍai* (Nos. 54, 197 and 253—T. T. and 151—G.T.).

The time for offering *naivēdyam*, in any quantity and variety each day at present occurs usually at the end of each of the three series of functions in the course of the worship of the deity (*trikāla-pūja*) for

the day, commencing early in the morning and closing early in the night. But, in the past, it would appear that the deities were propitiated with food-offerings, on more than these three occasions, as at the beginning or end of each function during the interval forming the *sandhi* (juncture) between two succeeding functions. This term *sandhi* which occurs in the epigraphs must have originally indicated the juncture forming a short interval of time between two succeeding *pūja* functions when offerings were made to the deities, but latterly it came to signify the offerings themselves made during such intervals, as we have it in the expressions, *sandhi-muppadu* (thirty units of cooked rice), *pagal-sandhi* (day-offerings), etc. In the inscriptions we meet with a number of them commencing with the *udayakālam*, *śiṟukālam* or *aruṇōdayakālam* (the early hours of the morning) and closing with the *ardhayāmam* (the early hours of the night). Even at the present time, in the course of the daily worship there can be observed a certain number of individual functions making up the series of ceremonial, such as the rites of waking up the deity in the morning with the chanting of hymns (*suprabhātam*) and offering of sugared butter, then decorating Him with flowers (*tōmāla-sēva*), next holding a levee or *darbār* (*koluvu*) when the temple *purōhita* reads the *pañchāṅgam* (almanac) for the day and the temple-accountant presents an account of the income and expenditure of the temple, both grain and cash, of the preceding day; and then worship through invocation of the 1008 appellations of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara (*Sahasranāma-archana*), and lastly offering of cooked, seasoned and sweetened food (*mahā-naivēdyam*), as the final rite in the series. It is thus possible to arrange for offerings for the deity either before beginning or after completing an individual rite in the series, and we infer from the several offerings provided for each day by the devotees, both high and low, that in the past this possibility was effectuated. Of these, three occasions can be definitely known, as the *udayakālam* (early hours of the morning) when the deity is offered light food, *tiruvaḍi-viḷakkina-poḻudu* (the time when the Holy-Feet are washed) which is a special rite in the *tōmāla-sēva*, or decoration with flowers, and *ardhayāmam* (early hours of the night), while the others are not clear.

As in other things, it is the men of note and rank that initiated these services, as is evidenced by their nomenclature: as, for example,

Bukkarāyan-sandhi, Narasimharāyar-sandhi. Private donors also provided for offerings during some of these *sandhis* but they were obliged to consent to have them combined with those arranged for by the royal personages and other prominent men.

Sitakaraganḍan-sandhi (No. 195-T.T.) is the earliest in date belonging to the pre-Vijayanagara times that we meet with, for whose institution Immaḍi-Rāhuttarāyan Siṅgaya-Daṇṇāyakkan, a general under Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha Yādavarāya, gave to the temple, as a *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam*, Śiṅgaṇa-nallūr *alias* Poṅgaḷūr in Illattūr-nāḍu which had been previously bestowed upon him as a *sarvamānya* by Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha Yādavarāya.

Bukkarāyan-sandhi is mentioned as the primary one during which, along with the *tiruppōnakam* (cooked rice mixed with green gram, ghee, etc.,) to be offered as originally stipulated, *kōyil-kēḷvi* Emperumāṉār-jīyar, manager of *Paṅkayachchelli-tirunandavanam* at Tirumala and the head of a religious institution at Tirumala and Tirupati, arranged in Śaka 1367 for offering for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara two *tiruppōnakam* daily (No. 106—T.T.). And Periyaperumāḷ-jīyar arranged likewise in Śaka 1380 for two *tiruppōnakam* daily (No. 47—T.T.). No. 23—T.T. which is dated in Śaka 1372 mentions *Rāyar-sandhi*. It is probable that it refers, being nearer in date, to a *sandhi* instituted by Dēvarāya II, who granted three villages to the temple in Śaka 1351 for the purpose of offering holy food to Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara (No. 188—T. T.). We note from No. 3—T.T that Sāḷuva Narasimha provided in Śaka 1378 for an offering of *rājānna-tiruppōnakam* during the *udayakāla-sandhi* and granted as *sarvamānya* the village of Ālipuram; and again in Śaka 1389, he gave five villages, four of which are mentioned to have been situated in the Chandragiri-rājya and the fifth in the Paḍaivīḍu-śīrmai, in order to serve for *sandhi-muppadu*, i.e, thirty units of cooked food (No. 66—T. T.). In Śaka 1395, Sāḷuva Narasimha instituted the *ḍōlōtsavam* for five days and provided for offerings of food during the night *sandhi* named after his mother Mallāyamman. No. 46—T. T. dated in Śaka 1393 and No. 188—G. T. ḍated in Śaka 1397 mention *Narasimharāya-sandhi* which perhaps indicates the thirty *sandhis* noted above. Kṛishṇarāya's provision for offerings as well as that of Achyutarāya are not explicitly recorded,

but they are referred to in the provision made by Varadājīdāvi-amman, queen of Achyutarāya, and are given precedence over the latter while being offered (No. 49—T. T.). *Rāmarājayyan-avasaram* mentioned in No. 82—T. T. probably indicates the offerings made by Aḷiya-Rāmarāya in Śaka 1470 during the reign of Sadāśivarāya.

There is perhaps no differentiation meant to be conveyed, as to the kind of offerings provided, by the use of the terms *pagal-sandhi* and *rā-paḍi*. For, in the arrangement made for offering three *tirup-pōnakam* in No. 153—T. T. where the expressions occur, two of them are directed to be offered during the *pagal-sandhi* and the third during the *rā-padi*, and no difference is stated to exist between the two either in quality or quantity.

Only a single instance of a permanent provision made for offering *pānakam* occurs in No. 155—T. T. in which Saḷuva Goppayyan, son of Saḷuva Mallayadēva Mahārāja, is seen to pay in Śaka 1391 five hundred *paṇam* into the temple-treasury for preparing *pānakam* with 20 *palams* of *paṅchadhāra* (sugar) and offering it every night in a *nāyaka-vaṭṭil* (a big cup) to Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara for a period of four months from Paṅguni to Āni each year. It would appear that it was first intended to be only a summer provision, but the donor latterly supplemented it in the same year by a further payment of 1000 *paṇam* to facilitate its being offered during the remaining months of the year from Āḍi to Māsi.

9. VEDAPARAYANAM (RECITATION OF THE VEDAS)

The recitation of the *Vēdas* forms a component part of the functions connected with the temple so much so that its absence would be considered to portend evil and would therefore be viewed with dismay and alarm. Such a state existed temporarily in the life-history of the temple at Tirumala, sometime during the earlier half of the 15th century, but measures were adopted for its rehabilitation during the reign of Dēvarāya II of the First Vijayanagara dynasty. It is stated that grandeur existed in all services rendered for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara, except in the case of the *Vēḍapārāyaṇam* which service ceased to be performed for some time and that this defect was taken to the notice of the royal officer Dēvaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar by Aḻagappirānar alias Tirukkaḷikaṉṟidāsar

with the request that it might be revived and continued for the merit of Dēvarāya Mahārāyar. Twenty-four *Mahājanam* (learned Brāhmaṇas) of Siddhakuṭṭai alias Śrīnivāsapuram were engaged for chanting the *Vēdas* in the presence of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara. The king approved of the arrangement and was pleased to grant the half-share belonging to the *Rāja-Bhaṇḍāram* (king's treasury) in the village of Siddhakuṭṭai *alias* Śrīnivāsapuram in Kōṭṭāḷa-sthalam situated in Vaikunda-vaḷanāḍu, as *śrōtriyam*, for the purpose. The grant of half the village secured by Aḷagappirānār Tirukkalikaṉṟidāsar was made over to the twenty-four Brāhmaṇas. But these Brāhmaṇas, feeling that this half share was insufficient to maintain them, petitioned the *Sthānattār* for the grant of the other half also of the village which was owned by the *Śrī-Bhaṇḍāram* (temple-treasury). The temple authorities could not alienate their half-share, it being probably an endowment to the temple for a specific purpose, and they therefore devised a plan by which, while the temple could account for the produce from its half-share of the village and maintain the trust for whose conduct its managers were made responsible, the services of the twenty-four Brāhmaṇas engaged for the *Vēdapārāyaṇam* might be firmly and permanently secured by allowing them a full living. Here again this device was effected by Tirukkalikaṉṟidāsar.

It appears that the annual yield from the village of Śrīnivāsapuram for the share of the temple was 200 *paṇam* and, if this share of the temple in the village had to be parted with, this 200 *paṇam* had anywise to be made good. The villagers of all the full *dēvadāna* villages belonging to the temple situated in the Tirukkuḍavūr-nāḍu and Vaikunda-vaḷanāḍu were called upon to contribute their mite so that the full sum of 200 *paṇam* could be made up. The villagers agreed to this contribution, solemnly vowing with libations of gold and water on the *Utthānadvādaśi* day in the cyclic year Pramādīcha corresponding to Śaka 1355 to pay their share collectively for each village into the temple-treasury, commencing from the same year, towards the conduct of the *Vēdapārāyaṇam*. On the strength of this agreement executed by the villagers represented by the *Periyanāṭṭu-vēḷān* and the *Ūr-kaṇakku* or the *vēḷān* of each individual *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* village, the *Sthānattār* of the

temple were emboldened, their scruples and restraints being set at rest, to grant the half-share of the temple in the village of Śrīnivāsapuram to the twenty-four *Mahā-Brāhmaṇar* reciting the *Vēdas* and thus gain a double object. No doubt the technical flaw arising from their alienation of property endowed for maintaining the original charity was desired to be obviated through these devices, but whatever kind of compensation might have been effected, the alienation must have been a breach of trust. But perhaps it weighed lightly against the heavy pressure of the necessity and urgency for the renewal of the *Vēdapārāyaṇam* service in the temple.

Prior to the execution of the above agreement by the villagers, it appears that a temporary interim device was also adopted. It was to lease out the half-share of the village on *Śrōtriya-kuttakai* to Tirukkalikaṉṟidāsar who on the one hand paid the lease amount into the temple-treasury and on the other permitted the Brāhmaṇas to reap the benefit from the half village. This was only preliminary to the final stage of complete alienation and prior to obtaining the consent of the villagers.

Even though the full village of Śrīnivāsapuram comprising the two half shares of *Rāja-Bhaṇḍāram* and *Śrī-Bhaṇḍāram* was now granted to the twenty-four *Mahājanam* of the same place, yet all of them were not required to render the service simultaneously. It was stipulated that only two of them should daily recite the *Vēdas* in the presence of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara and conduct the *Vēdapārāyaṇam*. It is therefore likely that they were given discretion to divide themselves into 12 sets of 2, each set chanting the *Vēdas* in a particular month during the year in turn. Obviously such a facility was immanent from the nature of the work to be done and the climatic conditions existing on the hills. Tirumala was reckoned, till a few years ago, to be very unhealthy and especially so during half the year in the hot season from about April to September, when dry malarial wind blows furiously almost throughout the day and night without cessation, slowly sapping the vitality of the residents.

There are references to *Vēdapārāyaṇam* at a later date, i.e., during the time of the Second Vijayanagara dynasty, and we may take it that,

after Śaka 1355 when it was revived by Dēvarāya II, there has not been any break in its continuity down to this day, and that it has added, as it was expected to do, to the glory and sanctity of the temple which is stated to have enjoyed all other *Vaibhōgamgaḷ*.

Besides *Vēdapārāyaṇam*, we meet with arrangements for the reading of *Purāṇams* on certain sacred days. In a record of the 16th century (No. 3—G. T.) we note that on the day of *kaiśika-dvādaśi* (i.e. the 12th day of the bright half of the Telugu month of Kārtīkam) *Ananta-vrata-purāṇam* was read, perhaps in Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple at Tirupati. Similarly an inscription (No. 253—T. T.), dated in Śaka 1413, records an arrangement made for the reading of *Tiruvēṅkaṭa-māhātmyam* by Paśiṇḍi Vēṅkaṭatturaivāṇjīyar Rāmānujayyar, the donor in the above record, on a day in the month of Mārgaḷi.

10. ABHISHEKAM (HOLY BATH).

A few records mention a daily *Tirumañjanam* or *abhishēkam* for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara at Tirumala and for Śrī Gōvindarāja at Tirupati. The earliest reference occurs in No. 4—T. T. dated in Śaka 1386, when Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgār arranged, as his service (*Kaiṅkaryam*) for the *Aḷagappirānār-tirumañjanam* conducted daily for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara, for the supply of perfumery to the temple through his *Ēkāki* (i.e. unmarried) disciples of the Śāttāda-Śrīvaishṇava sect. The perfumery consisted of *meditta-śāttuppaḍi* or *Chandanam* (sandal-paste), *mañjaḷ-kāppu* (turmeric), *nelli-kāppu* (*Emblic myrobalan*), *kastūri-kāppu* (musk) and *karpūra-kāppu* or *pachcha-karpūram* (refined camphor); and along with these a small cloth and betel-leaves and nuts were supplied by them.

The Śāttāda-Ēkāki-Śrīvaishṇavas were enjoined by their *guru* to be prseent for the *tirumañjanam* and look to its proper conduct daily. On its completion, after an honourable mention of their *guru's* name, the disciples were bidden to bring back to him 4 betel-leaves and 4 nuts.

This *Aḷagappirānār-tirumañjanam* comes to notice also in No. 163—T. T. dated in Śaka 1406, wherein Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgār is again the donor. This epigraph, besides furnishing the above information regarding the holy bath for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara daily, records a further

provision for a daily bath for Śrī Gōvindarāja at Tirupati known as *Tirumagaḷuḍanvaruvār-tirumañjanam*, and for food-offerings known as *Śrī Kulaśēkhara-perumāḷ tiruvārādhanam*. Camphor for waving before the deities is the additional article of supply required to be made for the two temples at the time of bath, while for Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple was to be issued a *parivaṭṭam* (cloth) also. The significance of this inscription consists in the mention of the village Guṇḍi-pūṇḍi which was granted by Sāḷuva Narasimha for the support of the *Rāmānuja-kūṭam*, and in the authorisation of the utilisation of a part of its income for the expenses of the *tirumañjanam*, whereas in the earlier one (No. 4–T. T.) no mention is made of the village and the articles of perfumery were only required to be supplied from the *Rāmānuja-kūṭam*.

Aḷagappirānār, after whose name the *tirumañjanam* came to be called, may be identified with Tirukkalikaṉṟidāsar Aḷagappirānār, one of the Śrīvaishṇavas of Tirupati, who is the donor in No. 61–T. T. dated in Śaka 1301 and in No. 187–T. T. dated in Śaka 1356, in the latter of which he is entitled *mudaliyār*. It is this same Tirukkalikaṉṟidāsar who took pains for the revival of the *Vēdapārāyaṇam* at Tirumala in the time of Dēvarāya II. In Śaka 1301 Aḷagappirānār paid a sum of 450 *naṟpaṇam* into the temple-treasury and stipulated for the conduct of *abhishēkam* for Malaikiniyaninṟa-Perumāḷ (the processional image at Tirumala) and Nāchchimār (His two divine consorts Śrī-Dēvi and Bhū-Dēvi) in his *pushpa-maṇṭapam* on the second day in each of the *Brahmōtsavams* held at Tirumala during the period, and for food-offerings for these deities as well as for *Periya-Perumāḷ*, i.e., Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara, and for Varāha-Nāyanār. The record states that the articles of perfumery required for the bath were supplied by the *tirumañjana-śālaiyār* or the temple-servants who were in charge of the room containing the requisite articles for the bath. Through the other record (No. 187–T. T.) Tirukkalikaṉṟidāsar Aḷagappirānār provided for the supply of *meditta puḷugu-kāppu* for the deity's face (*tirumukha-maṇḍalam*) each day for six months, together with sandal-paste (*meditta-śāttuppaḍi*) and camphor for waving a light (*ālatti* or *ārati*).

This is the first mention we get of *puḷugu-kāppu* and here it is stated that it was arranged to be done every-day for six months.

The next reference to it occurs in No. 336—T. T. dated in Śaka 1418, wherein Kandāḍai Appachchiyār-Aṇṇā provided on the Friday occurring once in 15 days which happened to be the day of *puḷugu-kāppu-muṟai* for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara, for the recitation of the *Ulā*, a species of poem, in praise of Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgār and for the offering of two *atirasappaḍi* for the deity at the time of anointment with *puḷugu-kāppu*. The expressions of the record indicate that the *puḷugu-kāppu* function had been carried on for some time past and that men had become familiarised to it by that time. Again in Śaka 1427 (No. 276—T. T.) this same fortnightly anoinment on every second Friday becomes the occasion for offering one *nāyaka-taḷigai* and one *appapaḍi* to the deity as the service of Dharmapuram Śiṭṭamu Śeṭṭi, one of the *nagarattār* of Narasiṅgarāyapuram, a suburb of Tirupati. But the time for offering was fixed immediately after Alarmēlmangai-Nāchchiyār, *i.e.*, "Vakshasthala-Lakshmi" supported on His chest by Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara, received the *tirumañjanam*.

Thus we find the rite of *puḷugu-kāppu* first arranged apparently in Śaka 1356 to form an item of the daily routine, passing by about Śaka 1418 into a special fortnightly function combined with the bath on alternate Fridays. This does not, however, preclude the possibility of its daily course. For now-a-days there is the occasion of a dally bath comprised within the rites of the *tōmāla-sēva* in the forenoon, when the *Bhōga-Mūrti*, represented by a silver image, receives the bath. The original provision might have been of this nature, intended for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara, the *Mūla-Mūrti*, but actually utilised for the *Bhōga-Mūrti*.

In about three decades from Śaka 1427, the date of the second record (No. 276—T. T.) mentioning the observance of the *puḷugu-kāppu-muṟai* in the Tirumala temple on alternate Fridays, we find that the fortnightly function had been converted by Śaka 1456 (No. 331—T. T.) not only into a weekly one held on each of the 53 Fridays in the year, but also a monthly one conducted on each of the 13 days of Mṛigaśīrsham star occurring in the year, this being the asterism under which king Achyutarāya Mahārāya was born. Bhaṇḍāram Apparasar's son, Śiṟu-Timmayyar, had effected this augmentation. Thus the original 26 or 27

puḷugu-kāppu-muṟai days had been extended by Śiṟu-Timmayyar so as to aggregate to 66 days comprising both the intervening Fridays till then left out and other thirteen days of Mṛigaśīrsham star sanctified by the birth of the Vijayanagara king under its ascendency.

In spite of the occurrence of the expression *puḷugu-kāppu* in four inscriptions, the clue to its proper significance is not furnished. As pointed out already, before the end of the 15th century the rite had become a matter of routine and the people were conversant with its nature and its connotation with reference to the exact article or articles required to be supplied for the occasion. Otherwise, had it been an innovation, an attempt would have been made in the record to describe the processes involved in its observance. (Compare the enumeration of details connected with the *Pavitrōtsavam* instituted by Saḷuva Mallayadēva Mahārāja as noted in No. 157—T.T. dated in Śaka 1385). There is a function, extant in the temple routine on Fridays, which is denominated *punugukāpu* during which the *Tirumēni*, the holy body of the idol including the face, is smeared with civet-oil and then the *Tirumaṇi-kāppu*, the vertical white Vaishṇavait mark in two thick patches, is formed with fine dust of refined camphor, together with an intermediate black one of musk. Further, in the present-day vocabulary of the temple, *punugu-kāpu* includes not only the civet-oil and camphor but also musk and saffron, the former being used for putting on the middle mark *Kastūrī-tiḷakam* on the forehead, and the latter for making up the sandal-paste besides being one of the articles of perfumery for the *abhishēkam*. It is therefore probable that the two terms *puḷugu-kāppu* and *punugu-kāpu* are mere varients and that the former comprised the same four articles as the latter now does, namely *punugu* (civet), *pachcha-karpūram* (refined camphor), *kastūri* (musk) and *kumkumapuvvu* or *kēsari* (saffron).

11. UTSAVAMS (TIRUNAL, FESTIVALS).

Under royal patronage the temples had received gifts and endowments to serve for the primary needs of worship of the deities, and the next concern of the worshippers and the devotees was with regard to the augmentation of the grandeur of the temples in the matter of the worship of the deities by means of elaborate festivals and plentiful food-offerings,

and in the matter of the construction of spacious and artistic *maṇṭapams* and imposing *prākārams* and *gōpurams*.

The festivals in the temples may be classified into the fundamental, the auxiliary and the secondary ones, according to the nature of their institution. The fundamental festivals are obligatory, being enjoined by the *śāstras* and *āgamas* to be observed at fixed times, and their omission would be considered profane, while their restitution would call for special preliminary purificatory rites. To this class belongs the Brahmōtsavam. The auxiliary festivals have their origin in the traditional divine life of the deity or in the incarnations of Vishṇu on earth. Such are the *tiruppaḷḷi-eḻuchchi*, i. e., the Mārgaḷi or the Dhanurmāsa festival and those conducted on the days of the birth-asterism of the deities. The secondary ones are of a subsidiary character and were instituted by devotees with a view to gain religious merit and invoke the blessings of the Almighty on the days fixed for them. These are usually the days of the birth-asterism of the donor, his religious preceptor, liege-lord or other relation or friend.

BRAHMOTSAVAMS OR TIRUKKODI-TIRUNAL.

As to festivals, the earliest epigraph in the collection from Tiruchānūr, No. 219—G. T. dated in the 51st year of the reign of the Pallava king Kō Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman (equivalent to 830 A. C.), records a deposit of 40 *kaṭañju* of gold by Ulagapperumānār of Śōḻanūr in Śōḻanāḍu with the assembly at Tiruchchukanūr (Tiruchānūr) for the purpose of keeping a lamp before the processional image newly installed in the shrine of *Tiruvēṅkaṭattu-Emperumān-Aḍigaḷ*. Here occurs the earliest mention of the installation of a processional image, and nearly a century and a half elapses before we hear again of the consecration of another image of silver made in the representation of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara, the *Mūla-Mūrti* or the presiding deity of the temple (No. 18—T.T.).

This second image of silver was consecrated under the denomination of Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ by Sāmavai, daughter of a Pallava and queen of Śatti (Śakti)-Viṭaṅkan alias Śrīkāḍuveṭṭigaḷ, in the 14th year of the reign of Koppātra-Mahēndra-Panmar. The Pallava queen presented a number of jewels and ornaments including a *kirīṭam* or crown, and also arranged

for the conduct of a festival with a procession for this image for two days immediately preceding the main festival, as well as the main festival itself in the month of Puraṭṭāśi commencing on the day of the Chittirai star and lasting for nine days.

In the same year she made a further provision for another fresh festival for this silver image with two processions each day for seven days prior to *Mārgaḷi-tiruvādaśi*, *i.e.*, the *Mukkōṭi-Dvādaśi*. Towards the expenses of these festivals she purchased land and granted it to the temple and enjoined on the *sabhaiyār*, probably of Tiruchchukanūr (Tiruchānūr), to take care to see that no tax was levied on the land granted by her. Thus, even so early as the 10th century A.C., we find that the original annual festival held in the month of Puraṭṭāśi, and usually known as *Brahmōtsavam*, because, according to the *VĒṄKAṬĀCHALA-MĀHĀTMYAM*, it was originally instituted and conducted by Brahma, became duplicated. The celebration of the festival was an expensive affair, and the Pallava queen herself undertook to provide for the charges through an endowment of land.

The Chōḷa records, so far available, make no mention of festivals, but the later ones enable us to discern the simultaneous increase in the quantity and variety of food-offerings with the number and magnitude of the festivals. This is the period of time, when, on the decline of the ancient Hindu kingdoms of the South, there arose into prominence, in the middle region, certain political aspirants, such as the Gaṇḍagōpālas, the Yādavarāyas, the Kāḍavarāyas and the Śambuvarāyas, who apparently endeavoured to carve out independent kingdoms and claimed "universal sway" over the land. These families of chieftains had, in their glorious days, rendered their share of service to the temples at Tirumala and Tirupati, directly or otherwise, by means of gifts and grants, for the perpetuation of *nitya-dīpam* and *nitya-naivēdyam*, as well as *utsavams* for the deities, so much so that by about 1300 A. C. we find that, in addition to the two *Brahmōtsavams* observed in the 10th century to have been celebrated in the months of Puraṭṭāśi and Mārgaḷi, similar festivals were established in the month of Āḍi at Tirumala for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara (No. 189—T. T.),

and in the month of Āni in Tirupati for Śrī Gōvindarāja (No. 111—G. T.) besides the original annual festival in Vaikāśi held in Tirupati (No. 127—G. T.). This second festival in Āni had been instituted by the queen of Vīra-Nārasimhadēva Yādavarāya in the 30th year of his reign, and for its conduct she granted half of the village of Paiṇḍapalli, of which the other half was already a *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* (grant to the temple). Besides, she had a four-sided wooden car constructed for the procession of the deity during this festival and it appears that this new car was smaller than the old car which served during the Vaikāśi festival. The decoration and repairs to the car presented by her formed two of the items of the charges during the festival for which the grant was made and the temple authorities were also empowered to utilise any balance left over for the repair of the temple as well. So far, the festival known as the *Tirukkoḍi-tirunāḷ* or *Brahmōtsavam* became trebled in the temple at Tirumala, while it was deplicated in the Tirupati temple. The fact that there were held at the time more festivals than one is borne out by No. 102—T. T., though it does not indicate precisely how many they were.

Coming to the Vijayanagara period, we note that Harihara II instituted a fresh festival in Māśi at Tirumala through the agency of Mullai Tiruvēṅkaṭa Jīyar, and the income of the village of Pūṅgōḍu appears to have been dedicated by him for its expenses (Nos. 61 and 103—T. T.). The other references to festivals are not quite definite about their number and their time (cf. Nos. 61 and 340—T. T.). But, as time advanced, we find that before the middle of the 16th century, they rose at Tirumala to ten and these were probably distributed among the ten months of the year, with the exception of Vaikāśi and Āni which witnessed two festivals in Tirupati for Srī Gōvindarāja.

The *Brahmōtsavams* were celebrated for a period of twelve days counted from the day of *aṅkurārpaṇam* or sowing the nine kinds of seeds in earthen vessels to the day of *viḍāyāṟṟu* or the day of preparing for relaxation after the exertions of the temple-servants for twelve days during the festival. Each day, after the procession was over, the processional image was taken from the *vāhanam* (vehicle) into the

temple to a *maṇṭapam* and, being installed there in an *āsthānam* or an assembly, was offered different kinds of food provided for the occasion by devotees, which was next distributed among the worshippers attending the function. Similar *āsthānams* were also arranged by devotees to be conducted in the *maṇṭapams* built in their flower-gardens round about the temple, to which the processional image was taken in the course of the procession through the streets, before returning to the temple. The *āsthānam* formed a feature not only in the *Brahmōtsavams*, but in other festivals also.

ADHYAYANOTSAVAM.

In the temple at Tirumala, this festival commenced ten days prior to the *Mukkōṭi-Ēkādaśi* and continued for a period of about twenty days. During each of these days, the processional images were taken round through the streets in procession with the chanting of hymns from the *Nālāyira-Prabandham*, the four-thousand quatrains composed in Tamil by the Śrīvaishṇava *āḻvārs* (saints) for the enlightenment and spiritual deliverance of the masses not versed in the Saṁskṛit *Vēda*. The festival was divided into two equal periods, the earlier 10 days forming the first period or *pagalpattu*, i.e., days-ten, and the latter 10 days the second period or *irā-pattu*, i. e., nights-ten (ten-night), which commenced with the *Vaikuṇṭha-Ēkādaśi* or the *Mukkōṭi-Ēkādaśi*. Devotees provided for offerings for the deities during this festival, as they did during the *Brahmōtsavams*.

The *Adhyayanōtsavam* was celebrated also for Śrī Gōvindarāja and Śrī Kōdaṇḍa-Rāma in Tirupati. In the case of the five *āḻvārs*, it was observed for a period of 12 days, and on the *Śāttu-muṟai* day special offerings were arranged to be made to Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara first and then brought down to Tirupati for being offered to them.

The earliest reference to this festival occurs about 1400 A. C. and the latest is in 1635 A. C. It is still observed in all these temples at the present day.

PAVITROTSAVAM.

Almost all the festivals that we meet with in the inscriptions have their continuance at the present time; but the only prominent one which is conspicuous by its non-observance to-day in any of these temples is the *Pavitrōtsavam*. It is an annual festival and its object is the expiation of the sins of omission and commission arising in the daily worship and other religious rites performed in temples. It is an essentially purificatory ceremony.

It was first instituted in Tirumala at the instance of Sāḷuva Mallayadēva Mahārāja in Śaka 1385 (=1463 A. C.) during the time of Sāḷuva Narasimha (No. 157—T. T.). It being a new institution, we are happily supplied with full details of the rites and functions pertaining to the ceremony lasting virtually for a period of 5 days, but actually for 6 days including the preliminaries of seed-sowing on the night preceding. The ceremonial comprised also the recitation of the *Vēdas* and the reading of the *Purāṇas* during these five days for which the Brāhmaṇa reciters and readers were remunerated.

The four inscriptions, two from the Tirumala temple and two from the Tirupati temple, that mention this *Pavitrōtsavam*, belong to the 15th century and there are no references to it at a later date. Even at the present time, it is not observed in any of the temples here. It is inexplicable when and how such an important purificatory ceremony came to be omitted from the periodic observances in the temples, the more so when it is found that it is found that it is performed with all zest and grandeur in the other prominent Vaishṇava temples in South India, such as Kāñchī, Śrīraṅgam, etc.

SANKRANTIS.

Some of the temple festivals owe their origin to the motion of the Sun in the heavens, causing our seasons, the solstices and the equinoxes and the monthly *Saṅkrāntis*. Among these, the *Ayana-saṅkrāntis*, i. e., the *Makara-saṅkramam* and the *Karkaṭaka-saṅkramam* or the *Uttarāyana* and *Dakshināyana Puṇyakālas*, corresponding to the winter-

and the summer solstices occurring on the 12th or 13th of January and about the 15th of July respectively, are especially observed universally, while the *Vishu-saṅkrāntis, i. e.*, the *Chittirai-Vishu* and the *Arpiśi-Vishu*, corresponding to the vernal and the autumnal equinoxes, are observed to a less extent and the monthly *saṅkrāntis* still less so. Since, however, all these occasions, together with the *amāvāsya* days, are generally reckoned as holy days on which the manes of the departed fathers are required to be propitiated, this sacredness attaching to them has supported their observance in the temples as well. In the epigraphs, these days along with others are termed *Viśēsha-divasaṁgaḷ* as distinct from the *tiṅgaḷ-divasaṁgaḷ* which occur each month and which are a sort of routine (Nos. 271 and 277—T. T. and 142—G. T.).

On these occasions, so as to commemorate their sanctity, special worship including *tirumañjanam* and *nivēdana* was provided for by devotees, as may be noticed from Nos. 16, 44, 51, 58, 66, 97, 105, 142, 195, 197—G. T., and 18, 51, 70 94, 281, 346 —T. T. In the earliest of the epigraphs in which we get a reference to these holy days, viz., No. 18—T. T. belonging to about the third quarter of the 10th century A. C., we already find provision made by the *Kāḍava* queen Sāmavai for speclal *tirumañjanam* for the newly installed image Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ at Tirumala, on the two *Ayana-saṅkrānti* and the two *Vishu-saṅkrānti* days. And from that time onwards, the increase has been manifest in the number of the *saṅkrāntis* and other occasions so observed, including the *Ēkādaśi* days also. In one case we have the full and the new moon days on which occur the *Sōma-Sūrya-grahaṇam* (lunar and solar eclipses) comprised within the *Viśēsha-divasaṁgaḷ*.

Out of these days, the *Āḍi-ayanam* was of peculiar significance in the secular functions of the temple in so far as it formed the new year's day on which the old registers of accounts, etc., of the temple were closed and fresh ones commenced to be written up. The *Āḍi-ayanam* is consequently mentioned in these records, usually coupled with a reference to this function, as in the expressions, *tiru-āṇḍ-eḻuttu-iḍum-pōdu* (No. 66—G. T.), *tiruvāṇḍeḻuttu-śāṭṭi-aruḷum-pōdu* (No. 195—G. T.), and *tiruvāṇḍeḻuttiṭṭa-taruvāyile* (Nos. 44, 58 and 142—G. T.).

VASANTOTSAVAM AND GRISHMOTSAVAM.

The divinity is conceived in the likeness of man whose nature is shadowed forth to that of the godhead through an attribute of feelings and qualities. Pain and pleasure, heat and cold, He is conceived to feel equally with man and means are devised to minimise their influence or make them yield their wholesome effects to the full. Such a conception appears to be the origin of the *Vasantōtsavam* (the spring festival), the *Grīshmōtsavam* or *Kōḍai-tirunāḷ* (the summer festival), the *Ūñjal-tirunāḷ* (the swinging festival) and the *tiruppaḷi-ōḍam-tirunāḷ* (the floating festival).

VASANTOTSAVAM.

The *Vasantōtsavam* is of two kinds. During the *Vasantartu* (spring season) in the month of Vaikāśi has been celebrated the *Brahmōtsavam* for Śrī Gōvindarāja in Tirupati, in which on the 6th day is conducted the *Vasantōtsavam* with the procession of the image through the streets. Nowadays this is an evening function and special provision is made for the distribution of *chandanam* (sandal-paste) on a large scale. Probably it was similar in the past also, as may be seen from the more than the usual quantity of *chandanam* provided for the occasion. This *Vasantōtsavam* was therefore a function of an evening, that is, on the 6th day during the *Brahmōtsavam* celebrated in the spring season. Until the 13th century there was only one *Brahmōtsavam* celebrated for Śrī Gōvindarāja in the month of Vaikāśi; and, as such, there must have been only one *Vasantōtsavam* day in the year. But when the queen of Vīra-Nārasimha Yādavarāya, a Chola feudatory of the 13th century, instituted a second *Brahmōtsavam* in the month of Āni for Śrī Gōvindarāja (No. 111—G. T.), the *Vasantōtsavam* day became doubled, and this number appears to have remained constant until the middle of the 16th century when 2 more *Brahmōtsavams* were instituted. A similar auxiliary *Vasantōtsavam* was arranged for the last 2 days of the *Kōḍai* festival by Karaṇikka Basavarasar in Śaka 1437, Yuva, during the reign of Kṛishṇarāya (No. 311—T. T.).

Besides this auxiliary *Vasantōtsavam*, there seems to have been celebrated a *Vasantōtsavam* as a main festival by itself, lasting for 3 days in the month of Chittirai, from the day of the star Chittirai, i. e., Chitta,

which would coincide with the *Pūrṇima* or the full-moon day (No. 105—G. T.). During the time of Achyutarāya, a fresh *Vasantōtsavam* was started in Śaka 1460, Viḷambi, by Periya-Śōlai, son of an accountant in the temple at Tirumala, by instituting a fund of 3000 *naṟpaṇam* (No. 345—G. T.). The preliminary rite of *aṅkurārpaṇam* (sowing the nine kinds of seeds) was required to be done on the day of Uttiraṭṭādi or Uttarābhādra star in the month of Paṅguni and the *Śāttumuṟai* (the last) day was to fall on the day of Kārtikai or Kṛittika star such that the *tirunāḷ* was celebrated for a period of 4 days.

Since these festivals were not the primary and obligatory ones, they could be increased and modified to any extent to which the devotees desired and consequently we find variation in them.

KODAI-TIRUNAL.

The *Kōḍai-tirunāḷ* was a summer festival, just as *Vasantōtsavam* was one pertaining to the spring season. It was celebrated for a period of 20 days divided into two halves. It was conducted both at Tirumala for Śrī Malaiyappan (the processional image of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara), His two divine consorts and Śēnai-Mudaliyār (No. 311—T. T.), and in Tirupati for Śrī Gōvindarāja (Nos. 105—G. T., 277 and 281—T. T.). No. 251—G. T., dated in Śaka 1454, Khara, records a *Kōḍai* festival for Śrī Periya-Raghunāthan, i.e., Śrī Kōdaṇḍa-Rāma, during the month of Āni.

ANNA-UNJAL-TIRUNAL.

Besides these *Vasanta* and *Kōḍai* festivals, we also meet with the *Anna-ūñjal-*(swan-shaped swing) *tirunāḷ*, and the *Tiruppaḷi-ōḍam-tirunāḷ* (floating festival) conducted for the processional images. The *Anna-ūñjal* festival was started in the Tirumala temple by Sāḷuva Narasimha in Śaka 1395, Vijaya, and was stipulated to be celebrated for a period of 5 days virtually, but actually for 7 days (No. 197—T. T.). It was essential to commence this festival with the *aṅkurārpaṇam*, as in the case of the *Vasantōtsavam*, on the night preceding the main days of the festival, which was fixed to be done on the 6th day of the bright fortnight in the month of Chittirai. All articles required for the bath, worship,

offerings and procession were enumerated *seriatim*, as well as the rites of *hōmam*, *Puṇyāham* and *antya-hōmam* at the end of the 5th day. Special offerings on a grand scale were provided for both day and night. For the expenses of these and other items, Sāḷuva Narasimha granted the village of Dommarapaṭṭi in Kalavai-paṟṟu, a sub-division of Paḍaivīḍu-rājya.

Not only was this *Ūñjal-utsavam* separately instituted as a main festival, but it was annexed to the *Kōḍai-tirunāḷ* on its 10th day, and further arranged as a one day's function on the *Saṅkramam* (i. e., the *Makara-saṅkramam* or the winter-solstice day) by Sāḷuva Narasimha himself on the above occasion, the total *ūñjal* days aggregating to nine (No. 197—T. T.).

The *Ūñjal* festival, when once it was established in the Tirumala temple by Sāḷuva Narasimha for Śrī Malaiyappa, became a desideratum in Tirupati in the case of Śrī Gōvindarāja. Consequently in Śaka 1430 Appā-Piḷḷai, son of Karavaṭṭippuliyāḷvār of the *Kauṇḍinya-gōtra* and *Āpastamba-sūtra*, a resident of Mahīpāḷakulakālachchēri, a part of Rājēndra-śōḷa-chaturvēdi-maṅgalam *alias* Śrīman-Uttaramērūr, instituted a *Ūñjal-tirunāḷ* for Śrī Gōvindarāja, commencing with the *aṅkurārpaṇam* on the day of the Chitta star occurring in the month of Āḍi and closing with the *Śāttumuṟai* on the day of Uttarāshāḍha (No. 265.—G.T.). The festival therefore lasted for 8 days and adequate provision was made for its regular conduct through the supply of all the necessary articles and services which were also remunerated.

TIRUPPALI-ODAM-TIRUNAL.

The inscription No. 197—T. T., which records the institution of the *Ūñjal* festival at Tirumala by Sāḷuva Narasimha, mentions that a *Tiruppaḷiōḍattirunāḷ* (floating festival) was also conducted as the *dharmam* of Sāḷuva Narasimha, and that provision was made for offering 4 *appa-paḍi* on the occasion.

References to the swinging and the floating festivals occur in later records. Nos. 271—T. T. dated in Śaka 1426 and 97—G.T. dated in Śaka 1445 state that the *Ūñjal* festival was celebrated for a period of 5 days

in the two temples. But the references to the *Tiruppaḷiōḍam* point out to a one day's festival as in Nos. 281—T. T. and 256—G. T., while in No. 97—G. T. it is said to form a day's function, being affixed to the *Kōḍai* festival on its 10th day, and in No. 83—T.T., dated in Śaka 1455, Vijaya, it is stated that the *Jalakrīḍai—tiruppaḷiōḍattirunāḷ* was to be conducted for 9 days in the *Achyutarāyar-Kōnēri*.

Another source of accretion to the festivals in temples is furnished by the provision made for celebrating the birth-day or the birth-asterism of the several deities. The *Jayantis* of the different *Avatāras*, such as *Śrī Rāma-navami*, *Śrī Kṛishṇāshṭami*, *Śrī Naṟasimhajayanti*, are observed annually on particular days, while, in the case of the presiding deities of the several temples, the birth-asterism is of greater moment and on the day on which it occurs each month special worship is provided; such are the days of the stars *Śravaṇam* in the case of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara (No. 33—T. T.), *Puṇarvasu* for Śrī Rāma (No. 280—T.T.), *Uttara* for Śrī Gōvindarāja (No. 47—G.T.), *Rōhiṇi* for Śrī Kṛishṇa (No. 47—G.T.), etc.

Closely akin to the above are those festivals in temples which were instituted by devotees for conducting special worship to the deities on each anniversary day of the birth-asterism of certain great men, such as the *āḻvārs* (saints), *āchāryas* (spiritual teachers), kings, princes, and ruling chiefs, and rich men and other devoted persons who were anxious about invoking the blessings of the Almighty upon them on the particular day each year for a long and prosperous life. Special worship including food-offerings and processions were arranged on these occasions.

Besides, certain other days, such as the Tai-Amāvāsyai, Āni-Amāvāsyai, Dīpāvaḷi, Kārtikai, Yugādi, Mahā-Navami, Ratha-Saptami, etc., which are held sacred by the Hindu public, were also made festive occasions on which the deities were propitiated with offerings and taken out on some vehicles in procession.

12. VAHANAMS (VEHICLES)

The inscriptions give numerous references to festivals in the temples, but, in all but those that are dated in the 16th century, we have

no information as to the *Vāhanam* or vehicle used on each day of the procession of the deities through the streets during the *Brahmōtsavams*. The epigraphs dated during the reigns of Achyutarāya and Sadāsivarāya mention the names of about half a dozen vehicles and further indicate that the same vehicle was used for procession on different days. And it is inevitable that it should have been such, since the number of festival days was about a dozen and at least on seven of these days there were processions both day and night (Nos. 19 and 81—T.T.), while the number of vehicles in use was limited to six.

No. 51—T.T. is positive in saying that on the 3rd, 4th and 6th days of the *Brahmōtsavams* in Śrī Gōvindarājasvāmi's temple at Tirupati, *Muttu-pandal*, (the pearl-canopy, a wooden structure of the shape of a *maṇṭapam* decorated with pearls—and with false pearls now-a-days), formed the vehicle for the procession. Nos. 51—T.T. and 154—G.T. show that *Tiruvanantal* or *Śēshavāhanam*, i.e., the hooded-serpant vehicle, was employed on the 9th day of the festivals. The same *Vāhanam* is referred to in Nos. 48, 56, and 191—G.T., but the particular days when it was used is not definitely stated. Likewise we lack definite information as regards the days on which the *Garuḍa-vāhanam* and the *Pallaki* (palanquin) were used. As at the present time, probably the 5th day had the *Pallaki* for the noon and the *Garuḍa-vāhanam* for the night. But almost every epigraph which has a reference to make to *Brahmautsavams* clearly states that the procession of the deities on the 8th day of the festivals both at Tirumala and Tirupati was conducted on big four-sided wooden cars of which there were two at Tirupati, the smaller one having been constructed at the instance of Vīra-Nārasimha Yādavarāya's queen and being ordained for the procession during the second *Brahmōtsavam* for Śrī Gōvindarājasvāmi which she newly instituted to be celebrated in the month of Āni. Nos. 269 and 270—G.T. record a present of two sets of golden elephant and horse vehicles, a set apiece to the two temples of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara and Śrī Gōvindarāja, by Maṭla Kumāra-Anantarājayya. We also hear of other vehicles, such as *Nampirān* or *Tiruchchi* (No. 66—G. T.), and *Hamsa-vāhanam* (swan) and *Chātaka-pakshi-vāhanam* (the Indian or black cuckoo). As in the other cases, information is lacking as regards the days when they were employed.

These *Vāhanams* served their purpose not only during *Brahmautsavams*, but during all other festivals in which processions were conducted, as, for example, the employment of the *Sūrya-prabha-vāhanam* on the Ratha-Saptami day (No. 321—G.T.).

13. NANDAVANAMS (FLOWER—GARDENS.)

A number of devotees felt the inadequacy of the supply of flowers for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara, which are a prime requisite for a deity's decoration in the course of the daily worship as well as during festivals. Flowers of any kind are not to be had in sufficient quantities throughout the year in these places and the difficulties experienced in this respect on the hills in former times should have been far greater than they are at present in spite of facilities of communication afforded by the railway, and perhaps often-times insurmountable. The devotees realised the difficulties of constant supply and set themselves to form gardens and cultivate plants and place the produce at the disposal of the temple. Each garden was in charge of a manager who usually supervised it and took work from the gardeners. The workers were generally paid from 3 to 6 *paṇam* each month for their labour, while the manager, it would appear, held an honorary charge.

Frequently these devotees built *maṇṭapams* in their flower-gardens and in some cases deposited sums of money or transferred the possession of the gardens together with the *maṇṭapams* to the temple-treasury, which was under obligation ever after to take up and discharge the services to the temple in the name of the donor and also undertake to pay the *jīvitam* (monthly salary) of the gardeners, or issue a quantity of the offered food each day to them for cultivating the flower-garden so as to facilitate the perennial supply of flowers and herbs. It seems very likely that these gardens were in many cases cultivated by *Śāttāda-Śrīvaishṇavas* who are even at the present day under the name of *Dāsa-Nambis* carrying on the service of making flower-garlands in the Tirupati temple (Nos. 197 and 200—T. T.). Though instances of the cultivation of flower-gardens occur from about 1300 A. C. (125—G. T.) onwards, the numerous cases of forming gardens referred to in the inscriptions of the latter part of the 14th and the earlier part of the 15th centuries indicate the

inadequacy of the supply of flowers, in spite of scores of well maintained gardens dedicated to the temples. And it is not a matter for surprise when it is remembered that the number of festivals during which the deity and the images had to be decorated had increased greatly, necessitating a larger supply of flowers. Usually the devotees themselves undertook the laying out of the flower-gardens and arranging for their cultivation through private agency and continued to retain them in their possession or handed them over after a time to the temple, specifying the nature of the permanent provision made and the charges to be met from the temple-treasury therefor. But in No. 243—T. T., we note that the Tiruppaṇipiḷḷai, i. e., the officer in charge of Public Works pertaining to the temple, took up the responsibility for supplying garlands of flowers to the deity on behalf of Mukhappāḷam Nāgama-Nāyaka, a general under Sāḷuva Narasimharāya Mahārāya-Uḍaiyar for whose merit Nāgama-Nāyaka instituted the service, and transferred the possession of the village of Tiradampāḍi, his fief, to the temple as *Tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam-Tiruppaṇipuram*. The temple managers accepting the responsibility for the supply of flowers on behalf of a donor and the grant of a village for the purpose form the peculiar features of the record.

Of the different kinds of flowers grown in the gardens and in lakes or ponds, *Śeṅkaḻunīr*, i. e., the red lotus, appears from its special mention and from the arrangements made for its cultivation in ponds (Nos. 125—G. T. and 53 and 153—T. T.) to have been held in high esteem. In the flower-gardens were also cultivated aromatic herbs, such as *maru* (*maruvam*), *damana* (*davanam*) and *tulasi* (the sacred basil) (No. 56, A—T. T.) which were required for the worship of the deities daily.

14. DEVADANA VILLAGES AND LANDS.

The high esteem in which these temples were held and the solicitous care with which they were looked after by the Hindu kings and their officers are sufficiently indicated by the services and charities they instituted in them and the presents, gifts and endowments they made towards their permanent conduct. The endowments mostly took the form of lands and villages which were granted in many cases as

sarvamānya. More than a hundred and fifty villages thus endowed come to notice, the majority of them being situated within the Chandragiri-rājya in the Tirukkuḍavūr-nāḍu and Vaikunda-vaḷanāḍu, two sub-districts comprised within the major district of Tiruvēṅkaṭa-kōṭṭam. In the pre-Vijayanagara days, the temple seems to have come into possession of only a few villages, but the major portion of its endowments belongs to the Vijayanagara period. As already mentioned, the great number of services and charities instituted during the Vijayanagara times in the form of *nitya-naivēdyam* (daily food-offerings) to the deities, *tirunāḷ* (festivals) with processions and offerings, *nandavanams* (flower-gardens), *maṇṭapams* and *gōpurams*, *Rāmānuja-kūṭams*, etc., necessitated adequate provision being made for their regular and permanent conduct and preservation, and the only means by which this could be effected was through an endowment of land or village which not only formed a permanent property but also yielded a permanent annual income through which the objects of the donors could be fulfilled. This double permanency could not be shaken so long as the Hindu kings were strong enough to maintain their power, and a semblance of it they maintained down to the 17th century. We may be sure that, till that time, the temple was in full undisturbed possession and enjoyment of its property in land, and only later on came to be slowly dispossessed of it, through the Muhammadan occupation of the Southern country and, the more so completely and deliberately and at one stroke, during the British rule in the early years of the 19th century. So far as landed property is considered at present, out of the old endowments the temple possesses nothing, it having been completely deprived of them by the non-Hindu rulers, either through self-aggrandisement or through alienation to certain hereditary servants of the temple in a few cases, with a view probably to ensure permanency of service in the temples.

The earliest gift of land, so far known, was that of some seven thousand *kuḻi* of land in Tiruchchukanūr (Tiruchānūr) made by the Kāḍava queen Sāmavai who purchased it in a number of plots from the *sabhaiyār* of the place and other private owners and granted the whole to the temple for meeting the charges for propitiating daily the

image of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara denominated *Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ* newly installed by her in the temple at Tirumala and of the two festivals instituted by her for this image (Nos. 18 and 19—T. T.). This may be approximately dated in the 3rd quarter of the 10th century of the Christian era. The next epigraph which is dated on the 7th day, apparently of the first year, of the reign of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I (1016 A.C.) refers to Tiruchchukanūr and Tirumuṇḍiyam as having been *Dēvar-dēvadānam* prior to the date of the record (No. 20—T.T.). The next grant belongs to the reign of Rājarāja III. The *Periya-nāṭṭār* of Tirukkuḍavūr-nāḍu had installed an image of Tirumangai-āḻvār in the temple of Śrī Gōvindarāja at Tirupati and on the requisition of the managers of the temple for provision being made for the *āḻvār's* worship, the king issued oral orders which were executed by the assembly of Tirukkuḍavūr by assigning land yielding 5 *tūmbu* of grain to serve for the *āḻvār's* offerings (No. 126—G.T.). During the same reign, one Pokkāran Pāṇḍiyadaraiyan appears to have made a gift of land for conducting a festival for Aḻagiyaperumāḷ, probably during the month of Paṅguni (Nos. 222 and 226—G.T.).

Under the auspices of some of the powerful local chiefs of the 13th and 14th centuries, viz., the Gaṇḍagōpālas and the Yādavarāyas, several gifts of land were made from time to time. Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla's reign witnessed at least one instance of such a gift (No. 127—G.T.). The Yādavarāyas evinced deep interest for the temple and endowed it with lands and villages. During the reign of Tirukkāḷattidēva Yādavarāya entitled *Prabhūta-rājāśraya, Chandrakula-tilaka, Chāḷukya-Nārāyaṇa, Śrīmadbhujabala,* &c., the village of Kuḍavūr, in which certain plots of land were previously in the possession and enjoyment of the temple, became a full *dēvadāna* village on the recommendation by the assembly of Avilāli of the request of the *Sthānattār* (No. 170—T. T.). Vīra-Rākshasa Yādavarāya's service consisted in the grant of some land in Tirukkuḍavūr-nāḍu made with the object of offering food to Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara (No. 293—T. T.). In the 30th year of the reign of Vīra-Nārasimha Yādavarāya, his queen granted half of the village of Paiṇḍapalli, of which the other half was already a *dēvadānam,* with the remission of the taxes thereon, so as to meet the expenses of the

festival which she newly started for Śrī Gōvindarāja in the month of Āni (No. 111—G. T.). It is not known when the other half of the village came into the possession of the temple. In two cases this Vīra-Nārasimha Yādavarāya was the executor of the grant made by Sundara-Pāṇḍya of some land, probably in the Kuḍavūr-nāḍu and of the village of Pādirivēḍu, to take effect from the 3rd and the 12th years respectively of the reign of Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva (Nos. 164 and 165—T.T.). Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha Yādavarāya granted, as *sarvamānya,* half of the village of Pcṅgaḷūr at the instance of Siṅgya-Daṇṇāyaka for conducting the Āḍi festival at Tirumala and offering food to the deities (Nos. 189 and 195—T.T.); and the village of Tirupati, at his own pleasure, for the daily offering of food to Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara at a particular time of the day designated *Nārāyaṇan-sandhi* called after Yādava Nārāyaṇa, probably an elder member of the family (Nos. 11 and 40—G. T.).

Coming to the Vijayanagara period, we notice that Harihara II assigned in Śaka 1310, the cyclic year Prabhava, the revenues of the village of Pūṅgōḍu for the conduct of a festival to commence from the same year in the Tirumala temple during the month of Māśi. The village was not given over to the temple but remained in the hands of one Mullai Tiruvēṅkaṭa Jīyar who paid into the temple-treasury during the year 100 *paṇam* being the income from the village (Nos. 103 and 61—T. T.). By Śaka 1355 falling within the reign of Dēvarāya II, the temple came into possession of half the village of Siddhakuṭṭai *alias* Śrīnivāsapuram, a few miles to the west of Tirupati, and in that year conferred it upon the 24 *Mahājanam* or learned men of that place who were engaged to recite every day in the presence of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara the *Vēdas* which had ceased to be chanted for some time past (Nos. 89, 149, 161 and 162—T.T.). Already in Śaka 1351, Dēvarāya II had endowed the temple with three villages to serve for certain offerings which he ordered to be made to Śri Vēṅkaṭēśvara in his own name, while his minister Maḷḷaṇa provided for increased irrigation sources in two *dēvadāna* villages and thus added to the income of the temple (No. 187—T.T.).

Among the Vijayanagara rulers, Sāḷuva Narasimha is the greatest of the benefactors to the temple, and, in fairness to his benefactions, we

may assign to him almost the entire credit due for enhancing the reputation and prestige of the temple at Tirumala during the Vijayanagara period,—if such can be conceded to be due to individual human efforts. To the people at large, it is the opulence of the temple manifested through the strikingly elaborate daily ritual, the frequently occurring festivals conducted for the majestic and lovely images of the deities profusely decorated with costly jewels and ornaments and garlands of sweet-smelling flowers and aromatic herbs, and taken round on exquisitely carved wooden vehicles overlaid with silver or gilded copper-plate through the streets in pompous procession lighted by long rows of torches on either side, accompanied by the enticing music of the pipe, and adorned by the richly caparisoned elephants, camels, horses and oxen pacing in front and in the rear and bearing high-sounding and awe-inspiring war-drums, the whole place reverberating now and again with the inspiring name of "GŌVINDA" called on by one and all assembled on the occasion; the majestic and imposing *gōpuras* and *prākāra* walls ornamented with figures and scenes depicting *purānic* stories; stone-pillared *maṇṭapams* beautifully sculptured and surmounted by gilded *śikharams*, the spacious corridors and court-yards attractively paved with dressed granite or black stone and interspersed with flowering plants and fruit-bearing trees; not to speak of the even and un-discriminating distribution of the deities' grace (*Prasādam*) in the shape of holy water and holy food; it is these and similar services displaying splendour and magnificence, ministering to the sensuous gratification of the devotees that count in creating and sustaining an impression of the majesty, grandeur and potency of the presiding deity, instil feelings of reverence and awe, and evoke faith and devotion from the unsophisticated and simple-minded worshippers assembled from all parts of the Indian Continent.

Towards these acts whose cumulative effect is the entrancement of the human soul at the sight of God, conducing to the incessant adoration of the Divine Being, Sāḷuva Narasimha contributed the largest share, himself directly and through his numerous subordinate officers who followed his example.

For not only did he institute new services and charities in the form of festivals and processions, flower-gardens, and feeding-houses

both at Tirumala and Tirupati, extended the temples and added to their attraction by the construction of *gōpurams* and *maṇṭapams*, for the maintenance of all of which he endowed the temple with about a dozen villages, as far as is known, he also exerted himself in regulating the worship in the temple of Śrī Gōvindarāja at Tirupati on the lines of the practice obtaining in Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's temple at Tirumala. These constitute highly valuable and praise-worthy services rendered in the cause of religion for which posterity ought to feel grateful to him for all time, perpetuate his memory and emulate him in its services to the temple.

His endowments comprise the following villages:—

1. Ālipuram granted as *Sarvamānya* in Śaka 1378 No. 3—T. T.
2. Agaram or Brāhmaṇa-agrahāram Murukkambaṭṭu ... ... 1389 No. 54—T. T.
3. Vaṅjippākkam, Mallimālai, Śēṟulakkūr and Bhīmapuram, 4 villages situated in Kīḻaippaḍaināḍu in the Chandragiri-rājya and Vāḷāḷmaṇkoṇḍān in Paḍaivīṭṭu-śīrmai 1389 No. 66—T. T.
4. Māṅgōḍu-Velada and Maṇavūr ... 1389 No. 8—G. T.
5. Dommarapaṭṭi in Paḍaivīḍu-rājya ... 1395 No. 197—T. T.
6. Durgasamudram Śaka 1404 No. 248—T. T.

Of these, Durgasamudram was subsequently converted from a *dēvadāna* village into a *tiruppaṇi-puram*, i.e., a village supporting the public works, to wit, the construction of *gōpurams* and *maṇṭapams* at Tirumala and Tirupati.

So far his direct grants. His munificence had been copied by his subordinates and generals and their services may therefore be reckoned as his indirect gifts. Sāḷuva Mallayadēva made a gift of Ēlambākkam in Śaka 1386; Tammayadēva-Chōḷa Mahārāja of Teppattināganchāvaḍi and

another village in Śaka 1385; Vallabhadēva Mahārāja of Parāndalūr in Pottappi-nāḍu in Śaka 1390; Mukhappāḷam Nāgama-Nāyaka, his general, of Tiradampāḍi to the *Tiruppaṇi-Bhaṇḍāram* in Śaka 1409 for the merit of his master; Donakoṇḍi Siṅgamu-Nāyakar purchased the *Lakshmī-nāthan-bhaṭṭa-vṛitti* lands in Avilāli and presented them to the temple. Some contributed their share of service in increasing or strengthening the irrigation sources in the *dēvadāna* villages by excavating channels afresh or renovating the old ones which fell into disrepair. Such were Sāḷuva Erramarāja, Sāḷuva Mallayadēva, Tammayadēva-Chōḷa Mahārāja and other men of rank who either directly undertook the task themselves and completed the work, or paid sums of money into the temple-treasury and entrusted the execution of the work to the temple authorities.

Even the servants of the temple felt the impulse of the royal benefector. A temple-accountant by name Vighnēśvara Śrīrāman excavated a channel for the merit of prince Narasayyan, son of Sāḷuva Narasimha; while another accountant Aṅgāṇḍai made a gift for the merit of Sāḷuva Narasimha himself. There are others connected with the temple who also made provision for irrigational facilities in the *dēvadāna* villages. Emperumānār Jīyar, manager of the *Paṅkayachchelli-Nandavanam* at Tirumala paid 5000 *naṟpaṇam* in Śaka 1378 into the temple-treasury for being invested for the renovation of the lake in Avilāli; and again in Śaka 1379, one Vēṅkaṭavalli, a *dēvadāsi* (a damsel) attached to the temple of Narasimhaśvāmi in Tirupati paid 1000 *naṟpaṇam* for renovating the big tank in Tirupati; and two years later, i. e., in Śaka 1381, we find a further sum of 1000 *paṇam* being invested in this same big tank by Ahōbaḷarāja Kampayadēva in executing some repairs thereto. We know that this big tank of Tirupati had been in existence even prior to the 51st year of the reign of Vīra-Nārasimha Yādavarāya. In conjunction with his gift of Murukkambaṭṭu in Śaka 1389, Sāḷuva Narasimha paid 2000 *paṇam* for the repair of its tank. A temple damsel Valandi paid 300 *naṟpaṇam* in Śaka 1408 for the repair of the tank in Āḍittanpalli. Likewise Lakshmī-amman, sister of Kommarāja Śiṟu-Timmarāja Uḍaiyar, paid in Śaka 1415 the sum of 1000 *naṟpaṇam* to the temple and required it to be utilised for repairs to the tank in the *dēvadāna* village of Tiramanēri. Similar charitable services are evident in the case of the most

influential religious preceptor of the time in Tirupati, viz., Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgār. In Śaka 1389, he had two irrigation channels dug, one from Tiruchchukanūr for irrigating lands in Koṟṟamaṅgalam and another in Periyamuṇḍiyam for its own lands; two more in Śaka 1392 for Kalidhīramaṅgalam and Paiṇḍapalli and another two in the same year for Tirumuṇḍiyam and Aimpūṇḍi, besides some two or three others for the benefit of other *dēvadāna* villages.

During the period intervening between Sāḷuva Narasimha's rule and Kṛishṇarāya's reign, we have Periya Ōbaḷanāyakar Rāmā-Nāyakar granting Kaḍalūr in Tirukkuḍavūr-nāḍu in Śaka 1426, and of Seṅgōḍupalli in Śittavōḷu-śirmai in Pulugūr-nāḍu in Śaka 1434.

The next royal personage of account is Kṛishṇadēvarāya. Like Sāḷuva Narasimha, by his unremitting zeal and devotion to Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa whom he regarded as his Patron-God, displayed through gifts of villages, jewels and vessels, besides ablutions with 30,000 pagodas of gold, during his frequent visits to this holy shrine for which he always found time even during the progress of his wars with his enemies, Kṛishṇadēvarāya, while he followed the example of his great predecessor Sāḷuva Narasimha, set a like example to his own subordinate officers as well as his religious preceptors and priests. The villages which he endowed in conjunction with his two queens, Tirumalādēvi and Chinnājidēvi, comprise half the village of Kaḍaikkūṭṭanpāḍi in *Uḷ-Maṇḍalam*, and Tāḷḷapākam, Muḍiyūr, Pirāṭi-Kuḷattūr, Dārattūr, Chatrapāḍi and Turaiyūr in *Pura-Maṇḍalam*. But the devotion that he exhibited for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara and the interest that he evinced for the prosperity of the temple are inestimable in their effects on his followers. His generals and officers, Ellappa-Nāyaka, Bayyappa-Nāyaka, Giṇḍi Basavarāyalu, Karaṇikka Basavarasar, Sāḷuva Gōvindarāja, Nārāyaṇadēvar, Rāyasam Koṇḍamarasayya, Rañjakam Śrīraṅgarāja, Tryambakadēva and others, took the cue from him and enriched the temple with gifts of villages. His feelings were shared by Subuddhi Rāmadāsar and Ambhikāmuḍuśīla, two generals who served under Pratāparudra Gajapati originally and who, on his defeat and submission, were gracefully honoured with service under Kṛishṇarāya, together with the grant of villages. We find them in Śaka

1443 making over a village apiece to the temple for providing for food-offerings daily for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara. Kṛishṇarāya's minister, Sāḷuva Timmarāya, discharged his responsibility when he granted to the temple Parāndalūr in Pottapi-nāḍu in Śaka 1433, and presented a costly silk cloth, a *Pītāmbaram* (No. 59—G.T.). Religious heads and others of non-political relationship were not slow in contributing their share. Tatvādi Nārāyaṇan made a gift of Tivalaippūṇḍi in Śaka 1436, Śrīmat Vyāsatīrtha of Oḍḍampaṭṭi in Śaka 1450, and Sālaippākkam Nāgayyar of Muttukūr in Gaṇḍikōta-śīrmai in Śaka 1452.

In the reign of Achyutarāya, his queen Varadājīdēvi-amman granted in Śaka 1456 six villages to the temple, viz., Chinna-Maḍappulūr and Muttukūr in Gaṇḍikōṭa-sīma; Poliva, Valli and Maṅgamūr in the Koṇḍavī i-sīma ; and Paiṇḍapalli in Nārāyaṇapurapparṟu. Achyutarāya's general Vīrappaṇṇan gave lands and villages and presented money on several occasions for the merit of the king, as, e. g., Pāchikalapāḍu in Gaṇḍikōṭa-sīma in Śaka 1458. Gollapalli was the gift of Yaṇḍalūr Vēṅkatādri-ayyan, son of Tirumala-Jōsyar. Three villages were given in Śaka 1460 probably by some royal officer whose name is lost. Tāmarapākam village was the gift of Rāyasam Rāmachandra-Dīkshitar in Śaka 1455; Uttamanallūr in Paḍaivīḍu-śīrmai in Śaka 1460 of Periya-Sāmu-Śeṭṭi, one of the *Nagarattār* of Tirupati. An irrigation channel excavated by Bhaṇḍāram Tammappan, son of Apparasar, was transferred to the possession of the temple ; and in Śaka 1463 Sāḷuva Gōvindarāja presented the village of Mēlpāḍi to the temple (No. 97—G.T.).

In the reign of Sadāśivarāya, the temple was the recipient of more than half a dozen villages from his subordinates, though no direct gift of his is available. In this reign, Aḷiya-Rāmarāya's gift of Puduppaṭṭu probably served as the stimulus to others from Sadāśiva's *Mahāpradhāna*. In Śaka 1479, the Rāja of Travancore granted half of the village of Kuḷayapāṭṭam on the bank of the Tāmraparṇi river, for the merit of Viṭṭhalarājayyan (No. 147—G.T.). In the reign of Vēṅkaṭapatirāya, his general Hanumayyar *alias* Aṇṇaṁgār endowed the temple in Śaka 1528 for the merit of king Vēṅkaṭapatirāya and his queen Kṛishṇājī-amman with Aṇṇaṁgār-pāḷaiyam wherein the excavation of three irrigation channels had been provided by him.

Channels were not always cut within the limits of the villages for which they were provided, but they had in some cases to be carried in their course through one or more villages down from their fountain-head. In such a course it was likely that they adversely affected the irrigation of lands in any of those villages and gave cause for litigation on questions of easement and prior enjoyment and called for decision from the state tribunals. Such a case comes to notice in the epigraph No. 29—G.T. dated in Śaka 1372. One Chennakēśavadāsar had undertaken to excavate a supply-channel for the lake in the village of Avilāli. To this end an agreement was entered into between the donor and a few of the villagers of Paiṇḍapalli for allowing the right of way for the channel through their lands for a certain money consideration. But the villagers of Paiṇḍapalli in general apprehended damage to their lands as well as to the existing irrigation sources in the village if the channel to Avilāli had been cut in the manner proposed, and made representations to the *Adhikāri* (royal officer), protesting against the excavation of the proposed channel. Adhikāri Yajñar entertained the complaint, made a personal inspection of the lands and felt convinced of the reasonableness and reality of the complaint. Thereupon, apparently on his decision, the original agreement which registered the pecuniary bargain for the right of way for the channel was revoked, actual sale of the lands was arranged for, their purchase value paid and a sale deed executed. It was only then, on the close of these transactions when the donor came to possess full right in the lands, that he was permitted to commence work. And he did commence it and complete it also. It may thus be seen that in those earlier days person and property were as much respected as at the present time and that the state tribunals dispensed even-handed justice.

The permanent conduct of the several festivals and rites established in the temples depended on the facilities for irrigation provided in the villages endowed for the purpose and therefore the greater the attention paid to these facilities the greater the security of their conduct. It was therefore the concern of the donor as well as of the authorities of the temple to look to the irrigation sources in the villages and keep them in constant repair. This indirectly benefited

the cultivator of the soil who could not single-handed create these improvements by himself but would gladly endeavour to extend his helping hand to them, and thus it tended to his prosperity as well, besides that of the temples.

Thanks to the precepts of the *Śāstras* and *Āgamas* for the institution of festivals and rites in temples, and thanks to the devoted followers of these injunctions who established them and provided for their permanent conduct through endowments of villages and lands and created irrigation facilities therein, not only the needs of the temples had been supplied and their prosperity ensured through these means directly but the cultivators of the soil had also been benefited indirectly and impetus given to intensive cultivation tending to the economic prosperity of the people in general and to the political stability of the Hindu State.

15. SOPANA-MARGA (FLIGHT OF STEPS TO TIRUMALA.)

A long Telugu stanza in the *Sīsamālika* metre, composed of 41 lines and engraved separately in Telugu, and Tamil and Grantha characters on the walls of a small shrine dedicated to Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara at the foot of the hill alongside of the pathway leading uphill, recounts in glowing terms deeds of valour and acts of piety performed by Maṭla Kumāra-Ananta, son of Maṭla Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha and Chennamāmba. His charitable services at Tirupati, among others by which he pleased God Vēṅkaṭāchalapati, comprise the *Sōpāna-mārga* and *Agra-gōpura*. Most probably this *Sōpāna-mārga* refers to the flight of stone-steps forming the pathway commencing from the foot of the hill usually called *Alipiri* (i.e. *Aḍipaḍi*, the bottom or lowest step) and extending on the side of the hill in a zigzag course upto the small tower commonly known as the *Gāli-gōpuram* (i.e. air-tower or tower-on-high) which stands on the summit of the front hill prominently visible on the plain country for a distance of about 8 to 10 miles. And the *Agra-gōpura* is in all likelihood this *Gāli-gōpuram*. This flight of stone-steps is at the present time the only passage leading uphill to Tirumala from Tirupati. We may therefore take the expression *Sōpāna-mārga* to convey the idea of an original formation of the pathway on the side of the front hill alone upto the

Gāli-gōpuram by Maṭla Anantarāja. It is said that in earlier times the pathway from Tirupati lay by the side of the Kapila-tīrtham up the hill and over it as far as the *Gāli-gōpuram*. Maṭla Anantarāja's work therefore seems to have been the formation of the present pathway from the *Alipiri*, instead of from the Kapila-tīrtham. Probably both the new and the old pathways upto the *Gāli-gōpuram* were used by the pilgrims for some time later and subsequently the present one became the only passage, while the older one was altogether given up. The flight of steps must have been provided in or before Śaka 1550 in which year this inscription is dated. It cannot be taken that a new pathway was laid throughout the whole length upto the temple above, for we are sure that such a path existed already and a good number of devotees went up to Tirumala and worshipped the deity. Further we have in No. 53—T.T. dated in Śaka 1387, i.e., more than a century and a half earlier, a reference to another flight of steps in the middle of the course reaching to Tirumala called *moḷaṅkāl-murippān-paḍi* (i.e., steps paining the knee in their ascent, or *mōkāli-meṭlu* as they are called in Telugu, meaning steps of the height of the knee,—knee-high steps) commencing from the deep gorge. As such there is no doubt as to the existence of a kind of pathway with flights of steps at different levels on the sides of the several hills forming the *Tirumala* or the Holy-Hill resembling in shape *Ādiśēsha*, 'the original serpent' on whose back God Vēṅkaṭēśvara reposes. Again, as on so many other hillsides which are steep and precipitous where a pathway is cut in the rock itself in the form of steps, it is conceivable that the original pathway here also was likewise cut in the rock; and then the credit claimed for Maṭla Ananta could therefore be for the pavement of the pathway with cut and dressed granite stone also, as we find it to-day, over the original steps designed on the hillside in the sandstone itself composing the hill. Further, from the examination of the kind of granite stone paved to form the flight of steps and the several ruined platforms found here and there on the sides of the pathway, we can see that there had been *maṇṭapams* and *gōpurams* like many others still standing to this day, which became dilapidated and whose stones were utilised for the pavement of the pathway.

16. TANNIR-PANDAL (WATER-SHEDS).

Water-sheds are an absolute necessity both in Tirupati and on the way to Tirumala, where there is a lack of adequate supply of fresh water easily available to the pilgrim population visiting the place. The necessity was early recognised and water-sheds were established, in some cases temporarily on the occasion of festivals at Tirumala or in Tirupati when there was a large concourse of people from all parts of the country, and in certain cases permanently, for the free distribution of water. We have a reference to a water-shed in a record of the 14th century (No. 195—T. T.) in which discretion was allowed to the managers of the temple to utilise any balance, left after meeting certain specific charges from the endowment concerned, for the institution of a water-shed, a flower-garden and other acts of charity at Tirumala in the name of the donor, Siṅgaya Daṇṇāyakkar. In No. 53—T. T., Sāḷuva Parvatarāja, son of Sāḷuvarāja, provided for the maintenance of a water-shed which he established in the *Moḷaṅkāl-muṛippān-maṇṭapam* built by him on the way to Tirumala and also for the execution of repairs to the *maṇṭapam*, both of them being placed under the supervision of one Goppayyan. During the time of festivals special arrangements were required to be made for supplying water in sufficiently large quantities to the devotees flocking to the place on those occasions. A typical arrangement comes to our notice in No. 142—G. T. wherein the donor, a temple—accountant by name Vighnēśvara Śrīrāman, provided for the payment from the temple-treasury of 3 *paṇam* monthly as salary for the permanent man who supplied water from the water-shed together with the issue of a portion of the food offered to the deity, and a special payment of 40 *paṇam* as wages for the persons temporarily engaged for distributing water at the water-shed during the 10 days of the *Puraṭṭāśi-tirunāḷ*. Śrīnivāsan, the son of another temple—accountant Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān, deposited in Śaka 1446 in the temple-treasury 700 *paṇam* which was required to be invested for increasing the irrigation sources in the *dēvadāna* villages and, from the produce yielded thereby, the temple authorities bound themselves to maintain a water-shed in the *maṇṭapam* built in a garden near Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple, paying 6 *paṇam* as salary for the water-man and supplying ginger, etc., for flavouring the water, as also oil for the lamp to be kept lighted in the

maṇṭapam, and mud pots for distributing water, together with the execution of repairs to the said *maṇṭapam* (No. 109—G.T.)

The steepness of the first hill exhausts the devotees who have to clamber it and even crawl on all fours, gasping for breath sometimes and halting at every few yards; and a climber would wish to have anything to refresh himself with on this ascent. A water-shed was located at some spot on the way in the course of the "Short Ascent", *Śiṟṟēttam* (*Chiṭṭekkuḍu* in Telugu), by Śrīman Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Timmarāja Salakarāja in Śaka 1455 for the maintenance of which he paid 600 *paṇam* into the temple-treasury and made the temple authorities responsible for it. (No. 262—G.T.).

17. RAMANUJA-KUTAMS (FEEDING-HOUSES).

Charity is comprehensive and different forms of it have been recognised from the earliest times and different methods devised for its effectuation.

Gifts of money and grain, of lands and villages and other items of property, and giving alms, feeding the poor and deserving persons on occasions of feasts and sacrifices, marriages and ceremonies, form some of the means of gaining religious merit for the performer. These are effected in their own homes or carried on through feeding-houses established for the purpose or through the agency of existing public religious institutions such as *maṭhas* and *ālayas*, according to the convenience, intention and capacity of the donors. The two latter courses are of a public character and in centres of pilgrimage to which people of various communities and localities flock during times of festival, the temple has formed the recognised agency to carry on the charity on account of the sanctity that is attached to it. Especially is this the case in Tirumala whose lord Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara has acquired a universal fame through the absence, it is believed, of sectarian ritual and bigotry. It has been the practice in this temple to distribute a portion of the offered food freely among devotees as His *Prasādam*, and a number of donors had stipulated for such distribution being effected from out of the offerings they made to the deity. A number of epigraphs have this arrangement for

distribution embodied in them, the responsibility for it being placed with and taken up by the *Sthānattār*, i. e., managers of the temple.

The earliest reference to feeding occurs in No. 220—G. T. belonging to the earlier part of the 10th century, wherein the donor Iruṅgōḷakkōn alias Guṇavan Aparājitan arranged for the daily issue of two *vaṭṭil* of *Prasādam* to two *Brāhmaṇas*. A later arrangement occurs in No. 195—T.T. a record of the 14th century, in which the duty of feeding 32 *Śrīvaishṇavas* in the *Sitakaragaṇḍan-maṭham* was laid upon the temple-managers who were authorised by Siṅgaya-Daṇṇāyaka, the donor, to utilise a portion of the produce from Siṅgaṇānallūr alias Poṅgaḷūr, situated in Illattūr-nāḍu, a *sarvamānya* village granted for the purpose. In No. 51—G. T. dated in Śaka 1230 we find the *Śrīvaishṇavas*, presumbly certain temple officials, arranging for offerings to the deity on special days and for feeding the pilgrims. The next instance is a provision made (No. 20.—G.T.) by one Hariyappar, son of Ṛigvēda Gauraṇa of the *Niyōgi* sect of *Brāhmaṇas*, by means of a payment of 3000 *paṇam* into the temple-treasury, for offering one *Tiruppōnakam* for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara daily and for feeding 12 *Brāhmaṇas* daily in Tirupati in a *Satram*.

The original credit for instituting a separate *Rāmānujakūṭam* or free feeding-house with an organization of its own, quite unconnected with the authorities of the temple, belongs to Sāḷuva Narasimhadēva Mahārāya, son of Sāḷuva Guṇḍadēva Mahārāja, who built *Rāmānujakūṭams* both at Tirumala and at Tirupati and placed them under the management of Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgār. The exact date of their institution is not explicitly mentioned, but innumerable references to them abound, dating from Śaka 1378, corresponding to the cyclic year Dhātu, to the year Chitrabhānu corresponding probably to Śaka 1444. The one at Tirumala was located in the *Sannidhi* street, while the other in Tirupati was probably within the temple premises. Besides this one at Tirumala founded in the *Sannidhi* street under the management of Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgār, we find another feeding-house, a *Śatram* (No. 66—T. T.), also established and provided for by Sāḷuva Narasimhadēva Mahārāya at the *gōpuram* built by him at Tirumala and placed under

the control (*ādhipatyam*) of one Hastigiri-ayyan. The fact that the former is designated *Rāmānujakūṭam* and placed in the *Sannidhi* street or in the north street under the supervision of Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgār, a prominent Vaishṇava leader of the place, while the latter is only termed *Śatram*, is located at the *gōpuram* or tower and is referred to as being managed by one Hastigiri-ayyan, probably indicates that the first was intended exclusively for persons of the Vaishṇava sect (compare No. 54—T. T. "for Śrīvaishṇavas") and the second ostensibly for non-Vaishṇavas. The epigraph No. 66—T. T. which mentions this *Śatram* records also the order of Sāḷuva Narasimha for delivering out of the 30 *sandhis* provided by him for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara every day from the produce of 5 villages granted for the purpose, a quarter share of the offered food, that is, seven and a half *Prasādams* inclusive of one *Prasādam* issued as remuneration for the manager Hastigiri-ayyan, together with the two and a half *Prasādams* hitherto received for the *Śatram*, making a total of 9 *Prasādams* to be distributed in the *Śatram*. A further obligation was laid upon the temple-treasury, namely, to pay 12 *paṇam* for the *Śatram* cooks and 3 *paṇam* for *mēlvechcham*, that is, sundry expenses in the *Śatram*.

Being the originator of the *Rāmānujakūṭams*, it was the interest of Sāḷuva Narasimha to see that they were placed on a firm footing and sufficiently endowed to carry on the charity permanently without depending solely upon the donors' share of *Prasādams* issued from the temple. No. 163—T. T. dated in Śaka 1406 refers to Guṇḍipūḍi as having been previously granted for conducting the *Rāmānujakūṭams* from which certain articles of perfumery for the *Tirumañjanam* (Holy Bath) of the deities were at the time of the record ordered to be supplied to the temples from the *Rāmānujakūṭams*. In Nos. 25 and 24—G.T. dated respectively in Śaka 1388 and 1391, we find the *Sthānattār* of the temple granting plots of land situated to the west of Tirupati and north and east of Pērūr to Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgār, disciple of Aḷagiya-Maṇavāḷa Jīyar and manager of the *Rāmānujakūṭams* at Tirumala and Tirupati, on condition of his excavating an irrigation channel from Pērūr for draining the plots of land and for the purpose of perpetuating the charity of feeding pilgrims in the *Rāmānujakūṭams* through the agency of

the donee and his disciples after him. We note in No. 107—G.T. an acknowledgment made by Kandāḍai Mādhavayyaṅgār on the 6th day of Chittirai in the cyclic year Chitrabhānu corresponding perhaps to Śaka 1444, when Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgār was no longer alive and the charge of the *Rāmānujakūṭams* devolved upon the witness Mādhavayyaṅgār, probably a close relation of Rāmānujayyaṅgār, before the settlement-officers of the state (*kūṟuśeyvār*) at Tirupati, to the effect that the *phalabhōgam* (produce) from the land granted for the *Rāmānujakūṭams* was being duly appropriated for the purpose and an obligation in return in the matter of offering 3 *appa-paḍi Prasādams* to the deity every year was being properly discharged. It is quite probable that these endowments were made at the first instance by Sāḷuva Narasimha himself, and the *Sthānattār* whom we find in Nos. 25 and 24—G.T. granting land for the *Rāmānujakūṭams* perhaps merely executed the orders of the king. This is clear from other records and it is reasonable to infer that they made the grant in the present case on their authorisation by Sāḷuva Narasimha.

This direct provision was supplemented at different times by grant of the donors' shares, usually a quarter of the food offered to the deities, daily or on special occasions. The lands would serve for a permanent provision throughout the year on a fixed scale proportional to the average number of pilgrims seeking help from them daily and the supplement would be intended for the extra numbers resorting to them on occasions of festivals, some of which, such as the *Ḍōlōtsavam* (the swinging festival), were newly instituted by Sāḷuva Narsimha himself (No. 197—T.T.). He also made a special provision for feeding Brāhmaṇas during the ten days of the *Puraṭṭāśi Brahmōtsavam* (*ibid.*) in the *Satram* built by him on the bank of the *Narasimharāyar-kōnēri*.

No further references to the *Satram* placed under Hastigiriayyan exist but the interest evinced for the *Rāmānujakūṭam* by a number of devotees and the popularity gained for it through Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgār are evidenced by the arrangements made by these devotees individually for the delivery of the donor's share in each case of the offered food for the *Rāmānujakūṭam*. Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgār

parted with his right to the donor's share in all cases of his provision for food-offerings to the deities in favour of the *Rāmānujakūṭams* (Nos. 5, 6 and 70—T.T. and 19, 30 and 50—G.T.). The combined influence of the political chief and the religious preceptor is seen to have been felt both in political and religious spheres.

We find provision for the issue of the donor's share to the *Rāmānujakūṭam* made by Donakoṇḍi Siṅgamu—Nāyakar (No. 28—T.T.) and Sāḷuva Goppayyan (No. 155—T.T.), who were politically subordinate to Sāḷuva Narasimha, the originator; and Periyaperumāḷdāsar (No. 50—T.T.), Goppayyan (No. 63—T.T.) and Narasimharāya Mudaliyār (No. 55—G.T. and No. 200—T.T.) who were in some religious capacity related to Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgār, the manager of the *Rāmānujakūṭams*. It may be roughly estimated, from the quantity of food so far arranged to be issued to the *Rāmānujakūṭam* by the several donors and the probable yield derived from the villages and lands granted therefor, that a hundred persons on an average had been fed in it each day.

The next instance of a *Rāmānujakūṭam* is the one referred to as having been established by Periya-Ōbaḷa-Nāyakar who made over to it his share, as donor of the one *nāḻi* of the *Pālēḍu-kuḷavibu* offered to Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara daily during the *Ardhayāmam* or the early hours of the night (No 305—T.T. dated in Śaka 1435).

From the references made in Nos. 201, 202 and 203—T. T. it appears that king Kṛishṇarāya also instituted for the Brāhmaṇas a *Satram* at Tirumala for which his two queens and himself provided for the delivery of their respective shares of the food and puddings arranged to be offered to God Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha on the occasion of their visit to the temple while returning to his capital at Vijayanagara after having vanquished Pratāparudra Gajapati, pursued him as far as Koṇḍavīḍu and also captured Udayagiri. There is a further reference made to his *Satram* in No. 246—T. T. dated in Śaka 1445, but this time it is not for adding to its receipts. On the other hand, on this occasion Kṛishṇarāya ordered the transference to Śrīmat Vyāsatīrtha-Śrīpāda-Uḍaiyar of the right to receive the 15 *Prasādams* belonging to the donor's share which had been hitherto delivered to his *Satram* out of those offered to the deity, for

which six villages had been granted by the king to the temple, together with the two house-sites at Tirupati and Tirumala which had been ordered by Sāḷuva Narasimharāya to be confiscated to the temple-treasury from the delinquent Nambiyar Śiṟṟappayyan who committed an offence of the theft of temple jewels, and a further plot of ground with a building on it previously granted to Hastigiri Timmayyan from the possession of the temple. The *Sthānattār*, while executing the order of Kṛishṇarāya, expressly recorded that the house-sites were intended for constructing a *maṭham* thereon by the donee.

In Śaka 1438 (No. 180—T. T.) Ellappa-Nāyaka endowed the temple with three villages for the purpose of offering 8 *tiruppōnakam* daily to Śrī Vēṅkatēśa, for the merit of king Kṛishṇarāya; but as regards the distribution of the offered food he permitted the *Sthānattār* to utilise it for the *Rāmānujakūṭam*, probably that of Sāḷuva Narasimha. This Ellappa-Nāyaka is again mentioned in a fragmentary record (No. 291—T. T.) as making a gift for some *Satram* (*Satraṭṭukku-dharmam*) in Śaka 1449, the *Satram* being different from the above *Rāmānujakūṭam*.

Rāyasam Koṇḍamarasayya, son of Timmarasayyaṅgār, also established a *Satram* at Tirumala which was granted a fourth of the donor's quarter share from the 16 *tiruppōnakam* and other edibles arranged by him in Śaka 1441 to be offered daily to the deity (No. 77—T. T.).

A fragmentary record (No. 317—T. T.) mentions Achyutarāya Mahārāyar's *Satram*, Achyutarāya-puram and Achyuta-Perumāḷ. We know from other records that Achyutarāya-puram formed a suburb of Tirupati and it is quite likely that the *Satram* of Achyutarāya was situated in that particular suburb to the north of Tirupati.

We also find a *Rāmānujakūṭam* in another suburb of Tirupati, namely Śrīnivāsapuram, as early as Śaka 1372 (No. 29—G. T.). The presiding deity at this place was Vīra-Narasimhasvāmi; and one Chennakēśavadāsar granted to this *Rāmānujakūṭam* the portion of the offered food belonging to him as the donor.

Maṭla Kumāra-Anantarāja is seen to have been a great benefactor, for his charities were not only varied and extensive but also took different forms on different occasions at several holy places (Nos. 269 and 270—G. T.). Among them the institution of *Anna-satrams* (feeding-houses) in several places situated on the way from Rāmēśvaram to the Himālayas for the gratification of the travellers on foot formed a particular kind of meritorious service rendered by him. All classes of people were welcome to them and the dishes served were deliciously prepared, having been commingled with the generally recognised six flavours. Two such inviting *Anna-satrams* were maintained, the one at the *Āḻvāritīrtha* (the Kapila-tīrtham), the water-fall at Śrī Kapilēśvara's shrine at the foot of the hill to the north of Tirupati, and the other by the foot-path over the *Śēshāchala*, the Tirupati Hills (*Śēshāchala-kuruva*). This *Satram* on the pathway up the hill must have been an especial resort of the wearied and exhausted pilgrims who would be craving for some food or drink to re-invigorate them after the ascent, and who would involuntarily pour forth innumerable benedictions and invoke Lord Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's blessings upon the donor of this *Satram* as well as upon the donors of the water-sheds put up at the Short Ascent (*Śiṟṟēttam* or *Chiṭṭekkuḍu*) by Timmarāja Śalakarāja (No. 262—G.T.) and at the *Moḷaṅkāl-muṟippān-maṇṭapam* by Sāḷuva Parvatarāja (No. 53—T. T.).

Thus the increase of festivals attracted greater number of pilgrims for whose gratification further additions were being made from time to time and for whose convenience facilities as regards boarding and lodigng are seen to have been arranged by the rulers themselves primarily, though it might have been done at the instance of some of the prominent Vaishṇava preceptors and devotees of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara. And these meritorious services have contributed to enhance the original fame and insure the continued prosperity of the temples.

18. THE TEMPLES :—THEIR EXTENSION AND REPAIR.

As far as can be gleaned from the inscriptions, the temples at Tirumala and Tirupati appear to have been originally confined to their central

shrines and we find that even these shrines underwent repairs a number of times. The case of a *Tiruviḷaṅkōyil* (*Bālālayam*) and *Karmārchanai* (special worship) followed by the consecration of a silver image designated Maṇavāḷa-Perumāḷ (the Beautiful God) comes to notice from epigraphs Nos. 18 and 19—T. T. which are both of them dated in the 14th year of the reign of Koppātra-Mahēndra-Panmar. In this particular instance it is doubtful whether this *Tiruviḷaṅkōyil* refers to any occasion of renovation or repair to the original *sanctum sanctorum* or actually to the consecration of a processional image alone. But clear and direct informaton comes to us from No. 17—T T. dated in the 40th year of the reign of *Tribhuvanachakravartigal* Śrī Vīra-Nārasimha Yādavarāya. One Tiruppullāṇidāsar, a *dēśāntri* (that is, an outsider, a pilgrim), applied through the *Sthānattār* of the temple to the king for permission to renovate the central shrine of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara at Tirumala which was in disrepair at the time, and the order issued to the *Sthānattār* is found engraved on its north wall. It enjoined on the managers the responsibility for copying the epigraphs which had been inscribed on the wall to be repaired, and for re-engraving them in their original position after completion of the repairs. Underneath these injunctions are engraved four or five Chōḷa inscriptions which originally found a place on that portion of the wall. Thus the inscription under reference, while furnishing the information regarding the condition of the shrine at the time and the interest and devotion cherished for it by the devotees of the deity, exhibits the solicitous care and the patronage extended to it by the kings and the people in those days. The general religious duty and responsibility and obligation of the people in common were reflected in acts of the state which was Hindu in ideals and therefore sympathetic and encouraging, unlike the later alien governments. The date of the king's order permitting the repairs to be carried out is recorded as well as the date of completion and re-engraving in obedience to the directions of the king. This latter date is given as the 22nd day of the month of Chittirai, the week-day being Friday and the star Uttarāshāḍha occurring on that day during the Yādavarāya's 40th year of reign.

In Śaka 1339 a *Mukhamaṇṭapam* was added to the central shrine at Tirumala, the entire building from the stone basement

(*kuṟaḍu*) upto the roof and bent eaves (*stūpi*) and crest including the *Mādhavadāsar—Tirumuttinaḷandal* forming the charity of the minister Mallaṇa or Śrī Mādhavadāsar of Chandragiri, and it was designated *Tirumahāmaṇi-maṇṭapam* (No. 88—T. T.). Sāḷuva Mallayadēva, son of Erṟakampayadēva Mahārāja, arranged in Śaka 1385 for the performance of a *Pavitrōtsavam* for five days in the month of Śrāvaṇa or Āvaṇi in this *Tirumāmaṇi-maṇṭapam* and also constructed another *maṇṭapam* in front of the temple wherein he made provision for an *āsthānam* of the processional image with food-offerings on four days during each of the seven *Brahmōtsavams* held at Tirumala at the time and on the *Tirukkārtikai* day (No. 157—T. T.). Probably the latter refers to the thousand-pillared *maṇṭapam* situated just outside the temple, a portion of which is now converted into lodgings for pilgrims. In Śaka 1404 the *Sthānattār* undertook the construction of a *maṇṭapam* along with *gōpurams* for the merit of Sāḷuva Narasimha. Its situation is not mentioned, but it is likely that it was somewhere at Tirumala. Sāḷuva Narasimha is further credited with the construction of *maṇṭapams* on the bank of the *Tirukkōnēri* and one in the midst of it, the *Nīrāḷi-maṇṭapam* or *Vasanta-maṇṭapam* as it is called in No. 54—T. T., which served on occasions of the floating festival. Two other *maṇṭapams* come to notice from No. 266—T. T. and they are called *Periya-tirumaṇṭapam and Tiruvēṅkaṭamāthan-maṇṭapam.* The processional image was required to be propitiated with food-offerings in the former during the *Adhyayanōtsavam* and in the latter on the 7th day in each of the seven *Brahmōtsavams* held at the time.

Besides *maṇṭapams*, certain towers also come to notice at Tirumala (Nos. 66 and 248—T. T.). In connection with the *Satram* (feeding-house) instituted by Sāḷuva Narasimha, we have a reference in No. 66—T. T. dated in Śaka 1389, to a *gōpuram* at Tirumala built by Sāḷuva Narasimha in which the *Satram* was located. No. 248—T. T. mentions another *gōpuram* at Tirumala whose construction had been undertaken by the *Sthānattār* some time prior to Śaka 1404, for the merit of Sāḷuva Narasimha who confirmed in that year his previous grant of Durgasamudram in Kuḍāvūr-nāḍu made previously in the cyclic year Nandana on the *Utthāna-dvādaśi* day, corresponding to Śaka 1394

(=13-10-1472 A. C.). This village was dedicated as *Tiruppaṇipuram* and was registered in the name of and held by the *Piḷḷaitiruppaṇi-Bhaṇḍārattār* who were authorised to utilise its income for the construction of the *gōpurams* at Tirumala and Tirupati as well as the *Narasimharāya-maṇṭapam* which they had undertaken. The *Agra-gōpura* mentioned in Nos. 269 and 270—G. T. as the work of Maṭla Kumāra-Anantarāja denotes the tower on the summit of the front hill, commonly known as the *Gāli-gōpuram.*

While some kings and chiefs took measures for the extension of the temple at Tirumala, others interested themselves in the decoration of the shrine. Sāḷuva Maṅgidēva Mahārāja is recorded in Nos. 237 and 238—T. T. dated in Śaka 1281 (corresponding to the 6th of July 1352 A. C.) to have covered the *Vimānam* or the tower of the central shrine with gilded plate and to have also placed a gilded *Kalaśam* over it, so as to enhance the grandeur of the temple. In course of time the *Kalaśam* wore out and a fresh one was fixed in the *Kaliyuga* year 5010 (1909 A. C.) (No. 242—T. T.) by the late Bāvājī Rāmalakṣhmaṇadāsji, a brother-disciple of the present *Vichāraṇakarta* of the *Dēvasthānams.*

As at Tirumala, the shrine of Śrī Gōvindarāja in Tirupati seems to have originally been a small one and added to now and then. Its *prākāra* wall itself is peculiarly constructed, being a single one and extended in one direction only, viz., the east, while at Tirumala there are two *prākāras*, one enclosing another. As the *Mukha-maṇṭapam* at Tirumala was called *Tirumahāmaṇi-maṇṭapam*, so the one in Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple was called the *Chitrakūṭa-maṇṭapam* or *Tillaikkuvāyttān-maṇṭapam.* Further east within the enlarged enclosure was constructed the *Āḻvān-maṇṭapam* in Śaka 1445 (No. 43—G.T.). The *Lakshmīdēvi-maṇṭapam* is probably the one going by that name at the present day, lying outside and adjoining the *prākāra* wall on the east, mentioned in No. 48—G.T. In No. 70—G.T. is mentioned *Vasanta-maṇṭapam* commenced by Vaṇ-Śaṭhakōpa Jīyar and finished by Nallār Aṅgāṇḍai. No. 96—G.T. calls the front *maṇṭapam* the *Chitrakūṭa-maṇṭapam.*

The prominent towers in Tirupati are the work of Maṭla Kumāra-Anantarāja. The *Periya-tirugōpuram*, referred to in No. 22—G.T. as the

place where the stationary image of Chakrattāḻvār was installed, is different from the big tower standing about 200 yards to the east of the temple premises. This latter big *gōpuram* bears an inscription in Telugu of Maṭla Anantarāja recording its construction by him for the merit of his father and mother whose figures are carved with names below them on the left side (Nos. 281 and 282—G.T.). Another tower, now commonly called the *Kotta-gōpuram* (the new tower) bears on its inner side a Telugu inscription stating that it was constructed by Maṭla Anantarāja. This is the second tower from the foot of the hill, past the bigger ruined tower just at the foot.

As Maṭla Anantarāja's date falls into the 16th century and as No. 22—G.T. which refers to the *Periya-tirugōpuram* is dated in Śaka 1444, it is unlikely that the tower could indicate the present big *gōpuram* which is the work of Anantarāja. In the absence of the present big *gōpuram*, the older one was perhaps the big one and it was so designated at that time.

19-A. MINOR DEITIES AND SHRINES AT TIRUMALA.

The temple at Tirumala is presided over by Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara and that at Tirupati by Śrī Gōvindarāja. There are certain minor shrines both at Tirumala and Tirupati dedicated to other deities, such as Ādi-Varāha-Perumāḷ, Śrī Narasimha, Śrī Kṛishṇa, Śrī Rāma, Hanumān, and to some of the *āḻvārs* (Vaishṇava saints) and *āchāryas* (religious teachers), and all these shrines are observed to have been administered by the *Sthānattār* of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's temple as its appendages.

I. SRI VARAHASVAMI.

Gnānappirān (Gnāna-Pradan) or Śrī Varāhasvāmi claims precedence over the rest. He is called Ādi-Varāhasvāmi, and the significance of the epithet "ādi" is explained by the tradition that Varāhasvāmi was the original deity at Tirumala. Puranic lore denotes Vēṅkaṭēśa as an interloper who, having seized Ādi-Varāhasvāmi's dwelling on the hill during His temporary absence on a hunt, audaciously expelled Him, but, feeling remorse later on, permitted Him to make a habitation near by, at the

same time enjoining upon His devotees the duty of paying their obeisance first to Varāhasvāmi and then to Himself, and thus making it a condition for them to merit His own grace. Ejected from His original abode, He was permitted to rest on the west bank of the *Svāmi-Pushkariṇi* (the Holy Tank) (No. 200—T.T.). The earliest mention of Śrī Varāhanaiṉār occurs in No. 61—T.T. which records an arrangement made in Śaka 1301 by Aḷagappirānār alias Tirukkalikaṉṟidāsar, one of the Tirupati Śrīvaishṇavas, for offering food to Varāhasvāmi along with *Periya-Perumāḷ* (*Mūla-Mūrti* Vēṅkaṭēśvara) and Malaiyappa (the processional image), on the second day of each of the *Brahmōtsavams* held at Tirumala. Sāḷuva Timmarāja, son of Sāḷuva Mallayadēva Mahārāja, provided in Śaka 1403 for propitiating the deity with two *tiruppōṇakam* daily (No. 196—T.T.). From No. 38—T.T. dated in Śaka 1441 we learn that Malaikiniyaniṉṟa-Perumāḷ, i.e., the processional image Malaiyappa, proceeded to Śrī Varāhasvāmi's temple on five days during each of the eight *Brahmōtsavams* in the year, and *Tirumoḻi*, the devotional songs being the 1084 stanzas composed by Tirumaṅgai-āḻvār, was sung on the occasion.

II. SRI NARASIMHA.

We learn from No. 280—T. T. that Śrī Narasimhasvāmi had been enshrined within the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara and that He was propitiated with *tiruppōṇakam* on the 30 days of the *Tiruppaḷḷi-eḻuchchi* (*i. e. Dhanurmāsam*) and with *atirasa-paḍi* on special occasions, viz., *Śrī-Rāma-Navami*, *Vasanta-Pūrṇima*, *Śrī-Jayanti* and the 7th day of each of the *Brahmōtsavams* at Tirumala. From No. 70—T. T. we note that Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgār had already provided for a holy bath (*abhishēkam*) and offerings for Śrī Narasimha on the *Paṅguni-Amāvāsya* and *Vasanta-Pūrṇima* days. His small shrine is situated within the inner circuit or quadrangle on a raised verandah to the north-east of the central shrine.

III. SRI RAMA.

Śrī Rāma also had a place assigned to Him in the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara but He does not appear to have possessed a separate shrine like Narasimha. In No. 305—T. T. He is referred to as being

seated in the *Sannidhi* (immediate presence) of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara where to this day He is found to be seated. In Śaka 1398 Śrī Rāma had provision made for daily offerings (No. 200—T. T.) and in Śaka 1426 for keeping a lamp before Him for all time (No. 305—T. T.).

IV. SRI KRISHNA.

The presence of Śrī Kṛishṇa in the Tirumala temple is indicated in Nos. 14—T. T. and 58, 84 and 142—G. T. The three latter inscriptions refer to the *Śrī-Jayanti* day and mention the offerings intended for Śrī Kṛishṇa and for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara at the time of Śrī Kṛishṇa's *Avatāra* (birth into this world about midnight), while the former one (No. 14—T. T.) records an arrangement made for offerings to Him on the 5th day in each of the nine *Brahmōtsavams* celebrated at Tirumala during that period.

V. GARUDA.

Though Garuḍa is generally styled *āḻvār*, he does not belong to the class of the saintly personages such as Tirumaṅgai-āḻvār or any others of the Vaishṇava tradition. He is given a divine pedigree with a divine life; he is a divine devotee of God Vishṇu and he exhibits his devotion by carrying his Lord on his back. In all the Vishṇu temples, he has a place assigned directly opposite to the presiding deity. In Tirumala a small shrine had been built for him within the *Tirumāmaṇi-maṇṭapam* just in front of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's shrine (No. 312—T. T.). The above record, dated in Śaka 1434, makes provision for offering four *tiruppōnakam* daily for this Garuḍāḻvān enshrined in the *Tirumāmaṇi-maṇṭapam* and for lighting a lamp of ghee in his presence, together with an offering of one *atirasa-paḍi* on the *dhvajārōhaṇam* day during each of the seven *Brahmōtsavams* at Tirumala.

During *Brahmōtsavams* a flag on which is painted the figure of Garuḍa is raised to the top of the flag-staff in the temple and this function forms the preliminary to the actual festival. Even this figure on the flag required to be propitiated and the occasion for it was the time of the flag being raised to the top of the flag-staff. A number of

offerings intended for this *Garuḍa-dhvajapaṭa* or *Tirukkoḍi-āḻvān* comes to notice from No. 50—T. T.

VI. SENAI-MUDALIYAR.

Vishvakṣēna or Sēnai-Mudaliyār is the commander of the army of Vishṇu, as Chaṇḍikēśvara is the commander of the army of Śiva. In Vishṇu temples He is also recognised as the controller of the temple finances. No particular place is mentioned as being His abode, but we always find Him placed near the processional images in these temples. In No. 253—T. T. He received an offering of one *appa-paḍi* on a certain day at the time of *Iyal-śāttumuṟai* during the *Adhyayanōtsavam* at Tirumala.

19-B. MINOR DEITIES IN SRI GOVINDARAJA'S TEMPLE IN TIRUPATI.

Though we now have two big temples in Tirupati, one for Śrī Gōvindarāja and another for Śrī Rāma, far greater prominence was hitherto given to Śrī Gōvindarāja, and Śrī Rāma was only treated as a minor deity, just like Śrī Gōpāla-Kṛishṇa and Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa-Perumāḷ noticed below. Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple was the central institution in Tirupati and in it were installed a number of deities and Vaishṇava saints.

(a) SRI KRISHNA.

There are two *sanctums* in Śrī Gōvindarājasvāmi's temple in Tirupati, the one directly opposite to the passage through the *gōpurams* and the other adjoining this to the north. The former encloses Śrī Pārthasārathi (Śrī Kṛishṇa as Charioteer), while the latter encloses Śrī Gōvindarāja. From the actual central position of the shrine of Śrī Kṛishṇa or Pārthasārathi, it is to be inferred that He had originally been the presiding deity of the temple, but nowadays we find the shrine itself closed and all worship suspended. It is alleged that the idol was through some cause disfigured and hence His worship ceased.

This event must have occurred at a very remote time, more then 700 years ago, for the inscriptions that are now found engraved on the temple walls, ranging in date from the 13th century onwards with certainty, do not afford even a single reference to Śrī Pārthasārathi. The donations, endowments, offerings, festivals and other temple functions recorded in them are each and all made in the name of Śrī Gōvindarāja. Śrī Kṛishṇa is no doubt mentioned in them, but it is done as the processional image rather than as the original deity (*Mūla-Mūrti*). Local tradition asserts that the processional image of Śrī Pārthasārathi preserved from early times now serves as the processional image of Śrī Gōvindarāja Himself.

The inscriptions do not furnish much information regarding Śrī Kṛishṇa. Each month on the day of Rōhiṇi, His birth star, He was given a *tirumañjanam* (holy bath), *Chandanam* (sandal paste) was smeared to the body and one *tiruppōṇakam* was offered to Him (No. 47—G. T. dated in Śaka 1367). During the two *Brahmōtsavams* celebrated in the Vaikāśi and Āni months, it is Śrī Gōvindarāja that is taken out in procession on all the days of the festival both day and night and on the 5th day forenoon Śrī Gōvindarāja is dressed as *Mōhinī*, the divine damsel, and Śrī Kṛishṇa is made to accompany Him (Nos. 15 and 105—G. T. and 266—T. T.). From No. 31—G. T. we understand that Śrī Kṛishṇa was taken in procession to meet Śūḍikkuḍutta-Nāchchiyār on the *Kanuppaḍi* day, being the last day of her *Mārgaḻinīrāṭṭam* festival. *Uri-aḍi* festival was conducted both at Tirumala and Tirupati signifying Śrī Kṛishṇa's acts of stealth of butter and cheese in His boyhood (No. 87—G. T.). On the *Śrī-Jayanti* day, special *abhishēkam* and *nivēdana* were provided for Him, and His birth was commemorated (No. 97—G. T.).

(b) TIRUVALI-ALVAN OR SUDARSANA.

Tiruvāḻi-āḻvān, Chakrattāḻvān or Sudarśana is the personification of one of the five main weapons of Vishṇu. His *Mūla-Mūrti* is found to have been installed in a small shrine in the second storey of a *maṇṭapa* adjoining the entrance *gōpura*, called in the inscriptions the

Periya-gōpuram (Nos. 22, 154 and 192—G. T. and No. 249—T. T.). His processional image is always stationed near Śrī Gōvindarāja. He accompanies the processional image of Śrī Gōvindarāja to the Āḻvār-tīrtham for *tīrthavāri* or *avabhṛitha* (bath) on the 9th day in each *Brahmōtsavam* in Tirupati celebrated in the months of Vaikāśi and Āni. No. 422—G. T. dated in Śaka 1479 mentions His birth-star Kṛittika and refers to a bath in oil on each Saturday. At the present time, the Pushyami day occurring in Āḍi is observed as the day of His *Śāttumuṟai*. Provision was made for offerings to Him daily and on special occasions, such as the day of *Āḍi-ayanam*, the 30 days of the *Tiruppaḷḷi-Eḻuchchi*, and on a certain day in the Tamil month of Kārtikai.

(c) SENAI-MUDALIYAR OR VISHVAKSENA.

Vishvakṣēna or Sēnai-Mudaliyār had to attend upon His Lord Vishṇu whenever He went out of the temple. During the *Brahmōṭsavams* and other festivals, Śrī Gōvindarāja used to ride through the streets or out into some gardens round about Tirupati in the palanquin or on the horse or other vehicle, and was generally accompanied by Śrī-Dēvī and Bhū-Dēvī, being His two Nāchchimārs, and by Vishvakṣēna (Nos. 15, 69, 83, 100, 110, 158 and 257—G. T.). Along with Śrī Gōvindarāja, He had *tirumañjanam* and *nivēdana* on some of these days. His birth-star was Pūrāḍam, i.e., Pūrvāshāḍha in the month of Arpaśi, and on that day special offerings were provided for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara and Śrī Gōvindarāja (Nos. 247 and 249—T.T. and No. 155—G.T.). On the day of *Vannimaram* festival or *Śamī-pūja*, He rode on the horse-vehicle (No. 258—G.T.).

(d) GARUDALVAN

As at Tirumala, arrangements were made by donors, providing for offerings for the Garuḍa flag at the time of its being raised to the top of the flag-staff during the two *Brahmōtsavams* in Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple in Tirupati held in the Vaikāśi and Āni months. But no mention occurs of Garuḍāḻvān being enshrined in Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple, though one exists at the present time having been constructed within the *Mukha-maṇṭapam* and bears an inscription on the outer face of its wall dated in Śaka 1504 (=16—1—1583 A.C.) (No. 100—G.T.).

19-C. OTHER DEITIES AND SHRINES IN TIRUPATI.

A number of deities are observed to have been installed during the Vijayanagara period in Tirupati and its suburbs round about, and out of them a few of the important ones are noticed below.

I. SRI RAMA OR RAGHUNATHA

Śrī Rāma's temple situated in the northern part of Tirupati is said to have been partly rebuilt three or four generations ago. This renovation probably accounts to some extent for the absence of lithic records in it, with the exception of one single epigraph mentioning the construction and dedication of a wooden car for Raghunātha, i.e., Śrī Rāma, by Kumāra-Rāmānujayyaṅgār for the merit of Achyutarāya Mahārāya in the cyclic year Virōdhi (No. 318—G.T.). All available information relative to this temple comes to us mainly from the inscriptions of Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple situated in the southern part of the town and to a small extent from those of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's temple; and from them we are able to glean its early history stage by stage for nearly a century from the time of its foundation during the period of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha's rule. This late origin of this temple also accounts partly for the absence of inscriptions on its walls, unlike those that are found engraved on the *prākāra* walls of the temples of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara and Śrī Gōvindarāja.

No. 310—G.T. dated in Śaka 1402 and No. 184—G.T., both fragmentary, make it clear that the temple was built and the idol of Śrī Rāma, designated Raghunātha, was consecrated and installed in it in the Śaka year 1402 (=1480 A.C.) by Śrī Śaṭhakōpadāsar Narasiṁharāya Mudaliyār for the religious merit of Narasiṁharāya Uḍaiyar, i.e., Sāḷuva Narasiṁha. A piece of low-lying land, measuring 150 *kuḻi* in the *dēvadāna* village of Avilāli near Tirupati (No. 159—G.T.), was assigned to the temple at the same time so as to serve for the daily worship of Raghunātha. With a view to increasing the yield from the land through an adequate supply of water for it, Śaṭhakōpadāsar excavated, at a cost of 100 *paṇam*, an irrigation channel, pursuant to the permission obtained by him from the *Sthānattār*, i.e., Managers of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's temple, and in accordance with the document secured by him in respect to the

land (*idukku Sthānattār kaiyil vāṅgina niyāgamum inda nilam koṇḍa sādhanamum*) (No. 310—G.T.). Soon after the construction of the temple and installation of Raghunātha in it, Narasiṁharāya Mudaliyār paid into the *Śrī-Bhaṇḍāram*, i.e., the treasury of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's temple, a sum of 1300 *paṇam* forming a capital fund, which was required to be utilised for providing irrigation facilities for the *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* (grant) lands, and stipulated for the propitiation of Raghunātha with an offering prepared of one *marakkāl* of rice measured with the *Chāḷukya-Nārāyaṇan* measure maintained in Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple (No. 184—G.T.). Within three or four decades, some damage occurred to the grant land in Avilāli for which Narasiṁharāya Mudaliyār provided a supply-channel and his son Rāmānujayyan repaired the damage and also assigned additional land for facilitating the worship of Raghunātha (No. 159—G.T.). The epigraph states that the land originally granted as *sarvamānya* was a low-lying land of 150 *kuḷi* and that it was supplemented by a piece of land situated on a higher level. Besides these daily offerings provided for Raghunātha through the endowment of lands originally, one of the *Sabhaiyār* of Tiruchānūr arranged in Śaka 1415, Pramādīcha (=18-1-1494 A.C.), for an offering of one *tiruppōnakam* daily for Him (No. 27—G.T.).

Once the deity was installed and the primary needs of worship were provided for by the consecrator of the idol and his son, certain devotees felt the impulse to arrange for the celebration of festivals for Raghunātha and thereby bring the deity into prominence. So we find a festival celebrated for Raghunātha on *Śrī-Rāma-Navami*, the day of His nativity, and in Śaka 1415, Pramādīcha (=9—3—1494 A.C.), three temple-accountants made provision for the offering of one *tirukka-ṇāmaḍai* to Raghunātha on *Śrī-Rāma-Navami* day and for the offering of one *appa-paḍi* to His processional image at the shrine of Hanumān where He alighted after a procession through the streets (No. 66—G. T.). The inscription also records a provision for the offering of two *tiruppōnakam* to Sītādēviyār on the *Kaṇuppaḍi* day, immediately after ablutions for Her. A similar arrangement for Raghunātha's propitiation with one *appa-paḍi* in a certain *maṇṭapam* on *Śrī-Rāma-Navami* day was made by one Charaṇu-Śeṭṭi, son of Tirumalai Tammu-Śeṭṭi, a merchant residing in the suburb of Narasiṅgarāyapuram in

Tirupati, in Śaka 1416, Ānanda (=24-12-1494 A. C.) (No. 303—T. T.). No. 301—G. T. also refers to some provision for offerings made to Raghunātha on the same holy occasion.

The celebration of a *Brahmōtsavam* for Raghunātha in the month of Paṅguni comes to notice in Nos. 415—G. T. and 667—T. T., and we know from No. 318—G. T. that Kumāra-Rāmānujayyaṅgār constructed in the cyclic year Virōdhi, current with the Śaka year 1451 (=14—1—1530 A. C.), for the merit of Achyutarāya, a wooden car for the procession of Raghunātha on the 8th day of the festival. We are informed from No. 415 that Raghunātha alighted from the car when, during its progress through the streets, it came near the gate of the *gōpuram* named after Tirumalai-Nambi, and received the offerings provided for Him by Śrīnivāsayyaṅgār, son of Kumāra-Tātayyaṅgār. Likewise we note from No. 667 that in the course of the progress of the car Raghunātha was propitiated with one *manōhara-paḍi* at the house of Vēṅkaṭattuṟaivār, son of Malainiṉān-Bhaṭṭar alias Appayyan of Kāśyapa-gōtra, Vaikhānasa-sūtra and Yajuś-śākha, and one of the *Nambimār* (*Archakas*, i. e., temple-priests) worshipping Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara.

The reference to *Adhyayanōtsavam* in No. 249—T. T. dated in Śaka 1430, Vibhava (=20—9—1598 A. C.), shows that it had been conducted for Raghunātha for some years past. Uddaṇḍarāyar Ulagappan, the donor in the record, arranged for offerings for Śrī Rāma on the day of *tuvakkam* (commencement) of the *Adhyayanōtsavam*, on the 6th day, in the course of the procession, at his house situated in the street called after Kumāra-Rāmānujayyan, and on the day of *Śāttumuṟai* (last day of the festival) within the temple of Raghunātha.

A *tiṟuppaḷi-ōḍam-tirunāḷ* (floating festival) was also celebrated for Raghunātha and it would appear that it was only a day's function. In Śaka 1469, Plavaṅga (=17—8—1547 A. C.), Tāḷḷapākam Śiṟu-Tirumala-ayyaṅgār, son of Peri-Tirumalayyaṅgār, a member of the family of hereditary musicians attached to the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara, provided for an offering of one *iḍḍali-paḍi* for Raghunātha on the day of *tiruppaḷi-ōḍam* (No. 354—G. T.). Probably this floating festival was celebrated

as an annexe to another main festival, such as the *Brahmōtsavam*, *Vasantōtsavam* or *Kōḍai-tirunāḷ*, just as it was done for Śrī Gōvindarāja (See page 29 *ante*).

The celebration of a *Kōḍai-tirunāḷ* or summer festival is observed in No. 252—G. T. which records a provision made in Śaka 1462, Śārvari (=14—10—1540 A. C.), by one of the Jīyars of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's temple for the conduct of the same.

In Śaka 1468, Parābhava (=13—1—1547 A. C.), one Chevvunāyaka, son of Siṅga-Nallappan of the *Veḷḷāḷa* caste and a native of Pāṅgu-nāḍu, i.e., Prāṅg-nāḍu ('the eastern district', comprised in the Udaya-giri-rājya), newly started a *Pāḍiyavēṭṭai* festival for Raghunātha at the *maṇṭapam* built by him outside the town to which Raghunātha and Lakshmaṇa-Perumāḷ rode on horses as their vehicles, while Sītādēvi was carried in a palanquin (*pallaki*) (No. 403—G. T.).

Other festive occasions are also noticed in some of these epigraphs. No. 667—T. T. dated in Śaka 1467, Viśvāvasu (=26—11—1545 A. C.), reports that *Kaiśika-purāṇam* was read in the presence of Raghunātha on the *Utthāna-dvādaśi* day and that Archaka Vēṅkaṭat-turaivār provided for offerings to the deity immediately after that function was over. The donor also made provision for an offering of one *tiruppōnakam* to Raghunātha on the day of *Aṛpaśi-ṭūrāḍam*, i.e., the day of the occurrence of the star Pūrvāshāḍha in the Tamil month of Aṛpaśi, which was the birth-star of Sēnai-Mudaliyār or Vishvaksēna, and of 8 *tiruppōnakam* on the full-moon day in the month of Āvaṇi on which occasion the donor performed the *Paśu-bandha* ceremony. No. 244—T.T. mentions that Raghunātha was carried in procession on some holy occasion, to a grove of trees near by, belonging to Narasiṁharāya Mudaliyār, and that He was there propitiated with an offering of one *Śīdai-paḍi* provided by another Charaṇu-Śeṭṭi, son of Periya-Peṅgāṇḍai-Śeṭṭi, in Śaka 1449, Sarvajit (=16-8-1527 A.C.). No. 61—G. T. also refers to offerings made for Raghunātha during some festival and further records that the *Sabhaiyār* of Tiruchānūr had previously installed an idol of Hanumān to the west

of Raghunātha's temple and that they arranged at the time for an offering of green gram to Him every Saturday after His bath.

From the references we get in Nos. 61, 66 and 403—G. T. to Lakshmaṇa, Sīta and Hanumān, it appears that not only the stationary idols of Lakshmaṇa and Sīta were consecrated and installed in the temple simultaneously with that of Raghunātha, but that the processional images in metal representing all the three were also consecrated at the same time. Again as the deities now stand in a group in the temple with Śrī Rāma in the middle, Sīta to His right and Lakshmaṇa to His left, the three together occupying the centre of the sanctum, it is beyond doubt that they had been set up simultaneously. Rāma's *bhakta* Hanumān was stationed some yards away to the west of the temple by the *Sabhaiyār* of Tiruchānūr some time prior to Śaka 1415, the date of No. 66—G. T. which furnishes the earliest reference to him, and it is quite probable that he was also set up in Śaka 1402 (=1480 A. C.) along with Raghunātha (No. 310—G. T.). The religious susceptibility of the Śrīvaishṇava functionaries and devotees was not satisfied with the mere consecration of idols and images without their religious *āchārya* and consequently in Śaka 1419, Piṅgaḷa (=3—6—1497 A.C.), Periya-Perumāḷdāsar installed an idol representing Uḍaiyavar (Śrī Rāmānujāchārya) in Śrī Rāma's temple and arranged for the offering of one *tiruppōnakam* for him daily after its being first offered to Raghunātha (No. 150—G. T.).

No. 296—G. T. also records an arrangement for the offering of 30 *tiruppōnakam*, probably for Uḍaiyavar during the 30 days of *tiruppaḷḷi-eḻuchchi* after its being first offered to Raghunātha, as in the above case. It refers to some provision made previously for the propitiation of Raghunātha and registers the deposit of 500 *paṇam* as the capital which was required to be utilised for creating water facilities in the *dēvadānam* villages. Uḍaiyavar is now found enshrined in a small chamber opening to the south within the inner circuit round Śrī Rāma's sanctum and he must have been installed there originally.

In addition to the festivals and processions arranged for Raghunātha, Lakshmaṇa and Sīta, which served to bring about a

certain amount of public recognition for the temple, the temple was also made a place of resort for the processional images of other deities, especially of Śrī Gōvindarāja on certain days of festivals celebrated for the latter. The *Sabhaiyār* of Tiruchānūr arranged in Śaka 1415, Pramādīcha (=18—1—1494 A. C.), for the sojourn of Śrī Gōvindarāja and His two consorts in the temple of Raghunātha, for Their ablutions and propitiation on the *Viḍāyāṟṟu* day (i.e. last day) during the *Vaikāśi Brahmōtsavam* performed for Śrī Gōvindarāja (No. 27—G. T.). Similarly the three temple-accountants, who provided for offerings for Raghunātha on the *Śrī-Rāma-Navami* day (No. 66—G. T.) stipulated, along with that same provision, for offerings for Gōvindarāja at a certain *maṇṭapam* within Śrī Rāma's temple to which Gōvindarāja proceeded on *Anantan*, i.e., *Ādiśēsha* (the serpent vehicle), during the Vaikāśi and Āni festivals. Nowadays this serpent vehicle is used on the first night and on the second morning for the procession of the deities during *Brahmōtsavams* and probably it was so employed on one of these two days of the festival for the procession of Śri Gōvindarāja to Śrī Rāma's temple during the period to which the record relates.

Śrī Rāma or Śrī Kōdaṇḍa-Rāma, mentioned in the inscriptions as Raghunātha and Periya-Raghunātha, is distinct from Raghunātha installed by Vighnēśvara-Śrīrāman in Śaka 1410, Kīlaka (=12—8—1488 A. C.), in the shrine of Rāmānuja within the premises of Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple, intended to serve as the main object of worship by the *Vaishṇava āchārya* who in his life was a staunch devotee of Śrī Rāma (No. 142—G. T.). The installation of Periya-Raghunātha took place in Śaka 1402 (=1480 A. C.), about 8 years prior to the consecration of the smaller idol of Raghunātha in Uḍaiyavar's shrine within Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple in the Śake year 1410 (=1488 A. C.). As a mark of differentiation, the former was sometimes designated Periya-Raghunātha, while the latter was generally called Raghunātha. Again this was only a stationary idol, not being represented in metal by any processional image, just as Periya-Raghunātha was, for whom alone festivals and processions were instituted from the time of His installation onwards.

In the matter of administration, the temple of Raghunātha was not an entity in itself, just as those of Śrī Kapilēśvara, Nammāḻvār and

the above Uḍaiyavar were, subject however to the general supervision of the *Sthānattār* of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's temple. On the other hand it came within the sphere of direct administration of the *Sthānattār* and was therefore a subsidiary institution attached to the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara. There was not a separate manager for it, answering to the *Kartar* that we find in the case of the quasi-independent units mentioned above, nor did it possess a separate treasury and granary like them. It was in the nature of an annexe to Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple, similar to other minor shrines built in and out of the major temple of Śrī Gōvindarāja. This position is clear from the fact of the *Sthānattār* of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's temple being recognised as the executors of the several charities and services established in Śrī Rāma's temple and from the combination of these charities and services with those pertainig to the temples of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara and Śrī Gōvindarāja.

In the matter of *Pūja*, it would appear that a family of priests was brought down to Tirupati from Udayagiri, as their cognomen shows, for the sole purpose of worship of Śrī Rāma, at the time of His installation, or possibly a family that had already transferred its residence from Udayagiri to Tirupati had been engaged for the service of Śrī Rāma. A prominent member of this family of priests comes to notice from a record of Sadāśiva's time, No. 352—G. T. dated in Śaka 1466, Krōdhi (=16—6—1544 A. C.), which registers the gift by Bhayakāra Rāmappayyar, a Vijayanagara viceroy and minister, of a portion of the donor's share of the *Prasādams* provided by him for Śrī Gōvindarāja, to Śrīnivāsa-Bhaṭṭar, son of Udayagiri Dēvaraya-Bhaṭṭar of Vāśishṭha-gōtra and Āśvilāyana-sūtra, with libations of water in the presence of the deity. This Śrīnivāsa-Bhaṭṭar was the famous commentator of Kāḷidāsa's *Śākuntala-nāṭaka*. Even to this day it is a family of Udayagiri Brāhmaṇas that officiates as the priests of Śrī Rāma's temple, and it is possible that Dēvaraya-Bhaṭṭar and Śrīnivāsa-Bhaṭṭar were two members of this family and, as such, performed the *Pūja* of Śrī Rāma in their time.

II. SRI GOPALA-KRISHNA.

Sāḷuva Gōvindarāja, son of Rāchirāja and brother of Sāḷuva Timma, the famous minister of Kṛishṇadēvarāya, installed Śrī Gōpāla-

Kṛishṇa on the bank of the *Gōvindapperumāḷ-Gōvinda-Pushkariṇi* in Śaka 1445 and provided for offerings of food, cloth, etc., for the deity and for oil for the lamp to be put up in His presence. The processional image of Śrī Gōvindarāja was taken to the *maṇṭapam* of this Gōpāla-Kṛishṇa on the first day of each of the 12 Tamil months, on the 13 *Amāvāsya* days and the 25 *Ēkādaśi* days in the year, and on other special occasions including 13 days in each of the Vaikāśi and Āni *Brahmōtsavams*, and was propitiated with offerings of food (No. 97—G. T.).

III. LAKSHMI—NARAYANA—PERUMAL.

At the present time, Lakshmī—Nārāyaṇa—Perumāḷ is found enshrined in a garden to the south of Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple, and it is possible that this shrine was His abode from the beginning. On certain festival occasions Śrī Gōvindarāja with His consorts, and Sēnai-Mudaliyār and Emperumānār, after procession through the four streets, were installed in the shrine of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa, given a *tirumañjanam* and then propitiated with *nivēdana*. Likewise Śūḍikkuḍutta-Nāchchiyār and Śrī Kṛishṇa were taken to this shrine and propitiated with offerings on some other occasions. Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa Himself was treated to special *nivēdana* on the 7th day of the *Mārgaḷi-nīrāḍal* and on other days. *Adhyayanōtsavam* was conducted for this deity also for a period of twelve days (No. 63—G. T.).

IV. HANUMAN.

Hanumān, though a special devotee of Śrī Rāma, still finds a place beside Śrī Gōvindarāja. He was given a shrine, probably the small one just in front of the temple about 400 yards to the east of it (Nos. 283—T. T. and 87—G. T.). This shrine is stated to have been built by Mādhava-Jīyan (No. 156—G. T. dated in Śaka 1438). Arrangements were made for a *tirumañjanam* and special offerings on Saturdays and offerings alone on the 30 days of the *tiruppaḷḷi-eḻuchchi*.

V. VIRA-NARASIMHA-PERUMAL.

Vīra-Nārasimha-Perumāḷ was enshrined at Śrīnivāsapuram, a suburb of Tirupati (No. 29—G. T.) and one *tiruppōnakam* was arranged

to be offered to Him every night, besides one during noon probably (No. 195—T. T.). There was a *Rāmānujakūṭam* or feeding-house established at this place and a portion of the food offered to Vīra-Nārasimha-Perumāḷ was required to be delivered to this *Rāmānujakūṭam* at night to be partaken of by the people resting there. Special offerings were provided for this deity on *Śrī-Jayanti*, *Tirukkārtikai*, *Tai-Pūśam*, *Vaikāśi-Viśākam* and other days. Śrī Kṛishṇa was taken to this shrine during the two *Brahmōtsavams* in Vaikāśi and Āni, probably on the fifth day in each of them, and offered one *atirasa-paḍi*.

VI. ALARMELMANGAI-NACCHIYAR AT TIRUCHANUR.

The two or three references available for this goddess only point out to Her *āaiṭṭ-tirunakshatram*, *i.e.*, the annual observance of the birth-asterism, being *Uttirāḍam* or *Uttarāshāḍha* occurring in the Tamil month of Kārtikai, on which day She was taken to the *Padmasarakkōnēri* and offered *nivēdana* there. This falls on the *Tīrthavāri* or the *Pañchami—tīrtham* day, being the 9th day during Her *Brahmōtsavam* celebrated in Tiruchānūr in that month (No. 149—G. T.).

VII. ACHYUTA—PERUMAL.

The existence of a deity by name Achyutapperumāḷ is brought to our notice by two epigraphs in the present collection, No. 140—G.T. dated in Śaka 1458 and No. 317—T.T. dated in Śaka 1460, both falling within the reign of king Achyutarāya of Vijayanagara. The first of these records a provision made by one of the *Nagarattār* of Kṛishṇarāya-paṭṭaṇam, a suburb of Chandragiri, for certain offerings for this deity on the day of the *Pāḍiyavēṭṭai* festival celebrated for Śrī Gōvindarāja, at the *Pāḍiyavēṭṭai-maṇṭapam* built by the donor. The second one, a much damaged inscription, which is dated two years later, mentions the names Achyutarāyar, Achyutapperumāḷ and Achyutarāyapuram. These three names occurring in successive lines in the same epigraph seem to admit the possibility of an inference as to the probable installation of Achyuta-Perumāḷ in Achyutarāya-puram by king Achyutarāya. This is confirmed by an inscription in the later collection (No. 355—G.T.) belonging to

Achyutarāya himself. It is dated in Śaka 1460, the cyclic year Viḷambi, and records the information that Achyutarāya not only constructed a temple for Achyuta-Perumāḷ but also formed a *Brāhmaṇa-agrahāram* consisting of one hundred and twenty inhabited houses built round this new temple in the land comprised in the village of Kōṭṭūr which was a *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* of Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān, having paid 2400 *naṟpaṇam* into the *Śrī-Bhaṇḍāram* (the temple-treasury) as the price of the land in the village occupied for the above said purpose. This newly established *Brāhmaṇa-agrahāram* was denominated *Achyutarāya-puram* and it formed a suburb of Tirupati on its north side.

Though definite information is furnished in this record No. 355 —G.T. *seriatim* on these topics in the course of a grant by Achyutarāya of the one hundred dwellings out of the total of one hundred and twenty to their respective occupants, bestowing on them full rights of sale, mortgage, exchange, division, &c., yet its date, viz., Śaka 1460, cannot be taken to indicate the actual date of the installation of Achyuta-Perumāḷ, since we have a mention of this deity in the earlier epigraph already noticed, No. 140—G. T. which is dated in Śaka 1458. The actual date must therefore be still earlier, probably within a year or two immediately following Achyutarāya's accession to the throne of Vijayanagara in Śaka 1452.

Regarding this deity, nothing more is known. But it may be surmised, in the absence of any reference to Him in earlier times, that He was newly consecrated and installed by Achyutarāya, sometime between Śaka 1452 and Śaka 1458, and not transplanted from an anterior abode to Achyutarāya-puram, and that the names both of the deity and of the suburb were adopted from the king's own name.

VIII. SRI KAPILESVARASVAMI.

Śrī Kapilēśvara's shrine is situated at the foot of the hill about a mile and a half to the north of Tirupati. In front of this shrine is a small tank, commonly known as the *Kapila-tirtham*, being excavated in rock and nicely constructed with dressed granite stone steps, and receiving during the rainy season the water flowing down in a

torrent from the hill. The entire scenery comprising the high hill rising in successive plateaux with a torrential sonorous stream flowing down from it and the shrine standing just at its foot under the canopy of a boulder overhanging it, with the green grass, shrubs and trees dotting the hill-side and the jungle encircling the shrine, all these together present a pleasing sight to the eye and absorb the mind, through the serenity of the atmosphere and the verdant pasture of the hill and the wood-land round about. Consequently it has been considered as the fit abode for *Yōgis* or hermits who are believed to reside in a cave in the vicinity of this tank, having given up their worldly existence by reason of their detestation of its inherent vices and ever meditating upon the Absolute Being who is devoid of qualities (cf. No. 201—G.T.).

As in the case of the shrines of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara and Śrī Gōvindarāja, Śrī Kapilēśvara's shrine also was a small one originally and was added to in course of time. This is made clear from No. 210—G.T. inscribed on a slab in the *Mukha-maṇṭapam* of the temple, recording the construction of the *Mukha-maṇṭapam* and *Tirumāḷigai* by one Brahmamārāyan Munaiyadaraiyan alias Rāyan-Rājēndra-Chōḷan, the head of Kōṭṭūr (*Kōṭṭūr-Uḍaiyān*). From the surname of the donor it is probable that he was a royal officer holding some office under Rājēndra —Chōḷa I, and in all likelihood that of the head-man of Kōṭṭūr, a village no longer existing, but in those days and even up to the time of Achyutarāya flourishing to the south-east of Śrī Kapilēśvara's shrine (cf. No. 355—G.T.) and including that shrine itself. Until the time of Achyutarāya we do not again hear of Śrī Kapilēśvara's shrine and the tank. Meanwhile Vaishṇavism had gained firm ground and its influence came to be felt throughout the land. The kings of the second Vijaya-nagara dynasty were converted to Vaishṇavism and though they were not antagonistic to other forms, still they had special leaning towards it and their example had also been followed by those surrounding them, the state officials and others. Even the common people had been absorbed in great numbers into its fold. And especially in Tirupati we find it exhibiting an exuberant growth and an aggressive attitude towards the temple of Śrī Kapilēśvara and of His devotees. Certain monastic institutions came to be founded, such as the *mathas* of the

Jīyars of the several sects of the Śrīvaishṇavas, with their head-quarters or branches at Tirupati and Tirumala. The local Vishṇu temples had been extended and Vishṇuite deities had been installed in these old temples or new temples were constructed for them. The Vaishṇava *āḻvārs* and *āchāryas* had not been neglected. They had been deified and enshrined and provision for their worship daily and on special occasions made in each case. It may be remarked that during the period of rule of the second and the third Vijayanagara dynasties the Vaishṇava religion reached its zenith. And the aggressive attitude referred to resulted in depriving Śrī Kapilēśvara nominally of His tank and giving it over to the possession of Sudarśana-āḻvār. In other words, the old name of *Kapila-tīrtham* had been discarded and the tank was denominated *Chakra-tīrtham or Āḻvār-tīrtham* and Sudarśana stones, in indication of the dedication of the tank to Vishṇu, were also planted with inscriptions in three languages, Telugu, Tamil and Kanarese, in Śaka 1453 in the four corners of the tank. The jealous act together with the construction of the stone steps and the *maṇṭapams* on either side has been claimed to grant Achyutarāya the four traditional ends of mortal life. This only exhibits the change of spirit and attitude which came over the followers of the Vaishṇava faith since the end of the 15th century when the Vijayanagara rulers became converted to that faith and began to patronise it. All the same, credit is due to Achyutarāya for the services he rendered to the tank in having it constructed strongly with granite stone steps and erected *Sandhyāvandana-maṇṭapams* on either side, and thus made it attractive to the people for resorting to it for bath and meditation, if not daily, at least occasionally.

The next reference to Śrī Kapilēśvara's shrine brings to notice a mishap which overtook a part of it about Śaka 1484, during the reign of Sadāśivarāya, and the means adopted for its restoration immediately. One of the *Emperumān-aḍiyārs* of Tirupati, by name Śevvu-sāni, installed an image of Vighnēśvara and, with the object of arranging for His daily worship and offerings and an evening lamp, she paid 200 *paṇam* to form a fund, from the interest on which these charges could be met. Unfortunately, shortly after this donation, it rained and thundered

heavily and, through the fall of a thunder-bolt, the walls and the roof of the kitchen attached to Śrī Kapilēśvara's shrine collapsed. On this mishap, Rāchavīḍu-Nāyakar, probably a royal officer, ordered the utilisation of this principal sum deposited by Śevvusāni for the renovation of the kitchen, and endeavoured to have her object of propitiating the deity daily with offerings, garland, and light fulfilled through some other means. The way was indicated by the then prevailing practice of investing funds in permanent sources of income such as lakes, tanks and channels for irrigation purposes, and, though a little devious, the *Sthānattār* of Śrī Kapilēśvara's shrine agreed to the arrangement by which the objects of the donor were to be effected, when her fund was utilised for the repair of the kitchen.

The last record pertaining to Śrī Kapilēśvara's shrine is of recent date, bearing Śaka 1787 (=1866 A.C.). During the years intervening between Śaka 1453 and Śaka 1787, the stone pavement of the *tīrtham* and the *maṇṭapams* fell into disrepair and required to be set right. The work was accomplished by Śrī Mahant Dharmadāsjī, a predecessor in office of the present *Vichāraṇakarta* of the *Dēvasthānams*, and the repairs then executed stand good to this day (No. 207—G.T.).

21. ALVARS.

The extent to which Vaishṇava influence pervaded the ritual and worship in the temples at Tirumala and Tirupati is indicated not only by the Vaishṇava deities installed in these temples but also by the images of Vaishṇava saints and preceptors installed in them from time to time and worshipped therein.

Twelve *āḻvārs* and Rāmānuja find mention in the epigraph No. 200—T.T. wherein provision was made for the recitation of particular portions of the *Prabandham* on the days of the annual birth-star of each of them. Prominence was here given to Śrī Rāmānuja by his birth-star being observed each month for eleven months in the year besides the celebration for twelve continuous days of his *Adhyayanōtsavam* in the Tamil month of Chittirai, when on each of these days a *tiruvōlakkam*

or *āsthānam* was held. The list of the *āḻvārs* in this epigraph was not compiled with an eye to their age, seniority or chronological order, but rather as to the convenience of routine in the temple. The temple business would be much facilitated if the days in each successive month of the year on which the birth—stars of the *āḻvārs* occur are noted, and for this reason Rāmānuja's name stands foremost, since his annual birth-star *Ārdrā* falls in the Tamil month of Chittirai, the first month of the Tamil calendar. The *Adhyayanōtsavam* conducted for twelve days derives its significance from this annual birth-star, with reference to which these days are fixed so that the 12th day may coincide with the day of the star *Ārdrā* in the month of Chittirai. It is to be noted in this connection that none of the *āḻvārs* has an image of his installed at Tirumala and in order to obviate the anomaly or incongruity of having to propitiate formless and homeless saints, the device was found by which on the days of the *āṭṭai-tirunakshatram* of each of them, the offerings were all made first to Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa and then to Rāmānuja in his own shrine, with the recitation of the portions of the *Prabandham*. Nammāḻvār's annual birth-star *Viśākha* occurred in the month of Vaikāśi and on this occasion his *Tiruvāymoḻi* was sung. Periyāḻvār's star *Svāti* occurred in Āni and *Pallāṇḍu* and Periyāḻvār's *Tirumoḻi* were sung. Similarly for the others :—Śūḍikkuḍutta-Nāchchiyār's star *Pūrva-Phalguni* or *Pubba* in the month of Āḍi, and *Tiruppāvai* and *Nāchchiyār-Tirumoḻi* were sung ; Poygaiyāḻvār's star *Śravaṇam* in Arpaśi with *Vaiyantagaḻi* (the first) *Tiruvantādi* ; Pūdattāḻvār's star *Kēṭṭai* or *Dhanishṭha* in Arpaśi with *Anpētakaḻi* (the second) *Tiruvantādi* ; Pēyāḻvār's star *Śatabhisham* in Arpaśi with *Tirukkaṇḍēn* (the third) *Tiruvantādi* ; Tirumaṅgaiyāḻvār's *Kṛittika* in Kārtikai with *Periya-Tirumoḻi* ; Tiruppānāḻvār's *Rōhiṇi* in Kārtikai with *Amalanātharpirān (Tiruvāymoḻi)* ; Toṇḍaraḍippoḍiyāḻvār's *Jyēshṭha* in Mārgaḻi with *Tirumālai* and *Tiruppaḷḷi—Eḻuchchi* ; Tirumaḻiśeyppirān-āḻvār's *Makha* in Tai with *Tiruchchanda-Viruttam* and *Nānmukan-Tiruvantādi* ; Śrī Kulaśēkharapperumāḷ's *Punarvasu* in Māśi with *Perumāḷ-Tirumoḻi*, and Śrī Madhurakavi-āḻvār's *Chitta* in Chittirai with *Kaṇṇiṉuṇ-Śiṟuttāmbu.*

Towards the proper conduct of all the afore-said services, Śrī Śaṭhakōpadāsar Narasimharāya Mudaliyār, one of the managers of the

temple, instituted a capital fund of 5200 *paṇam* in Śaka 1398 and stipulated that this sum might be invested in the excavation and repair of the irrigation sources in the villages belonging to the temple and the food-offerings made from the increased yield obtained thereby.

In Tirupati among these *āḻvārs* we find that Tirumaṅgaiyāḻvār, Kulaśēkharāḻvār, Periyāḻvār and Nammāḻvār were enshrined, the first in Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple a short time prior to the 19th year of the reign of Rājarāja III (=1235 A.C.) (Nos. 126—G.T. and 94—T.T.); Nammāḻvār beside Śrī Kapilēśvara's temple at the foot of the hill, sometime in the 13th century, if not later (No. 202—G.T.); and Nammāḻvār, Periyāḻvār and Kulaśēkharāḻvār in Tirupati sometime before Śaka 1407, the date of the inscription referring to the *Adhyayanōtsavam* of these four *āḻvārs* (No. 70—G. T.).

TIRUMANGAIYALVAR.

Tirumangaiyāḻvār who is called *Kārāḻar-karpakam* (i.e. one who showers blessings like the clouds) in No. 126—G. T. was consecrated and installed by the *Periya-nāṭṭār* who, however, omitted to provide for his daily worship. This state of things could not be allowed to continue nor could any existing provision be diverted to this end. It was essential that he should have an independent provision, and with this object four persons probably connected with the management of the temple business petitioned the king for provision being made for the *āḻvār's* offerings, etc., and the king was pleased to issue oral orders granting their request. The order was given effect to by the assembly of Tirukkuḍavūr by assigning a piece of land yielding five *tumbu* of grain which was directed to be collected along with the *kaḍamai* (income) of Śrī Gōvindapperumāḷ by the persons who managed the *Śrī-Bhaṇḍāram* of Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān. The document was attested by the *Periyanāṭṭu-vāḻān* on behalf of the *Periya-nāṭṭār.*

A short time after this, Siṅgaya-Daṇṇāyakkan, a Daṇāyakankōṭṭai chief, surnamed *Immaḍi-Rāhuttarāyan*, a general under Tiruvēṅkaṭarātha Yādavarāya, a Hoysaḷa subordinate of the 14th century, arranged for the offering of one *tiruppōṇakam* daily for Tirumaṅgaiyāḻvār. In the

Śaka year 1407 provision was made for his offerings on the *Śāttumuṟai* day of his *Tiruvadhyayanam* (No. 70—G. T.). During the reign of Kṛishṇarāya, a certain devotee (whose name is lost) provided for offerings in the name of Kṛishṇarāya's queen Chinnāji-amman, on the day of the *āṭṭai-tirunakshatram* of Tirumaṅgaiyāḻvār (No. 149—G.T.). A similar provision was made in Śaka 1434 for offering three *attirasappaḍi* to Śrī Gōvindarāja during the three days of *Tiruvadhyayanam-Śāttumuṟai* of the *āḻvar* (No. 267—T.T.). We also note from this inscription that this *āḻvār* possessed land and on this land the donor had grown a grove of trees and had besides constructed a *maṇṭapam* in which on certain days Śrī Gōvindarāja was propitiated with offerings. On the day of the *Tiruvāymoḻi-tuvakkam* during his *Adhyayanōtsavam*, he was presented a *parivaṭṭam* and offered an *appa-paḍi*, *chandanam*, betel-leaves and nuts sent from the Tirumala temple (No. 118—G.T.). Since Tirumaṅgaiyāḻvār had been enshrined within the premises of Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple, the managers of this latter temple looked after the affairs of the *āḻvār's* shrine also, and there was no separate organisation for the purpose, just as there was a separate organisation in the case of Nammāḻvār's shrine near Śrī Kapilēśvara's temple and in that of Rāmānuja's shrine in spite of its location within the temple of Śrī Gōvindarāja.

NAMMALVAR NEAR KAPILA-TIRTHAM.

A Samskṛit verse in the *Mandākrānṭā* metre (No. 201—G.T.), partly covered by a stone pillar, found engraved on the outer face of the inner wall of Nammāḻvār's shrine situated near the *Kapila-tirtham*, records the existence, probably at the foot of the hill and in the vicinity of the lake, of a certain *muni* who possessed divine knowledge (*divya-gnānam*) and who, perceiving that the times were agitated and confused by *Kali*, felt compassion for the mortals and initiated them in *Brahma-Vidyā*, the knowledge of the Supreme Spirit. From the position of the inscription it may be inferred that the *muni* represents Nammāḻvār who was installed in the shrine and the teaching of *Brahma-Vidyā* indicates the propagation of the philosophy of *Bhakti* through his religious discourses and lectures and the composition of his

Tiruvāymoḻi, a work of about 1100 stanzas in Tamil, forming part of the *(Nā'āyira) Divya-Prabandham*, the gospel of the Tamils.

As has been noted above Nammāḻvār's shrine seems to have been built sometime during the 13th century at the earliest. The construction of the *āḻvār's vimānam*, i. e., the pinnacle over the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, the *maṇṭapam* (porch) and the *māḷigai* (tabernacle or edifice round about) is recorded in an epigraph found engraved on the wall of Nammāḻvār's shrine near the *Kapila-tīrtham*, as being the charity (*dharman*) of Vāneḍuttakaiyaḷagiyār (*alias*) Pallavarāyar, a native of Tuñjalūr situated in the Naḍuvir-kūṟu, a sub-division of Miḻalai-kūṟṟu which was a division of the Pāṇḍya-maṇḍalam. This donor Vāneḍuttakaiyaḷagiyār is known to have planted a flower-garden called *Rāmānujan-tirunandavanam* at Nandalūr in the Cuddapah district in the 9th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, corresponding to the cyclic year Pārthiva (Madras Ep. Coll. No. 614 of 1907). In the next year he is recorded to have made a gift of land at the same place (*Ibid*, No. 592 of 1907). The date is equivalent to 1285—86 A. C. and consequently the Nammāḻvār shrine must have been constructed about this time, i. e., in the last quarter of the 13th century. As in the case of Tirumaṅgaiyāḻvār, Nammāḻvār had *Tiruvadhyayanam-Śāttumuṟai* celebrated for twelve days. (No. 267—T. T.).

Further provision during the same occasion was made by one Paṭṭarpirānayyan, one of the *Śāttāda-Ēkāki-Śrīvaishṇavas*, in Śaka 1436, for offerings on the 11th day, being the day of the *Kaṇṇinuṇ-Śiṟuttāmbu-Śiṟappu*, by a deposit of 150 *paṇam* (No. 203—G.T.); and in Śaka 1445, for offerings on the 7th and 8th days being those of *Kaṅgulum-Pagal-Śiṟappu* and *Neḍumārkaḍimai-Śiṟappu* respectively, by a second deposit of 300 *paṇam* for the two days together (No. 204—G.T.). That is to say, on these days of the *Adhyayanōtsavam* of Nammāḻvār, the particular portions of the *Prabandham* referred to were to be recited and the *āḻvār* propitiated with food-offerings. From the above two epigraphs we learn that Nammāḻvār possessed property in the form of land in the village of Iḷamaṇḍiyam near Tirupati and this was comprehensively known as *Nammāḻvār-Paṭṭaḍai* and was irrigated from the tank by means of a

channel which was also the exclusive property of Nammāḻvār. The above amount of 450 *naṟpaṇam* was to be utilised for repairing this channel so as to maintain adequate supply of water from the tank for cultivating the said *paṭṭaḍai*. The *āḻvār's* temple had its own treasury, separate from the *Śrī-Bhaṇḍāram* of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara, located in Tirupati and managed by the *Sthānattār* of the temple. Just as there was a separate *bhaṇḍāram* for this Nammāḻvār temple, so was there a separate provision-store attached to the same, and the entire affairs managed by a separate individual who was known as its *Kartar*. But it would appear that his discretion was limited, owing to the nature of the general authority of the *Sthānattār* to supervise and control the affairs of these minor shrines. The manager of this minor shrine could not even independently receive moneys paid by devotees but had to do so in the presence and with the approval of the *Sthānattār*. The initiative in all matters came from the *Sthānattār*, such that the acknowledgment of the sums of money deposited by the devotees together with the arrangement required to be made for the fulfilment of their objects was carried on under the directions of the *Sthānattār*. This is as much as to say that the *Sthānattār* formed the central authority, while the individual managers of the minor shrines were the mere executors of their orders. An identical relationship existed between the *Sthānattār* and the manager of Rāmānuja's shrine built within Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple. The provisions required for the daily and special offerings in these shrines were supplied from the stores maintained in themselves.

PERIYALVAR.

From the references that we get in Nos. 70 and 118—G.T. dated respectively in the Śaka years 1407 and 1458 to the celebration of the *Tiruvadhyayanam* of Periyāḻvār, we infer that he had already been enshrined before Śaka 1407. But the particular place is not known. It is probable that it refers to his shrine within the inner court-yard of Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple where he now abides. In No. 70—G.T. provision was made for offerings on his *śāttumuṟai* day, while No. 118—G.T. provided for the presentation to him of a *mukhattu-iḍai (Parivaṭṭam*, i. e., vestments of an idol tied round the head) and one *appa-paḍi, chandanam*, betel-leaves and nuts, all sent from Tirumala after being previously offered to Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān. In Śaka 1557, Prativādibhayaṅkaram Aṇṇaṅgarāchārya arranged for the offering of 13 *dōsai-paḍis* on the 13 days of *Svāti*, the birth-star of Periyāḻvār, occurring in the year.

NAMMALVAR AND KULASEKHARALVAR IN TIRUPATI.

Nos. 70 and 118—G.T. record provision for the celebration of the *Adhyayanōtsavam* for Nammāḻvār, Śrīkulaśēkharāḻvār, Periyāḻvār, Tirumaṅgaiyāḻvār and Uḍaiyavar. It therefore appears that both Nammāḻvār and Kulaśēkharāḻvār had also been enshrined sometime prior to Śaka 1407 (No. 70—G.T.), in all likelihood in Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple where we find them at the present day, just as Periyāḻvār, Tirumaṅgaiyāḻvār and Uḍaiyavar had been enshrined in the same temple. On their *śāttumuṟai* days they were offered one *appa-paḍi* each in the *Vasanta-maṇṭapam* built in front of Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple (No. 70—G. T.), and on the *Tuvakkattunāḷ* or the commencing days of their *Adhyayanōtsavams* it was arranged to send a *Parivaṭṭam* (*Mukkattu-iḍai*), one *appa-paḍi, chandanam*, etc., from Tirumala for being offered to them (No. 118—G. T.).

NADAMUNI-ALVAR.

Nāḍamuni-āḻvār had a *kōyil* erected for him (No. 63—G.T.) but its exact situation is not mentioned. It is certain that it was not within Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple but was outside it in one of the streets in Tirupati (No. 230—T.T.). There is at present a shrine of Nādamuni-āḻvār in a street named after him, almost in the centre of the town, and it is probable that the above references are to this shrine. We also note that this shrine contained an image of Śrī Rāma (*Chakravarti-tirumakaṉār*, i. e., the emperor Daśaratha's son), and that on the day of *Śrī Rāma-Navami* two *dōsai-paḍis* were arranged to be prepared in Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple, conveyed to the *Nādamuni-āḻvār-kōyil* and offered to Śrī Rāma.

SUDIKKUDUTTA—NACHCHIYAR.

Āṇḍāḷ, surnamed Śūḍikkuḍutta-Nāchchiyār, the great devotee of Śrī Raṅganātha of Śrīraṅgam, was deified as the consort of Śrī Raṅganātha, a special *avatār* of Vishṇu, and worshipped as such. The tradition came to be adopted in other Vishṇu temples and we find her image consecrated and installed in Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple also. Inscription No. 31—G. T. dated in Śaka 1451 records the institution of the *Mārgaḷi-Nīrāṭṭam* festival for her for seven days upto *Kanuvin-nāḷ*, i.e., from the 24th day to the 30th and the last day of the Mārgaḷi month, the latter being the day immediately preceding the *Makara-Saṅkrānti*. The 23rd of *Mārgaḷi* was the *aṅkurārpaṇam* day and the goddess was given a double bath, the *adhivāsa-tirumañjanam*, and the *pañchāmṛita-tirumañjanam* (i. e. the bath in the mixture of the five things, viz., milk, curds, ghee, sugar and honey), and then propitiated with offerings of food. During the succeeding seven days she was taken in procession every morning to a *maṇṭapam* on the bank of the *Gōvinda-Pushkariṇi* and in the evening taken back to the temple and made to repose in her chamber. On the *Kanuvu* day she was bathed in the *Gōvinda-Pushkariṇi* and was then offered food. As on the *aṅkurārpaṇam* day, she was given a special bath on the *Kanuvu* day. As usual she returned to the temple in the evening distributing on the way *mañjaḷ* (turmeric), *chandanam* (sandal-paste) and betel-nuts and leaves to the married women. In the course of the procession, Śrī Kṛishṇa was taken out from the temple by the *sabhaiyār*, so as to meet her on the way. On the *Saṅkramam* (*Makara-saṅkrānti*) day she was seated in the *Uñjal-maṇṭapam* just outside the temple and was offered *nivēdana*.

22. SRI RAMANUJA.

Tradition records certain incidents in the life of Śrī Rāmānuja connected with Tirupati and its temples. He is said to have installed the idol of Śrī Gōvindarāja, as well as the images of certain *āḻvārs* in Tirupati, decided the dispute as to the Śaiva or Vaishṇava nature of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa, and directed the cultivation of flower-gardens at Tirumala, while, according to the *Guruparampara*, he is stated to have also received *Rāmāyaṇa-upadēśa* from his famous *guru* Śrīśaila-Pūrṇa or Tirumalainambi

at Tirumala and henceforward become a staunch devotee of Śrī Rāma. Leaving out the question of contention, it may be remarked that it is quite within reason to state that the other two subjects might have received impetus from him. It is through his exhortation that Ānandāḻvān, his prime disciple, is said to have offered his life-service to Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara in the matter of growing flowers at Tirumala for the deity's decoration. At any rate, so far as can be verified from epigraphical evidence, the impetus that Rāmānuja gave to the cultivation of flower-gardens had not immediately been quite effective. For, during the 13th century, we come across only a very few of them, and almost all the recorded ones belong to the Vijayanagara period and that to the Second dynasty of its rulers. The revival in the matter of forming flower-gardens, if it is such, dates only from the time of Sāḷuva Narasimha and continues to the time of Sadāśiva.

Out of the *Āḻvārs* we have noted above, the images of only two of them were installed in Tirupati sometime in the 13th century, viz., those of Tirumaṅgaiyāḻvār in Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple and Nammāḻvār near Śrī Kapilēśvara's temple at the foot of the hill.

There is an inscription, No. 10—G.T., in *Samskṛit* verse in the *Sragdharā* metre referring to a consecration ceremony performed for Śrī Gōvindarāja. The date is given in a chronogram which works out to Śaka 1389. It records that on an auspicious day during this Śaka year Śrī Gōvindarāja was bathed in the holy waters possessing enough powers to destroy the sins of the three worlds. These purificatory ablutions are said to have been conducted in accordance with the directions of "Rāmānujārya." Even if this "Rāmānujārya" should be taken to refer to Śrī Rāmānujāchārya, the Bhāshyakārar, and to none else of a later date, the record merely mentions that the rites were conducted in consonance with the directions of Rāmānuja on the subject of consecration, either embodied in books or handed down through oral tradition. From the inscriptions we find that a flower-garden (No. 236—T.T.) and a lake (Nos. 311 and 340—T.T.) at Tirumala were named after Rāmānuja. Though the position of the garden is not given, the position of the tank is mentioned as being on the way leading to

Chandragiri from Tirumala. Nowadays the only tank that lies by the Chandragiri route is the fresh-water tank known as the *Āḻvār-cheruvu*, and the *Rāmānujan-ēri* or *Rāmānujapputtēri* must refer to some other tank in its vicinity.

Images of Rāmānuja had been installed in Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's temple at Tirumala and in the temples of Śrī Gōvindarāja and Śrī Rāma in Tirupati. An inscription of Śaka 1419 (No. 150—G. T.) records that an image of Uḍaiyavar (Rāmānuja) had been installed in the shrine of Periya-Raghunāthan, i.e., the temple of Śrī Rāma in the northern part of the town, (as distinct from Raghunāthan installed in the shrine of Rāmānuja within Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple) by Periyaperumāḷdāsar, the manager of the *Piṉṉeṉṟavilli-tirunandavanam*, a disciple of Periya-perumāḷ Jīyar and one of the *Ēkāki-Śrīvaishṇavas* of Tirumala, and that on the date of the record provision was made for his daily food-offerings. In all likelihood, this arrangement for offerings was made immediately on the completion of the installation ceremonies for Rāmānuja's image, and much time had not intervened between the installation of the image and the arrangement for offerings. Thus it was almost in Śaka 1419 that Rāmānuja's image had been enshrined in Śrī Rāma's temple. But in the other two cases the date cannot be definitely known. No. 143—G T. is the earliest in date to give a reference to *Emperumānār-kōyil*. It is dated in the 15th year, wrongly put in as the 50th year, of the reign of Vīra-Nārasimha Yādavarāya, corresponding to the cyclic year Vikrama, which was equivalent to 1220 A. C. This much can therefore be stated with certainty that by 1220 A. C. an image of Rāmānuja had been enshrined in Tirupati. The epigraph under reference registers the services and the charity of the Śrīvaishṇavas in the matter of a light and flowers in the *Emperumānār-kōyil*. Several donors contributed at different times for his propitiation daily and on special occasions. Śrī Śaṭhakōpadāsar-Narasimharāya-Mudaliyār provided in Śaka 1398 (No. 189—G. T.) for the offering of one *appa-paḍi*, one *tiruppōṉṟkam* and one *vaḍai-paḍi* daily for Uḍaiyavar-Emperumānār, besides one *appa-paḍi* on the day of *Tiruvādirai* (*Ārdrā*) star in the month of Chittirai being his *āṭṭai-tirunakshatram*, in addition to one *tiruvōlakkam* which he had already arranged during the previous year, i.e., Śaka 1397, for being offered on

this same day counted as the *Śāttumuṟai* day during the 12 days of his *Adhyayanōtsavam* (No. 200—T. T. and No. 144—G. T.), and on the *Ārdrā* days in each month of the year accompanied by a holy bath for him.

In the latter year, i.e., Śaka 1397 (No. 145—G. T.), one Amudan-Tiruvēṅkaṭayyan deposited money for having offerings made to Uḍaiyavar on the 5th day of the *Adhyayanōtsavam* when *Ārā-amudu*, a set of ten stanzas composed by Nammāḻvār, was recited. The primary requisities having been so far satisfied, the next concern was with regard to worship and offerings on special occasions. Rāmānuja having been devoted to Śrī Rāma in particular, it was considered desirable to have an image of Śrī Rāma installed in his shrine so as to receive worship from Rāmānuja as well as formally to receive first the offerings intended for Rāmānuja. This was accomplished (No. 142—G. T.) in Śaka 1411 by Vighnēśvara Śrīrāman, an accountant in the temple, who arranged to propitiate this Raghunātha (Śrī Rāma) daily with *Sahasranāma-archana* and an offering of two *tiruppōnakams*, besides other varieties of food on certain important days. Thus Bhāshyakār (Rāmānuja) received a holy bath and offerings on some festive occasions (No. 100—G. T.) and also on the *Saṁkrānti* day, i.e., *Makara-saṁkrānti*, the winter-solstice occurring in January (No. 267—T. T.).

On three days was Śrī Gōvindarāja taken with His consorts to the *Uḍaiyavar-kōyil*, while similar honour was accorded to Sēnai-Mudaliyār on some other occasion (No. 155—G. T.). An epigraph (No. 63—G. T.) records a procession for Emperumānār in conjunction with Śrī Gōvinda-rājasvāmi, His two consorts and Sēnai-Mudaliyār. This would imply that, besides the stationary idol of Śrī Rāmānuja enshrined in Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple, there was also a processional image which could conveniently be taken out in procession.

From epigraphs Nos. 144 and 145—G. T. we find that Rāmānuja's shrine stood in the same relation to Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple, as did Nammāḻvār's shrine. Neither of them formed a part of the major temple, nor was each independent to manage its own affairs. As in

the case of the Nammāḻvār shrine, there was a *Karta* (manager) for Rāmānuja's shrine and it is probable that he was a nominee of the *Sthānattār*. The manager's action was so far circumscribed that he was obliged to act in all matters on the advice and suggestion of the *Sthānattār* who also formed the witnesses for the receipt of donations by him. Rāmānuja's shrine had a separate treasury which received all money-offerings and donations intended for this shrine and issued all articles of provision for the food-offerings from its own store. The temple of Rāmānuja was made self-supporting as far as the ordinary routine business was concerned, by being endowed with lands both in Tirupati (No. 115—G. T.) and in Vikramāditya-maṅgalam (Nos. 144 and 145—G. T.). All donations were required to be utilised for the improvement of these lands so as to derive increased yield from them to suffice for the additional offerings. It would appear that these lands belonging to Rāmānuja's temple were all in one block and known as the *Uḍaiyavar-paṭṭaḍai*. Similar was the case with those in Tirupati. This block in Tirupati was situated to the north of the big tank in a position outside the scope of the supply of water from the same big tank of Tirupati. Sometime during the 13th century, this land in Tirupati was allowed to run waste for want of adequate sources of water-supply. It was desirable that it should be reclaimed from the jungle that had overgrown this land, and to this effect Śrīraṅganātha Yādavarāya, a local chief who held sway over the surrounding country at that time subordinate to the authority of Hoysaḷa Vīra-Vallāḷa III, issued orders in the 3rd year of his own reign permitting the flow of water from the Tirupati *Periya-ēri* for the *Emperumānār-tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam-pūṭṭai-niṅgaḷ*.

RAMANUJA'S SHRINE AT TIRUMALA.

As stated already, no definite information is available regarding the date of the construction of a shrine for Rāmānuja at Tirumala. We know, however, that by the time of Sāḷuva Narasimha's rule a shrine had already existed for him. In Śaka 1398 Śrī Śaṭhakōpadāsar-Narasimharāya Mudaliyār provided for an offering of food being made to Raghunātha (Śrī Rāma) for the sake of Rāmānuja daily, and for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara

on the days of the birth-asterisms of the twelve *Āḻvārs*, and for this purpose instituted a capital fund of 5200 *paṇam* which was required to be utilised for increasing the irrigation sources in the *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* villages (No. 200—T. T.). Since none of the twelve *Āḻvārs* possessed a shrine at Tirumala, it was arranged that on the *āṭṭai-tirunakshatram* (annual birth-star) day of each of them as also of Rāmānuja, the offerings should first be presented to Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara and then to Rāmānuja in his own shrine within Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's temple. Rāmānuja's birth-star *Ārdrā* was observed each month during the eleven months of the year and his *Adhyayanōtsavam* was celebrated for twelve days in the Chittirai month ending with the day of *Ārdrā* when, on each of these 23 days, one *tiruvōlakkam* was provided for him, that is to say, his image was placed on a pedastal before his shrine, particular portions of the *Prabandham* were chanted before him, and then varieties of cooked rice and puddings were offered to him which were next distributed among the devotees and servants of the temple who attended the function. One noteworthy fact comes to light in this connection, and it is that both the *Sāttina-Śrīvaishṇavas* and the *Śāttāda-Śrīvaishṇavas* chanted the *Prabandham* composed by the *Āḻvārs* and as a recompense received two *prasādams* and six *appams*. It may be noted that Vaishṇavism was so largely prevalent in the Vijayanagara days, and especially from the time of Sāḷuva Narasimha onwards, that its spiritual teachers spared no pains in the propagation of its tenets and ritual among all communities and classes of people throughout the country. Among them at Tirupati, the *Śāttāda-Śrīvaishṇavas* seem to have been the most favoured class, having become the devoted disciples of Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgār who is seen to have wielded extensive influence over the rulers of the land and the authorities of the temple as well as over the common folk. These *Śāttāda-Śrīvaishṇavas* served the temple in various capacities, and in particular in cultivating flower-gardens and supplying flowers to temples. They also undertook to supply, on behalf of their *guru* Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgār, incense, spices and perfumery for the daily *tirumañjanam* of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara and of Śrī Gōvindarāja and, in consideration of these and similar services rendered to the temple, they were granted a share of the *prasādams* offered to the deities daily and on special occasions, in addition to a fixed salary (Nos. 197 and 200—T. T.). They seem to have established themselves as a colony of sixteen houses.

at Tirumala in the Kandāḍai-Rāmānujayyaṅgār street, and the status they were accorded, under the patronage of Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgār, is evidenced by the phraseology employed in referring to their residence as the sixteen *tirumāḷigai* and the *Śāttāda-Śrīvaishṇavargaḷ-tirumāḷigai*. It is, however, possible that in later times they lost ground and gave up their service to the temple; and at the present time, not one among them has anything to do with the ceremonial and service conducted in the temple at Tirumala.

SRI RAMANUJA'S INFLUENCE.

The latter half of the eleventh century and the first quarter of the twelfth century A. C. formed the period of Śrī Rāmānuja's activities in the cause of the *Vaishṇava* religion and the *Viśishṭādvaita* philosophy whose propounder and establisher he was. Love of God and of fellow-beings was the fundamental tenet of his religion. The sole supremacy of Vishṇu of the Hindu Trinity over the rest of the Hindu deities was the main feature of his faith and philosophy. Life-long service and devotion to Vishṇu was what he taught and practised as the best means of attaining salvation. His religious discourses had the desired effect of converting many people to the Vaishṇava faith. "This new community of Śrī Vaishṇavas was not confined exclusively to the Brahmans. It was catholic and entertained in its fold every man and woman regardless of caste or colour."

The same conviction was carried home to the minds of many of his staunch disciples and immediate followers, such as Anantasūri (Ānandāḷvān) who, at his master's bidding, had settled at Tirumala, cultivated a flower-garden having named it *Rāmānujam*, and carried flowers daily for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara. Many an *Ēkāṅgi* and *Jīyar* of later date had followed the example set by Anantasūri and had dedicated their lives to divine service by means of the cultivation of flower-gardens for the use of the deities. One or two of the prominent Śrīvaishṇava laity also exhibited similar enthusiasm in undertaking such work at their preceptor's call, as did Uḍaiyavar-kōyil Aṇṇan alias Anusandhānam Tiruvēṅkaṭadāsar (No. 274—T. T.) and Hastigiridāsar (No. 341

—T. T.). Foremost among the *Ēkāṅgis* in this respect were Ēkāṅgi Goppayyan who supervised the *Malaikiniyaninṟān—nandavanam* (No. 63—T. T.), Ēkāṅgi Periyaperumāḷdāsar who was the supervisor of the *Piṉṉenṟavilli-nandavanam* (No. 50—T. T.), and Ēkāṅgi Tiruvēṅkaṭayyan of the *Tiruvāḷiparappiṉān-tirunandavanam* (No. 32—T. T.); all being resident at Tirumala. The last mentioned *Ēkāṅgi* was the disciple of Appāvaiyaṅgār, son of Vēdāntāchārya Prativādibhayaṅkara Aṇṇā; and the second was the disciple of Periyaperumāḷ Jīyar, and later on became a *Jīyar* himself.

From the days of Mullai Tiruvēṅkaṭa Jīyar who supervised the *Ariśiṉāḷayan* flower-garden since Śaka 1309 (Nos. 103, 43 and 57—T. T.) upto the time of Vaḍa-Tiruvēṅkaṭa Jīyar who managed Achyutarāya's flower-garden in Śaka 1458 (No. 21—T. T.), a number of *Jīyars*, such as Kōyil-kēḷvi Emperumānār Jīyar (No. 48—T. T.) and after him Rāmānuja Jīyar, were maintaining the *Paṅkayachchelli* flower-garden (Nos. 48 and 333—T. T.); Periyaperumāḷ Jīyar the *Tiruvēṅkaṭaṉāthan* flower-garden (No. 47—T. T.); Yatirāja Jīyar the *Malaikiniyaninṟān* flower-garden (No. 337—T. T.); Anusandhānam Tiruvēṅkaṭa Jīyar the *Tiruvēṅkaṭan* flower-garden (No. 266—T. T.); and another Tiruvēṅkaṭa Jīyar the *Pēraruḷāḷan-nandavanam* (No. 155—G. T.).

Another aspect of Rāmānuja's influence relates to the deification of the *Āḻvārs* and eventually of himself at a later date, together with the erection of small shrines for them and the necessary provision for their daily worship supervised by some of these *Jīyars*. As instances it may be mentioned that Śrī Rāmānuja's shrine at Tirupati was managed by Yatirāja Jīyar in Śaka 1397 (No. 145—G. T.), and the Tirupati Nammāḻvār shrine by another Yatirāja Jīyar in Śaka 1436 (No. 203—G. T.). Tirumaṅgaiyāḻvār's shrine was likewise under the management of certain *Ēkāki—Śrīvaishṇavas* (No. 333—T. T.). Again, the existence at the present time of Uḍaiyavar's (Rāmānuja's) shrines in the temples of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa and Śrī Rāma, the ruined shrine of Periyāḻvār at *Alipiri*, i. e., *Aḍipaḍi* (the foot of the hill), and of Nammāḻvār's shrine at *Kapila-tīrtham*, besides those of other *Āḻvārs* in Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple is positive proof of Śrī Rāmānuja's influence in this direction.

Thirdly, certain *maṭhams* of the *Śrīvaishṇavas* came into existence as an indication of the establishment of Rāmānuja's faith in the place. To this category belonged the *Tirumaḷiśeyppirān-maṭham* at Tirumala (No. 333—T. T.), *Vaṇ-Śaṭhakōpan-maṭham* (No. 276—T. T.), *Pēraruḷāḷan-maṭham*, *Tiruvēṅkaṭanāthan-maṭham* and *Tiruvāḷiparappinān-maṭham* (Nos. 155 and 156—G. T.). Of these the first two were managed by the *Ēkāki—Śrīvaishṇavas*. Probably these *maṭhams* were instituted to serve as centres of *Śrīvaishṇava* learning and faith wherefrom their propagation could be effected as opportunities offered themselves.

Fourthly, following on the deification of Rāmānuja, his influence on his disciples and their descendants seems to have engendered in them great enthusiasm to associate his revered name with many of their visible charities, perhaps as a kind of *In memoriam* to their esteemed *guru*. Free feeding houses designated *Rāmānujakūṭams* first established by Sāḷuva Narasimha (No. 8—G. T.) and Rāmānāyakkar (No. 306—T. T.); flower-gardens of which the first one formed by Anantasūri (Ānandāḷvān) was denominated *Rāmānujam*; the tank known as *Rāmānujan-ēri* or *Rāmānujapputtēri* (Nos. 311 and 340—T. T.); and the street called *Rāmānujan-tiruvīdhi* (No. 314—T. T.); all these were the outward visible marks of Rāmānuja's profound influence on the minds of his followers in the cause of religion, transmitted from generation to generation.

Fifthly, the recitation by the *Śrīvaishṇava* laity and *Ēkāṅgis* and others, comprising both the *Śāttinavars* and the *Śāttādavars* (No. 200—T.T.), of *Tiruvāymoḷi* (No. 333—T.T.), of *Iyalpā* (No. 211—T.T.), of *Nūṟṟantādi* (No. 58—G.T.), and of the other parts of the *Prabandham* in the presence of the deities on festive occasions, became a routine in later days, owing to the extreme reverence that Rāmānuja felt towards the spiritual teachers, the *Āḻvārs*, who composed the *Prabandham* and who formed the mainstay of *Śrīvaishṇavism* prior to Rāmānuja, and to the influence of his personal example on his disciples and their followers.

Sixthly, the *Adhyayanōtsavam* conducted in the temples, if it had not been an innovation introduced by Rāmānuja into the routine of

worship in them, must have been laid great stress upon by him, as the best means of commemorating the life of the *Āḻvārs* and their life-work, viz., the highly spirited and devotional composition comprehensively known as the *Nālāyira Divya-Prabandham* in Tamil and therefore sometimes called *Dramiḍa-Vēda* in contrast to the original *Samskṛita-Vēdas*.

The *Āḻvārs* have embodied in their respective parts of the *Prabandham* the essence of their divine knowledge by means of which the souls of the exalted devotees are "enraptured, feasted, fed", while checking "the stream of aesthetic and corrupting literature." The recitation of the several portions of the *Prabandham* in the Vishṇu temples now-a-days daily and during the *Adhyayanōtsavam* continuing for a period of from twenty to twenty-five days certainly keeps alive the memory of the *Āḻvārs*, besides serving to elevate the soul of the devotee reciting the *Prabandham*. The original *Vēdas*, being in Samskṛit, were inaccessible to the ordinary men and the endeavours in the matter of organising the recitation of the *Prabandham* in temples made by Rāmānuja whose sympathy for them was unbounded, helped to open the door to the highest spiritual knowledge to one and all without discrimination of caste or creed, owing to the understandability by the common folk of the language of the *Prabandham*, viz., Tamil, the vernacular of the country, which "vindicates the common man's right to worship as against the exclusiveness that insists on Sanskrit."

Briefly, the influence of Rāmānuja's life-long activities continued in later times in the formulation and systematisation of a detailed code of temple-procedure; in the provision made for offerings to deities in temples on an augmented scale; in the permanent endowments secured for the temples; in the establishment of Rāmānuja's disciples and their descendants in the various *Vaishṇava* centres for the propagation of his faith under the appellation of *Āchāryapurushas*, represented in Tirupati by such families as those of Ānandāmpiḷḷai (Nos. 224 and 233—T.T.), Kandāḍai (Nos. 3—T.T. and 61—G.T.), Tōḷappar (No. 98—G.T.), Prativādibhayaṁkaram (No. 63—G.T.), Paravastu (No. 203—G.T.), etc.; and lastly in attaching to each prominent Vishṇu shrine certain acolytes known as *Ēkāṅgis* for rendering service in them.

As regards worship in temples, Rāmānuja is said to have attempted to regulate it in accordance with the *Pāñcharātra-Āgama* whose merit over that of the *Vaikhānasa-Āgama* is claimed to have been established by Yāmunāchārya in his *Āgama-Prāmāṇya*, but to have met with strong opposition in the temples at Trivandrum and Jagannath. The result of his attempts at Tirumala must have been similar to that in the above two centres, in as much as we now find the worship here conducted according to the principles of the *Vaikhānasa-Āgama*. It looks odd that Śrī Gōvindarāja in Tirupati who is traditionally believed to have been installed by Rāmānuja himself should be worshipped in the *Vaikhānasa* style.

The late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastriar, in his article on "The Second Vijayanagara Dynasty" (Archl. Survey of India Annual Report for 1908-09), has made up a list of eminent *Śrīvaishṇava* families that flourished under the patronage of the Vijayanagara kings and their officers, illustrating how during this brightest period of its history, *Vaishṇavism* was diffused in the country through the efforts of the members of such families. Some of them who figure in the epigraphs of these temples may be mentioned here. Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgār, disciple of Aḷagiya-maṇavāḷa Jīyar (No. 3—T.T.), Mudaliyār Aḷagappirānār-Tirukkalikaṟṟidāsar (Nos. 61, 89 and 187—T.T.), Kollikāvalidāsar (No. 53—G.T.), Māḍabūsi Ayyāppiḷḷai alias Anantayyan (No. 56—G.T.), Prativādibhayaṁkaram Aḷagaraiyyaṅgār Aṇṇaṅgarāchāriyar (No. 63—G.T.), Appaiyyaṅgār, son of Ānandāmpiḷḷai, Siṅgamayyaṅgār (No. 146—G. T.), Kandāḍai Appachchiyār Aṇṇā (No. 336—T.T.), Periyaperumāḷdāsar alias Ariyarāyamudaliyār Appayyan (No. 136—G. T.), Tāḷḷapākkam Tirumalayyaṅgār, son of Tāḷḷapākkam Annamayyaṅgār (No. 76—T.T.), Śiṟṟaiyyaṅgār, grandson of Tiruvēṅkaṭa-Chakravartayyaṅgār through his daughter (Nos. 183—T.T. and 65—G.T.), Śaṭhakōpadāsar Narasimharāya-mudaliyār (Nos. 200—T.T. and 55, 144 and 189—G. T.) and Kumāra-Tātayyaṅgār and Tōḷapparaiyyaṅgār, sons of Śeṭṭai-Tirumalainambi Tiruvēṅkaṭayyaṅgār (Nos. 307 and 347—T.T. and 98—G.T.). The disciples of the former of these two brothers were one Kumārakulaśēkhara Mēdinirāv Timmā-Nayakkar (No. 307—T.T.) and *Rājasāmantasimha* Nṛisiṁha alias Gāyi-Gōpāla, entitled 'the establisher of the Kākatīya kingdom' and 'the punisher of the Pāṇḍya king' (No. 347—T. T.). Other influential persons of the *Śrīvaishṇava* sect

who were members of the Tiruchchukanūr (Tiruchānūr) assembly were Anantaśayanar, son of Rāmānujadāsa (No. 45—T.T.), and Vaḍamāmalai Aḷagarappiḷḷai alias Tiruvanandāḷvār Periyaperumāḷ (No. 17—G.T.) in the 14th century, and Veṇṟi Anantappaiyyaṅgār alias Aravaṇaiperumāḷdāsar Iḷaiyaperumāḷ (No. 282—T.T.), Tūppil Veṇṟi Aṇṇan alias Varadarājar, the leader of the assembly (No. 282—T.T.), Aṇiyaraṅgadāsar alias Āṇḍaperumāḷ Śokkaṇṇan (No. 27—G.T.), Rāmānujadāsar—Sēnaimudaliyār, Malainiṉaperumāḷ and Gōvinda (No. 196—G.T.), in the first quarter of the 15th century. The presence of these members on the political assembly of Tiruchānūr must have greatly helped the progress of *Śrīvaishṇavism*, so dear to the heart of Rāmānuja.

THE JIYAR MATHAM.

The head of a local *maṭham*, established in Tirupati and Tirumala, and generally known as the *Jīyar-maṭham* and *Jīyaṅgār-maṭham*, has long been a functionary of the temple. The earliest person that we meet with is Mullai Tiruvēṅkaṭa Jīyar who, as the agent of Harihara II of the First Vijayanagara dynasty, arranged for the celebration of the *Māśi-tirunāḷ* in Śaka 1309 (=1387 A. C.) in the king's name through the payment of 100 *paṇam* derived from the village of Pūṅgōḍu granted by Harihara for the purpose (No. 103—T.T.). Mullai Tiruvēṅkaṭa Jīyar's dates range from Śaka 1309 to 1314, and he is mentioned as the manager of the *Ariśāṇālayan-nandavanam* (flower-garden) (Nos. 57 and 43 —T. T.). His connection with the temple is not however definitely indicated. One of his successors, viz., Emperumānār Jīyar, with dates Śaka 1367 to 1415, is seen to have been styled *Kōyil-kēḷvi*, a functionary whose assent to the conduct of the religious functions in the temple was imperative, and he was the supervisor of the *Paṅkayachchelli-nandavanam* (Nos. 106, 48, 15 and 369—T. T. and 190 and 411—G. T.). He also held the management of the minor temple of Tirumaṅgaiyāḷvār, probably the now ruined temple standing on the road leading from Tirupati to Kapilatīrtham. His service in the temple extended over a period of 50 years from about 1445 to 1493 A. C. His immediate successor was Rāmānuja Jīyar, the manager of the *Paṅkayachchelli-nandavanam* (No. 333 —T.T. of Śaka 1416, Ānanda, equivalent to 2nd April 1494 A.C.). He was succeeded by Anusandhānam Tiruvēṅkaṭa Jīyar of the *Tiruvēṅkaṭamāthan-nandavanam* with dates Śaka 1426 to 1442 (1504 to 1529 A. C.) falling

into the reign of Kṛishṇarāya. In some of the records he also appears as the manager of the *Pēraruḷāḷan-nandavanam*. In No. 292—G. T. he is styled *Periya Kōyil-kēḷvi* and this implies the existence of another *Kōyil-kēḷvi* as his junior. In the Śaka year 1442, current with Vîkrama, he was succeeded by Kōyil-kēḷvi Rāmānuja Jîyar, the manager of the *Paṅkayachchelli-nandavanam*, who was entitled *Śrīmat Vēdamārga-pratishṭhāpanāchārya* and *Paramahamsa-parivrājakāchārya*. His two records Nos. 15—G.T. and 598—T. T. are dated respectively in Śaka 1442 and 1449 during the reign of Kṛishṇarāya. The successor of this Rāmānuja Jîyar was Vaḍa-Tiruvēṅkaṭa Jîyar of the *Paṅkayachchelli-nandavanam*, represented by No. 472—T. T. dated in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=7—7—1535 A. C.). During the same year he was succeeded by Kōyil-kēḷvi Yatirāja Jîyar who looked after the *Pēraruḷāḷan-nandavanam* and also the *Pēraruḷāḷan-maṭham* (Nos. 324—G. T. and 389 and 410—T. T.), and this Yatirāja Jîyar continued as the head of the *maṭham* for about six or seven years up to Śaka 1463, Plava (= 1541 A. C.). He is stated to have been the disciple of Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa Jîyar of Kāñchī, just as Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgār was. After Yatirāja Jîyar the headship of the *maṭham* passed to Vānamāmalai Jîyar, the head of the *Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷan-maṭham* and he occupied it for about half a dozen years from Śaka 1463 to 1468 (= 1541 to 1545 A. C.) (Nos. 509 and 402—T. T.). This Vānamāmalai Jîyar was the disciple of Rāmānuja Jîyar, possibly the Kōyil-kēḷvi Rāmānuja Jîyar of the *Paṅkayachchelli-nandavanam* noticed above. In No. 402—T. T. of Śaka 1468 his name appears as Vānamāmalai Rāmānuja Jîyar, in accordance with the practice obtaining in this *maṭham* of suffixing "Rāmānuja" to the personal name of its head. The last known representative of this local *maṭham* was Kōyil-kēḷvi Aṇṇan-Rāmānuja Jîyar who in Śaka 1515, Vijaya (=17—1—1594 A.C.), during the reign of Vēṅkaṭa I of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara, made a gift of the village of Timmānāyakapuram in Koṇḍavīḍu-śîrmai and excavated an irrigation channel in the village of Tōṭṭālam (probably the Tōṭṭālam village in the Vellore taluk of the same district) (No. 413—G. T.).

An insight into the origin of this *maṭham* is afforded by No. 354—T. T. dated in the 3rd year of the reign of Śrīraṅgarātha Yādavarāya, a feudatory chief who ruled this portion of the country under-

the suzerainty of the last Hoysaḷa and the first Vijayanagara kings. The inscription refers to the *Ariśāṇāḷayan-nandavanam* and the *Vaṇśaṭha-kōpan-nandavanam* at Tirumala and two *maṭhams*, one at Tirumala and another in Tirupati, built by *Śrīman Mahāpradhāni Immaḍi-Rāhuttarāyan* Mādappan-Siṅgaya-Daṇṇāyakkar and to certain offerings required to be made to the processional images of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara and His two consorts at the above *nandavanams* on particular occasions, and also registers some arrangements pertaining to the management of the *maṭhams*. It appears that a religious order known as the *Śîyars*, who were *Dēśāntaris*, i.e., immigrants from another locality, was attached to these *nandavanams* and *maṭhams* and that one of them known as the *Jîyar* was vested with the management of these establishments. At the time of the record a certain *Śîyan* and the *Jîyar* had handed over these *maṭhams* and *nandavanams* to some one else for a consideration of a thousand *paṇam* and the latter thereby acquired the right to their management. But it was, however, stipulated that the *Śîyan* might reside in the *maṭham* till the end of the life of the *Jîyar* and that after him the properties should revert to the *Daṇṇāyakkar*, i.e., Siṅgaya-Daṇṇāyakkar, whereupon the *Sthānattār* should appoint a *Dēśāntari* for service in the temple of Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān. It is also recorded that, according to an old document engraved on stone which laid down the *Dēśāntari's* custom, the newly appointed *Jîyar* had to pay a sum of 400 *paṇam* into the *Śrī-Bhaṇḍāram* as capital towards offerings, for his being enabled to utilise the living settled for him.

This *maṭham* at Tirumala in which the *Dēśāntaris* were allowed to reside and to which the *Ariśāṇāḷayan-nandavanam* and the *Vaṇśaṭha-kōpan-nandavanam* were attached, as noticed from No. 354—T. T., is probably the same *maṭham* that is mentioned in Nos. 434 and 676—T. T. as having been constructed by *Śrīman Mahāpradhāni Immaḍi-Rāhuttarāyan* Siṅgaya-Daṇṇāyakkan Sitakaraganḍan. The date of No. 354, viz., the 3rd year of Śrīraṅganātha Yādavarāya, corresponded to Śaka 1260, Bahudhānya (=1338—39 A.C.), the first year of his reign being reckoned to have commenced in Śaka 1258, Dhātu (1336—37 A.C.) (Vide "Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya Subordinates" in Part II, *infra*). But as Siṅgaya-Daṇṇāyakkar also appears in No. 189—T.T. dated in the 8th year of Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha Yādavarāya, the predecessor of Śrīraṅganātha Yādavarāya, Siṅgaya's

relations with Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha Yādavarāya must have begun 10 or 15 years earlier and his *maṭhams* must have come into existence about 1330 A. C. Since that date the *Dēśāntaris* must have occupied the *Danṇāyakkar's maṭhams*, while their original settlement at Tirumala might have taken place some decades previously, i.e., some time at the end of the 13th century A.C. or the beginning of the 14th. Whatever the origin for the *Dēśāntari* colony at Tirumala might be and however the *Ariśāṇālayan* and *Vaṇśaṭhakōpan-nandavanams* might have been first formed, either through their own agency or otherwise, after 1330 A.C. a definite connection arose between them each with the other on the one hand and between the *Dēśāntaris* and the temple of Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān on the other, such that the *Dēśāntari* appointed for service in the temple not only occupied the presidency of the *maṭham* but also acquired the two *nandavanams* for being managed by him. Thus we find the earliest *Jīyar* represented in our inscriptions, viz., Mullai Tiruvēṅkaṭa Jīyar managing the *Ariśāṇālayan* flower-garden, though his successors appear to be connected with other flower-gardens. In course of time these *Jīyars* appear to have gained a voice in the direction of the temple affairs (*Kōyil-kēḷvi*), especially those relating to the conduct of the *Āsthānams* on festive occasions and to the admission of articles of provision into the temple with his permit (*Jīyar-eḷuttiṭṭa-pravēśa-śīṭṭu*) (No. 59—T.T.). As to the significance of the terms *Śīyars*, *Śīyan* and *Jīyar* occurring in No. 354—T.T., it may be surmised that the *Śīyars* formed a religious order akin to the monks with the *Jīyar* at their head, while the *Śīyan* was an individual member of that order.

Generally these *Jīyars* gave a visible expression to their piety and religiosity through the increase they brought about in the matter of festivals in the temples by means of endowments either in the form of lands and villages or in cash. Their modern representatives are still attached to the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa and claim to belong to the direct line of disciples from Uḍaiyavar-Rāmānuja, the great *Śrīvaishṇava āchārya*. This local *maṭham* is also stated to be the earliest one, as having been personally established by Śrī Rāmānuja in Śaka 980, Hēviḷambi (=1057—58 A. C.), at Tirumala in front of the Āñjarāya shrine. The *Parampara* maintained in it seems to repeat the names Tiruvēṅkaṭa Jīyar, Śaṭhakōpa Jīyar and Śrīraṅga-Rāmānuja Jīyar, and as such does

not agree with the list made out from the inscriptions. But we learn from it that Appan Śaṭhakōpa—Rāmānuja Jīyar who was established in the *maṭham* by Śrī Rāmānuja as his representative, while the latter left the place for Śrīraṅgam in Śaka 980, selected a disciple for himself in the person of Appan Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa Jīyar in Śaka 1025, since Śaṭhakōpa Jīyar could not adequately discharge his duties in the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa without the help of another. Of the two documents which furnish this information, one gives the year Śaka 1036, Jaya (=1114—15 A. C.), as the date of the death of the first representative Śaṭhakōpa Jīyar, while the other refers it to the second Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa Jīyar. It is however probable that this Appan Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa-Rāmānuja Jīyar was identified with the famous Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa Jīyar of Kāñchī whose disciples were Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgār who flourished in Tirupati under the patronage of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha, and Yatirāja Jīyar who, as we have seen above, occupied the headship of the *maṭham* in the reign of Achyutarāya. Two other members of the list may also be identified, viz., our Mullai Tiruvēṅkaṭa Jīyar and his successor Emperumānār Jīyar with Tiruvēṇkaṭa-Rāmānuja Jīyar and Emperumānār Jīyar mentioned in the list of the *maṭham* as the fourth and fifth Jīyars in succession to Śrī Rāmānuja. In the line of succession made out from the epigraphs of our collection may be noticed Vānamāmalai Jīyar, the founder of the *Vānamāmalai* or *Tōtādri-maṭham* in the Tinnevelly district. Tradition speaks of him that he first accepted the *āśramam* of the *sanyāsi* at Tirupati, evidently at the hands of Rāmānuja Jīyar, sometime head of the local *maṭham* during the reign of Kṛishṇarāya, moved to the south for a while, founded a new *maṭham* named after himself at Śrīvaramaṅgai or the modern Nāṅgunēri, returned to Tirupati after a time and spent his last days in the service of this temple. This is borne out by the long interval of over two decades that elapsed between the headship of the *guru* Rāmānuja Jīyar during the Śaka years 1442 to 1449 (=1520 to 1527 A. C.) and that of the disciple Vānamāmalai Jīyar in the years Śaka 1463 and 1468 (=1541 and 1546 A.C.) during the reign of Sadāśivarāya. Though the founder of the *Vānamāmalai-maṭham* originally belonged to this local *Jīyar-maṭham*, no connection exists between them at present and they are now two independent units.

A RETROSPECT

It is evident from the foregoing facts that the temples at Tirumala and Tirupati enjoyed the highest fame and prosperity during the Vijayanagara period, through the extraordinary devotion evinced for the presiding deities and demonstrated through the several visible and noteworthy acts of charity and special religious services organised primarily by the rulers and other men of rank. The festivals instituted by them attracted to the temples large numbers of pilgrims for whose gratification further additions were made from time to time and for whose convenience facilities were provided in the matter of board and lodging. The rulers apart, the people themselves were ever ready in their service to the temple as was exhibited by the promptness with which the villagers of the *dēvadāna* villages took upon themselves the burden of pecuniary contribution towards the revival of the *Vēdapārāyaṇam* in the presence of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara in Śaka 1355 during the reign of Dēvarāya II. The cumulative effect of all has been the enhancement of the fame and the security of continued prosperity of the temples.

TIRUPATI DEVASTHANAM EPIGRAPHICAL REPORT

PART II

TIRUPATI DEVASTHANAM EPIGRAPHICAL REPORT

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THE PALLAVAS.

VIJAYA-DANTIVIKRAMAVARMAN:—Among the Pallavas, only one later king, viz., Kō-Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman, is represented by two epigraphs from Tiruchānūr, Nos. 219 and 223—G. T. of this collection. The former of these furnishes the regnal year 51 for the king which approximately corresponds to 830 A. C. In that year one Ulagapperumānār of Śōḷanūr in Śōḷa-nāḍu paid 30 *kaḷañju* of gold for a lamp. The latter inscription, whose date is missing, registers a similar arrangement for a lamp through the payment of a number of *iem-pon* by one Śīyakan. It may be that Ulagapperumānār and Śīyakan were royal officers of some status.

Divisions of the Country:—From No. 219 we note that Tiruvēṅkaṭa-kōṭṭam formed one of the subdivisions of the Pallava kingdom and that it comprised Kuḍavūr-nāḍu within which lay Tiruchchōkinūr (modern Tiruchānūr) where the record is found. Even in the time of the Chōḷa kings who supplanted the Pallavas and established their rule over the Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam and the Vijayanagara kings who succeeded them, the original divisions and subdivisions of the old Pallava kingdom continued in existence, except that the name "Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam" was superseded by "Jayaṅkoṇḍa-Chōḷa-maṇḍalam," and temporarily by "Rājendra-Chōḷa-maṇḍalam."

Rashtrakuta and Pandya Invasions :— Though Dantivarman enjoyed a long reign of 51 years, it is surmised that he had not had a successful career. He is said to have been defeated by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III and constrained to pay him tribute; and to have lost in his later years to the Pāṇḍya king Māraṅjaḍaiyan the southern part of the Pallava territory, whence "at this time the Pāṇḍyas had overrun half the Pallava empire and probably were preparing to march on Kāñchīpuram" (*The Pallavas* by Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil, pages 76 to 78). The assumed relationship of Rēva, the mother of Dantivarman, with the Rāshṭrakūṭas (*Ibid.*, page 75) coupled with the actual relation to them of his son Nandivarman through the latter's queen Śaṅkha, born in the Rāshṭrakūṭa family (*Ibid.*, page 50), together forming a double bond of union between the Pallavas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas, would have served to off-set the severity of the calamity of a double invasion and dismemberment, if it had at all overtaken the Pallava empire in the time of Dantivarman.

LATER PALLAVA PRINCES :—After three more generations of rulers, this Pallava line became politically extinct with Aparājita, its last king, about 900 A. C., when the Chōḷas under Āditya I conquered Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam. However, certain Pallava chiefs continued to live as Chōḷa feudatories and made their appearance now and then under the appellations of "Kāḍava" and "Pallava-kula-tilaka."

KOPPATRA-MAHENDRA-PANMAR :— "Koppātra-Panmar" or "Koppātra-Mahēndra-Panmar" comes to notice from the two epigraphs Nos. 18 and 19—T.T. The name may be identified with Kō-Pārthivēndra-varman, a contemporary of Parāntaka II Sundara-Chōḷa. His inscriptions are found mostly in the North Arcot and Chingleput districts. He claims victory over Vīra-Pāṇḍya. In the two inscriptions he is not found to bear any dignified titles. Both of them give his 14th year of reign. It is probable that he might belong to the family of the Pallavas who had been dispossessed of their territory, the Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam, by Āditya I about the end of the 9th century A. C. He seems to emerge as an ally of Sundara-Chōḷa on his reconquest of Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam from the Rāshṭrakūṭas, after its subjection to them under Kṛishṇa III for about a quarter of

a century. Just as Parāntaka I destroyed the Bāṇas and conferred their territory on the Western Gaṅga king Pṛithvīpati II, Sundara-Chōḷa might have likewise adopted a statesman-like policy of conferring the re-conquered Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam upon Pārthivēndravarman, probably a scion of the old Pallava royal family, who would consequently owe him allegiance. The nominal independence of Pārthivēndravarman seems to be accounted for in this way; else actual subordination would warrant an acknowledgment of the authority of Sundara-Chōḷa directly in the inscriptions.

His Pallava Subordinate Sakti—Vitankan :—Pārthivēndravarman had a certain Kāḍava or Pallava subordinate under him by name Śakti-Viṭaṅkan whose queen Sāmavai was the donor in the above two records. Sāmavai is stated in them to be the daughter of a "Pallavappeṛṛaḍaiyār." The word "Peṛṛaḍaiyār," if it is an adaptation into Tamil from the Telugu word *pregaḍa* or *preggaḍa*, would mean either a minister or an heir-apparent to the throne and the expression would denote that the father of Sāmavai was either a Pallava minister or a Pallava prince, more likely the former. In any case it indicates the existence of Pallava chiefs at the time. It may be surmised that the Kāḍava chief Śakti-Viṭaṅkan had some sort of relationship to Danti—Śakti—Viṭaṅki alias Lōkamahādēvi, one of the queens of Rājarāja I. The Pallava name itself of the queen is sufficient evidence of the dignity conferred upon the Pallavas by the Chōḷa kings and the endeavours of the Pallavas on their part to strengthen themselves by marriage alliances with the reigning Chōḷas.

SARVAGNA—KHADGAMALLA :—The next Pallava chief that appears is Sarvagña-Khaḍgamalla (Nos. 226 and 227—T.T.). In the former epigraph, he claims to be a "Kāṭhaka-kula-tilaka" (the ornament of the Kāṭhaka or Kāḍava family), and "Kāñchī-nāyaka" (ruler of Kāñchī), besides being a "Kavi-sārvabhauma" (the king of poets). He is further stated to have established certain kings on their throne and robbed Karṇāṭa of its wealth ("Karṇāṭa-Lakshmī—luṇṭāka"). He is entitled "Asahāya-vīra" (a hero (who fights) without assistance), and "Rāhutta-rāya" (lord of the horsemen or the best among riders). He is also said to have conquered Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla and Vīra-Gaṇḍagōpāla. *(Vijitya-Vija[illegible]ra).* From

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the latter inscription (No. 227) we note that Gaṇapati put on the heels of Khaḍgamalla the emblem of the warrior *(Gaṇapati-datta-vīra-pada-mudra)* and it betokens the acknowledgment by Gaṇapati of his subordination to Khaḍgamalla. He claims brotherhood in Sundara and is said to have been born to enjoy ("Bhōgajāta" i.e., "Avanībhōgajāta"). He is entitled "Tribhuvanarāja." He is also addressed as "Rūpa-Nārāyaṇa" and "Bhaktārṇava-karṇa-dhāra," i. e., the pilot who transports the numerous *bhaktas* or devotees.

His Identity with Kopperunjinga :—These events refer to the latter half of the 13th century A. C. Sarvagña-Khaḍgamalla is a contemporary of Gaṇapati, Vijaya and Vīra and Sundara. It is quite possible that "Vijaya" and "Vīra" denote Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla and Vīra-Gaṇḍagōpāla of the Telugu-Pallava family, and "Sundara" may imply Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. For certainly these were Gaṇapati's contemporaries to whom the half-names could aptly apply. Besides, he claims lordship over the three worlds. This Sarvagña-Khaḍgamalla who belongs to the Kāṭhaka or Kāḍava family can be no other than Kōpperuñjiṅga or Mahā-Rājasimha, who claims the Pallava descent (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1904, para 12; and for 1906, para 5). It is he who attempted the subversion of the Chōḷa empire and succeeded in imprisoning Rājarāja III at Śēndamaṅgalam for a time (*Ibid.*, for 1902, para 9), fought successfully with Gaṇapati (*Ibid*, for 1906, para 6) and Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla (*Ibid.*, for 1906, para 7), and, having expelled them one after another from Kāñchī which they held temporarily, made himself master of the ancient Pallava capital and commenced his career of conquest (*Ibid* for 1902, para 9; and for 1907, para 69). These events must have happened during the northern invasion of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, with whom probably Peruñjiṅga allied himself so as to escape his furious onslaught, thus endeavouring to preserve himself and his kingdom first before attempting to extend it. No. 227 contains two benedictory verses, the second of which expresses the wish that he might rule the extensive earth with his long arms. The occasion for this expression of the wish must have been either the time of his visit to the Tirumala temple or the time of his coronation. No doubt the records of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I mention "Kāṭhakakari-kūṭapākala" as one of his *birudas* and his Chidambaram inscription (No. 179 of 1892 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

published in S. I. I., Vol. IV, Page 191 as No. 627) claims the defeat of the Kāṭhaka along with others, such as Gaṇḍagōpa and Gaṇapati, and the immersion of the Kēraḷa, Kāṭhaka, Āndhra, Magadha and Seṇṇa countries in the water of the current flowing from his sword, while the Tiruvēndipuram inscription states that he laid siege to Śēndamaṅgalam and "fought several battles which made the Pallava tremble." If it is true that Sundara-Pāṇḍya overcame Kōpperuñjiṅga in war, he must have accorded to the latter a fitting position and status in order to evoke from Peruñjiṅga the claim to the relation of a brother in Sundara. Having vanquished his rivals in the north, i. e., Gaṇapati and Gaṇḍagōpa, Peruñjinga felt himself strong enough to attack Vīra-Sōmēśvara and extend his dominions into the Hoysaḷa country. He assumed the title of "emperor" subsequently and reigned until about 1272—73 A. C.

His Father the Elder Kadavaraya's fight with Yadavaraya Vira-Narasingadeva :—It is curious that we do not hear in this connection of any of the Yādavarāyas, of Vīra-Nārasiṅgadēva Yādavarāya in particular who was holding the country bordering on Kāñchī, namely, parts of Chittoor, North Arcot and Chingleput districts, during almost the whole period of Kōpperuñjiṅga's rule and who also claimed to have conquered the enemy kings and assumed the title of "Tribhuvanachakravartin," though in some records he acknowledged the overlordship of Rājarāja III and Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. An inscription from Yōgi-Mallavaram (No. 380—G. T.) (No. 271 of 1904 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.) dated in the 7th year of Rājarāja III incidentally records a battle that took place sometime previously between Vīra-Nārasiṅgadēva Yādavarāya and the Kāḍavarāya, i. e., the elder Kāḍava Aḷagiya-Śīyan Peruñjiṅga, the father of Mahā-Rājasimha or Kōpperuñjiṅga, at Uratti, in which during a hot contest at close quarters the Yādavarāya's brother-in-law Nārāyaṇa-Piḷḷai lost his life, for whom memorial services were instituted by his father Pokkāran Pāṇḍiyadaraiyan both for God Tīppalādīśvarar at Yōgi-Mallavaram (No. 380—G. T.) and for God *Tiruviḷaṅkōyil-Perumāṇḍigaḷ* at Tiruchānūr (No. 226—G. T.). The result of the battle is not recorded, but it is inferable that success attended the Yādavarāya who fought on behalf of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja III.

THE CHOLAS.

It has been remarked that "the Chola dynasty was singularly prolific in kings of more than ordinary capacity," and that they "were great builders not only of cities and temples (sometimes for strategic purposes, sometimes in obedience to the dictates of their vanity), but also of useful irrigation works."

PARANTAKA I:—Out of these powerful and beneficent Chōḷa rulers, the inscriptions bring to our notice a few prominent kings, amongst whom the earliest is Madiraikoṇḍa Kō-Parakēsarivarman alias Parāntaka I, who ruled from 905 to 953 A.C. (Nos. 234 and 232—G.T.). Both these fragmentary records register a gift of a lamp apiece in the 20th and 29th years of his reign respectively. No. 232—G.T. further indicates the divisions of the kingdom and mentions an assembly (*sabhai*) in Tiruchchōkunūr (Tiruchānūr) where the inscriptions are found engraved. Though the existence of the assembly at Tiruchānūr is a piece of supplemental information furnished to us, the divisions of the country are the same as those that are seen to have existed in the time of the Pallava king Kō-Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman; and this may point to the fact that the Chōḷas, on their conquest of the Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam, maintained in tact the administrative system of the Pallavas which they found ready to hand. Iruṅgōḷakōn alias Guṇavanaparājitan who arranged for the feeding of two Brāhmaṇas through the deposit of some gold (No. 220—G.T.) was probably an officer serving under Parāntaka I (Cf. No. 384 of 1913 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.; and Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1913—14, page 90, para 15).

PARANTAKA II SUNDARA-CHOLA:—No direct mention occurs of Parāntaka II Sundara—Chōḷa, the father of Rājarāja I. But No. 17—T.T., one of the inscriptions re-engraved under orders of Vīra-Nārasiṁha Yādavarāya on the renovation of the central shrine of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's temple at Tirumala, registers a present made in the 16th year of Rājarāja I of a *paṭṭam* of gold set with precious stones by Parāntakadēvi-amman, daughter of Chēramān and queen of *Pon-māḷigai-tuñjinān*; and it is known that Parāntaka II Sundara—Chōḷa was the "King who slept at the Golden

Hall" (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1919, page 94, para 11). The epithet "Dēvi-ammanār" applied to her in the record shows that she was the senior queen of Parāntaka II, different from Vānavan-Mahādēvi who was the mother of Kundavaiyār and Rājarāja I, and who committed *suttee* on the death of her lord Parāntaka II. The pious princess Kundavaiyār set up images of her father and mother in reverence to their memory in the temple at Tanjore (S. I. I., Vol. II, Part v, Introduction, page I). And Parāntakadēvi outlived her husband for nearly 31 years until about the 16th year of the reign of Rājarāja I (= 1001 A. C.) and passed her days in making religious charities. As pointed out already, Kō-Pārthivēndravarman was a subordinate of Sundara-Chōḷa and ruled over a part of the Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam comprising portions of the present Chittoor, North Arcot and Chingleput districts.

RAJARAJA I: A Copy of a Record of His Time:—Rājarāja I is represented by three epigraphs, Nos. 17—T. T. and 214 and 215—G. T. As noted above, No. 17—T. T., a copy of the original, after giving the complete historical introduction of Rājarāja I, registers the gift of a *paṭṭam* by Parāntakadēvi-amman. Of the other two which are fragmentary, the one recounts a part of his *praśasti*, and the other mentions his name and registers the payment into the treasury of the temple by Aruḷākki alias Rājarāja-Mūvēndavēḷān of 40 *kaḷañju* of gold for a lamp. The cognomen of Aruḷākki signifies that he was a royal officer exercising supervision over temples with reference to their routine and administration. The location of the native place of the donor indicates that Śōṇāḍu was divided in twain by the river Kāvērī on whose southern bank lay Āvūr-kūṟṟam comprised in the above *nāḍu*. The order of Vīra-Nārasiṁha Yādavarāya to the *Sthānattār* (managers) of the temple regarding the re-engraving of the inscriptions in their original position on the completion of the renovation of the central shrine (Cf. Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1904, page 3, para 9) carries a double significance with it. On the one hand it reflects the solicitude of the people of those days for the perpetuation of the charities and services and through them the memory of the ancient benefactors of the religious institutions, while their regular conduct helped to animate the charitably disposed persons and others to endeavour to institute fresh

charities and services on similar lines. On the other hand the order reveals the political relations that existed between the Yādavarāyas and the Chōḷa kings. The Yādavarāyas had served the Chōḷas in various capacities, such as royal secretaries and administrative officers, during a number of generations and the order for re-engraving indicates the gratitude and loyalty of the Yādavarāyas to the memory of the past generations of the Chōḷa sovereigns, one of whom, Rājarāja I, had honoured the Yādavarāya capital, possibly Śrīkāḷahasti, by conferring on it a surname derived from his own title, namely, Mummuḍi-Śōḷapuram (Madras Epigraphical Report for 1905, page 43, para 11).

His Military Exploits Reported in His Prasasti :—The two epigraphs, Nos. 17—T.T. of the 16th year from Tirumala and 214—G. T. from Tiruchānūr, record all the deeds of valour ascribed to Rājarāja I in those of the same date found elsewhere. There are, however, certain variations and discrepancies in the expressions, owing to the fact that, as at the present time, this place was on the border-land between the Telugu and the Tamil countries, and the knowledge of the Tamil language and the Tamil country was meagre. Further, the original inscription was first copied from the stone-wall and then re-engraved from the copy, and in the double process there was ample scope for variations and mistakes to arise through the style of the scribe or the chisel of the engraver. Both of them recount the destruction of the ships at Kāndalūrchchālai, and his conquest of Veṅgai-nāḍu, Gaṅga-pāḍi, Nuḷamba-pāḍi, Taḍigai-vaḷi, Kuḍamalai-nāḍu, Kollam and Kaliṅgam.

Discrepancies in His Prasasti :—The discrepancy lies in naming the king as "Kō-Vīra Rājarājēndra-Panmar,' while the historical introduction clearly points to Rājarāja I. The variations relate particularly to Tuḷappāḍi for Nuḷambapāḍi and Kollāpuram for Kollam, in regard to which there is a certain significance. Kollam or Quilon situated on the West Coast in the Chēra territories is not likely to be within the knowledge of the people of this part of the Chōḷa empire in the 13th century. Kollāpuram or Kolhāpūr, the chief town of the Indian state of that name, situated in the Bombay Dakkan, has a certain religious connection with Tirupati. The VĒṄKAṬĀCHALA-MĀHĀTMYAM

relates that Vishṇu and Lakshmī, having quarrelled in heaven, separated, and Lakshmī, leaving heaven and descending upon the earth, settled Herself at Kolhāpūr, while Vishṇu, wandering in vain in search of His divine consort, selected His abode on the Vēṅkaṭa Hill (the Tirupati Hill) and became henceforward known as Vēṅkaṭēśvara, Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha or Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān. Lakshmī has a big temple dedicated to Her at Kolhāpūr where an annual festival is conducted on a grand scale in Her honour. Thus the association of ideas of Tirupati and Vēṅkaṭēśvara on the one hand and Kolhāpūr and Lakshmī on the other in the field of mythology would have sufficed to replace "Kollam" by "Kollāpuram", the familiar place, in the copy now preserved. Again Kollāpuram was comprised within Raṭṭapāḷi or the Western Chāḷukya kingdom in the 11th century. Four successive Chōḷa emperors, beginning with Rājarāja I, invaded Raṭṭapāḍi and conquered it, while the last of them, Rājēndradēva (1052 to 1062 A. C.), set up a pillar of victory at Kollāpuram. These incidents connected with a familiar place might have tempted the temple subordinates, while re-engraving the inscription in the 13th century, to choose the more prominent and familiar name "Kollāpuram," with a religious connection to Tirupati and a political connection to the Chōḷas, in preference to the obscure "Kollam."

His Mention in a Record of Rajaraja III :—An epigraph from Yōgi-Mallavaram (No. 384—G. T. of our Collection and No. 269 of 1904 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.), dated in the 9th year of Rājarāja III, refers to "Śrīmat-kīrti-munnuḍaittāka Śrī Kō-Rājakēsariyāna Śrī Rājarājadēvar." Rājakēsari Rājarāja can be no other than Rājarāja I, since Rājarāja II was only a *Parakēsari* and his reign did not extend to 23 years which is the regnal year quoted in the above record. This would, therefore, indicate a title assumed by Rājarāja I, viz., "Śrīmat-kīrti-munnuḍaitta," meaning "who had his glory before him," that is to say, who had his glory always before his eyes by which he planned all his acts tending to its enhancement.

RAJENDRA-CHOLA I : An Enquiry into Temple Affairs :—Śrī Kōpparakēsaripanmar, i.e., Kō-Parakēsarivarman, alias Śrī Rājēndra-Chōḷadēva, is introduced to us in No. 20—T.T. which is dated on the 7th day, presumably during the first year of his accession to the throne.

From the above inscription it appears that the royal officers had, during their tours through the country, not only to investigate into the affairs of the state, but were also charged with the duty of enquiring into the condition of the temples and their requirements and ascertaining the satisfactory progress of worship in them. It was quite natural and reasonable that they should, since the affairs pertained to the national institutions and the government was likewise national, being indigenous. Adhikāri Koṟṟamaṅgalamuḍaiyān, probably the governor of the Province, encamped at Tiruchchukanūr (Tiruchānūr), a *dēvadāna* village belonging to Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara, and, having summoned to his court which he held in the front apartment of the court-house built by the state in the same village, the *Śiritanattuppaṇimakan*, the officer who administered the Kuḍavūr-nāḍu, named Kaḍappaṅkuḍaiyān, and also the servants of Tiruvēṅkaṭadēvar, called upon them to state if any want or defect was observed in the matter of the *nimandappaḍi* or the daily food-offerings made to the deity. They declared that the assembly of Tirumuṇḍiyam, a *dēvadāna* village of the deity, which had received 23 *pon* (gold coins) and thereupon undertaken, in pursuance of a previous agreement engraved on stone, to light in the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara 24 lamps including one of camphor, had failed in their trust by ceasing to burn 22 lights, and maintaining only 2, on the plea of the inability of the villagers. The enquiry impressed the *Adhikāri* with the negligent behaviour and breach of trust on the part of the Tirumuṇḍiyam assembly and he ordered the transference to the temple funds of the 20 *pon* of the Tirumuṇḍiyam *sabhaiyār* available at Tiruchānūr together with 3 *pon* standing to the credit of the Tirumuṇḍiyam assembly in the temple-treasury for their service rendered to the temple, making up the original capital of 23 *pon*, and enjoined on the managers of the temple the duty of supplying ghee to Tirumala for the lamps in conjunction with the supply from the stores at Tirupati of all other articles of daily use in the temple, and seeing to the maintenance of the 24 lights including the one of camphor.

Chola Administrative System :—Thus did the *Adhikāri* help the perpetuation of the original charity. It clearly indicates the existence of a highly organised and efficient system of administration under the Chōḷas, in which the judicial and administrative functions were not, however, differentiated. There was a heirarchy of state officials, the two-

visible links in the chain brought to our notice in the record being the *Adhikāri* or the provincial governor and the *Śiritanattuppaṇimakan* or the sub-divisional officer in charge of Kuḍavūr-nāḍu. There might have existed a link intermediate between these two, probably disignated *Peritanattuppaṇimakan*, an officer placed in charge of the district of Tiruvēṅkaṭa-kōṭṭam, and another one or two lower down below the *Śiritanattuppaṇimakan* entrusted with the administration of one or more villages combined into a group denominated the *kūṟṟam*. Likely such a one was Kōṭṭūr-uḍaiyān, the head of Kōṭṭūr, a village formerly situated at the foot of the hill about a mile to the east of Tirupati and north of Tiruchānūr and known to have existed down to the time of Achyutarāya who built a temple for Achyutaperumāḷ within its limits about midway between Tirupati and the foot of the hill (No. 355—G.T.), but now no longer existing. The ancient village also comprised within it the shrine of Śrī Kapilēśvara, and Rāyan-Rājēndra-Chōḷan alias Brahmamārāyan Munaiyadaraiyan, who was the head of Kōṭṭūr in the reign of Rājēndra—Chōḷa I, probably built the temple of Śrī Kapilēśvara (No. 210—G.T.).

Continuance of Pallava Administrative Divisions under the Cholas :—The divisions and sub-divisions of the country given in the record are seen to have remained unchanged from the time of the Pallava king Kō-Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman, except for the mention of Perumbāṇappāḍi as a major division of Jayaṅkoṇḍa-Chōḷa-maṇḍalam, comprising a major number of the twenty-four *kōṭṭams* or districts into which the old Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam was divided. We find assemblies at Tiruchānūr and Tirumuṇḍiyam, of which the former appears from an epigraph (No. 126—G.T.) of the time of Rājarāja III, to have gained greater prominence and to have wielded more extensive territorial jurisdiction. Owing to the importance of Tiruchānūr in religious and political spheres and the frequent visits paid by the royal officers to the place and, it may be also, with a view to providing facility for carrying on the deliberations of its assembly, the state had a court-house built at its expense in the village.

Siritanam the Recorder of Temple Charities :—From the expression "kōyiṟ-kāryam-ārāyinda-iḍattu," it looks as though some time was set apart for the consideration of temple matters as distinct from other state affairs. The summons to the *Śiritanattuppaṇimakan* of Kuḍavūr-nāḍu and to no other state official of a higher or lower rank, to depose on the condition of the charities in the temple would indicate that he alone had an account of the procedure,

offerings, services, emoluments, endowments, agreements and all other transactions relating to the temples situated within the limits of his *nāḍu*, while the enquiry and decree of the *Adhikāri* discloses the fact of the want of competency on the part of the subordinate officers to investigate such matters and adjudge them.

KULOTTUNGA I: Re-naming of Tonda-mandalam:—Fragments of Kulōttuṅga's historical introduction are preserved on a few detached slabs at Tirumala and in them occur the expressions "Vīṟṟirindaruḷiya Kov-i-Rājakēsari-Panmar" Rājēndra-Chōḷa and Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa. It is known that he was called Rājēndra II in the earlier years of his reign and the surname Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa was assumed subsequent to the 4th regnal year. The complete historical introduction, beginning with "Pugaḻ-śūḻnda-puṇari-agaḻ-śūḻnda-puviyil," is furnished by No. 381—G.T. (No. 265 of 1904 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.) from Yōgi-Mallavaram which is dated in the 24th year of the reign of Kō-Rājakēsarivarman alias Chakravartigaḷ Śrī Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadeva. Between the reigns of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I and Kulōttuṅga I, Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam which had hitherto been called Jayaṅkoṇḍa-Chōḷa-maṇḍalam till the accession of the former (No. 20—T.T.) is seen to have been re-named Rājēndra-Chōḷa-maṇḍalam, which occurs both in No. 386—G. T. dated in the 16th year of Vīra-Rājēndradēva and in No. 381—G. T. This might have taken place sometime during Rājēndra-Chōḷa I's reign and continued in use through the reigns of Vīra-Rājēndradēva and Kulōttuṅga I, but latterly the old name Jayaṅkoṇḍa-Chōḷa-maṇḍalam re-appears in the records of Rājarāja III (Nos. 380, 384 and 389—G. T.).

RAJARAJA III:—Rājarāja III appears without any regal titles, except the commonplace "Tribhuvanachakravartigaḷ" which we find assumed by a number of his own feudatory chiefs. There are about a dozen inscriptions belonging to his reign of which only one from Tirupati (No. 126—G. T.) and four from Yōgi-Mallavaram (Nos. 380, 384, 385 and 389—G. T.) are complete, while the rest are fragmentary. Their dates range between his 7th and 19th years.

His Subordinate Vira-Narasingadeva Yadavaraya:—Vīra-Nārasiṅgadēva Yādavarāya appears as a powerful subordinate of Rājarāja III, holding sway over this part of the country comprising portions of the modern Chittoor, Vellore and Chingleput districts, as is evidenced by the existence of

his inscriptions at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr and other places. No. 380 dated in the 7th year of Rājarāja III refers to a war that took place between the Yādavarāya and the Kāḍavarāya, i. e., the elder Kāḍava Aḷagiya-Śīyan, the father of the famous Kō-Peruñjiṅga, at Uratti, the modern village of Oratti near Madhurāntakam in the Chingleput district. It was probably waged in aid of Rājarāja III and success attended the Yādavarāya's arms, for in some records of Rājarāja's 8th year we find Vīra-Nārasiṁha Yādavarāya assuming the title "Taniniṟuveṟa," i.e., "who fought single-handed" (S.I.I., Vol. IV, page 195, No. 648). He is the donor in Nos. 380, 389, 226 and 231—G.T. He seems to exercise the royal privilege of granting certain taxes to the temples for being utilised for the conduct of festivals instituted in his name, though in one case (No. 389) his grant is seen to have been based on the oral orders of the king (*tiruvāykkēḷvi-munnāka*). In the case of his direct grants, as they appear, they were registered as the edicts (*tirumukham*) of Piḷḷaiyār Vīra-Nārasiṅgadēvar. He was the semi-independent administrator of his fief with powers of investigation, decision and control, similar to those noticed to have been attaching to the *Adhikāri* or the provincial governor under Rājēndra-Chōḷa I (No. 20—T.T.).

An Instance of Judicial Proceedings:—A case of default in the conduct of the holy bath and offerings arranged for God Tīppalādīśvaram-uḍaiya-Nāyanār of Tiruchchukanūr by Jayaṅkoṇḍaśōḻa Brahmamārāyan on the 80th day in the 23rd year of the reign of "Śrīmatkīrti—munnuḍaittāka Śrī Kō-Rājakēsariyāṉa Śrī Rājarājadēvar," for which the donor had paid 26¼ *kaḻañju* of pure gold weighed with the *dharma-kaṭṭaḷai-kal* into the hands of the *sabhaiyār* of Tiruchchukanūr, was taken to the notice of Chāḷukki Vīra-Nārasiṅgadēvar alias Yādavarāyar (No. 384—G. T.). At the enquiry held into the matter in the *Tirukkaṇṇappadēvan-tirukkāvaṇam*, the *sthānattār* of Tīppalādiśvarar's temple represented to the Yādavarāya, the *Māhēśvaras* and the *sthānattār* (probably of Aḷagiya-Perumāḷ temple at Tiruchānūr) assembled there, that, in pursuance of a past agreement engraved on stone, the *sabhaiyār* of the place who had received the gold were obliged to conduct the *ubhaiyam*, of which the *sabhaiyār* pleaded ignorance. But the provincial ruler decided, on the basis of the old stone-record, in favour of the temple and required the *sabhaiyār* to pay off the 26¼ *kaḻañju* of gold into the *Śrī-Bhaṇḍāram* (treasury of the temple) which payment was latterly acknowledged by the Śiva-Brāhmaṇas of the temple who were the hereditary worshippers, while the "Ūravar," "Pāḍikāvalar" and "Perikaūravar" stood as witnesses to this fresh

transaction. The judicial proceedings were thus conducted by the royal officer in the presence of the parties to the suit and other persons interested in the subject-matter of the contention and in the temple to which the suit related, and due credence was given to the documentary evidence furnished. As previously noticed, the judicial and executive functions were not differentiated but were reposited in one and the same person, the provincial administrator.

Local Political Assemblies :—No. 126—G.T. from Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple in Tirupati, dated in the 19th year of Rājarāja III throws light on the functions and powers of the local political assemblies and on the process of representation or petition to the king for grant of land to the temple. The *Periya-nāṭṭār* of Tirukkuḍavūr-nāḍu had installed an image of Tirumaṅgaiyāḻvār in the temple of Śrī Gōvindarāja but had not provided for his daily propitiation. Śrī Śaṭhakōpadāsar-piḷḷai and three others consulted together and placed the subject before the *sabhaiyār* (assembly) of Tiruchānūr who met in full numbers in the assembly-hall of the temple and resolved upon it. This resolution of the *ṣabhaiyār*, which in effect would amount to no more than a commendatory indorsement, was fully approved of by the king and ordered to be given effect to. The *Tirukkuḍavūr-nāṭṭār* executed the royal order by assigning within the limits of the village of Kuḍavūr a piece of land yielding grain at the rate of 5 *tūmbu* per *paṭṭi* as measured with the measure known as the *Chāḷukki*. The want of daily provision was thus met by the *Periya-nāṭṭār* themselves who had previously installed the *Āḻvār*, and the document was attested by the *Periya-nāṭṭuvēḷār* on the consent of the men of Tirukkuḍavūr being signified and the approval of the *Periya-nāṭṭār* being given to it.

Their Limited Powers :—The representatives of the temple had to submit their petition through the local assembly which held jurisdiction over the area and this assembly had to recommend it, probably, to a superior official or body which sent it on to the king. The local assemblies lacked powers of granting land or transacting any similar business on their own motion, but could only discuss, report and recommend for the consideration of the king any matter that came within its cognisance. This was a necessary limitation to their power, since they were public bodies and had to safe-guard the interests of the state, and the use of their unlimited discretion might result in undesirable alienations of public land.

THE PANDYAS.

JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA I :—Only one Pāṇḍya king is represented by a few inscriptions recording his *praśasti* in Saṁskṛit which pertains to Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. He carried his victorious arms to the north into the territory of the Kākatīyas, overcoming a number of chiefs and princes on the way, while his predecessor Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II conquered the Chōḷa country south of the Kāvērī. Thus the whole of the peninsula right down from the Gōdāvarī either formed part of the Pāṇḍya sovereignty or was subject to it during the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara I.

His Prasasti :—His *praśasti* as given in No. 175—T.T. represents him as the ornament of the lunar-race (*Sōmakula—tilaka*), the ruler of the town of Madhura (*Madhurāpuri—Mādhava*), the destroyer of the family of the Kēraḷas (*Kēraḷavaṁśa—nirmūlana*), the second Rama in shattering Laṅkāpurī (*Laṅkāpurī—luṭhana—dvitīya—Rāma*), the thunderbolt to the mountain which is the Chōḷa family (*Chōḷakulaśaila—kuliśa*), one who put to flight the Karṇāṭa king (*Karṇāṭarāja—vidrāvaṇa*), the fever to the elephant which is the Kāṭhaka or Kāḍava (*Kāṭhakakari-kūṭapākala*), the destroyer of the forts of the several enemy kings (*Vividharipu—durga—mardana*), the kindler of the fire to the forest which is Vīra-Gaṇḍagōpāla (*Vīra—Gaṇḍagōpāla—vipina—dāvadahana*), the lord of Kāñchī the best of cities (*Kāñchipuravarādhīśvara*), the tiger to the deer which is Gaṇapati (*Gaṇapati—hariṇa—śārdūla*), the establisher of the suppliant kings (*Praṇata—rāja—pratishṭhāpaka*), the lord paramount over the *mahārājas* and *adhirājas* (*Mahārājādhirāja—paramēśvara*) and the sovereign over the three worlds (*Tribhuvanachakravarti*). He is therein called Śrī Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēvap-Perumāḷ.

His Deeds of Valour :—These several incidents are reiterated in part in the other epigraphs relating to him. No. 239—T.T. is made up of three Saṁskṛit verses, the first of which, in the *Śārdūla* metre, describes how Sundara-Pāṇḍya of unsurpassable glory, who chastises those that swerve from the right path, had caused Gaṇḍagōpāla on account of his mean behaviour to flee to heaven so as to be seen by the Gods. The second, in the Āryā metre, states that Vīra-Gaṇḍagōpāla being fixed in heaven was ordained to perform the penance of standing on the edge of the sword (*asidhārā—vratam*). The third, much damaged, seems to refer to the conquest of the Kēraḷa country, etc. Again No. 241—T.T., a Saṁskṛit verse in the *Upajāti* metre, recounts that

Sundara-Pāṇḍya washed his sword in the gore of the wicked enemy kings, vanquished Āndhrēśvara, and taught Vīra-Gaṇḍagōpāla the *asidhārā-vratam.*

His Virabhishekam at Kanchi :—There can be no doubt as to the actual performance of these oft-repeated deeds of valour. The Chōḷa race came to an end; the Kērāḷas were destroyed; the Kāṭhaka or Kāḍava Kōpperuñjiṅga, the Sarvagña Khaḍgamalla of our inscriptions, who claimed to be the ornament of the Pallava race, was vanquished and subdued; Vīra-Gaṇḍagōpāla of the Telugu-Pallava family, probably ruling at Nellore, was killed; and the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati was defeated. Sundara-Pāṇḍya after achieving these successes had the "Vīrābhishēkam" performed for himself at Kāñchī (Nos. 231 and 240—T.T.). We know that he was anointed once at Nellore, and we now find that he was crowned at Kāñchī also and that he put on the golden anklet signifying the hero in him (No. 240—T.T.). Further the expression "hatv-Āndhram-Utka" occurring in No. 231—T.T. indicates that Jaṭāvarman Sundara defeated not only the Ādhra king, but the king of Utkala also, i.e. the Gajapati king of Orissa.

His Vassal Vira-Narasingadeva :—Two inscriptions (Nos. 164 and 165—T.T.) mention Sundara-Pāṇḍya and Vīra-Nārasiṅgadēva together. The former registers a grant of the village of Pādirivēḍu as *sarvamānya* to take effect from the 12th year of Sundara-Pāṇḍya, while the latter gives effect to a grant of some land from the 3rd year of the reign of "Nāyanār," i.e., Sundara-Pāṇḍya quite likely. Thus Vīra-Nārasiṁha Yādavarāya who was at first a Chōḷa subordinate under Rājarāja III, was obliged, on the conquest of the Chōḷa empire by Sundara-Pāṇḍya, to acknowledge the Pāṇḍya supremacy in his later years, and it shows that the direct rule of the Pāṇḍyas extended so far at least.

Remission of Taxes :—The grant as *sarvamānya* of Pādirivēḍu seems to have entailed the remission of certain taxes hitherto collected by the state, such as *paṭṭippon, ponvari, kudiraivari, kāṇikkai, nāṭṭuvari, nallerudu, narpaśu, māvaḍai, maravaḍai, kaḍamai*, etc. Some of them were paid in gold coin, and were comprehensively known as *ponnāyam*, while others being paid in grain were known as *nellāyam.* The village granted was situated in the Āśuvamukkilai-nāḍu within the sub-district of Tirukkuḍavūr-nāḍu. Āśuvamukkilai-nāḍu was a kind of *kūṟṟam*, a group or union of villages; and a number of such groups were comprised within the major *nāḍu.*

Procedure for Grants :—No. 165—T. T. indicates the method of making grants of lands or villages by the king. The *Sthānattār* of the temple submitted a petition for the grant of land probably in Agaraparṟu, which was

considered by the *nāḍavar* of Kuḍavūr-nāḍu and Toṇḍapaḍiparṟu and latterly endorsed by the *Vāriyavimānattār.* The king was pleased to grant the request exactly as it was made in the petition, and his order issued orally was communicated by the Yādavarāya. This confirms the procedure observed during the Chōḷa administration, particularly under Rājarāja III (No. 126—G.T.).

CHOLA & PANDYA SUBORDINATES.

DISRUPTION OF THE CHOLA EMPIRE :—Kulōttuṅga III was the last great Chōḷa emperor, and even during his reign the Telugu-Chōḷas advanced upon Kāñchī and occupied it for a time until they were driven back by him. His successor Rājarāja III was a weak prince and in his time the Chōḷa feudatories endeavoured to help themselves at the cost of the Chōḷa empire. A favourable opportunity was presented to them, when Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I invaded the Chōḷa empire, conquered its southern provinces and burnt Tanjore and Uraiyur about the year 1220 A.C. (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1900, para 12; and for 1926, para 32).

KADAVARAYAS.

PERUNJINGA AND HIS FATHER :—The elder Kāḍavarāya Aḷagiya-Śiyan Avaniāḷappiṟandān Peruñjiṅga, the father of Kōpperuñjiṅga or Mahārāja-simha, availed himself of this occasion to rebel against the Chōḷa king, whom he defeated in three battles at Teḷḷāṟu, Śāvūr and Uratti and also imprisoned at Śendamaṅgalam, when Hoysaḷa Vīra-Narasimha ran to the rescue of Rājarāja III, liberated him and set him upon his throne again (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1923, paras 5, 7 and 8). No. 380—G.T. from Yōgi-Mallavaram reports that a hot contest at close quarters took place at Uratti between the Yādavarāya Vīra-Nārasiṅgadēva and the elder Kāḍavarāya, and that Nārāyaṇa-Piḷḷai, the brother-in-law of the Yādavarāya, lost his life in it. About 1230 A.C. Kōpperuñjiṅga himself took up arms against Rājarāja III, captured him and shut him up for a second time at Śendamaṅgalam until released once again by Hoysaḷa Vīra-Narasimha. The civil war between Rājarāja III and Rājēndra III furnished the opportune moment for the Kāḍava Kōpperuñjiṅga to crown himself and assert his independence. The northern invasion of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I enabled the Kāḍava to extend his territory as an ally of the Pāṇḍya ruler and claim universal conquest (See page 102 *ante*). Both the Kāḍava

Kōpperuñjiṅga, addressed in Nos. 226 and 227—T.T. as "Sarvagña-Khaḍga-malla," and Vīra-Nārasiṅga Yādavarāya transferred their allegiance from the Chōḷa to the Pāṇḍya on the conquest of the Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam by Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.

YADAVARAYAS.

TIRUKKALATTIDEVA YADAVARAYA:—Of the Yādavarāyas, the earliest to come to notice is Tirukkāḷattidēva Yādavarāya represented by No. 170—T. T. bearing the 19th year of his own reign. His inscriptions found elsewhere range in date between the 13th year of Kulōttuṅga III (=1191 A. C.) (No. 87 of 1922 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.) and the 30th year of Rājarāja III (=1246 A. C.) (No. 495 of 1902) and Śaka 1168 (=1246 A. C.) ("Nellore Inscriptions," Atmakur No. 7). Consequently his 19th regnal year in which he made the grant of Kuḍavūr to the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara must correspond roughly to 1210 A.C. The *praśasti* that precedes the grant portion in No. 170—T.T. refers to Tirukkāḷattidēva Yādavarāya as 'the sole shelter of the terrestrial globe' (*Sakalabhuvana—maṇḍalaikāśraya*), 'the proud cuckoo of the royal park of all learning' (*Samasta—vidyōdyāna—mattakalakaṇṭha*), 'the honey-bee (sucking) at the lotus-feet of (God) Śrīkāḷahastīśa' (*Śrī-kāḷahastīśa—charaṇāravinda—madhukara*), 'the ruler of the prosperous Vēṇṭa-giripura' (*Śrīmad—Vēṇṭagiripura—pālaka*), 'the chief of huntsmen' (*Vēṇṭari-pālaka*), 'the overlord of Vēṅgi' (*Vēṅgi—Mahānāyaka*), 'the recipient of the excellent grace obtained from Piṭharadēvī (Piḍāridēvi) (*Piṭharadēvī—labdha—varaprasāda*), 'the master of the Gōdāvarī' (*Gōdāvarī—vallabha*), 'the lord of Kanupāka, the best city' (*Kanupāka—puravarādhīśvara*), 'the best among the learned men, (*Vidvajjanōttama*), 'the retreat of the defeated kings' (*Paribhūta-rājāśraya*), 'the ornament of the Lunar race' (*Chandrakulatilaka*), 'Chāḷukya—Nārāyaṇa, 'the abode of all (virtuous) qualities' (*Sakalaguṇa—saṅgrāma*), 'Mahārājādhirāja,' 'Yādavarāja' and 'Śrīmadbhujabala.'

Relations between the Yadavarayas and the Telugu-Cholas:—Some of these *birudas*, especially *Chāḷukya—Nārāyaṇa* assumed by Tirukkāḷattidēva and *Śaśikula—Chāḷukki* by Vīra-Nārasiṅgadēva Yādavaraya, indicate the connection of the Yādavarāyas with the Eastern Chāḷukyas from whom it would seem as though the former acquired territorial domination over a portion of the Vēṅgi kingdom originally. And with the extinction of the Eastern

Chāḷukya dynasty, the Yādavarāyas must have nominally claimed dominion over the whole of the Vēṅgi country. Subject, however, to the suzerainty of the Chōḷas later on, the Yādavarāyas in fact exercised their authority over the northern and eastern portion of the Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam and held the Telugu-Chōḷas as their feudatories, as disclosed in the Vēṅkatagiri epigraphs Nos. 1, 7, 10 and 11 of the 'Nellore Inscriptions,' wherein we find Madhurāntaka Pottapi-Chōḷa Eṟṟa-Siddharaśa as the executor of the grants made by Rāja-malladēva Yādavarāya alias Bhujabala-Siddharaśa and his consort Kamala-Mahādēvi alias Bejjādēvi in Nāgapuḍōli. It is therefore possible that the Yādavarāyas were provincial governors and that the Telugu-Chōḷas were rulers of chiefships, especially in the Pākkai-nāḍu or Pāka-nāḍu, i.e., Prāñg-nāḍu, the 'eastern district' comprising portions of the modern Nellore and Cuddapah districts. In evidence of this we find Tirukkāḷattidēva's inscriptions in the Nellore, Chittoor and North Arcot districts and they suggest the extension of his sway from Tiruvannamalai in the south-west (No. 495 of 1902 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.) upto at least Kalahasti in the north-east (Ibid., No. 87 of 1922). Further the Yādavarāyas honoured their Telugu-Chōḷa subordinates by giving their daughters in marriage to them and by choosing their own wives from their families, and this mutual alliance not only conferred a dignity on the Telugu-Chōḷa princes but also served to strengthen their position. Tirukkāḷattidēva is referred to in the Atmakur inscription No. 7 as the father-in-law (*māma*) of Allun-Tirukkāḷattidēva Mahārāja, i.e., the Telugu-Chōḷa Tikka, one of whose queens Lakshmīdēvi is reported in Nos. 46 of 1893 and 195 of 1903 to be the daughter of Vīra-Nārasiṅgadēva Yādavarāya. On the other side, No. 149 of 1922 shows that a certain Yādavarāya wedded the daughter of a Pottappichchōḷa-Mārāśar (Mahārāja).

Two Queens of Tirukkalattideva:—Two queens of Tirukkāḷattidēva Yādavarāya are known, viz., Puḍōli-Mādēviyār who made a gift of cows to the temple at Kalahasti in the 13th year of Kulōttuṅga III (No. 87 of 1922) and Chāḷukkikula-Mādēviyār, daughter of Siṅgaraśar, whose gift of sheep to the same temple is registered in No. 196 of 1892 in the 10th year of Rājarāja III.

VIRARAKSHASA YADAVARAYA:—Tirukkāḷattidēva's son was Siṅgappiḷḷai alias Vīrarākshasa Yādavarāya, who provided for a *tiru-mantira-tiruppōnakam* for Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān from the produce derived from the land granted by him in Tirukkuḍavūr-nāḍu (Nos. 293 and 362—T.T.). His inscription at Kalahasti, No. 197 of 1892 of the Mad. Ep. Coll., is dated in the

15th year of Kulōttuṅga III (=1193 A.C.) and it is probable that the 15th year of a Chōḷadēva, in which No. 293—T.T. is dated,also refers to the reign of the same king Kulōttuṅga III.

VIRA-NARASINGADEVA YADAVARAYA :—Vīra-Nārasiṅgadēva Yādavarāya comes next. Some of his records in our collection are dated between his 12th and 51st years. His earliest mention occurs in No. 120 of 1922 bearing the 31st year of Kulōttuṅga III (=1209 A.C.) and the latest reference is found in No. 164—T.T. of the 12th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (=1262 A.C.). Consequently his rule covered a minimum period of 54 years and this confirms the highest regnal year 51 given for him in No. 125—G.T. which quotes the corresponding cyclic year Rākshasa. No. 143—G.T. wrongly quotes his 50th year as corresponding to the cyclic year Vikrama, which is nearly 35 years anterior to Rākshasa, and the Tamil figure 50 must therefore be a mistake for 15. With Rākshasa as his 51st year and Vikrama the 15th year, his first year would be Krōdhana (Śaka 1127=1205 A.C.), while his last year so far known is the 12th year of Sundara-Pāṇḍya (=1262 A.C.). This gives a duration of 57 years for Vīra-Nārasiṅgadēva Yādavarāya. As a feudatory chief he administered a portion of the Toṇḍamaṇḍalam comprising parts of the modern Chittoor, Vellore and Chingleput districts. He fought on the side of Rājarāja III in the wars which Kōpperuñjiṅga and his father waged against the Chōḷa monarch, as instanced by No. 380—G.T. in the fight that took place at Uratti, the modern Oratti in the Madhurantakam taluk of the Chingleput district. Along with the Yādavarāya title of *Śaśikula-Chāḷukki*, he had early assumed the *biruda Taniniṉruvenṟa* ('who conquered singly, unaided') (No. 371—T.T.), and *Rājāśraya* ('the asylum of kings') (No. 659 of 1904). No. 371—T.T. records that Vīra-Nārasimha conquered his enemies in war, extended his fame over the earth, wedded the Goddess of Prosperity and bore the insignia of royalty, viz., a garlanded elephant, a white umbrella, etc. He is therein also reported to have performed the *Tulārōhaṇa* ceremony, i.e., weighing himself in scales against gold, and to have presented that gold to the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara for gilding the *vimānam* and other structures. This invested the Vēṅkaṭa Hill with a golden lustre by which it equalled Mount Mēru in appearance. This gilding by Vīra-Nārasimhadēva Yādavarāya seems to have taken place almost simultaneously with the fixing of the golden vase (*kanaka-kalaśa*) over the *vimānam* by Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (No. 172—T.T.). As a provincial ruler he made

grants independently in certain cases and held enquiries pertaining to the progress of old grants and passed decrees (Cf. No. 384—G.T.). He installed an image of Mallikārjuna in the temple of Maṇikkeṅgaindaiya-Nāyanār at Kalahasti and an image of Vīra-Nārasimhēśvaramuḍaiya-Nāyanār, after his own name, in the verandah round the central shrine of the temple at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr (No. 227 of 1912). Another image of Vīra-Nārasiṅga-Perumāḷ was installed somewhere in Tirupati, as noted in No. 195—T.T., and it is likely that the installation was done at the instance of Vīra-Nārasiṅgadēva Yādavarāya himself. With his permission the central shrine of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's temple at Tirumala was renovated by a certain Dēśāntari Tiruppullāṇidāsar in the 40th year of the Yādavarāya's reign, and on the completion of the repairs the inscriptions that were contained on the walls of the central shrine were required to be re-engraved in their original position. And so we have four Chōḷa records, Nos. 17, 18, 19 and 20—T.T., re-engraved on the north wall at the western corner under these injunctions of Vīra-Nārasiṅgadēva Yādavarāya. This *Dēśāntari* is probably identical with the Tiruppullāṇidāsar of Śēravan-mahādēvi-chaturvēdi-maṅgalam or Shermadevi who constructed the temple of Kāṇaviniya-Perumāḷ at Kīḻachchēval in the Tinnevelly district about 1247 A.C., before the 9th year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān (i.e. Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II) (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1912, page 64, para 34). And so the renovation of the central shrine of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's temple was effected two years earlier in 1245 A.C., being the 40th year of Vīra-Nārasiṁha Yādavarāya.

His Queen and Daughters :—His queen Yādavarāya-Nāchchiyār presented cows and bulls to the temple for supplying ghee for the lamps set up in the presence of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa and Śrī Gōvindarāja (Nos. 381—T.T. and 113—G.T.). She also instituted a new festival for God Gōvindarāja, a duplicate Brahmōtsavam, to be celebrated in the Tamil month of Āni, and granted half the village of Paiṇḍapalli to meet the expenses of this festival. She must have been the daughter of Pāṇḍiyadaraiyar whose son-in-law (*maruganār*) Vīra-Nārasiṅgadēva is stated to have been (No. 380—G. T.). Pāṇḍiyadaraiyar was the son of a certain Āṇḍār and he managed the affairs of the temple of Tīppalādiśvaramuḍaiya-Nāyanār situated in the western part of Tiruchchukanūr now separated and denominated Yōgi-Mallavaram. He was designated *Pokkan* or *Pokkāran*, i.e., treasurer, and he probably held that office under his own son-in-law. He was entitled *Parasamayakōḷari*, 'the destroyer of the rival philosophical tenets.' It was his son Nārāyaṇappiḷḷai who lost his life

in the engagement that took place at Uratti between Vīra-Nārasiṅgadēva Yādavarāya and the elder Kāḍavarāya Aḷagiya-Śīyan. Vīra-Nārasiṅgadēva had two daughters of whom Lakshmīdēvi, one of the queens of the Telugu-Chōḷa Tikka or Allun-Tirukkāḷattidēva (Nos. 46 of 1893 and 195 of 1903 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.), was probably the elder one, while Śōḷavvaiyār (No. 156 of 1922 of the same Coll.) was the younger one.

His Subordination to Vira-Gandagopaladeva :—Vīra-Nārasiṅga Yādavarāya is stated in the Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1905, para 42, to have been a subordinate of Vīra-Gaṇḍagōpāla, the Telugu-Pallava chief, whom Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I claimed to have defeated and killed. The period of subordination, if at all, must have been very short and ended about 1252-53 A. C. corresponding to the 3rd year of Sundara-Pāṇḍya, since by that date Vīra-Nārasiṁha acknowledged the authority of the Pāṇḍya king (No. 165—T.T.).

TIRUVENKATANATHA YADAVARAYA :— Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha was a later member belonging to the Yādavarāya family. The four inscriptions of our collection representing him, viz., Nos. 189 and 195—T.T. and Nos. 11 and 40—G.T. are dated in his own regnal years 8 and 12. On the request of his general Siṅgaya-Daṇṇāyaka, Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha granted half the village of Poṅgaḷūr situated in Illattūr-nāḍu as *sarvamānya* to God Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān to serve for the expenses of celebrating the Āḍi festival and conducting the *Sitakaraganḍan-sandhi* established in the name of the Mahāpradhāni Rēchaya-Daṇṇāyaka (No. 189—T.T.). The grant was made in the Āḍi month of the 8th year, the opposite year 1, of Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha's reign and it was to take effect from the Āḍi month in his 9th year. Since the village was granted at the instance of Siṅgaya-Daṇṇāyaka, Poṅgaḷūr was surnamed Siṅgaṇanallūr (No. 195—T.T.). Siṅgaya-Daṇṇāyaka was the son of Mādappan, i.e., Mādappa-Daṇṇāyaka, identical with Mādhava-Daṇḍanāyaka, the son of Perumāḷadēva who was the minister of Hoysaḷa Vīra-Narasiṁha III. This Mādappa or Mādhava had another son Vīra-Chikka-Kētaya who was a feudatory of Vīra-Vallāḷa III (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1907, para 49); and both the father Mādappa and the son Kētaya are stated to have been 'governors of Padināḷku-nāḍu with the seat of government at Terakaṇāmbi in the Guṇḍlupēṭ tāluka of the Mysore district.' And Siṅgaya, the younger brother of Kētaya, served under both the Yādavarāyas Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha and Śrīraṅganātha and the Hoysaḷa Vīra-Vallāḷa III. These Daṇṇāyakas were the chiefs of Daṇāyakankōṭṭai in the Satyamaṅgalam taluk of the Coimbatore district, and they had the common

biruda Sitakaraganḍan among others. From the *Sitakaraganḍan-sandhi* instituted in the name of Rēchaya-Daṇṇāyaka, it is inferable that Rēchaya also was a Daṇāyakankōṭṭai chief possessing that title.

His Vassalage under Vira-Vallala III :—Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha Yādavarāya also granted the village of Tirupati as a *tirunāmattukkāṇi* for the propitiation of Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān during the *Nārāyaṇan-sandhi* instituted by him in memory of an ancestor of his named Yādava Nārāyaṇa in whose name a deity was also installed in the village of Nāgapuḍōli by Rājamalladēva alias Bhujabala-Siddharasan alias Yādavarāyan during the last years of Kulōttuṅga III. The conversion of this *tirunāmattukkāṇi* into a *sarvamānya* grant by Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha himself in the 12th year of his own reign entailed the remission of numerous taxes one of which was the *Vallāḷadēvar-vari* (No. 11—G.T.). This tax levied in the name of Vallāḷadēva was probably the tribute paid by the Yādavarāya to Vīra-Vallāḷa III who, on the dismemberment of the Pāṇḍya and the Yādava kingdoms caused by the southern invasion of Malik Kafur about 1310 A.C. and in the political disorder resulting from it, had aggrandised to himself a portion of the old Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam and reduced the petty chieftains to submission and lorded it over them. Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha's feudatory position is therefore indicated by the levy of the *Vallāḷadēvar-vari* within his province. Similar was the position of his successor Śrīraṅganātha Yādavarāya.

His General Singaya :—These Yādavarāyas governed their chiefships as the feudatories of the last Hoysaḷa Vīra-Vallāḷa III, with the help of the Daṇāyakankōṭṭai chiefs engaged as generals and ministers. It is therefore that Siṅgaya-Daṇṇāyaka appears as a general under Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha Yādavarāya and as the *Mahāpradhāni* under Śrīraṅganātha Yādavarāya. Rēchaya-Daṇṇāyaka held the post of *Mahāpradhāni* (chief minister) under Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha and on his demise Siṅgaya occupied it for 3 or 4 years in the reign of Śrīraṅganātha (No. 354—T.T.). This Siṅgaya also served under Vīra-Vallāḷa III during the last years of the latter's reign and finally assumed independence after the death of the Hoysaḷa about the year 1342-43 A.C. and ruled independently until about 1348 A. C.

His Date :—Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha was therefore an elder contemporary of Vīra-Vallāḷa III and probably ruled his principality for about 15 years during the third and the fourth decades of the 14th century until 1336-37 A.C., the year of accession of Śrīraṅganātha Yādavarāya. He must have predeceased

Vīra-Vallāḷa who in turn predeceased Śrīraṅganātha about the Śaka year 1265, cyclic year Chitrabhānu (=1342-43 A.C.), the latest known date for the Hoysaḷa (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1907, para 51). His relationship with the earlier members of the Yādavarāya family or with his successor Śrīraṅganātha is not definitely known. It may however be surmised that Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha was the father of Śrīraṅganātha Yādavarāya.

Taxation during the Period :—The numerous taxes numbering about forty, remitted from the village of Tirupati in favour of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's temple, are found classified in the epigraph itself (No. 11—G.T.) as gold taxes comprising *Pon-vari*, etc.; grain taxes comprising *Kaḍamaiāyam*, etc.; taxes relating to free service known as *Amañji-vagai ;* taxes levied by the assembly of the *Nāṭṭār ;* and other old and new taxes promulgated from the royal court. Some of the taxes enumerated in Nos. 189—T.T. and 11—G.T. related to tolls levied on animals ; road-cess or a kind of poll-tax ; profession tax on merchants, oil-mongers, weavers, etc.; license for planting gardens, for fishing in ponds, etc.; and poundage on stray cattle. These are akin to the feudal dues levied in the western countries during the Middle Ages. Two of the three "ancient and customary aids" are also represented in this list by the *Tirumaganār—kāṇikkai* and the *Tiruttāyār—kāṇikkai*, i.e., taxes levied for the benefit of the heir-apparent and the queen-mother. The third item, viz., the aid for ransoming the body of the king if captured by the enemy, occurs as a kind of tribute paid to the liege-lord ; and in this instance it was the *Vallāḷadēvar-vari* raised as tribute to be paid by the Yādavarāya to the conqueror and liege-lord the Hoysaḷa.

SRIRANGANATHA YADAVARAYA :—Śrīraṅganātha Yādavarāya was probably the successor of Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha Yādavarāya. He is represented by half a dozen inscriptions ranging in date between his 3rd and 19th regnal years. No. 242 of 1912 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr near Madras furnishes his 16th year with the corresponding cyclic year Khara. The astronomical details given therein work out correctly for Tuesday, the 24th of May 1351 A. C., and the Śaka year then current was 1273. Hence the 1st year of his reign would fall in Śaka 1258, Dhātu, corresponding to 1336-37 A.C., during which he might have succeeded Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha Yādavarāya. From these dates it is certain that Hoysaḷa Vīra-Vallāḷa III was an elder contemporary of Śrīraṅganātha Yādavarāya, the first seven years of whose reign coincided with the last seven years of the Hoysaḷa's reign. Since Śrīraṅganātha continued

to rule for about 20 years, his date must have extended at least up to 1355-56 A.C. (Śaka 1277-78) by which time the newly established Vijayanagara kingdom reduced that portion of the southern country included within the old Toṇḍa—maṇḍalam to its rule and after having defeated and subdued the Śambuvarāya embarked on the conquest of the Muhammadan principality of Madura under the able generalship of Kumāra-Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar assisted by his Brāhmaṇa general Goppaṇārya and the Sāḷuva chief Maṅgidēva Mahārāja. Like other seemingly independent princes Śrīraṅganātha Yādavarāya must also have submitted himself to the Vijayanagara authority and henceforward ruled his principality as a Vijayanagara subordinate.

His Reign :—No. 181-T.T. describes a certain king as being "a Rāma in battle" and "the ornament of the Lunar race", and addresses him as "Chāḷukya-Nārāyaṇa". It bears the Śaka year (12) 81 with the corresponding cyclic year Vikāri which equate themselves with 1359-60 A.C. The epithets noted above pertain to the chiefs of the Yādavarāya family and from the date of the record it is possible that it belongs to Śrīraṅganātha Yādavarāya. If so, it yields his 24th year of reign, the highest date available for him, and he would then have reigned from 1336-37 to 1359-60 A.C.

His Wars :—King Yādava Śrīraṅganātha is reported in No. 380—T.T. to have waged wars against kings who defied his commands, driven them out of their magnificent cities and made them seek shelter on mountains. Then alone his wrath abated. Being victorious in his wars he adorned his wounded chest with a flower-garland symbolising his victory and later on built a royal mansion for himself on the Vēṅkaṭa-Hill. The period of Śrīraṅganātha's political career comprised the reigns of Vīra-Vallāḷa III, the last king of the Hoysaḷa dynasty and of Harihara I and Bukka I, the first two kings of the Saṅgama dynasty of Vijayanagara, and the time was one of political turmoil. Śrīraṅganātha might have taken an active part in such warfare either for self-aggrandisement or in support of the new Hindu monarchy of Vijayanagara that then came into being out of the ruins of the earlier Hindu states of the south including the Hoysaḷa kingdom, and these might have formed the basis for the wars reported in the above inscription.

Compensation for Water-Supply :—The village of Tirupati was a *sarvamānya* granted to God Vēṅkaṭēśa by Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha Yādavarāya. But some of the lands situated at the north sluice of the *Peri-ēri* (big tank) in Tirupati belonged to Emperumānār, i.e., Śrī Rāmānuja, having been endowed for his daily worship. They were neglected and so became overgrown with

shrubs and bushes. In the 3rd year of Śrīraṅganātha's reign these *pūṭṭai* lands were cleared of their overgrowth and irrigational facilities were provided. Along with the village, the *Peri-ēri* also formed part of the property of God Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān and water could not be drawn from it for the cultivation of the lands belonging to Emperumānār without some compensation being paid to Him. Consequently a sum of 200 *paṇam* was presented as *tirumuṉ-kāṇikkai* to Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān for the purpose. Thereafter the *pūṭṭai* lands were allowed to be irrigated from the big tank, in accordance with the practice prevailing in the matter of water-supply from it in regard to other lands in Tirupati (No. 115-G.T.).

HOBALA YADAVA :—King Hōbaḷa Yādava is the latest Yādavarāya chief that comes to notice in these epigraphs. His gift of a gold covering for the *Vaikuṇṭha-Hasta* held in the posture of *Varada-Hasta*, i.e., boon-giving hand, of God Vēṅkaṭēśvara is recorded in No. 56-T. T. both in a Samskṛit and a Tamil verse. Ōbaḷanātha is mentioned in the Tamil stanza to have been the king of Tañjai and to have acquired celebrity for learning. In the Tamil stanza, Tirumala is called *Vaḍa-Vēṅkaṭam*, i.e., the North Vēṅkaṭa-Hill and is stated to have abounded in sweet-smelling herbs and plants.

TELUGU--CHOLAS.

ALLUN-TIRUKKALATTIDEVA OR TIKKA :—Tribhuvanachakra-vartigaḷ Madhurāntaka—(Pottapi—Chōḷa) Allun—Tirukkāḷattidēva appears in No. 430-T.T. dated in the 5th year of a certain king's reign. He was a Chōḷa feudatory belonging to the family of the Telugu—Chōḷas of Nellore who claimed descent from Karikāla. Allun—Tirukkāḷattidēva or Tikka was at first a subordinate of Kulōttuṅga III during his last years, as seen from his gift of lamps made to the temple at Nandalur in the Cuddapah district for the merit of his father Manuma—Siddharaśan and of Nalla-Siddharaśan in the 31st year of Kulōttuṅga, corresponding to the cyclic year Śukla (=1209 A.C.) (No. 582 of 1907 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.). He continued to serve Rājarāja III throughout the latter's reign and ultimately assumed independence in the time of Rājēndra III. As a Chōḷa feudatory he governed a part of Toṇḍa—maṇḍalam and exercised almost independent authority in the grant of lands and villages to temples, in particular to the Aruḷāḷapperumāḷ temple at Tiruvattiyūr, i.e., Little Conjeevaram, wherein he instituted the service called the *Gaṇḍagōpālan-*

sandhi (offerings) in the 15th year of Rājarāja III (=1230 A.C.) (*Ibid.*, Nos. 432 and 434 of 1919). His independent reign was short, being limited to seven years only, as derived from No. 46 of 1893 from Conjeevaram and No. 201 of 1903 from Kalahasti, and it probably commenced in 1250 A.C. (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1920, page 92, App. F; and for 1922, para 59). The 5th year of our record No. 430-T.T. which seems to register a gift of land in Śeruvanūr to the temple of Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān, possibly related to this Telugu—Chōḷa chief's own reign and it would then correspond to 1255 A.C.

His Parentage and Military Exploits :—Tirukkāḷattidēva was the son of Manuma-Siddha and grandson of Eṟṟa-Siddha. His son was again a Manuma-Siddha "who was at first ousted from his dominions by his cousins" but later on restored by Kākatīya Gaṇapati on the intervention of the poet Tikkana-Sōmayāji, whose patron was Manuma-Siddha (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1900, paras 48 and 50). Of Tirukkāḷattidēva, i.e., Tikkaṉṟipati or Chōḍa-Tikka, "it is reported that, while young, he played the game of ball with the head of Pṛithvīśvara, that he defeated Karṇāṭaka-Sōmēśa, Śambhurāja and other enemies, established the Chōḷa king on his throne and, in consequence, assumed the surname *Chōḷa-sthāpanāchārya*" (*Ibid.*). He had married a number of princesses of whom two were from the Yādavarāya family, as noticed above. He was surnamed Gaṇḍagōpāla and it was after this surname that the offerings which he provided for Aruḷāḷapperumāḷ through the grant of several villages year after year came to be denominated *Gaṇḍagōpālan-sandhi*. He was entitled *Tribhuvanachakravarti* during his short independent reign. As belonging to the Telugu-Chōḷa family, he was a different prince from the Telugu-Pallava Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla of the *Bhāradvāja-gōtra* whose reign commenced in 1250 A.C. and lasted for about 35 years until 1285 A.C.

TELUGU—PALLAVAS.

VIJAYA-GANDAGOPALADEVA :—The Telugu—Pallava chief Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla is represented by about a score of inscriptions of our collection. Most of them being fragmentary, only three dates are available for him, viz., the 4th, 5th and 9th years of his own reign. His antecedents are not definitely known, but for one thing it is certain that he belonged to the Pallava family of the *Bhāradvāja-gōtra*, as stated in No. 272 of 1905 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. from Tripurantakam, No. 196 of 1923 from Uttaramerur and

Atmakur No. 25 of the "Nellore Inscriptions." It has been established from the Śaka year 1187 and the corresponding regnal years 16 and 15 quoted side by side in some of his records at Conjeevaram (Nos. 27, 35 and 36 of 1890 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.) that his rule commenced sometime in Śaka 1172, i.e., 1250 A.C. (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1920, para 57). That he ruled for 35 years is evident from the Atmakur inscription referred to above. His records abound in the Chingleput district and in particular in the Conjeevaram and the Sriperumbudur taluks of it.

Absence of References to Contemporaries in His Records :—His epigraphs do not mention any of his contemporaries, and they have to be inferred only from the corresponding dates. Neither do they claim any military glories for him, as in the case of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, Kōpperuñjiṅga or Allun-Tikka or even Vīra-Nārasimha Yādavarāya; nor do these contemporaries of his lay claim directly to any victories over him.

His Contemporaries :—His reign was coeval with those of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya, Kōpperuñjiṅga, Madhurāntaka-Pottapi-Chōḷa Allun-Tikka and Manuma-Siddha and Kākatīya Gaṇapati. Of these, Jaṭāvarman claims to have defeated and killed Gaṇḍagōpāla whom our inscriptions Nos. 239 and 241—T.T. declare to be identical with Vīra-Gaṇḍagōpāla and not Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla. The boastful assertion of Kōpperuñjiṅga that he conquered both Vijaya and Vīra Gaṇḍagōpālas (No. 226—T.T.) was shown to have been based on the success of Sundara-Pāṇḍya I as against Vīra-Gaṇḍagōpāla, for which the Tamil-Pallava also claimed credit. The Telugu-Chōḷa chief Manuma-Siddha Gaṇḍagōpāla lays claim to his conquest over a chief named Vijaya (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1908, para 75) and, if this Vijaya should refer to Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla, it is to be doubted whether full credence can be given to his statement. Manuma-Siddha's father Tirukkāḷattidēva or Allun-Tikka likewise boasts that "after having acquired his ancestral kingdom in due succession he captured the wealth of all princes who were self-willed, shook the southern quarter, killed the kings of the south, took Kāñchī and was ruling there after making it his own" (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1920, para 55); and his performance is equally doubtful, for there exist records of such chiefs as Kōpperuñjiṅga and Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla, during the period of Allun-Tikka's short reign of 7 years, in the very city of Kāñchī which he called his own.

His Co-regency with Vira-Gandagopala :—It has been stated that Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, having killed Gaṇḍagōpāla in battle, restored his kingdom to his brothers, when they begged of him for mercy. It may be true that

Vīra-Gaṇḍagōpāla was killed by Sundara-Pāṇḍya and that after him one of his brothers got possession of his kingdom. This brother may be Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla whose accession took place in 1250 A. C., the very year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya's accession to the Pāṇḍya throne. Probably till then the two brothers were together associated in their rule for about 4 or 5 years until Sundara-Pāṇḍya killed Vīra-Gaṇḍa and thus made Vijaya-Gaṇḍa the sole ruler.

His Pallava Descent from Mukkanti—Kaduvetti :—Whatever his family relations, it remains certain that Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla belonged to the Pallava race and was of the *Bhāradvāja-gōtra*, having descended from Mukkaṇṭi-Kāḍuveṭṭi. His banner was painted with the figure of a club (*Khaṭvāṅga-dhvaja*) and his ensign was the bull (*Vṛishabha-lāñchchana*). He was lord of Kāñchī the best of cities and obtained the grace of the Goddess Kāmākshī of that famous religious centre. He was entitled *Jagad-gōpāla*, 'the ruler of the world' (Atmakur No. 25 of the "Nellore Inscriptions"). These *birudas* form part of the *praśasti* which is found to be commonly employed by a number of other chiefs in different periods of time who called themselves Pallavas of the *Bhāradvāja-gōtra* and descendants of Mukkaṇṭi-Kāḍuveṭṭi, the establisher of 700 *agrahāras* in the land situated to the east of Śrīparvata (i. e., Śrīśaila) (D. 69 and Kg. 24 of the "Nellore Inscriptions").

His Mistaken Identity with the Telugu-Chola Allun-Tikka :—This Telugu-Pallava Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla has long been confounded with the Telugu-Chōḷa Allun-Tirukkāḷattidēva alias Gaṇḍagōpāla, who instituted the service known as the *Gaṇḍagōpālan-sandhi* for God Aruḷāḷapperumāḷ at Conjeevaram in the 15th year of Rājarāja III (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1916, para 81; for 1920, paras 53 to 57; and for 1922, para 59). The partial similarity between the proper name in the one case and the surname in the other was not sufficient warrant for the assumption of the complete identity of the two princes and its acceptation on all hands. A distinction was however attempted to be drawn between them through the suggestion that the Telugu-Chōḷa Gaṇḍagōpāla ruled in the south in the central Tamil districts, while the other Telugu-Pallava Gaṇḍagōpāla reigned in the north in the Telugu districts of the Madras Presidency almost contemporaneously with the former (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1920, para 57). But the evidence of the inscriptions goes to show that the two chiefs had not possessed kingdoms comprising several districts and that their territories had not been distinct entities, the one situated in the south and the other in the north. On the other hand they indicate that both the chiefs had exercised their authority over the eastern portion of the Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam

from the Chingleput district into the Nellore district with parts of the Vellore, Chittoor and Cuddapah districts. As already stated, the Telugu-Pallava was a nominal feudatory of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I and ruled the mid-eastern portion for about 35 years from 1250 to 1285 A.C., while the Telugu-Chōḷa was originally subordinate to Kulōttuṅga III and Rājarāja III and latterly assumed independence about the same year 1250 A. C. in the time of Rājendra III and continued to rule the coastal tract as such for about 7 years.

His Queen and His Officers :—From the inscriptions of our collection we learn that princess Dēvarasiyār was the queen of Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla and that she made a gift of cows for setting up three lamps in the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara (Nos. 73 and 431—T.T.). In No. 173—T.T. we meet with one of the officers serving in the palace of Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla, viz., Ammaiappan alias Aṇṇan-Perumāḷpriyan of the *Kāśyapa-gōtra* who set up a lamp and made a gift of 32 cows and 1 bull for its maintenance with ghee. A similar gift was made by one Amarakōn, son of Vāṇiyan (merchant) Kāttāri, a resident of Nārāyaṇapuram, for a lamp, together with the donation of 3 *māḍai* for the lamp-stand and 12 *māḍai* as capital for a light of camphor (No. 111—T.T.). One of the ministers of Kākatīya Gaṇapati, named Brahmaśeṭṭi, son of Dēvaśetti of Ālappūr, who presented cows and bulls to the temple of Aruḷāḷapperumāḷ at Conjeevaram in the 7th year of the reign of Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla (No. 47 of 1893 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.) appears here in No. 296—T.T. as the donor of a certain charity arranged through Brahmamārāyan and the Śrīvaishṇavas of the locality. He is designated *Pokkan*, i.e., treasurer, and he probably held this office under Gaṇapati.

TRIPURANTAKADEVA :—Tripurāntaka who comes to notice in No. 128—T.T. is another Telugu-Pallava chief identical with the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Tripurāntakadēva, the father of Madhusūdanadēva who made gifts at Takkolam in the 3rd and 24th years of Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla (Nos. 264 and 267 of 1921 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.) and at Tiruvalangadu in the 18th year of the same reign (S. I I., Vol. V, No. 878). Tripurāntaka was a minister of Allun-Chōḷa-Tikka, the Telugu-Chōḷa chief (No. 34 of 1893 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. dated in Śaka 1156 = 1234 A.C.). Our record No. 128, a Samskṛit verse, calls Tripurāntaka a king and describes the valour of his son (whose name is lost) by stating that he dispelled the enemy's elephants by the aim of his bow set against Kāñchī. This son was probably Madhusūdanadēva who is further referred to as the younger brother of Vijaya-Gaṇḍa (No. 487 of 1902 of the

Mad. Ep. Coll.). The war that is suggested by "the aim of his bow set against Kāñchī" is not known from other sources.

RAJA-GANDAGOPALA :—No. 72—T.T., a Tamil stanza, represents a certain Rāja-Gaṇḍagōpāla as a great benefactor whom all the worlds extol; but it does not state to what family he belonged and what kingdom he ruled over. Probably he was a Telugu-Pallava chief related to Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla.

Forms of Religious Charity :—During this period we notice that religious charities were mostly in the form of lamp-lighting in the temples; but the later practice of instituting festivals and arranging for food-offerings which came into vogue in the Vijayaṇagara period is already visible in its nascent stage as registered in Nos. 111, 121, 134, 139, 141, 285 and 433—T.T. and 127—G.T. The standard of grain measure was the *tumbu*, and the *vaṭṭi* (i.e., *puṭṭi* in Telugu) was a multiple of it. The particular measure that was in use in the temple of Śri Gōvindarāja in Tirupati was known as the *Chāḷukki* or the *Chāḷukya-Nārāyaṇan-kāl* (No. 127—G.T.) and that at Tirumala was the *Uchchiyilninṟa—Nārāyaṇan—(marakkāl)* (No. 137—T.T.) or more generally denoted as *Malaikiniyaninṟān—kāl* in the later records. The latter was double the capacity of the former. The current coins of the time comprised the *varāha-paṇam* and the *māḍai*. The *māḍai* was a gold coin issued by Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla, the Telugu-Pallava chief, and on that account was denoted *Gaṇḍagōpālan—māḍai* (No. 143—T.T.), and a new issue of it was called the *Gaṇḍagōpālan-pudu-māḍai*. Of these two, the coin with the old marks *paḷam—puḷi—māḍai*, in contrast with the new issue, was equivalent to seven and a half *varāha-paṇam* probably (No. 126—T.T.). The gold coin was current throughout the province of Jayaṅkoṇḍachōḷa-maṇḍalam and it contained pure metal (No. 129—T.T.).

The Saliya-Srivaishnavas :—A section of the Śrīvaishṇavas, known as the Śāliya-Śrīvaishṇavas, perhaps the weaver class who call themselves *Saurāshṭra—Brāhmaṇas*, claim to belong, some of them to the *Vishṇu-gōtra* (No. 125—T.T.), some to the *Kāśyapa-gōtra* (No. 129—T.T.) and some again to the *Ātrēya-gōtra* (No. 141—T.T.). The last of these were residents of Vikramādēvipuram and quite possibly the first two classes also came from the same locality.

VIJAYANAGARA KINGS.

THE SANGAMA LINE

The numerous Vijayanagara inscriptions found here belong mostly to the Second dynasty of its sovereigns, and represent the First and the Third dynasties but scantily.

BUKKA I:—The first ruler of the First or Saṅgama dynasty who can be easily recognised in these epigraphs is Harihara II, mentioned in No. 103—T.T. dated in Śaka 1309, Prabhava. But there are three earlier records belonging to the reign of Bukka I (Nos. 487, 237 and 238, and 485—T.T.), though the king is not mentioned in any of them. No. 487, which is undated and fragmentary, registers the grant of a village to the temple for a *sandhi* (offerings) twice a day in the name of Bukkarāyan and this *Bukkarāyan-sandhi* is again referred to in No. 44—T.T. dated in Śaka 1379.

Saluva Mangideva :—Nos. 237 and 238 are the Telugu and Tamil versions of the record of services of (Sāḷuva) Maṅgidēva Mahārāja rendered in the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara through the fixing of a gold *kalaśam* over the *vimānam* of the shrine in Śaka 1281, the cyclic year Vikāri (=6th July 1359 A.C.). High-sounding titles, except "Mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvara" and "Mēdinimīsaraganḍa," are absent from the record, and even the "Sāḷuva" *biruda*, which in later generations became a family appellation, is not to be found. It would appear that this title of "Sāḷuva" was assumed subsequently, when he proved his mettle against the Śambuvarāyas, the Musalmans of Madura and other enemies of Vijayanagara, and showed himself deserving of it. The Kāñchī inscription of Śaka 1283 probably (No. 573 of 1919 and Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1919-20, para 59) and the Daḷavanūr (South Arcot district) inscription dated in Śaka 1285 (*ibid.*, for 1905, para 29) referring to Maṅgidēva, both call him Sāḷuva Maṅgu Mahārāja. There can be no doubt as to the identity of Maṅgidēva Mahārāja of our record with Sāḷuva Maṅgu Mahārāja of the above two inscriptions. It is known that he was a general under Kumāra-Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar, i.e., Kampaṇa II, and materially helped him in his attack of Śambūvarāya as well as in his expedition against the Musalmans of Madura and that he was styled "Śamburāya-sthāpanāchārya" for his earlier service. The successive dates of these three epigraphs, combined with the fact that he moved south to conquer the Muhammadans, seem to suggest that Sāḷuva Maṅgidēva was originally holding his post somewhere in the middle region and,

in all likelihood, at Chandragiri, which was the headquarters of the later Sāḷuva chiefs, and in which Sāḷuva Narasimha stationed his reserve army (*mūlabala*), while extending his conquests (Vide "Sāḷuvābhyudayam"). This is inferential from the fact that his record of Śaka 1281 of the present collection precedes the other two in date and none other of an earlier date and more northward in situation has so far been found.

Kampana's Minister:—The third of the above three epigraphs, No. 485—T.T. bearing the cyclic year Kīlaka, mentions "Śrī Vīra Kumāra-Kampaṇa Uḍaiyar Pekaḍai". *Pekaḍai*, i.e., *Pregaḍa*, means a prince or a minister and it is more likely that it refers to a minister of Kumāra-Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar (Kampaṇa II), and, if so, he must have been either Sōmappa (Sōvappagaḷu) (Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, No. 33, page 324; and Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1907-08, page 241) or the Brāhmaṇa general Goppaṇa of the Raṅganātha inscription of Śaka 1293 published in Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pages 322-330. Therein Goppaṇa is reported to have taken the image of Aḻagiya-Maṇavāḷa-Perumāḷ back from Tirumala (Tirupati), where it was removed from Śrīraṅgam, when Trichinopoly was captured by the Muhammadans, and where it was safely preserved and "worshipped for a long time" until it was transferred to Śeñji (Ginjee) in the South Arcot district, and thence to Śrīraṅgam and there re-consecrated and re-installed in Śaka 1293 by Goppaṇa. Goppaṇa is stated to have gone on a pilgrimage to Tirumala while he held charge of the Śeñji Province under Kampaṇa II and there found "an additional bronze image" worshipped along with the image of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara. He enquired of the priests as to the cause of its existence and was informed that it was an image of Śrī Raṅganātha brought over from Śrīraṅgam for safe preservation during the Muhammadan invasion of the place. Being a devout adorer of Vishṇu, he eagerly desired to restore the image to its original place; but seeing that Śrīraṅgam was still in the hands of its Muhammadan conquerors, he proposed to take the image first to Śeñji, his capital town, and worship it there under his personal protection, until such time as when he could safely restore it to its own shrine in Śrīraṅgam on the expulsion of the aliens from the place. With the consent of the priests of the Tirumala temple, who looked after its worship so long, he transferred the image to Śeñji and, placing it in the Raṅganātha shrine on the hill at Siṅgavaram, a suburb of Śeñji, he had it duly adored until Śaka 1293, when he finally carried it to Śrīraṅgam and reconsecrated it (Vide the late Mr. T.A. Gopinatha Rao's Introduction to "Madhurā-Vijayam" or "Vīra-Kamparāya-Charitram" by Gaṅgādēvi, page 26).

It took 10 years for Kampaṇa to defeat and drive the Musalmans from Śrīraṅgam and the country round about Madura, after his conquest of the Śambuvarāya and the occupation of Kāñchī in Śaka 1283. And therefore the resetting up of the image in Śrīraṅgam by Goppaṇa was only possible in Śaka 1293 and until that date it must have been preserved at Śeñji for about two or three years after its removal from Tirumala. The Kīlaka year corresponding to Śaka 1290 being very near in time to the date of re-installation at Śrīraṅgam in Śaka 1293, it is almost certain that the *Pregaḍa's* presence at Tirumala was owing to this mission of transference of the image from Tirumala and that the *Pregaḍa* was none other than Goppaṇa, the Brāhmaṇa general of Kampaṇa II and the Governor of Śeñji. It is a fanciful way of stating that Goppaṇa first learnt of the preservation and worship at Tirumala of the bronze image of Aḻagiya-Maṇavāḻa-Perumāḷ of Śrīraṅgam only on the occasion of his pilgrimage to Tirumala, while as a matter of fact, he, as a ruler, would have known it long before and predetermined its restoration in time. His pilgrimage itself would therefore have been primarily planned and undertaken with this avowed object of its transference from Tirumala to Śeñji. The tradition current in Tirupati respecting this Śrīraṅgam image agrees substantially with that noticed in article No. 33 of Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, but adds a little touching detail regarding its preservation by a father and a son for nearly six months in a deep and narrow gorge near Chandragiri from its threatened desecration by the Muhammadans during its transference from Tirumala. The above record indicates the extent of sway that Kampaṇa II held over the Dakkan from Tirumala or Vēṅkaṭādri southwards (*Ibid.*, page 325).

The silver image of Maṇavāḻapperumāḷ consecrated by Sāmavai in the 14th year of the reign of Koppātra-Mahēndra-Panmar (Nos. 18 and 19—T.T.) is therefore a different image from the above Aḻagiya-Maṇavāḻapperumāḷ, sometime preserved at Tirumala and latterly retransferred to Śrīraṅgam by Goppaṇa or Goppaṇārya. But it is curious to find that in this place of preservation "for a long time" for over half a century until Śaka 1290 (=1368 A.C.) there occurs no kind of epigraphical or literary notice, except an oral tradition.

HARIHARA II:—No. 103—T.T., referred to above as belonging to Harihara II, records the institution of a festival for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara in his name in the month of Māsi and an arrangement for its conduct by the head of a

Śrīvaishṇava Maṭha through the payment by him of 100 *paṇam* each year, being the income of the village of Pāṅgōḍu. Probably the agent was given possession of the village also. This agency of a religious head would seem to indicate the slow pervasion among the kings of the First Vijayanagara dynasty of Vaishṇava influence which bore its first fruits in this temple in the resuscitation of the *Vēdapārāyaṇam* during the reign of Dēvarāya II through the efforts of Mudaliyār Tirukkalikaṉṟidāsar Aḻagappirānār and in the construction of *maṇṭapams* and *gōpurams* and the establishment of feeding-houses, flower-gardens, festivals and other services and charities together with the grant of villages towards their expenses by Sāḷuva Narasimha at the instance of Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgār.

Harihara II is mentioned to have made gifts at Kanakasabha (Chidambaram), Śrīkāḷahasti, Vēṅkaṭādri (Tirumala), Kāñchī, Śrīsaila, Śōṇaśaila (Tiruvaṇṇāmalai), Ahōbala, Śrīraṅgam and Kumbhakōṇam (Ep. Ind., Vol. III, page 116); and to have performed the sixteen great gifts (*Mahādānas*) (*ibid.*, Vol. III, page 122, verse 17; and Vol. XV, page 9, and verses 10 and 11 on page 20). But nothing more than his indirect gift of the village of Pāṅgōḍu for conducting the festival at Vēṅkaṭādri, noted above, is evident from our inscriptions and this may be part of the gifts intended in the above statement.

His Officers:—Two royal officers come to notice during this period. No. 340—T.T. dated in Śaka 1326, Tāraṇa (=18-12-1404 A.C.), registers a provision made for certain offerings by Giridēvappagaḷ, a brother of Sāntappa-Nāgappaṇan, who were the sons of Sāyaṇṇagaḷ of Ātrēya-gōtra. Since the celebrated Vēdic scholar, Sāyaṇa or Sāyaṇāchārya, the brother of the Advaita teacher, Mādhavāchārya-Vidyāraṇya, belonged to the Bhāradvāja-gōtra and followed the Bōdhāyana-sūtra (Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pages 118—119), the Sāyaṇṇagaḷ of the above record must have been a different person. Sāntappa-Nāgappaṇan is perhaps identical with Nāgaṇṇa-Voḍeya who was in charge of the Sādaliya-rājya in Śaka 1293 (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1907—08, page 242) and who was followed in its charge by his son Dēvaṇṇa-Oḍeya between the Śaka years 1300 and 1306 (*Ibid.*, page 243) or with Nāgappa-Daṇṇāyaka who is stated to have been one of Dēvarāya II's "executive officers about the time of his coronation" and later on "raised to the rank of *Mahāpradhāna*" and deputed to govern the Muḷuvāyi-rājya in Śaka 1339 (*Ibid.*, page 245).

DEVARAYA II:—Dēvarāya II is represented by half a dozen inscriptions. In Śaka 1351, Saumya (=5-12-1429 A.C.), he made a grant of three

villages and a gift of 1200 *pon* for certain daily offerings (No. 188—T.T.), while in Śaka 1355, Pramādīcha (=22-11-1433 A.C.), he granted, on the recommendation of Uḍaiyar Dēvaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar, the half share of the *Rāja-Bhaṇḍāram* (royal treasury), in the village of Siddhakuṭṭai *alias* Śrīnivāsa-puram, yielding probably 200 *paṇam* annually as in the case of the other half belonging to the *Śrī-Bhaṇḍāram* (temple treasury), to the 24 Brāhmaṇas engaged for the *Vēdapārāyaṇam* during its rehabilitation in that year after a temporary abeyance (Nos. 89 and 149—T.T.). This village is said to have been situated in Koṭṭāḷasthalam, a subdivision of Vaikunda-vaḷanāḍu. Though the *kōṭṭam* (district) is not mentioned, it is known that both the Vaikunda-vaḷanāḍu and the Tirukkuḍavūr-nāḍu were comprised within the Tiruvēṅkaṭa-kōṭṭam, a district of the Chandragiri-rājya.

His Officers: (1) Devanna-Udaiyar:—This Dēvaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar, who recommended the grant of the half share in the above village, received in the same Śaka year 1355 some *kāṇikkai*, probably for the *Rāja-Bhaṇḍāram*, from one Śaṭhakōpanambi Gōvindan of Tirupati, in connection with the sale of a house by him to the temple. It is possible that this Dēvaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar was a minister of Dēvarāya II and perhaps identical with the Dēvaṇṇa-Oḍeya who was the son of Nāgaṇṇa-Oḍeya, a viceroy under Bukka I, and who governed the Sādali-rājya from the Śaka year 1300 to 1306 (page 133, *ante*). It would then seem that he served the Vijayanagara sovereigns successively from Harihara II to Dēvarāya II for over half a century from about Śaka 1300 to Śaka 1355. And this length of service is not uncommon, since we know that another minister of the time, viz., Mallaṇa, also served continuously under the same four successive rulers from about Śaka 1309 to 1367 (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1907—08, page 243 and note 10 on page 248; Ep. Ind., Vol. II, page 117; and No. 64—T.T. of our Collection).

(2) Mallana:—Another minister of Dēvarāya II was Mallaṇa or Mallaṇḍaiyār, otherwise called Śrī Mādhavadāsar. His earliest record in this collection is dated in Śaka 1330, Sarvadhāri (=13-3-1409 A.C.), which falls into the reign of Dēvarāya I, though the king is not mentioned in it (No. 93—T.T.). His earliest known date is Śaka 1309, as noted above, when he was ruling the principality of Haive from his residence at Honnāvura (Honavar) as a dependent of Harihara II, and again governing in the same year the Tuḷu, Haive and the Koṅkaṇa countries with his headquarters at Bārakūru. His next known date is Śaka 1312, when he was ruling the Āraga country as Mahā-pradhāna Mallappa-Oḍeya. At what time he was transferred from the Mysore

country to the governorship of Chandragiri is not known definitely, but the earliest date found for him here, i.e., Śaka 1330, may be taken as approximately the year of his taking charge of the Chandragiri-rājya, on which occasion he made arrangements providing for a *naivēdyam* and a *nityadīpam* for Śrī Vāṅkaṭēśvara. The next date that occurs for him is Śaka 1339, Hēviḷambi (=25-8-1417 A.C.) (No. 88—T.T.), and at this time he completed the construction of the *Tirumāmaṇi-maṇṭapam* in front of the central shrine, from the stone basement to the roof and the eaves, and probably the renovation also of the *Ānanda-vimāna* over the *Sanctum* (No. 235—T.T.). His latest known date is Śaka 1366, Raktākshi (=2-10-1444 A.C.) (No. 64—T.T.), which takes us to within half a dozen years towards the close of Dēvarāya II's reign. Probably he was transferred to the charge of Chandragutti-Gōve in Śaka 1367, in succession to Irugappa-Oḍeya (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1907-08, page 248, foot-note 10).

No. 92—T.T., a Saṁskṛit verse in the *Śārdūla-vikrīḍita* metre calls him "Amātyaśēkhara", and this rank is the same as that of the *Mahāpradhāna* which was conferred upon the ministers, governors and viceroys of Vijaya-nagara, and which Mallaṇa is seen to have been honoured with as early as Śaka 1309 during the time of Harihara II. From the uniform mention of his residence in Chandragiri in all the three inscriptions separated by long intervals of time, it may be inferred that he governed the Chandragiri-rājya continuously from Śaka 1330 to 1366. But what position Dēvaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar held in the Śaka year 1355, whether he was serving in the Chandragiri-rājya or in the Sādaliya-rājya, is not known.

Mallaṇa was the son of Dēvarasar, and the disciple of Gōpināthayyan. From the mention of his discipleship and the assumption of the cognomen Śrī-Mādhavadāsar, he appears to have been of a highly religious turn of mind.

(3) Saluva Peri-Mallayadeva Maharaja:—Even during the last years of Dēvarāya II, the Sāḷuvas appear to have been rising to power. Sāḷuva Peri-Mallayadēva Mahārāja, son of Eṟṟakampayadēva Mahārāja, comes to notice from No. 13—T.T. dated in Śaka 1368, Kshaya (=10-10-1446 A.C.). He was a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, i.e., a provincial ruler, and probably held charge of the Chandragiri-rājya after Mallaṇa left it. He might belong to a senior branch of the Sāḷuvas, having descended from one of the five brothers of Sāḷuva Maṅgidēva Mahārāja, and might therefore be a cousin of Sāḷuva Narasimha. His brother, Mallayadēva, and his cousins appear in the reigns of Mallikārjuna and Virūpāksha.

(4) Tippada Nageya-Nayakkar :—No. 100—T. T. dated in Śaka 1364, Dundubhi, registers the payment of 3000 *honnu* as *kāṇike* for the God by Tippada Nāgeya-Nāyakkar, son of Muddiya-Nāyara. Probably he was a general (Nāyaka) under Dēvarāya II and belonged to the Vijayanagara forces stationed at Chandragiri.

(5) Srigirisvara :—Śrīgiri, who presented a golden *paṭṭam* (No. 99—T.T.) in the cyclic year Sādhāraṇa corresponding to the Śaka year 1352, expressed by "the eyes (2), the arrows (5), Rāma (3), and the Moon (1)," (=1-7-1430 A.C.), must be identical with Śrīgiri-Bhūpāla, surnamed Pratāpa-Dēvarāya, the son of Vijaya and the younger brother of Dēvarāya II "who witnessed the elephant-hunt" (Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, page 306; and Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1905-06, page 82). He is said to have been ruling over the Marakatanagara-prānta, somewhere in the North Arcot district, in the Śaka year 1346 (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1907-08, page 248, foot-note 5). But while the Madras Museum plates of Dēvarāya II state that Śrīgiri was the younger brother of Dēvarāya II, the above epigraph declares that he was the son of Dēvarāya; the expression runs "Vissaṇa-Dēvarāya-tanayah-Śrīgīri-yantēśvarah." This filial relationship claimed in the above record for Śrīgiri with Dēvarāya II appears the more likely, considering the great difficulty that Virūpāksha had to surmount in coming to the throne, "not by natural succession after his elder brother's death but as a result of a successful usurpation." This "elder brother" must have been Śrīgiri, i.e., Pratāpa-Dēvarāya, who is twice mentioned as the father of Mallikārjuna in the "Gaṅgādāsa-pratāpa-vilāsa" ("Sources of Vijayanagar History" page 70).

Abdur Razzaq who heard of "an extraordinary and most singular occurrence" which "happened in the city of Bidjanagar" in 1442-43 A.C., while he "was still sojourning at Calicut", records that "the king's brother" attempted fruitlessly the assassination of Dēvarāya II. And Śrīgiri who has been considered the brother of Dēvarāya II was made "the king's assassin" (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1905-06, page 64, para 46). It is not improbable that the real "assassin" was Parvatarāja, who is said to have been an younger brother of Dēvarāya II.

Since Śrīgiri predeceased Dēvarāya II in Śaka 1368, Kshaya, and Śrīgiri's son Mallikārjuna succeeded his grandfather on the throne in the direct line, it is likely that Virūpāksha II, the younger son of Dēvarāya II, was incensed at this succession of his nephew and continued to bring about the siege of Vijayanagara "after the accession of Mallikārjuna by the allied

armies of the Gajapati king and the Sultan of the South" ("Gaṅgādāsa-pratāpa-vilāsa" in the "Sources of Vijayanagar History"). Having been frustrated in this nefarious attempt by a defeat inflicted through Mallikārjuna's prowess, Virūpāksha had only to bide his time for about a decade until Śaka 1387, when, on the death of Mallikārjuna, he usurped the throne. His succession was however disputed, but some sanguinary act of his silenced all opposition (Ep. Ind., Volume XV, page 17).

MALLIKARJUNA :—Only one date is available in this collection for Mallikārjuna, viz., Śaka 1371, Śukla (=4-3-1450 A.C.) (No. 199—G.T.), which is about the second year of his reign. This record registers the sale of a house and house-site by two Śrīvaishṇavas of Tirupati in favour of one Rājamālikam Chennappa-Uḍaiyar belonging to the Niyōgi sect of Brāhmaṇas and residing in Chandragiri. Probably this Chennappa-Uḍaiyar was a state-official engaged in offering garlands of flowers to the kings and nobles on auspicious and ceremonious occasions (*rāja-mālikam*).

Tirupati and Chandragiri which are only seven miles apart, the latter being situated to the south-west of the former, are stated in this epigraph to have been comprised in the two different sub-districts of the Tiruvēṅkaṭa-kōṭṭam, Tirupati being in the Tirukkuḍavūr-nāḍu and Chandragiri in the Vaikunda-vaḷanāḍu (Vaikuṇṭha-vaḷanāḍu).

The Saluva Chiefs :—From the time of Mallikārjuna began the decline of the power and glory of the Vijayanagara kings of the First dynasty (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1912, para 52) and the rise to power of numerous Sāḷuva chiefs, all kinsmen, leading ultimately to the assumption of the reins of government by Sāḷuva Narasimha during the reign of Virūpāksha, so as to rescue the Hindu Empire from the imminent catastrophic consequences. Three prominent Sāḷuva chiefs, including Sāḷuva Narasimha, appear in this period. Sāḷuva Śiṟu-Mallayadēva Mahārāja, son of Malagaṅgayadēva Mahārāja, made a grant of money to the temple in Śaka 1372 for certain offerings (No. 23—T. T.). Sāḷuva Mallayadēva Mahārāja, son of Eṟṟakampayadēva Mahārāja and brother of Peri-Mallayadēva Mahārāja, noticed under Dēvarāya II, granted to the temple in Śaka 1385 the village of Ēlambākkam in the Chandragiri-rājya, including all the grain and money taxes, and also excavated two irrigation channels in the *dēvadāna* villages (No. 157—T.T.). This grant by Sāḷuva Mallayadēva makes it appear as though he was the governor of the Chandragiri-rājya at the time, ruling it almost independently of the reigning

sovereign of Vijayanagara and without reference to him at all. Another Sāḷuva chief was the son of this Mallayadēva Mahārāja, named Sāḷuva Rāmachandrarāja, who arranged for certain offerings during the same Śaka year 1385 (No. 154—T.T.). Two other sons of this Mallayadēva make their appearance in the subsequent reign, one Sāḷuva Goppayya in Śaka 1391 (No. 155—T.T.) and another Sāḷuva Timmarāya in Śaka 1403 (No. 196—T.T.). This youngest Sāḷuva chief showed his liberality by presenting 7800 *paṇam* to the temple for certain daily offerings for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara and Śrī Varāhasvāmi. These six Sāḷuva chiefs were the members of one single family comprising a father, his two sons and his three grandsons, and they were all of them 'Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Mahārājas'. This family bond must have consequently been a source of great strength to themselves and a source of grave danger to the empire.

Another branch of Sāḷuvas comprised Sāḷuva Narasimha and his elder brother Sāḷuva Timmarāja-Uḍaiyar (No. 69—T.T. of Śaka 1385), headed perhaps by their father Sāḷuva Guṇḍarāja-Uḍaiyar, also called Guṇḍayadēva Mahārāja. Sāḷuva Narasimha's first cousin was Sāḷuva Parvatarāja (No. 53—T.T.), son of Sāḷuvarāja who was one of the four sons of Gauta II and a brother of Guṇḍarāja III, father of Sāḷuva Narasimha. Lastly, king Tripurāntaka, a junior member of the family, was a second cousin of Narasimha, being descended from Tippa, one of the three brothers of Guṇḍaraja III and the brother-in-law of Dēvarāya II, through his son Gōpa or Goppa who was the father of Tripurāntaka. Besides these, there are a few more Sāḷuva chiefs mentioned in records found elsewhere. Timma or Gōpa-Timma alias Tirumalaidēva Mahārāja was probably a brother of Tripurāntaka (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1923, para 77). Saṅgamadēva Mahārāja, believed to be another cousin of Sāḷuva Narasimha, was ruling somewhere in the south (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908–09, page 167).

Other Chiefs :—Besides the Sāḷuvas, there were chiefs belonging to other families, but they do not appear to have been knit together so closely as the Sāḷuvas, and hence not so powerful as these were. Theirs might have been personal individual strength but not that of a family as in the case of the Sāḷuvas. Ahōbaḷarāya Kampayadēva Mahārāja takes precedence in date which is Śaka 1381 (No. 10—T.T.). The next is Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Sāḷuva Eṟṟamarāja, son of Attimalla Allibhīma Timmarāja of Chāḷukyanārāyaṇachchāri (probably Śrīkāḷahasti) and his record is dated in Śaka 1385 (No. 153—T.T.). It cannot be known whether this Eṟṟamarāja really belonged to the Sāḷuva lineage or he merely assumed the "Sāḷuva" *biruda* through his association

with any of the Sāḷuva chiefs. The titles of his father Timmarāja throw a suspicion on his Sāḷuva descent and seem to connect him with the Śambuvarāyas. A third chief was Śrīman Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Tammayadēva-Chōḷa Mahārāja, son of Nallān Tirumalarāja of Kuvalaguṇṭa, who granted Teppattināganchāvaḍi and another village in Paḍavīḍu-rājya in Śaka 1386 (No. 158—T.T.). He belonged to the Telugu-Chōḍa family and ruled over the Paḍavīḍu-rajya at the time. A chief of the Solar race was another Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Tammayadēva Mahārāja entitled "Hosabirudaraganḍa," who was the son of Ganḍam Rājavallabharāya (No. 7—T.T.). A *resume* at the end of his record declares that he belonged to the lineage of Pādinēni Pinna-Mādhavavarman of Bejavāḍai who was of the Solar race (Cf. Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1904, para 29; *ibid.*, for 1907, para 73). Another chief was Vallabhayadēva Mahārāja entitled *Antembaraganḍa* and he granted in Śaka 1390 the village of Parāndalūr in Pottappi-nāḍu in the Udayagiri-rājya, which belonged to him as a fief (No. 159—T.T.). He seems to have been governing the Udayagiri-rājya at the time. Ādirāja, the son of Lakkasāni-amman, who was entitled "Durgavairi-rājuvamśam-vairikkaraśu", was holding his chiefship of Mandaḷapalli (perhaps the modern Madanapalli, the headquarters of a taluka in the Chittoor district). He belonged to the Bejarvaya-kula, Āpastamba-sūtra and Maudgalya-gōtra (No. 52—T.T. of Śaka 1391). Siṅgamu-Nāyakkar of Dhonakoṇḍi in Vaḍarājya was perhaps a general (Nāyaka) as his title indicates (No. 28—T.T.). Dhonakoṇḍi is probably the modern village of "Donakoṇḍa" in the Cumbam taluk of the Kurnool district which was comprised in the *Vaḍarājya*, i.e., the northern kingdom, the Udayagiri-rājya. Of a little later date, viz., Śaka 1397, is Śrīman Nṛisiṁhaprabhu entitled "Gāyigōvāḷa", possessing a string of euphuistic *birudas* referring to his victory over the Pāṇḍya king, his establishment of the Kākatīya kingdom, his personal bravery, valour, prowess, munificence, etc. He was also entitled *Khaḍga-Nārāyaṇa, Sarvagña* and *Rāja-sāmaja-simha*. He is said to have equalled not only the *Ashṭa-Dikpālas* but also the *Tri-Mūrtis* and to have been the Moon to the ocean (of the family) of Rāvu Pinnannabhūpāla. But at the end of the inscription he is called the son of Pinnannabhūpāla (No. 347—T.T.). His brother Kēsaya-Nāyaka appears in No. 574—T.T., dated on the same day as No. 347 above representing Nṛisiṁhaprabhu and he is given all the *birudas* of the latter together with an additional title meaning "Tribhuvanarāja". Both were the disciples of Kumāra-Tātayyaṅgār of Tirupati, son of Śoṭṭai Tiruvēṅkaṭa-Tātayyaṅgār of Śaṭhamarshaṇa-gōtra and Āpastamba-sūtra. A certain Konēri-

rāja is mentioned in No. 369—T.T. of Śaka 1415, Pramādīcha, which registers the gift to the temple by *Kōyil-kiḻvi* Emperumānār Jīyar of the village Maruttuvakkudi which the *Jīyar* received previously from Kōnērirāja. The village is said to have been situated in Mēṟkūṟu-tirumukaichchār-paṟṟu within Uyyakkoṇḍa-Śōḻa-valanāḍu and comprised within the Tiruvārūr-uśāvaḍi in the Chōḻa-maṇḍalam to the south of the Kāvērī river. Kōnērirāja must therefore have held charge of at least a portion of the Chōḻa-maṇḍalam in which the grant village was situated.

During this period appears also a family of chiefs of whom three generations are represented, descending from Kommarāja-Uḍaiyar with his two sons Periya-Timmarāja-Uḍaiyar (Nos. 82—G.T. and 585—T.T.) and Śiṟu-Timmarāja-Uḍaiyar (Nos. 563 and 564—T.T. and 68 and 69—G.T.) and the latter's son Narasarāja-Uḍaiyar (No. 105—G.T.). These chiefs bore the titles *Śrīman-Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, Uttama-gaṇḍa, Ubhayara-gaṇḍa, Gaṇḍara-gaṇḍa, Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa* and *Sarasvatī-manōbhaṇḍāra-chōrakāra* or *chauryakāra*, which are similar to those borne by the members of the Gobbūri family, as described in the Telugu *Kāvyas* "Rāmābhyudayamu" of Ayyalarāju Rāmabhadra-kavi and "Narasabhūpālīyamu" of Mūrti-kavi. The last *biruda* indicates their learning and literary talents. As the *sāḷuva* bird (hawk) formed the emblem of the Sāḷuva chiefs, so probably the *gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa* bird (eagle) lent itself to the ensign of the Gobbūri and the Nandyāla chiefs. Periya-Timmarāja-Uḍaiyar made a grant to the temple in Śaka 1416, Ānanda (= 5-6-1494 A.C.), of Puduchchēri, a hamlet of Vaṭṭuva-kuḷattūr, which is stated to have been situated within the family's hereditary fief (*Paḷaiya-nāyakattanam-āna-sīrmai*). Consequently this Periya-Timmarāja must have administered this hereditary fief, while his younger brother Śiṟu-Timmarāja governed the Vāṇi country and had as his secretary (*kāryattukkukkaḍava*) Baicharāja-Timmarāja entitled *Antembara-gaṇḍa*, who is said to have been 'lord of Warangal' (*Uragola-suratrāṇa*) (Nos. 68 and 69—G. T. and 250—T. T.). Nos. 304 and 613—T.T. furnish the information that Timmarāja-Uḍaiyar, son of Kommarāja, had a sister (*uḍanpiranda*) Lakshmi-amman who arranged for certain offerings for God Vēṅkaṭēsa. Periya-Narasamman was the wife of Periya-Timmarāja and she made a donation of 1400 *paṇam* in Śaka 1415, Pramādīcha, to the temple.

Political Condition of Vijayanagara Empire in Śaka 1400s.—With these puissant chiefs, governors and viceroys, the Vijayanagara Empire at the end of the 14th century of the Śaka era must have been

comparable only to a medieval feudal state of the West, with all its nascent tendencies to disruption, decay and dissolution through clannish wars and dynastic quarrels, affording untold avenues for riches and power and territorial aggrandisement and millitary glory, to the brave and the strong who were ready to hurl the weak and the vacillating to the ground. This must have been the political condition of the Hindu Empire under the last sovereign Virūpāksha of the First dynasty of Vijayanagara.

Saluva Narasimha's Meritorious Service to Vijayanagara Empire :— It is possible to form a mental picture of the political state of the time, but, as to the actual course of events that followed, nothing is possible to discern but that Sāḷuva Narasimha had before the end of the first decade of the 15th century of the same Śaka era emerged triumphantly over the rest and managed to steer the state clear of shoals and rocks and landed it safe and unharmed and fit to wade calmly and fearlessly through similar storms subsequently. Being supported by his trusted generals and officers, he occupied the most advantageous position in the state, that of a prime-minister. He was again the most powerful of the Vijayanagara subordinates of the time, through the possession of an extensive territory and a numerous and strong army. It is certain that he had not waged wars with his colleagues and conquered them. He slowly went on aggrandising the territory of the Empire and consolidated it. From his supreme position of the minister, he held the reins of government in his hands and did not let them loose. It would appear that his prudence got the better of his valour and saved him from ruin. This was a lesson learnt from himself by his generals Tuḷava Narasa and the latter's son Vīra-Narasimha either of whom successfully practised it over his own son Immaḍi-Nṛisimha, who is considered to have been dethroned and shut up by them in the fort at Penugoṇḍa. After all, it was a meritorious service of his that he preserved the Empire in tact and passed it on to Kṛishṇarāya, the greatest of the Vijayanagara sovereigns, who further welded it and infused vigour into it so as to last as an Empire for two more generations after him.

THE SALUVA LINE

SALUVA NARASIMHA:—Having originally been a semi-independent chief in the South in the days of Mallikārjuna (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1907, para 58) and having gradually extended his power and rule over the present North Arcot (Chittoor and Vellore), Chingleput and South Arcot districts (*Ibid.*, for 1910, para 54), Sāḷuva Narasimha became the prime-minister and general of the last sovereign of the First dynasty and the *de facto* ruler of the empire. In the fourteen inscriptions in which he is here represented ranging in date between the Śaka years 1378 and 1411, he is given only the title of "Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara", indicating the subordinate position he held, while the other *birudas*, viz., "Mēdini-mīsaraganḍa" and "Kaṭhāri-Sāḷuva", are those that are common to the Sāḷuvas. He was the son of Sāḷuva Guṇḍayadēva Mahārāja and Mallāmbikā (No. 197—T.T.) and he had an elder brother by name Sāḷuva Timmarājadēva Mahārāja-Uḍaiyar (No. 69—T.T.). Śrīraṅgadēvi-amman was his queen (No. 341—T.T.). He had three sons, viz., Kumāra-Narasayyan, Chikka-Saṅgaman and Periya-Saṅgaman.

His Sons:—These three names occur in conjunction with those of himself and his mother in No. 197—T.T. which registers a grant by him of the village of Dommarapaṭṭi in Kalavai-paṟṟu, a sub-district of the Paḍavīḍu-rājya, made for the conduct of the *Dōlōtsavam* (swinging festival) newly started by him in the temple at Tirumala in Śaka 1395, together with the provision for a *sandhi* established in the name of his mother Mallāyamman during the said festival, and the offering of four *appa-paḍis* to the processional image on the 7th day in each of the *Brahmōtsavams* celebrated at Tirumala at the time, in the name of Sāḷuva Narasimha himself, Kumāra-Narasayyan, Chikka-Saṅgaman and Periya-Saṅgaman at the four *maṇṭapams* built by him. Thus in the arrangements made by him for the festival and the offerings, it is very unlikely that the offerings stipulated to be made in the name of persons who were unrelated to him by blood and whose status was not commensurate with that of himself would be permitted to be clubbed with those intended to be offered in his own name and in that of his mother; and it is more reasonable to expect that these three individuals were also members of his family; and, if so, the three must have been the sons of Sāḷuva Narasimha. Of these, Kumāra-Narasayyan must be identical with Immaḍi-Narasimha, "Kumāra" here indicating the "*Rāja-kumāra*" (prince), the son of the ruler who is in this case the donor. And probably by the date of the record, i.e., Śaka 1395, Immaḍi-Narasimha had been

designed the crown-prince (*Kumāra*) to succeed his father, Sāḷuva Narasimha. The possible identification of Kumāra-Narasayyan gives additional weight to the presumption that the remaining two, Chikka-Saṅgaman and Periya-Saṅgaman, represent two other sons of Sāḷuva Narasimha. Just as three members of the collateral branches of the Sāḷuvas of the previous generation were named Mallayadēva, so we find three members of the next generation named "Saṅgama," two of whom were Sāḷuva Narasimha's sons and the third a cousin of his ruling in the South (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09, page 167).

His Officers:—Mukappāḷam Nāgama-Nāyaka was a general (*Nāyaka*) under Sāḷuva Narasimha (No. 243—T.T.). In Śaka 1409 he arranged for the offering of a flower-garland to Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara and the lighting of two lamps in His presence, for the merit of Sāḷuva Narasimharāya Mahārāyar, and towards the conduct of these services he made a gift to the temple of the village of Tiradampāḍi in Kachchippēṭṭu-śīrmai, which had been in his possession and enjoyment having been bestowed upon him for his "nāyakattanam" by Narasimharāya-Uḍaiyar. He is identical with the Nāgama-Nāyaka styled as the "foremost of the servants of Narasiṅgarāya" and believed to be the father of Viśvanātha-Nāyaka the founder of the Nāyaka family of Madura (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09, page 165). Siddhaṇayar, son of Padumaḷai Dēvappa of Bhōsaḷa-sūtra and Jāmadagnya-Vatsa-gotra was Sāḷuva Narasimha's secretary (*kāryattukkukkaḍava*) (No. 160—T.T.). No. 366—T.T. dated in Śaka 1382 furnishes the interesting information that there was a dramatic hall (*nāṭaka-śālai*) attached to the palace of Narasiṅgadēva Mahārāja, and that one Tippu-Nāyakkar, son of Timmā-Nāyakkar, was one of the actors in it. The theatre and dance noticed in Chōḷa times "as an adjunct to the temple" and provided through benefactions for royal and public entertainments (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1924-25, page 82, para 13) continued throughout the period of Hindu rule down to the last days of the Vijayanagara empire, and into the present time. But the *nāṭaka-śālai* referred to above was a royal theatre maintained for royal amusement and was probably situated in the capital city of his kingdom, i.e., at Chandragiri.

His Rule:—Śaka 1378 is the earliest date furnished for Sāḷuva Narasimha by epigraph No. 3—T.T. which records his gift of the village of Ālipuram as a *sarvamānya*, while the latest date Śaka 1411 comes from No. 271—G.T. which registers the charity of the excavation of a well with steps by Karaveṭṭippuliāḷvār Mannarpiḷḷai of Uttaramērūr. But since the earliest date occurring for his son Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁha in the records found elsewhere is

Śaka 1414 (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1907–08, page 254), Sāḷuva Narasimha's rule has consequently to be considered to have continued up to that year, i.e., Śaka 1414, and this makes apparently a reign of 36 years from Śaka 1378. But the assignment of 44 years' reign for him by Nuniz ("Forgotten Empire," page 307) might have been based on actual rule and then this differential period of 8 years has to be affixed before Śaka 1378.

The Narrative from Saluvabhyudayam :—The *Saṁskṛita-kāvya* "Sāḷuvābhyudayam" relates in its first canto that Guṇḍadēva I, the ancestor of Sāḷuva Narasimha ruled his kingdom from his capital at Kalyāṇapuram and suggests that both Sāḷuva Maṅgidēva and his brother Gautaya held possession of this patrimony of theirs in their turn. The second canto narrates that Guṇḍadēva III, son of this Gautaya and father of Sāḷuva Narasimha ruled this ancestral kingdom for a time and when Narasimha became old enough to assume the reins of government, the father abdicated the throne in favour of the son whom he crowned, and then retired into the forest along with his queen Mallāmbikā, in search of a calm and peaceful life in contrast with the hard and strenuous life that became a king and in consonance with the custom that prevailed among the kings of this line. The third canto begins with the lamentations of Sāḷuva Narasimha over the bereavement caused by the retirement of his father into the forest, his apparent diffidence in his ability to govern, though primarily willing to administer his patrimony soundly and peacefully, and the exhortations of his minister to take courage, assume the reins of government and immediately set on a conquering expedition. The minister counselled to him the advisability of changing the capital to Chandragiri near Vēṅkaṭādri, owing to the inaccessibility of its hills and the impregnability of its fortifications, and of stationing his main army (*mūlabala*) in it and proceeding on his conquests with a picked force. Sāḷuva Narasimha took the advice of the minister, determined to start on an expedition and issued orders to his men to get ready immediately, having also transferred his whole army to Chandragiri. He proceeded first against Kaliṅga, and after conquering it, turned his victorious arms against the south and subjugated it also.[1]

From this narrative it is apparent that Sāḷuva Narasimha had inherited an ancestral kingdom whose capital was at Kalyāṇapuram but which was subsequently changed to Chandragiri, owing partly also to the fact that the

Note I:—I am obliged to Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D., University Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, for the loan of his manuscript copy of the "Sāḷuvābhyudayam" from which the above information has been extracted.

old capital was burnt down (*Ibid*, Canto III, stanza 4). Consequently we may take it that the earlist record of Sāḷuva Narasimha, viz., No. 3–T.T. bearing Śaka 1378 occurring in this collection, is dated sometime after the transference of his capital to Chandragiri. And the period anterior to Śaka 1378 is possibly 8 years and covers his earlier reign at Kalyāṇapuram up to the date of transference and at Chandragiri from that time to the date of the record. Thus Nuniz' account of a reign of 44 years for Sāḷuva Narasimha may be taken as substantially correct. It does not seem necessary to assume with the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastriar that "Perhaps, Nuniz did not count the rule, in the interval, of Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁharāya, which is proved by the Dēvulapalli plates and other lithic records" (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1907–08, page 254, note 13). To substantiate this assumption it required also to be assumed that "the second usurpation of the Vijayanagara kingdom by the Tuḷuva general Narasaṇa Nāyaka" took place about Śaka 1422, the last year furnished for Sāḷuva Narasimha by calculation from Śaka 1378 of the period of 44 years' reign attributed by Nuniz (*Ibid.*). This assumed "second usurpation" is no usurpation at all, in the face of the actual reign of Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁha for a further period of 5 years up to Śaka 1427. Thus the 44 years' rule of Sāḷuva Narasimha must have begun early in his teens at Kalyāṇapuram, the original capital of his ancient kingdom, about the Śaka year 1370 and lasted till about Śaka 1414, the date of the earliest record of his son Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁha.

His Alleged Usurpation :—The nature of his rule also has been variously estimated. The statement contained in the Dēvulapalli plates that he "became an Emperor by defeating all his enemies with the sole assistance of his sword" has been considered a sufficient proof of his usurpation, and the occurrence of the imperial titles as "Mahārājādhirāja," etc., in a record of Śaka 1408 has led to the determination of the year of such usurpation (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1907-08, pages 253-54). There are about 20 inscriptions in this collection representing him and in none of them has he been styled other than a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*. "Mahārāja" and "Uḍaiyar" are suffixed to his name indifferently in the epigraphs which call him sometimes Sāḷuva Narasiṁharāya-Uḍaiyar and sometimes Sāḷuva Narasiṁhayadēva Mahārāya-Uḍaiyar, and as such no importance can be attached to the occurrence of the epithet "Mahārāja" in his record of Śaka 1408, especially when we find it attached to him even in his earliest record, viz., No. 3—T.T. of Śaka 1378. Again this Mahārājaship is assumed by almost all the Vijayanagara chiefs of this period, by his own elder brother as well as his father and the numerous

Sāḷuva chiefs and other ministers and generals belonging to other families (See pages 137–140 *ante*). Like others he was a "Mahārāja" within his province and it carried no higher honour or status than the "Uḍaiyar". This distinction drawn between "Mahārāja" and "Uḍaiyar" looks therefore unreal. The import of the title "Sārvabhauma" occurring in No. 273—G.T., a Saṁskṛit stanza, dated in Śaka 1407, recording his installation of God Śrī Nṛisiṁha is nothing when compared with the title "Kshitipati" applied to his father Guṇḍa. The eulogy bestowed on persons in literary works and poetical records is often found to be exaggerated and hence requires to be taken with caution. This '*Sārvabhauma*' does not therefore seem to connote anything more than the ruler of a province which he was, like his father and any other chief of the time.

The epigraphs of this period do not mention the Vijayanagara emperor who was reigning at the time. All the Vijayanagara subordinates as well as private donors looked as though they owned no king at all at the capital. Nor is Sāḷuva Narasimha recognised as such in any of them. Not even his own men yield to him that dignity. They alone make gifts for the merit of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Sāḷuva Narasiṁgayadēva Mahārāja-Uḍaiyar; and they include his general Mukappāḷam Nāgama-Nāyaka (No. 243—T.T.), two head-men of a village, Kōnēri and Ulagaḷandavēḷān (No. 59—T.T.) and his elder brother Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Timmarājadēva Mahārāja-Uḍaiyar (No. 69—T.T.), on the political side. On the religious side, Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgār is the prominent spiritual leader of the place, who had devoted his life to the cause of religion and the service of the temple and who presumably was the *guru* of Sāḷuva Narasimha. This religious leader had been of much help to him in organising and maintaining the free feeding-houses established by Sāḷuva Narasimha both in Tirupati and Tirumala and in recognition thereof Sāḷuva Narasimha appears to have given him a free hand in the administration of his *Rāmānujakūṭams* for which he granted lands and villages. Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgār established certain services and charities for the merit of "Narasimharāya-Uḍaiyar" (Nos. 163 and 494—T.T. and 67—G.T.); and neither the Sāḷuva title nor the dignity of a *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* is conceded to him in those epigraphs. Since even the records of Śaka 1406 of his *āchārya* (No.163—T.T.), of Śaka 1409 of his general (No. 243—T.T.) and of Śaka 1411 of his officer Mannarpiḷḷai (No. 271—G.T.) do not hint at his occupation of the supreme position of the 'Vijayanagara Emperor,' we are not warranted in investing him with imperial robes.

It has consequently to be understood that Sāḷuva Narasimha remained, throughout his life, only a general of the Vijayanagara Empire, but the most powerful general, with an ancestral kingdom of his own to govern. As such, he was a compeer of the other powerful generals of his time serving in the Hindu Empire. But being at the same time the chief minister, he wielded great power and authority in the state, especially over the divisions of the empire which were directly subordinate to the empire and in his own kingdom. The accounts of the European travellers and the Muhammadan historians cannot signify anything more than this, that Sāḷuva Narasimha was the most powerful Minister and General, ruling certain Vijayanagara provinces almost independently. In so far as he kept himself active, fighting against the Bahmani Sultans, he became more prominently known, and his zealous efforts to ward off the attacks of these Musalmans and the Gajapati king only exhibited his intense patriotism and earned for him the reputation as the saviour of the Hindu state which is implied in its being called the "kingdom of Narsymga" ("Forgotten Empire", pages 236 and 239; and Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1921, para 49). He was the *generalissimo* of the Vijayanagara Empire and consequently occupied the position of the "Princeps", the "Protector" or the "Dictator."

IMMADI-NRISIMHA:—Sāḷuva Narasimha's rule has been extended to 1498 A.C. (Śaka 1420), from which date by "a pure guess" Narasa-Nāyaka has been allowed a reign of 5 years ("Forgotten Empire", page 110). From No. 197—T.T. noticed above, it may be seen that the minimum age of the youngest of the three sons of Sāḷuva Narasimha in the year 1498 A.C., the assumed final year of Sāḷuva Narasimha's rule, would come to 25 years; and Kumāra-Narasayyan, i.e., Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁha, who is definitely and positively known to have survived his father and ascended the Vijayanagara throne, would have been aged in 1498 A.C., on the same hypothesis, nearly 35 years, allowing an average difference of 3 years between each of the three sons; and since there are inscriptions of Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁha dating from Śaka 1414 (=1493 A.C.) enabling us to carry back the date of Sāḷuvu Narasimha's death, we should still find Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁha's age in Śaka 1414 to have been almost 30 years; and it is possible that he was still older. We have therefore to conclude that the statement of Nuniz quoted by Sewell on page 110 of his "Forgotten Empire," viz., "these youths being too young to govern, the dying king intrusted the kingdom to his minister Narasa Naik,

and both the princes were murdered", is not only inaccurate as regards the number of the princes but inaccurate also as regards their age. It may be that all the three sons survived their father and that "the dying king intrusted the kingdom to his minister, Narasa Naik," seeing that Narasa-Nāyaka was the most trusted, capable and influential subordinate in the kingdom at the time to take up the onerous responsibility of the government as the minister of the king. But this "intrusting" could not have been occasioned by "these youths being too young to govern," since we have found that at least the eldest son passed from youth to manhood by the time of Sāḷuva Narasimha's death; but it must have been a diplomatic step taken by Narasimha to safeguard the new position of a king conferred on his son, through the continuance of the loyalty of his trusted minister and general Narasa-Nāyaka who had been so long his right hand in his own upward career.

His Alleged Murder:—Again Nuniz' statement with reference to the murder of "both the princes" may be correct, in so far as there were three princes at the beginning and out of them only one, namely Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁha, is recorded in the inscriptions and in literature to have ruled the Vijayanagara kingdom for a time, while the other two left no traces of them behind and consequently leave room for the suspicion that they might have been murdered, the one at the instance of a guard "Tymarasa" inimical to the minister Narasa-Nāyaka and the other at the minister's own instigation. The inaccuracy, so far, of Nuniz in this affair of murder has lain in the interpretation conveyed by his statement that even originally Sāḷuva Narasimha had two sons only and not three. The clue furnished by the above epigraph as to the existence of three sons of Sāḷuva Narasimha obviates the difficulty that stood in the way of the late Mr. Sewell's interpreting Nuniz and unravels the mystery of the murder of 'both the princes' as well as the reign of Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁha. For the continued rule of the latter until Śaka 1427 is proof itself of the survival of the eldest son of Sāḷuva Narasimha, while the two younger ones were done to death early in Śaka 1414.

First Real Usurper:—Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁha was the first real usurper of the Vijayanagara throne, for he had no sort of valid title to it except the power and the prestige of his father Sāḷuva Narasimha and the support of their powerful general Tuḷuva Narasa. He is represented in our collection by only one inscription, No. 271—T.T. dated in Śaka 1426, the penultimate year of his reign. A certain service was instituted in the temple for the merit of Immaḍi-Narasiṁgarāya Mahārāya, son of Narasiṁgarāya Mahārāya, by Tiruvēṅkaṭach-

chirukkan Tiruppaṇipiḷḷai Emperumānār, a subordinate officer of the state holding charge of the public works relating to the temple.

His Officers:—Periya-Ōbaḷa-Nāyakkar Rāmā-Nāyakkar appears to have held the chief command of the Vijayanagara forces during his reign, for his inscription dated in Śaka 1426, Raktākshi (=4-9-1504 A.C.) bestows on him the title of *Śrīman Mahānāyaṁkāchārya* (No. 305—T.T.). With the permission of the reigning king whose name is not mentioned (*Rāyar-rāyasam-koṇḍuvandu*), he made a gift of the village of Kaḍalūr situated in the Tirukkuḍavūr-nāḍu. His two later gifts are dated in the reign of Kṛishṇarāya and he probably served also under both Vīra-Narasimha and Kṛishṇarāya. The compound name Periya-Ōbaḷa (Ōbila)-Nāyakkar Rāmā-Nāyakkar seems to suggest that his proper name was Rāmā-Nāyakkar and that he was the son of Periya-Ōbaḷa-Nāyakkar. Another general also comes to notice during this reign, namely Timmaṇa-Daṇāyakkar, son of Karaṇikka Annadāta-Dēvagaḷ (No. 308-T.T. dated in Śaka 1415). The epigraph mentions that he resided at Chandragiri and this seems to imply that he was the commander of the forces *(Daṇāyakkar)* stationed at Chandragiri. He was a Niyōgi Brāhmaṇa of the Harita-gōtra and Āśvilāyana-sūtra. This Annadātadēvagaḷ is probably identical with Dēvappagaḷ, son of the Mahāpradhāni Annadāta-Daṇṇāyakkar who served under Mallikārjuna-Praudhadēvarāya (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1911, para 52; and No. 335 of 1921 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.). In that case Timmaṇa-Daṇāyakkar would be the grandson of Annadāta-Daṇṇāyakkar and son of Dēvappagaḷ or Dēvagaḷ. From the nature of the services he arranged at Tirumala, i.e., of providing offerings for the processional image during the *Pavitrōtsavam* instituted by Sāḷuva Mallayadēva Mahārāja (No. 157—T. T.) and the *Ḍōlāmahōtsavam* instituted by Sāḷuva Narasimha (No. 197—T.T.), it is likely that he served also under Sāḷuva Narasimha in whose honour he probably made the above provision. Kumāra-Kulaśēkhara-Mēdinirāvu Timmā-Nāyakkar mentioned in No. 307—T.T. as a disciple of Kumāra-Tātayyaṅgār, who was the preceptor of Nṛisimhaprabhu entitled *Gāyigōvāḷa* (page 139 *ante)* and who provided for the offering of one *rājāna-tiruppōnakam* in Śaka 1415 in the name of the disciple, was perhaps a royal officer of some standing. The compound name seems to suggest his proper name as being Timmā-Nāyakkar, the son of Mēdinirāvu entitled Kumāra-Kulaśēkhara. From the dates of their records it is possible that Kommarāja Periya-Timmarāja, his younger brother, Śiṟu-Timmarāja and the latter's son Narasarāja, as well as Kōnēṭirāja noticed under Mallikārjuna (page 140 *ante*), were also subordinates of Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁha.

THE TULUVA LINE

VIRA-NARASIMHA:—No. 255—G.T. dated in Śaka 1430, Vibhava (18-7-1508), mentions Vīra-Nārasiṅgarāya Mahārāya for whose merit Appāpiḷḷai, son of Karavaṭṭippuliyāḷvār of Uttaramērūr, instituted the *Anna-ūñjal-tirunāḷ* (the swinging festival) in Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple in Tirupati. This festival was a desideratum here when once it was instituted in Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's temple at Tirumala by Sāḷuva Narasimha (No. 197—T.T.). Appāpiḷḷai's earlier gift to the temple of Śrī Gōvindarāja made in Śaka 1428, Akshaya (=30-11-1506 A.C.) (No. 197—G.T.), also falls into the reign of Vīra-Narasimha. He also figures later on under Kṛishṇarāya for whose merit he endowed the temple in Śaka 1433, Prajāpati (=7-4-1511 A.C.) (No. 604-T.T.) with Vīrakampanallūr situated in Āraṇi-sīrmai. From Nos. 411 of 1919 and 323 of 1913 we find him making gifts at Conjeevaram and Chidambaram in the years Śaka 1431, Śukla (=11-3-1510 A.C.) and Śaka 1432, Pramōdūta (=30-12-1510 A.C.) respectively in the reign of Kṛishṇarāya. The donor and his brother Mannarpiḷḷai, who dug the well at the foot of the hill between the tower of Lakshmī-Nārasiṁha-Perumāḷ and the big tower built by Sāḷuva Narasimha (No. 271—G.T.), seem to have been in some way connected with the state and to have been royal subordinates from the time of Sāḷuva Narasimha to that of Kṛishṇarāya. The Śaka year 1430 of No. 255—G.T. which mentions the king is probably the penultimate year of his reign (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1916, para 65). Vīra-Narasimha was the real second usurper of the Vijayanagara throne, just as Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁha was the first, for neither bore hereditary titles to it. Vīra-Narasimha is said to have made extra-ordinary gifts (*Nānāvidhabahuḷa-Mahādānas*) at Vēṅkaṭādri, i.e., the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara, along with those made at Kanakasadas (Chidambaram), Śrī Virūpāksha's temple at Hampe, Śrīkāḷahastīśa's temple at Kalahasti, Kāñchī, Śrīśaila, Śōṇaśaila (Tiruvannaṃala), Harihara, Ahōbaḷa, Saṁgama, Śrīraṅga, Kumbhaghōṇa, Mahānanditīrtha, Nivṛitti, Gōkarṇa, Rāmasētu (Ramesvaram) and other holy places; and those gifts comprised the *Shōḍaśa-Mahādānas*, viz., *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Viśvachakra*, *Ghaṭa*, *Mahābhūtaka*, *Ratnadhēnu*, *Saptāmbōdhi*, *Kalpakshitiruhalatika*, *Kāñchana-kāmadhēnu*, *Svarṇakshmā*, *Hiraṇyāśvaratha*, *Tulāpūrusha*, *Gōsahasra*, *Hēmāśva*, *Hēmagarbha*, *Kanakakaṛiratha* and *Pañchalāṅgalī* [Kuḍiyāntaṇḍal Grant of Vīra-Nṛisiṁha in Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, pages 231-240; Kṛishṇarāya's Hampe Inscription in Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pages 361 ff.; and No. 459—T.T. of our collection). But no epigraphical evidence is available in this place to confirm the above statement as to their actual performance at Vēṅkaṭādri.

KRISHNARAYA.

His Trilingual Records :—Kṛishṇarāya is represented in our collection by nearly fifty inscriptions belonging to himself and his two queens Chinnājidēvi and Tirumaladēvi. They range in date between Śaka 1434 (=1513 A.C.) and Śaka 1445 (=1524 A.C.) and register personal offerings and direct gifts made during their frequent visits to the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara on Tirumala whom he venerated as his Patron-God[1], as well as the edicts of grants issued by him from his capital city of Vijayanagara. As in the case of his charities elsewhere, Kṛishṇarāya's gifts in the Tirumala temple also are generally recorded in the three South Indian languages Telugu, Tamil and Kanarese, as if indicating his sway over the entire Southern India in which they were spoken.

His First Visit to God Tiruvengalanatha :—His first visit to Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's temple was paid in company with his two queens on the 5th lunar day of the bright half of Phālguṇa in the cyclic year Āṅgīrasa, corresponding to the Śaka year 1434, equivalent to the 10th February 1513 A.C., when he presented a *kirīṭam* (crown) of gold set with the nine kinds of gems, and 25 silver *āratis* (plates) for waving lights of camphor. This is recorded in eight epigraphs of which two are in Telugu (Nos. 2 and 582—T.T.), three in Tamil (Nos. 84, 356 and 696—T.T.) and two in Kanarese (Nos. 31 and 40—T.T.) in their respective script, while No. 550—T.T. in Kanarese language is written in Nandi-Nāgari characters. Similarly the gifts of his two queens of a golden cup apiece for offering milk for God is registered in two sets of three Kanarese (Nos. 8, 39 and 483, and 9, 34 and 484—T.T.), three Tamil (Nos. 85, 359, and 694, and 86, 355 and 695—T.T.) and two Telugu (Nos. 12 and 699, and 11 and 700—T.T.) inscriptions in their proper script and two (Nos. 635 and 638, and 636 and 637—T.T.) in Kanarese language and Nandi-Nāgari characters.

His Second Visit :—The second visit, without his queens this time, came close upon the first within the next three months, on Monday, the 12th day of the dark fortnight of Vaiśākha in Śaka 1435, Śrīmukha (=2nd May 1513 A.C.),

Note 1 :—Vide "Manucharitramu," Canto I, verse 47 and Canto III, verse 1; and "Pārijātāpaharaṇamu," Canto IV, verse 1. Kṛishṇarāya dedicated his "Āmuktamālyada" to God Veṅkaṭēśa (Canto I, verses 46—49).

when he gave a number of ornaments for God and three small *kirīṭams* for the processional images of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara, Śrīdēvī and Bhūdēvī, which are again recorded in three languages, No. 1—T.T. in Telugu, No. 41—T.T. in Tamil and Nos. 95 and 96—T.T. in Kanarese.

His Third Visit :—The next date that occurs for Kṛishṇarāya in these epigraphs is about a month and a half later and falls on Monday, the 11th lunar day of the bright half of the Āshāḍha month in the same cyclic year Śrīmukha, Śaka 1435 (=13th June 1513 A.C.), when he granted five villages to God Vēṅkaṭēśa with libations of water to serve for the expenses of His *nitya-naivēdya* and the conduct of the *vatsara-mahōtsava* in the Tamil month of Tai which he instituted for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara for the merit of his father Narasā-Nāyaka-Voḍayalu and his mother Nāgājammaṁgāru, the grant to take effect from the first day of the Telugu month of Śrāvaṇa (No. 459—T.T.). From the nearness of the date to the previous occasion and from the visit that is reported to have been paid to the Kalahasti temple on the same day (Nos. 151 and 162 of 1924), it is possible that the grant was made by Kṛishṇarāya at Tirumala in the presence of God Vēṅkaṭēśa.

The Samskrit Introduction Giving His Ancestry and His Prasasti :—These services and the grant which are recorded in Telugu in No. 459—T.T. and in Kanarese in Nandi-Nāgari characters in No. 330—T.T. are preceded by an introduction (partly mutilated by fire) in Saṁskṛit verse and prose, identical with that found prefixed to his Hampe inscriptions of Śaka 1430, Śukla, registering the grant of Siṅganāyakkanahaḷi on the occasion of his coronation (Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 361 ff.; and S. I. I., Vol. IV, pages 51-54, No. 259). Commencing with adorations to Hari (Vishṇu) in his Boar incarnation and Gajānana (Gaṇēśa), it traces the mythical ancestry of the Tuḷuva dynasty from Moon, the dispeller of darkness, who arose from the milky ocean when it was churned by the Gods, through his son Budha, his son Purūravas, his son Āyus, his son Nahusha and his son Yayāti to Turvasu, the son of Yayāti and the husband of Dēvayānī. It then relates that in the lineage of Turvasu was born king Timma, who was the husband of Dēvakī and who won great fame among the Tuḷuva kings like Śrī Kṛishṇa in His own race ; and he begot king Īśvara, the crest-jewel of kings and the husband of Bukkamā. This Īśvara was a great warrior and, having wedded the daughter of a king and killed the Mandēhas, he became famous throughout the land extending from the eastern to the western ocean and from Sētu to the Himalayas. To

this Īśvara, the son of Dēvakī,[1] was born king Narasa, as Kāma (Manmatha) was born to Śrī Kṛishṇa, the son of Dēvakī. Narasa dammed the Kāvērī and, crossing it, captured alive the enemy in battle, conquered his kingdom, took Srirangapatam and planted a triumphal pillar. He also subdued the Chēra, the Chōḷa and the self-respecting Pāṇḍya who was lord of Madura, as well as the valorous Turk, the Gajapati king and other enemies and brought the whole land from the Ganges to Laṅka and from the eastern to the western range under his authority. He performed the *shōḍaśa-dānas* repeatedly

Note 1 :—The editors of the Conjeevaram Plates of Kṛishṇarāya in Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, on page 131 translate this verse as : "King Narasa was born to him. He was born of Dēvakī, as Kāma was from the son of Dēvakī (Kṛishṇa)," thus introducing a Dēvakī as the mother of Narasa and a second wife of Īśvara. Again as to the preceding verse, they interpret that Timma begot "of his wife Bukkamā, Īśvara, the protector of the earth." The interpretation of the two verses is only ingenious but not in consonance with facts. As the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastriar observed in a footnote on the same page, "The Hampe inscription and many others read *Dēvakīnandanūtkāmō*.....and this must be right, as the reading of this inscription (i.e. the Conjeevaram plates) introduces a second Dēvakī as wife of Īśvara, whose wife Bukkamā is well-known and has been mentioned in line 11." Further the literary works mention one Dēvakī only, viz., the wife of Timma and the mother of Īśvara, whose wife was Bukkamā alone and not Dēvakī. Similarly Bukkamā was not the wife of Timma and the mother of Īśvara, as the editors there make her out to be. Timma's wife was Dēvakī, the mother of Īśvara ; and Īśvara's wife was Bukkamā, the mother of Narasa. This relationship is supported fully both by epigraphical records and literary works.

Kṛishṇarāya who thought it fit to modify the stanza mentioning his two queens in the eulogic dedicatory verses which he incorporated from his poet-laureate Peddana's "Manucharitramu" into his own "Āmuktamālyada" (Canto I, verse 33) had not likewise considered it necessary to modify the genealogy of the Tuḷuva family from Timma, his great-grandfather, down to himself (Compare "Āmuktamālyada," Canto I, verses 24-31 with "Manucharitramu," Canto I, verses 23-31). Timmakavi in his "Pārijātāpaharaṇamu" gives almost the same genealogy down from Timmaya-Īśvararāja (i.e. Īśvara, the son of Timma), through Narasa born of Lakkāmbika to Vīra-Narasiṁha and Kṛishṇarāya, the patron of the poet. Though Bukkāmbā is here termed as Lakkāmbika, there is no mention of a second Dēvakī as the wife of Īśvara. Again Rājanāthakavi in his "Achyutarāyābhyudayam" (Canto I, verses 23, 25, 27 and 52) furnishes us with an identical lineage from Timma, through his son Īśvara by Dēvakī and the latter's son Narasa by Bukkamā, to Vīra-Narasiṁha and Kṛishṇarāya. Verse 27 clearly states that Narasa was born to Īśvara by Bukkamā.

The interpretation of both the verses by the editors is therefore misleading and contrary to historical evidence. The poet has merely repeated the expression "Dēvakīnandana" to bring about a comparison between the son of a certain Dēvakī who was in this case Īśvara with the son of the mythological Dēvakī who is Kṛishṇa, the famous epic hero. The name Dēvakī of Īśvara's mother suggested the comparison.

at various holy places like Rāmēśvaram and acquired great fame for charity. Narasa had two sons, Vīra-Nṛisiṁhēndra by Tippājī and Kṛishṇarāya by Nāgalādēvī. Śrī Vīra-Nārasiṁha ascended the Vijayanagara throne and ruled the kingdom extending from Sētu to Mēru and from the Eastern to the Western Ghats, exceeding in fame the famous kings of the past, such as Nṛiga, Naḷa and Nahusha. At Kanakasadas (Chidambaram), at the temple of Śrī Virūpāksha (at Hampe), at Śrīkāḷahasti, Vēṅkaṭādri (Tirupati), Kāñchī, Śrīśaila, Śōṇaśaila (Tiruvannamala), Harihara, Ahōbala, Saṅgama, Śrīraṅga, Kumbhaghōṇa, Mahānanditīrtha, Nivṛitti, Gōkarṇa, Rāmasētu and other holy places, he performed the following *mahādānas*, viz., *Brahmāṇḍa, Viśvachakra, Ghaṭa, Mahābhūtaka, Ratnadhēnu, Saptāmbōdhi, Kalpavṛiksha, Kāñchana-kāmadhēnu, Svarṇakshmā, Hiraṇyāśvaratha, Tulāpūrusha, Gōsahasra, Hēmāśva, Hēmagarbha, Kanakakariratha,* and *Pañchalāṅgalī*. After Vīra-Narasiṁha's death, Kṛishṇarāya succeeded to the throne and wrapped the entire universe in his glory which shone brightly and thus forced even the Gods and Goddesses to assume distinguishing marks in advance, such as the third eye of Śiva in the forehead, the four arms of Vishṇu, the four faces of Brahma, the sword of Kāḷi, the lotus of Lakshmī and the lute of Sarasvatī. He owned in his vast armies numerous horses which raised dust so as to dry up the seven oceans, and in substitution thereof he created oceans with the immeasurable waters poured on the occasions of his *mahādānas* such as *Brahmāṇḍa, Svarṇa-Mēru*, &c. With a desire to bestow long enjoyment to his suppliants of the wealth given to them by him through obstructing the progress of the Sun's chariot in the heavens, he planted pillars of glory on the earth as high as mountains recording his expeditions for the conquest of the four quarters together with his *birudas*. Again and again he performed the great gifts, such as *Kanaka-Tulāpūrusha*, and also minor gifts at Kāñchī, Śrīśaila, Śōṇāchala, Vēṅkaṭādri and other sacred temples and holy baths (*tīrthas*). His *birudas* comprised *Rōshakṛita-pratipārthiva-daṇḍa, Śēshabhuja-kshitirakshaṇa-śauṇḍa, Bhāshage-tappuvarāyara-gaṇḍa, Arthitōshakṛit, Raṇachaṇḍa, Rājādhirāja, Rājaparamēśvara, Mūrurāyaragaṇḍa, Pararāya-bhayaṅkara, Hindurāya-suratrāṇa, Dushṭaśārdūla-mardana* and *Gajaugha-gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa*. He was served by the Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaḷiṅga, and other kings. Ascending the Vijayanagara throne, king Kṛishṇarāya shines with glory from the eastern to the western mountain and from the Himalayas to Sētu.

His Praise :—Then follows the *gadya* which recounts that Kṛishṇarāya Mahārāya who won glory for liberality, gallantry and heroism which delighted

his poets, who was terrible in war, who through his glorious acts caused the tales of Nṛiga, Naḷa, Nahusha, Nābhāga, Dundhumāra, Māndhātṛi, Bharata, Bhagīratha, Daśaratha and Rāma to be only smiled at, who gave protection to Brāhmaṇas, who disgraced the Sultan,[1] who was like fever to the elephant which was the Gajapati, who was proficient in all the sixty-four arts, who excelled the lotus by the beauty of his face,[2] who was the second Bhōja, who understood the hidden meaning of literary compositions, who was well versed in ethics, who held annual feasts during the pleasant spring season,[3] who made liberal gifts to Brāhmaṇas on the occasion of his sacrifices (*yāgas*), who was a successful man, who was chief among kings, who was a blessed man, who was the son of Nāgāmbikā and Narasarāja, who delighted the minds of all, who was like Arjuna on the battle-field, who conquered all the quarters, who won Sāmparāya (battles) by the strength of his arms, and who now rules the whole earth from his throne at Vijayanagara, issued an edict to God Śrīnivāsa, who exercises care in the protection of the earth, who is called Vēṅkaṭēśa and who abides on the Śēshāchala.

Its Formal Character and Its Ultimate Fulfilment :—This *Saṁskṛita-praśasti* is a mere formal introduction,[4] prefixed to his grants dating from 1509-10 A.C., i.e., from the time of his accession to the throne, and is not a record of the time of the coronation for his actual achievements which were

NOTE 1 :—Compare *karparadaḷavirāma* ('who gave respite to (i.e. repressed) the army of the Turks'), a term of address for Kṛishṇarāya in "Manucharitramu," Canto VI, verse 1.

NOTE 2 :—Paes writes that Kṛishṇarāya was "of fair complexion and good figure" ("Forgotten Empire," page 246), but the implication of verse 121 of Canto IV of "Manucharitramu" seems to be that he was of black complexion, being, as eupuistically stated therein, enwrapped by the sin of killing numerous warriors in battles with his sword.

NOTE 3 :—The expression of the inscription runs : *Prativarshapravartita-kanaka-Vasanta-mahōtsava.* Timmakavi in his "Pārijātāpaharaṇamu" (Canto I, verse 139) mentions an annual assemblage of poets during the spring festival, *Prativarsha-Vasantōtsava*, at the court of the king who gave them liberal presents.

NOTE 4 :—This formal character is exemplified by the adaptation of Vīra-Narasiṁha's *Praśasti* for Kṛishṇarāya with the addition of certain features peculiar to himself (Cf. the introduction of the Kuḍiyāntaṇḍal Grant of Vīra-Nṛisiṁha in Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, pages 236-240) ; likewise, the adaptation of Kṛishṇarāya's *Praśasti* for Achyutarāya with certain other peculiar attributes (Vide Pōḷēpalli Grant of Achyutarāya in "Nellore Inscriptions," Vol. I, pages 80-86 ; and Ūnamāñjēri Plates of Achyutarāya in Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pages 151-153) ; and similar adaptation for Sadāśivarāya (Cf. his British Museum Plates in Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, pages 12—15).

only wrought later on. But in essence they were gained subsequently through his victories over the Ummattūr and Ikkēri chiefs, the Gajapati king and the Musalman Sultans; and even the religious charities were performed at the sacred centres, such as Śrīśaila, Ahōbala, Bezvada, Rajahmandry, Amarēśvara, Kāḷahasti, Tirupati, Kāñchī, Śrīraṅgam, Kumbhakōṇam, Rāmēśvaram, Gōkarṇam, &c. Similarly the building of towers and the planting of triumphal pillars became veritable facts when in later years he constructed the huge *gōpurams* of the temples at Kalahasti, Tiruvannamala, Chidambaram and other places and planted pillars of victory at Simhādri and Śrīkūrmam. He was a great scholar and poet himself and patronised Telugu poets of talents. In short, Kṛishṇarāya proved himself to be the greatest of the Vijayanagara sovereigns in particular and the crown of the South Indian Hindu monarchs of yore in general, eclipsing their glory by the universal fame that he acquired through his military conquests and liberal gifts, and successful administration of the extensive Vijayanagara empire. He was really the *Rājādhirāja* and *Rājaparamēśvara*,[1] so far as South India was concerned. As for his alleged sovereignty over the kings of Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaḷiṅga, whose conquest Allasāni Peddana also mentions in verses 81 and 83 of Canto I of his "Manucharitramu" (*Baṅgāḷāṅgakaḷiṅga*), his expedition against Kaḷinga (extending north from the Gōdāvarī up to Orissa) brought that province under his sway, though he relinquished it in favour of the Gajapati himself; Aṅga (the northern part of modern Bihar) and Vaṅga (Bengal) might have been considered at least nominally tributary to Vijayangara, if we trust the statement of the "Sāḷuvābhyudayam" (Canto 7) that Sāḷuva Narasiṁha carried his conquests into North India also and celebrated the *Jayalakshmī-vivāham* for himself, when, along with other kings, the Vaṅga king offered him a *bhṛiṅgāram* (a golden vase) and the Aṅga king presented a *tāmbūlakaraṇḍa* (a casket) and also became the *aṅgapālaka* (body-guard) of Narasiṁha, as a mark of allegiance to him. It may therefore be a formal assumption of a *biruda*, like the presumed victory over Śāmparāya which was really gained by Kampaṇa II of the First dynasty, or the mastery over the Gajapati, the natural

Note 1:—Paes describes Kṛishṇarāya as "the most feared and perfect king that could possibly be, cheerful of disposition and very merry;..... He is a great ruler and a man of much justice, but subject to sudden fits of rage,.. .....he is by rank a greater lord than any, by reason of what he possesses in (?) armies and territories, but it seems that he has (in fact) nothing compared to what a man like him ought to have, so gallant and perfect is he in all things" (Sewell's "Forgotten Empire," page 247).

hereditary enemy of Vijayanagara until finally reduced by Kṛishṇarāya himself later on. This is borne out by the simple epithets, viz., *Śrīman Mahārājādhirāja*, *Rājaparamēśvara* and *Śrī Vīrapratāpa* applied to him in all the above thirty-four epigraphs so far noticed as well as in the nine trilingual inscriptions of the following year, i.e., Śaka 1436, Bhāva (=1514 A.C.), in contrast to the significant *birudas* found in his records of Śaka 1437, Yuva (=1515 A.C.) and onwards, viz., *Pūrva-dakshiṇa-paśchima-samudrādhīśvara*, *Yavanarājya-sthāpanāchārya* and *Gajapati-vibhāḍa*, assumed after actual performance of the acts connoted by these titles.[1]

His Fourth Visit:—An opportunity was taken by Kṛishṇarāya to pay his obeisance for the fourth time to God Vēṅkaṭēśa during his return to his capital city of Vijayanagara after pursuing Pratāparudra Gajapati as far as

Note 1:—It is apparent that the acts connoted by the two latter *birudas* had been accomplished by Śaka 1437 and that consequently Kṛishṇarāya assumed them. As a matter of fact the conquest of Pratāparudra Gajapati was effected during Kṛishṇarāya's earlier campaigns in the east, the first directed against Udayagiri terminating in June 1514 when the Gajapati was "crushed and pierced" and driven as far as Koṇḍavīḍu, and the second against Koṇḍavīḍu in June 1515 when its fortress was captured and Vīrabhadra and other princes were taken captive and Kṛishṇarāya marched to Dharaṇikōṭa (Amarāvati) and performed the *Tulāpurusha-mahādāna* in the temple of Amarēśvara and had the *Ratnadhēnu-mahādāna* performed through his favourite queen Chinnādēvi and the *Saptasāgara-mahādāna* through his senior queen Tirumaladēvi on the 8th July 1515. These victories over the Gajapati and the conquest of the southern portion of his territory must have been considered sufficient warrant to give a right to Kṛishṇarāya—irrespective of his Kaḷiṅga expedition five months subsequently in December 1515—to assume the *biruda* "Gajapati-vibhāḍa" which must therefore be taken to denote the military exploits of Kṛishṇarāya performed during his first two campaigns in 1514 and 1515 against Udayagiri and Koṇḍavīḍu. This is also substantiated by the Gajapati's son Vīrabhadrarāya accepting service under Kṛishṇarāya as governor of 'the Maleya-Bennūr country' and making a gift of a tank for the merit of king Kṛishṇarāya in acknowledgment of his subordinate position, during the cyclic year Yuva, Śaka 1438, in the month of Kārtika, corresponding to October 1515 A.C., i.e., within four months after his capture at Koṇḍavīḍu by Kṛishṇarāya in June 1515 (No. 744 of 1917 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.).

Again Kṛishṇarāya is stated to have liberated the three sons of a former Sultan of Bahmani who were confined in prison by the Adil Shahs of Bijapur and set upon the throne the eldest among them (Sewell's "Forgotten Empire," page 157). As such the other title "Yavanarājya-sthāpanāchārya" equally signifies his placing its rightful heir on the throne of the Bahmani kingdom which must have taken place sometime before or during Śaka 1437, i.e., before June 1515 A.C. Compare also the epithet *Yavanakshōṇīdhava-sthāpana*, i.e., 'the establisher of the Muhammadan king,' applied to Kṛishṇarāya in "Manucharitramu" (Canto III, verse 142).

Koṇḍavīḍu and capturing the Udayagiri fortress during his first campaign[1] against the Gajapati in Śaka 1436, Bhāva, on Thursday, the full moon day in

Note 1 :—This first campaign in the expedition was directed against Udayagiri; and, from the narration of the events in "Rāyavāchakamu," it appears that Kṛishṇarāya advanced straight from Raichur with his whole army and necessary equipments by way of Gutti in the Anantapur district and Gaṇḍikōṭa in the Cuddapah district to Udayagiri in the Nellore district ("Sources of Vijayanagar History," page 122).

According to "Rāyavāchakamu" ("Sources," pages 118-121) and "Kṛishṇarāya-Vijayamu" (Canto III, verses 4-53), Kṛishṇarāya's *dig-jaitra-yātra* (Canto II, verse 146) commenced with his reduction of the kings nearer home and continued, through the attack and defeat of Gaṅgarāja, the lord of Ummattūr and Śivasamudram, to his advance against Śrīraṅgapaṭṭaṇam (Srirangapatam) whose ruler Saṅkula-Nāyaka submitted himself after some resistance and received pardon from Kṛishṇarāya. From there he planned an assault of the forts situated in the Bijapur sultanate, but meanwhile the chiefs of the forts themselves surrendered them and offered presents in token of their allegiance to him. He treated them kindly and garrisoned the forts of Ādavani (Adoni), Mudugallu (Mudkal), Rāchūru (Raichur) and other strong places with his own men, as did Raghu Mahārāja of yore, and prepared to proceed against the city of Gōlakoṇḍa. On nearing of Kṛishṇarāya's advance, the people of Āmudānagari, Vijāpuri and Gōlakoṇḍa trembled in fear and the Turkish chiefs of the three houses (i.e. the three sultanates) quickly came to oppose the Hindu monarch and encamped themselves on the south bank of the Kṛishṇa river, having crossed it. Being informed of the combined defence of the three sultans, Kṛishṇarāya called for a council of war of the "Amara-Nāyakulu" and the "Mannīlu" and made presents to them as an encouragement. During the deliberations, the daring, valorous and faithful Rāmaliṅganṛipāla who was the moon to the Pemmasāni family and who had the support of his numerous relations begged to be permitted to fight with the Turks; and all men likewise offered their services. Kṛishṇarāya then gave betel-nuts and leaves to all of them, declared to them that he had no more anxiety regarding the result of the battle inasmuch as they were great heroes, and urged them to win success. The three Vazirs were frightened on hearing this determination of the infidels and regretted their advance to the southern side of the river.

Then began the action between the two armies. Pemmasāni Rāmaliṅgarāja entered the thickest of the fight and wrought destruction among the Turks who appeared to be giving way at the moment. Having waited for this advantageous situation, Kṛishṇarāya mounted his state elephant and drove into the midst of the fight with his contingents and ordered the sounding of the trumpets. The sound unnerved the Persian army and threw it into great confusion. The Kṛishṇa river was then in flood. The sultans and the chiefs of the first rank in the Muhammadan army changed their dress so as not to be recognised, crossed the river and took to flight for safety, leaving their elephants and horses as well as their treasure to be seized by the victorious emperor. Kṛishṇarāya felt triumphant over his victory as it was the first that was gained by him and ordered the seizure of the camp equipage, &c., of the enemy. At that moment Mādayyagāri Mallanārya, Allasāni Peddāryavarya, Mukku Timmana and other prominent poets praised the prowess of the king who then presented them with gold cloths and jewels. Kṛishṇarāya was

the month of Āshāḍha (= 6-7-1514 A.C.). This time he had a *kanakābhishēkam* performed for God Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha with 30,000 *varahās*, presented some ornaments for Him and arranged for His daily offerings for which he granted Tāḷapāka village in the Potapināṭi-sīma. From the donor's share of a quarter of the *prasādams* offered daily in his name, he stipulated for the issue of a portion to Raṅgā-Dīkshitulu, Śivā-Dīkshitulu and Tiruppaṇipiḷḷai and the balance to the latter for being utilised for feeding Brāhmaṇas in the *satram* (Nos. 201, 254, and 256—T.T.). Of his two queens who accompanied him to Tirumala from the military campaign, Chinnādēvi presented a *padakam* (pendant) and a *kaṇṭhamāla* (necklace) and gave Muḍiyūr village in Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam to serve for the daily offerings instituted by her with a similar provision for issue of the donor's share to Tiruppaṇipiḷḷai, a quarter for himself and three-quarters for the same *satram* (Nos. 202, 257 and 262—T.T.), while Tirumaladēvi presented a *padakam* and arranged for similar offerings and distribution from the produce derived in grain and coin from the village of Pirāṭikuḷattūr in Chōḷiṅgavarapaṭṭu (Nos. 203, 255 and 261—T.T.). One of the above donees, Raṅgā-Dīkshitulu, was the father of Kṛishṇarāya's *purōhita* Yagñanārāyaṇa-Dīkshita who also appears to have followed the royal party to Tirumala and offered 10,000 *chakrams* to the temple for certain services only four days later, i.e., on the 10th July 1514 A. C. (Nos. 192 and 254—T.T.). The father must have also followed the king so as to be the recipient of the granted *prasādam*.

His Military Achievements Reported in His Record of Gift of a Prabhavali :—A set of four epigraphs in four languages, Telugu, Kanarese, Tamil and Saṁskṛit (Nos. 579, 580, 619, and 620—T. T. respectively), introduces us to Kṛishṇarāya's halt at Vijayanagara, on Thursday, the 3rd day of the dark fortnight of Kārtika in Śaka 1437, Yuva (=25th October 1515 A.C.), and the presentation of a *navaratna-prabhāvaḷi* or *makaratōraṇa* for God Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha. The first three inscriptions contain an introduction,[1] which recounts in detail the military achievements of Kṛishṇarāya against the Gajapati from the time of his starting on his eastern expedition up to the time of

impelled to pursue the fleeing enemy and occupy the country but he was dissuaded from his attempt by his wise minister Appāji (Sāḷuva Timma), Ayyamarasu, Koṇḍamarasu and Bācharasu and advised to turn his arms against the Gajapati who might give him a flank attack and cut off his supplies during Kṛishṇarāya's projected pursuit of the sultans. On this advice, Kṛishṇarāya proceeded pleasingly to the assault of the Udayagiri fortress.

Note 1 :—This introduction is identical in its contents with that of the Tiruvannamala inscription (No. 572 of 1902), a review of which is found in para 16 of the Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1903.

returning to Vijayanagara after performing the *Tulāpurusha-mahādāna* at Dharaṇikōṭa-Amarēśvara and other *mahādānas* at that sacred centre through his queens Chinnājidēvamma and Tirumaladēvamma. It relates that Kṛishṇarāya, having started on his eastern expedition (*Pūrva-digvijaya-yātra*) occupied the fort of Udayagiri,[1] captured Tirumala Rautarāya Mahāpātra,[2] and in one

Note 1:—Kumāra-Dhūrjaṭi in his "Kṛishṇarāya-Vijayamu," Canto III, verses 58-69, mentions that the princes of Ārviḍu, Toragallu, Gobbūru, Nandēla, Auku and other chiefships, as well as those of Velugōṭi and Rāvela families, and Tuḷuva chiefs and Bōyas fought at many points day and night for taking the impregnable fortress of Udayagiri. Kṛishṇarāya was much irritated at the continued unsuccessful fighting and so rushed forward to the attack, escaladed the wall followed by his men and suddenly got down into the fort. To the defenders of the fort who submitted to him, he gave assurance of safety of their lives, and, placing his faithful servants in charge of the citadel, proceeded against Kandukūru, then Koṇḍavīḍu, next Koṇḍapali, thence Vinukoṇḍa and other forts whose governors under the Gajapati, on hearing of Kṛishṇarāya's advance, left the forts undefended and fled to the hills. Having thus possessed himself of all fortified positions on the hills and plains, Kṛishṇarāya marched against Amudānagaram (Ahmadabad-Bidar) and gave battle to the Persian army that defended it. Finding many of the enemy ranks taking to flight from the field during the contest, he treated those runaways with scorn, planted a *jayadhvaja* (flag of victory) there and resumed the invasion of the Gajapati's territory. (Cf. "Rāyavāchakamu" in "Sources of Vijayanagar History," pages 123-124).

The narrative of "Kṛishṇarāya-Vijayamu" and "Rāyavāchakamu" shows clearly that Kṛishṇarāya's main theme of conquest was only the Gajapati's dominions for the realisation of which he had as a preliminary step first to bring to allegiance the recalcitrant chiefs in the south such as Gaṅgarāja and Saṅkula-Nāyaka, fortify the outposts on the borders of the Muhammadan states so as to check any Musalman incursion on the northern side into the Vijayanagara kingdom and equip himself with necessary men and munitions. The epigraphical records denominate this military ideal of Kṛishṇarāya, which he was fortunate enough to realise, as his *Pūrva-digvijaya-yātra* and *Kaḷiṅgadēśa-digvijaya*, while his own "*Āmuktamālyada*" terms it *Kaḷiṅgadēśa-vijigīsha*. His direct march against Udayagiri from Raichur and his attack and destruction of the fort of Amudānagaram (Bidar) in the interval between his second and third campaigns, i.e., before starting on his Kaḷiṅga expedition, are illustrations to the point. It is thus clear that Kṛishṇarāya did not reckon his fights with the Muhammadan Sultans as noteworthy events at all, but only as bye-issues of his main project.

According to the "Rāyavāchakamu" ("Sources of Vijayanagar History," page 122), Kṛishṇarāya placed Kampanna in charge of the Udayagiri fortress after its capture by him.

Note 2:—He was the younger paternal uncle of Pratāparudra Gajapati. He is variously named as Tirumala Kāntarāya in the Udayagiri Nos. 38, 40 and 41 ("Nellore Inscriptions"), Tirumala Rāghavarāya in the same No. 37, and Tirumala Prēyatarāya Mahāpātra in the Amarāvati inscription. Certainly he is the same as Parvata-Rāhuttar (Tirumala Rautarāya) whose Erode inscription shows him governing the Mēl-nāḍu in Śaka 1432, Prajōtpatti (=1510—11 A.C.) (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1911, para 53), as an agent

single campaign took Addaṅki,[1] Vinikoṇḍa, Bellaṁkoṇḍa, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa,

of Pratāparudra Gajapati. It is possible that, in consonance with the account of the "Kṛishṇarāya-Vijayamu," Canto III, verses 81 and 82, wherein the Gajapati is represented to refer to the pilgrimage tour of the "Peda-Gajapati-Bhūvaruḍu," i.e., the elder Gajapati king, the predecessor of Pratāparudra, for a visit to Sētu in the past through the southern country accompanied by a Turkish force which performed wonderful exploits there, and to lay claim to all this southern territory as belonging to himself, this Mēl-nāḍu or Mēlkarai-nāḍu as well as the Koṅgu-maṇḍalam which comprised the *nāḍu* must have formed part of the dominions of the Gajapati who apparently held sway over his vast empire extending from his home territories in Orissa, Kaliṅga and Utkala in the north down into the modern Nellore, Cuddapah, North Arcot and Salem districts and the Mysore State in the south. It must have been this incursion, which, as the Gajapati hints at, took place in the time of his predecessor, into the heart of the Vijayanagara kingdom and the consequent interception of its southern provinces that exasperated Kṛishṇarāya to march against the Gajapati's native country and devastate it completely in revenge; and not even the 'testament' of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha for the mere capture of three stray strongholds, Raichur, Mudkal and Adoni, on the Muhammadan border could have acted as such a powerful incentive to his *digvijaya*. It is properly therefore the successful accomplishment of his *pūrva-digvijaya* and *Kaḷiṅgadēśa-digvijaya* that he counted upon as the true kingly virtue which he could reveal in his life; and he did realise his object with a uniform steadfastness, in the face of dissuation from his ministers and generals ("Rāyavāchakamu" in "Sources," page 124; and "Kṛishṇarāya-Vijayamu," Canto II, verse 67) who for that reason appear not to have shared his vision (Cf. "Kṛishṇarāya-Vijayamu," Canto II, verses 142 and 143). He preceived the enemy's vulnerable points in his extended southern outposts of Ummattūr and Śivasamudram as well as Salem (where occurs the record of Parvata-Rāhuttar, No. 169 of 1910), far removed from his centre of rule in the north from which he could not easily defend them, and therefore attacked him first in the south, and wrested from him these strongholds in Koṅgu-maṇḍalam, then moved north for the capture of the strategic positions Adoni, Mudkal and Raichur and from this last place marched straight by way of Gutti and Gaṇḍikōṭa to Udayagiri lying in the Gajapati's own kingdom, after whose capture he doggedly pursued Pratāparudra and ceaselessly fought him from post to post until he seized his twin capitals Siṁhādri and Kaṭakapuri and brought the Utkala king upon his knees. It must therefore appear that Parvata-Rāhuttar who ruled the Mēlkarai-nāḍu or more probably the Koṅgu-maṇḍalam itself under the Gajapati in Śaka 1432, at the beginning of Kṛishṇarāya's reign, must have wheeled round by the north-east to Udayagiri, when Kṛishṇarāya subdued the Mysore territory from him the latest in Śaka 1434 during his 'state business' at Śivasamudram by 22nd September 1512 A.C. (No. 180 of 1913 from Bukkapatnam); and from that time Rautarāya—a vernacular term for the Saṁskṛitic Parvata-Rāhuttar—must have held the governorship of the Udayagiri fort until its seizure with himself in it on 9th June 1514 by Kṛishṇarāya, who in utter indignation at the sight of the chief that made bold to resist him twice successively must have been impelled to kick his crown, as related in the "Āmuktamālyada" (Canto I, verse 89), when he was probably obliged to pay his homage to the captor on his capture.

Note 1;—"Pārijātāpaharaṇamu," Canto I, verse 23, combines some of these

Taṅgēḍa, Kētavaram and other forts,[1] situated on hills and plains. He next marched to the Koṇḍavīḍu fortress, laid siege to it, put up square sheds round

forts, viz., Udayādri, Vinukoṇḍa, Koṇḍavīḍu and Bellaṁkoṇḍa in a series with some of those captured by Kṛishṇarāya subsequently in his Kaliṅga campaign, viz., Jallipalli, Anantagiri and Kambambumeṭṭu and inserts Dēvarakoṇḍa in the middle of its list. Probably Dēvarakoṇḍa (Vēlupugoṇḍa in the "Sources," page 140) is the same as Nāgārjunikoṇḍa of the inscriptions or the modern Dēvarkoṇḍa in the Nalgoṇḍa division of the Hyderabad State. This list also makes it appear as if the capture of Koṇḍavīḍu preceded that of Bellaṁkoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa, and as if Anantagiri came in between Jallipalli and Kambhammeṭṭu. Quite likely the poet Timmakavi exercised his privilege of a poetical license in the matter of the serial order of events.

With the same privilege Kumāra-Dhūrjaṭi in his "Kṛishṇarāya-Vijayamu," Canto III, verse 63, mentions Kandukūru, Koṇḍavīḍu, Koṇḍapali and then Vinukoṇḍa and other forts as having been taken by Kṛishṇarāya one after another in chronological order, in the interval between his capture of Udayagiri and his defeat of the Muhammadan army at Amudānagaram, while according to the inscriptions Vinukoṇḍa came earliest immediately after Udayagiri and Addaṅki, and Koṇḍavīḍu was the last fort to be seized during Kṛishṇarāya's second campaign; and some months elapsed before Koṇḍapalli was captured during his third or Kaliṅga expedition. There is no mention of Kandukūru at all in lithic records,[2] and Kumāra-Dhūrjaṭi appears to have followed "Rāyavāchakamu" in his treatment of the wars, though he adds Koṇḍapali and omits Bellaṁkoṇḍa and Nāgārjunukoṇḍa and changes the order of events as noted in the latter work.

Of these forts Addaṅki is the nearest to Udayagiri being within 100 miles and Kētavaram the farthest being about 170 miles north of Udayagiri.

NOTE 1:—"Rāyavāchakamu" relates that Kṛishṇarāya placed his own officers and generals in charge of these captured forts, viz., Koṇḍayya at Koṇḍavīḍu, Bhāskarayya at Vinikoṇḍa, Vīrabhadrayya at Bellaṁkoṇḍa and Ayyalayya at Nāgārjunukoṇḍa. It then continues that Kṛishṇarāya next marched against Ahamadānagaram where he gave battle to the enemy outside the fort and defeated them. On hearing of this defeat, the nobles of the first rank who were in the fort deserted it and fled for safety. Kṛishṇarāya then demolished the fort, ploughed the ground and sowed castor-seeds and the seeds of the gigantic Swallow wort (*jillēḍu*) there and returned to the conquest of the Gajapati's country ("Sources," page 124).

Koṇḍayya may be identified wfth Rāyasam Koṇḍamarasayya, the grandson of Śrīpatyāchārya and son of Timmarasamantri, and "the hero who actually accomplished for Kṛishṇarāya the planting of the pillars of victory at Siṁhādri and Śrīkūrmam" (See under Kṛishṇarāya's Officers). Bhāskarayya is identified by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar with Rāmayamantri Bhāskara ("Sources," p. 114). If so, he was the paternal uncle of Bhayakkāra Rāmappayyar (See under Achyutarāya's Officers). Vīrabhadrayya is possibly Kumāra-Vīrayya or Kumāra-Vīra-Śyāmarāya of Srirangapatam, mentioned as the father-in law of Kṛishṇarāya (Sewell's "Forgotten Empire," page 336). Ayyalayya may be the same as Rāyasam Ayyapparasa, the agent of Koṇḍamarasayya (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1913, para 57; and Nos. 97 of 1913 and 209 of 1894).

the fort, demolished the rampart walls, occupied the citadel and captured alive Pratāparudra Gajapatirāya's son Vīrabhadrarāya,[1] Kumāra-Haṁvīra-Pātra's son Naraharidēva, Rāchūri Mullukhān, Uddaṇḍakhān, Jannyāla Kasava-Pātra,[2] Pūsapāṭi Rāchirāja,[3] Śrīnātharāja–Lakshmīpatirāja,[4] Paśchimabālachandra-Mahāpātra and other *Pātra-Sāmantulu* and *Mannevāru* and granted them their lives. He then proceeded to Dharaṇikōṭa-Amarēśvara and, in the presence of God Amarēśvara on the bank of the Kṛishṇavēṇī, performed the *Tulāpurusha-mahādāna* himself and had other *mahādānas* performed through his queens Chinnājidēvi and Tirumaladēvi and then returned to Vijayanagara. The Saṁskṛit verse of No. 620 does not narrate these events but merely records the presentation of a *prabhāvaḷi*. In consonance with the military achievements he gained till then, Kṛishṇarāya assumed the significant *birudas*, *Pūrva-dakshiṇa-paśchima-samudrādhīśvara*, *Yavanarājya-sthāpanāchārya* and *Gajapati-vibhāḍa* in addition to the merely conventional ones noticed in his *Saṁskṛita-praśasti*, viz., *Mūrurāyara-gaṇḍa*, *Ariyarāya-vibhāḍa*, *Ashṭadikkurāya-manōbhayaṅkara* and *Bhāshagetappuvarāyara-gaṇḍa*.

His Fifth Visit:—For the fifth time Kṛishṇarāya visited Tirupati and paid his respects to God Vēṅkaṭēśa on Friday, the 10th day of Pushya in the cyclic year Dhātu, Śaka year 1438 (=2-1-1517 A.C.) (No. 578—T.T.), which happened at the end of his wars against the Gajapati king. It narrates the events of his campaigns up to the performing of the *Tulāpurusha-mahādāna* at Amarēśvara and returning thence to Vijayanagara, and then continues that Kṛishṇarāya, while ruling, started on a conquering expedition against Kaliṅga,[5]

NOTE 1:—Vīrabhadrarāya is stated in "Pārijātāpaharaṇamu," Canto I, verse 20, to have been pardoned by Kṛishṇarāya in the battle fought at Koṇḍavīḍu.

NOTE 2:—"Manucharitramu," Canto I, verse 37, mentions Kasavāpātra alone as having been attacked and captured by Kṛishṇarāya.

NOTE 3:—Pūsapāṭi Rāchirāja is said to have been the son-in-law of Pratāparudra Gajapati and to have been the governor of the Kētavaram fort ("Jīrṇa-Karṇāṭakarājya-Charitramu," page 110). He was the son of Tammarāja.

NOTE 4:—This is the expression of Nos. 576, 578 and 580—T.T. It occurs as 'Śrīnātharāmarāju Lakshmīpatirāju' in No. 579 and 'Śrīnātharāmarājāwin Lakshmīpatirāja' in No. 619. "Jīrṇa-Karṇāṭakarājya-Charitramu" (page 109) mentions that Lakshmīpatirāju was the son of Śrīnātharāju Rāmarāju. This latter compound name is probably divisible into 'Rāmarāju, the son of Śrīnātharāju.'

NOTE 5:—"Rāyavāchakamu" ("Sources," page 124) and "Kṛishṇarāya-Vijayamu" (Canto III, verses 70 and 71) relate that, while passing through the gorges to the conquest of the Gajapati's territory from Amudānagaram, Kṛishṇarāya was attacked by

proceeded to Bejavāḍa, seized Koṇḍapalli fortress,[1] captured alive Praharārāja-Śiraśchandra-Mahāpātra, Bōḍajana-Mahāpātra, Bijilikhān and others who were in the fortress, gave them assurance of safety for their lives, and, after reducing Anantagiri, Uṇḍrakoṇḍa, Urlagoṇḍa, Aruvapalli, Jallipalli, Kandikoṇḍa, Kappaluvāyi, Nallagoṇḍa, Kambhammeṭṭu, Kanakagiri, Śaṅkaragiri and other forts[2] in the *Telugu-rājya* in a single campaign (in one assault), reached Siṁhādri-Poṭnūru, planted a pillar of victory and performed a *mahādāna* there, thence returned to Rājamahēndrāvara, had *mahādānas* performed at the hands of his queens Chinnādēvamma and Tirumaladēvamma and then went back to Vijayanagara. He was present at Tirumala on the above date, paid his homage to God Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha and gave a *kaṇṭhamāla* (necklace) and a *padakam* (pendant) for Him, and also 30,000 *varahās* for gilding the *vimānam* over the *sanctum*, together with the grant of tolls (*sumkamu*) from Tirupati relating to Goḍagar-nāḍu (Kuḍavūr-nāḍu) amounting to 1000 *varahās* to serve for the expenses of conducting the weekly ablutions (*puḷikāpu*) and the taxes known as *nityamūlavisannāḍu* and *talārikammādārikam* from Tirupati relating to Goḍagar-nāḍu amounting to 500 *varahās* for the morning offerings of God. Kṛishṇarāya then returned to Vijayanagara and was ruling.

Indication of Completion of His Kalinga Expedition :—The following points may be noted from this epigraph. The record brings the Kaḷiṅga expedition of Kṛishṇarāya to a close before 2-1-1517 A.C., on which day he was present at Tirupati. Regarding the capture of Koṇḍavīḍu, it merely states that Kṛishṇarāya alighted on the Koṇḍavīḍu fortress, captured the citadel after escalading the walls. Again it mentions the *Tulāpurusha-mahādāna* alone of

Chitaprakhānu who lay with his archers in ambush for him but that he managed to cut off a number of the archers and drive them off. He then stationed his own men at important posts and, marching onwards, reached the Kaḷiṅga capital and encamped himself at Poṭnūri-Siṁhādri (verses 72 and 74).

Note 1 :—Sewell mentions that Kṛishṇarāya here captured a wife and a son of the king of Orissa. Only one son of the Gajapati is known, viz., Prince Vīrabhadra, and, as already noticed, he was captured at Koṇḍavīḍu. "Manucharitramu," Canto III, verse 142, refers to the conquest of the king of Kaḷiṅga and the imprisonment of his queens by Kṛishṇarāya during his expedition to the north, but the exact place is not given.

Note 2 :—These forts form a cluster withUṇḍrakoṇḍa and Anantagiri in the south (within about 10 miles to the south-west and west respectively of Kētavaram), Nallagoṇḍa in the south-west, Jallipalli, Kappaluvāyi and Kandikoṇḍa in the north, Aruvapalli in the east just below the Gōdāvarī river, and Kambhammeṭṭu and Urlagoṇḍa in the middle. Their positions from Uṇḍrakoṇḍa in the south to Kandikoṇḍa in the north range within 55 miles and from Nallagoṇḍa in the south-west to Aruvapalli in the north-east to within 140 miles.

Kṛishṇarāya at Dharaṇikōṭa-Amarēśvara and omits the *mahādānas* of his two queens at that place noted in No. 579 above. It clearly states that Kṛishṇarāya after returning to Vijayanagara from Amarēśvara and attending to administration, started on his Kaḷiṅga expedition (*Kaḷiṅgadēśa-digvijaya*) and directly reached Bejavāḍa. After capturing the forts in the Telugu country and planting a pillar of victory at Siṁhādri-Poṭnūru, Kṛishṇarāya is said to have 'returned' to Rājamahēndrāvara (from Siṁhādri) and, after performing certain *mahādānas* there through his queens, reached Vijayanagara.

His Gilding the Divya-Vimana :—The next record No. 576—T.T. of Kṛishṇarāya's charity at Tirumala is dated on Thursday combined with Svāti, being the 5th lunar day in the bright fortnight of the Tamil month of Kanya in the cyclic year Bahudhānya, Śaka 1440 (=9-9-1518 A.C.), and registers that he had the *Divya-vimāna* of Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān gilded[1] with gold, after returning to Vijayanagara from Rajahmandry. This inscription No. 576—T.T. is preceded by an introduction in Tamil which recapitulates the events of his campaigns against the Gajapati in terms identical with those of No. 578 noticed above. During his last visit on 2-1-1517 A.C. Kṛishṇarāya paid 30,000 *varahās* for gilding the *vimānam* and the gilding was completed by 9-9-1518 A.C. This gilding is also recorded in Telugu in No. 577-T.T. which purports to be a summary of No. 576—T.T. in Tamil.

His Sixth Visit :—We are informed in No. 697 of 1922 from Kamalapuram in the Bellary district that Kṛishṇarāya visited the temple of Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha with his senior queen Tirumaladēvi in Śaka 1440, Bahudhānya, i.e., on 16th October 1518 A. C., only within five weeks after the gilding of the *vimānam*, and granted some land for the merit of (Prince) Tirumalarāya Mahārāya, that is to say, for the prosperity of his new-born son in the very year of his birth (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1923, para 79, page 119). He must have felt himself greatly blest on the birth of the son and so hastened to offer his adoration at the feet of his Patron-God Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha and invoke His blessings for the health and prosperity of the babe. But unfortunately

Note 1 :—This is the fourth occasion on which this *Ānanda-Divya-Vimāna* of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's temple at Tirumala was gilded with gold. It had been previously done by Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (No. 172—T.T.), Sāḷuva Maṅgidēva Mahārāja (Nos. 237 and 238—T.T.) and Amātyaśēkhara Mallaṇa (No. 235—T.T.). It was later on repeated twice, once by Kōṭikanyādānam Tātāchārya of Kāñchī (No. 354 of 1919) during the time of Vēṅkaṭa I, and again by the late Adhikāri Rāmalakshmaṇadās Bāvāji, a brother disciple of His Holiness Śrī Mahant Prayāgadāsji, the present *Vichāraṇakarta* of the *Dēvasthānams*, in 1909 A.C. (No. 242—T.T.).

his happiness in this respect was cut off after six years only when this Prince Tirumalarāya breathed his last ("Forgotten Empire," page 359; and S. I. I., Vol. V, p. 383, No. 1004).

His Seventh Visit :—For the seventh and the last time Kṛishṇarāya visited Tirumala and paid his obeisance to God Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha on Sunday, the 11th day of the bright half of the Telugu month of Phālguṇa in the Vikrama year, Śaka 1442 (=17-2-1521 A.C.), and had by himself presented a *pītāmbaram* set with the nine kinds of gems, a cap[1] (*kullāvu*) with pearls, diamonds, emeralds and sapphires embedded into it, two fly-whisks set with the nine kinds of gems, a *padakam* and 10,000 *varahās*; and a *navaratna-padakam* through his queen Tirumaladēvamma. These gifts of Kṛishṇarāya and his queen are also recorded in No. 578—T.T. as their charity subsequent to his gift of 30,000 *varahās* towards the gilding of the *vimānam*. There are four other epigraphs registering these gifts of the king and the queen on this date, Nos. 301 and 594—T.T. in Kanarese, No. 302—T.T. in Tamil and No. 586—T.T. in Telugu language and Nandi-Nāgari characters, but all these four lack the detailed narration of the wars with the Gajapati which No. 578 gives us.

His Gifts to Vyasatirtha :—The last time that we come across Kṛishṇarāya's charity at Tirumala is in Śaka 1445, Svabhānu, on Tuesday combined with the star Aśvini, the 7th day of the bright fortnight of the Tamil month Makara (=12th January 1524 A.C.) (No. 246—T.T.). This inscription registers the transference of two houses and house-sites at Tirumala and Tirupati by the *Sthānattār* of Tirumala to the Mādhva teacher Śrīmat Vyāsatīrtha-Śrīpāda-Uḍaiyar, together with the issue of certain *prasādams* from the temple which Kṛishṇarāya arranged for being offered through the grant of the *pèrāyam* of the *Puraṭṭāśi–tirunāḷ* and the proceeds of half the village of Kaḍaikūṭṭanpāḍi situated in *Uḷ-maṇḍalam* and of the full villages of Tāḷḷappākkam, Pirāṭam, Dārattūr, Muḍiyūr, Chatravāḍi and Tuṛaiyūr, all situated in *Pura-maṇḍalam*. It appears from the inscription that with the donor's quarter share of the offered *prasādam* was maintained a *satram* where Brāhmaṇas were fed (page 159 *ante*), and that later on Kṛishṇarāya ordered the issue of a part of the donor's share to Vyāsatīrtha for distribution in his *Maṭhas*, which were

Note 1 :—Probably this cap now presented to God resembled his own "cap of brocade in fashion like a Galician helmet, covered with a piece of fine stuff all of fine silk," which Paes relates that Kṛishṇarāya wore when he gave audience to the Portuguese ("Forgotten Empire," page 252). In his statue at Tirumala he is represented to put on a long cap or crown.

required to be constructed on the site of the houses now given to him. A portion of the site now granted to the spiritual teacher was originally the property of one Nambi (temple-priest) Siṟṟappayan on whose misappropriation of some temple-jewels the house was confiscated to the temple-treasury by Nārasiṁharāya Mahārāyar, i.e., Sāḷuva Narasiṁha. Of the villages mentioned above, Dārattūr, Chatravāḍi and Tuṛaiyūr are observed to have been granted by Kṛishṇarāya on 13-6-1513 A.C. (Nos. 330 and 459—T.T.), Tāḷapākam on 6-7-1514 A.C. (Nos. 201, 254 and 256—T.T.), Muḍiyūr on the latter date by Chinnājidēvi (Nos. 202, 257 and 262—T.T.) and Pirāṭam, possibly Pirāṭi-kuḷattūr, by Tirumaladēvi (Nos. 203, 255 and 261—T.T.). Kaḍaikūṭṭanpāḍi occurs in no other inscription, while Karakampēvāṭi or Karakanambāḍu noticed in Nos. 330 and 459—T.T. is not included in the above list in No. 246—T. T. Probably these terms are variants of Kaḍaikūṭṭanpāḍi of No. 246-T.T.

The Period of his Reign :—Kṛishṇarāya's earliest date in our collection is that of his first visit, i.e., 10th February 1513, which is about three years and a half subsequent to his accession to the Vijayanagara throne. The nearest date to his accession is furnished by No. 703 of 1919 from Gulya in the Alur taluk of the Bellary district, viz., Śaka 1430, Śukla, Śrāvaṇa śu. 10, Thursday, which is equivalent to the 26th July 1509 A.C. This date is by a half-year anterior to Śaka 1430, Śukla, Māgha śu. 14, equivalent to 23rd January 1510 A.C., being the date of the two Hampe records of Kṛishṇarāya referring to his coronation (Nos. 29 and 30 of 1889; S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 259), and may be considered as the earliest date for him, in comparison with the latest known date of his elder brother and predecessor Vīra-Narasiṁha quoted in No. 342 of 1892 from Tadpatri, to wit, Śaka 1431, Śukla, Vaiśākha śu. 15, Friday, which is equivalent to 4th May 1509 A.C. Between these two dates there is only a narrow interval of a little less than three months from May to July, during which period Vīra-Narasiṁha might have deceased and Kṛishṇarāya occupied the throne. Similarly the latest date of our inscriptions for him do not carry us beyond Śaka 1450, Sarvadhāri (=April 1528 A.C.) (No. 27—G.T.), which is almost two years earlier than still later dates found elsewhere. One such date, viz., Śaka 1451, Virōdhi, Māgha śu. 11, corresponding to 9th January 1530, is given in No. 216 of 1913 from Yalpi in the Bellary district, which, under the introduction of Kṛishṇarāya Mahārāya, registers the charity of a certain Timmarasa made 'for the merit of king Achyutarāya-Mahārāya.' The dual kingship indicated in this record is of particular interest in so far as it shows us the continuation of Kṛishṇarāya's reign at that time with the

co-regency of Achyutarāya, who, we know, was already crowned, once at Vēṅkaṭādri (Tirumala) as per the statement of the "Achyutarāyābhyudayam" ("Sources," page 158), at Kalahasti according to its epigraph No. 157 of 1924 on the 21st October 1529, and again at the capital city of Vijayanagara a month later on 20th November 1529 according to Nos. 49 and 50 of 1900 from Conjeevaram. Though we come across Achyutarāya's records dated some time prior to the date of the Yalpi inscription, such as No. 294 of 1897 from Manimaṇgalam in the Chingleput district with Śaka 1449 (wrong for 1451), Virōdhi, Tai 9, śu. 7, Uttiraṭṭādi, Wednesday, corresponding to 5th January 1530, and the Kaḍalāḍi Plates (Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, pages 310-323) with Śaka 1451, Virōdhi, Pushya ba. 13, Tuesday, Makara-Saṅkramam,[1] equivalent to 28th December 1529, we may still take it that Kṛishṇarāya nominally ruled for three months longer up to at least the 28th of March 1530, on which day is dated No. 14 of 1915 from Śrīśailam which records, under the introduction of Kṛishṇadēvarāya, that the king's Avasaram Chandraśēkharayya, who was ruling the Śrīśaila-rājya, 'built a *maṇḍapa*.....set up standing stone figures of his master Kṛishṇarāya, his father-in-law Dēmarasa and of himself in that *maṇḍapa*.' This nominal rule of Kṛishṇarāya with the co-regency of Achyutarāya might not have prolonged and Achyutarāya might have become full-fledged sovereign about this time. However, from No. 23 of 1915 from Śrīśailam which, dated in Śaka 1452, Vikṛiti, Pushya ba. 11, Tuesday (?), corresponding to the middle of January 1531 A.C., during the reign of Vīrapratāpa Achyutarāya, registers a gift made 'for the merit of the king and (his brother) Kṛishṇarājadēva-Mahārāya,' it seems possible that, apart from his reign, Kṛishṇarāya lived on through the year 1530 into at least the first month of 1531 A.C.

His Visits were Component Parts of His Military Programme :— Kṛishṇarāya's frequent visits to Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's temple at Tirumala were not isolated tours undertaken for the sole purpose of pilgrimage to this sacred religious centre. Excepting the last two or three visits which were avowedly made during his religious journeys, the first four occasions were availed of

NOTE 1 :—*Makara-Saṅkramam* usually occurs about the middle of January each year, but the indication of its occurrence at the end of December on this occasion is due to the calculation of the English equivalent date according to the Old Style which is adopted for all dates prior to September 1752 A.C., when the New Style of the Calendar was brought into use in England by an Act of Parliament. Thus according to the New Style this *Makara-Saṅkramam* day in Śaka 1451, Virōdhi, would fall on 8th January 1530 A.C.

during his reconnaissance in Southern India prior to his actual campaigns against the Gajapati and during those campaigns ; and they have therefore a military cause for their motive. As already mentioned, Kṛishṇarāya's first visit to Tirumala was paid on the 10th February 1513 A.C. with his two queens (page 151 *ante*) ; and on this date he also visited the temple at Kalahasti without his queens and presented jewels to Śrīkāḷahastīśvara (Nos. 150, 165 and 181 of 1924 and No. 180 of 1922 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.). These flying visits to the two temples at Tirumala and Kalahasti rounded off on the same day and the short halts made at the different places during the succeeding months indicate the urgent nature of the business he had on hand at the time from which he culled a few hours' respite for their effectuation. For during the following months we find him at his capital Vijayanagara between the 7th and 12th March 1513 A.C. (No. 687 of 1922), at Kāñchī on the 20th March (No. 476 of 1919), at Śrīśaila on the 14th April (No. 18 of 1915) and again at Tirupati for the second time on the 2nd May, as noted above (page 151 *ante*). From Tirupati he proceeded to Kalahasti once more where he was present on the 11th May (No. 161 of 1924). The next halt was at his capital city of Vijayanagara on the 8th June (No. 714 of 1922) from whence he journeyed to Tirupati (Nos. 330 and 459—T. T.) and also to Kalahasti (Nos. 151 and 162 of 1924) for the third time on the 13th June and was back at his capital on the 20th of September 1513 A.C. (No. 398 of 1896). His next known visit was to Conjeevaram on the 31st of May 1514 A.C. (Śaka 1436, Bhāva) (Nos. 478, 510, 513 and 569 of 1919).

His Preliminary Southern Progress :— So far no reference occurs in any of the above inscriptions to Kṛishṇarāya's wars with Pratāparudra Gajapati and his capture of the fort of Udayagiri. Consequently, the period intervening between the 22nd of September 1512 A.C. (Śaka 1434, Āṅgirasa), the date of the Bukkapatnam inscription (No. 180 of 1913) which states that Kṛishṇarāya was at Śivanasamudram at the time on 'state business', and the 20th of September 1513 A. C. (Śaka 1435, Śrīmukha), the date of the Sankalapuram inscription (No. 398 of 1896, published in Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, as No. 38) which states that Kṛishṇarāya was at his capital on that date, viz., one year exactly, Kṛishṇarāya must have been occupied in preparing for the war with the Gajapati king and must have set out from his capital about the end of 1513 or the beginning of 1514 A.C. on his conquest of the north-eastern

region. The 'state business' at Śivanasamudram[1] concerned itself with the expulsion of Parvata-Rāhuttar or Tirumala Rautarāya from the Mēl-nāḍu and the suppression of the rebellious Ummattūr chiefs who had their capital at Śivasamudram and who, with the title of *Penugoṇḍachakrēśvara*, presumed themselves to flout the authority of Vīra-Narasiṁha, the elder brother and predecessor of Kṛishṇarāya on the throne of Vijayanagara (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1914, para 30). In this southern campaign, therefore, in the course of his military expedition undertaken nearly two years and a half after his accession to the throne, Kṛishṇarāya drove back the Gajapati's officers from the Mēl-nāḍu and other *nāḍus* of the Koṅgu-maṇḍalam, reduced to submission Gaṅgarāja of Ummattūr and the Ikkēri chief Saṅkula-Nāyaka,[2] and continued his military progress through the kingdom in 1513 A.C., repressing the risings of the recalcitrant chiefs and collecting contingents for his future campaigns, as well as garrisoning the important military outposts such as Adoni, Mudkal and Raichur[3] on the borders of the Bijapur State. This completed, Kṛishṇarāya started from his capital on his war against the Gajapati sometime after the date of his Sankalapuram inscription, i.e., the earliest in the last quarter of 1513 A.C.

His Eastern Expedition and Capture of Udayagiri in its First Campaign :—Since the trilingual records of Conjeevaram (Nos. 478, 510, 513 and 569 of 1919), though dated in Śaka 1436, Bhāva (=31st May 1514 A.C.), nearly six months after Kṛishṇarāya started on his 'eastern expedition' against the Gajapati, do not make any reference to his war, it is presumable that his first campaign in the north had not ended by the above date and no military success worth recording had been achieved so far. Consequently the Udayagiri inscription, No. 203 of 1892 dated on the 2nd day of the dark

NOTE 1 :—See note 2 on page 160 *ante*. Timmakavi in his "Pārijātāpaharaṇamu" mentions that Kṛishṇarāya destroyed the forts of Ummattūr and Śivanasamudra (Canto II, verse 103), and that he caused the waters of the Kāvērī to flow red with the blood of the enemy kings (Canto I, verse 18), probably meaning Kṛishṇarāya's slaying the army of the Ummattūr chief.

NOTE 2 :—See note I on page 158 *ante*. Vide also "Kṛisbṇarāya-Vijayamu," Canto III, verses 6-9; "Jīrṇa-Karṇāṭakarājya-Charitramu" in Telugu, pages 102-103; and Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's "Krishna Deva Raya," pages 5 and 9.

NOTE 3 :—"Rāyavāchakamu" clubs Addaṅki with these forts ("Sources of Vijayanagar History," page 118), but its capture on this occasion seems very unlikely for the double reason of its distant situation in the farthest east whither Kṛishṇarāya would not have ventured at this time, and of its capture later on immediately after the reduction of Udayagiri.

fortnight of Jyēshṭha in the cyclic year Bhāva, Śaka 1436 (=Friday, 9th June 1514 A.C.), which "records that Kṛishṇarāya made a gift to the temple after his return from the conquest of Pratāparudra whom he had pursued as far as Koṇḍavīḍu," must be the earliest in date, immediately following the capture of the fortress of Udayagiri, to refer to the first military campaign of Kṛishṇarāya against the Gajapati. The capture of Udayagiri was effected within nine days after the date of the Conjeevaram trilingual records and the date of its capture, i.e., 9th June 1514 A.C., is by about a month anterior to the 6th of July 1514 A. C. (Śaka 1436, Bhāva), the date of the Tirumala (Tirupati) trilingual inscriptions (Nos. 201, 254 and 256—T.T. of the present collection) (Nos. 53, 54 and 55 of 1889) which 'vividly describe how Kṛishṇarāya "started on a military expedition against Pratāparudra Gajapati, crushed and pierced (i.e. drove) him as far as Koṇḍavīḍu, took possession of the fortress of Udayagiri and on his way back to the capital of Vijayanagara went up to the top of the Tirumalai hill, paid homage to the lord Veṅkaṭanātha, had him bathed in gold (*kanakābhishēka*) with 30,000 gold pieces (*varāhans*) and presented a triple-stringed necklace and a pair of gold-bangles of very high value set with pearls, diamonds, rubies and topaz,"' (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09, page 176) (See page 159 *ante*).

Duration of His Udayagiri Campaign :—After this visit to Tirumala, Kṛishṇarāya proceeded to his capital Vijayanagara, as indicated in these Tirumala trilingual inscriptions as well as in the Udayagiri No. 37 of the "Nellore Inscriptions." It is after an interval of more than seven months that we find him consecrating and installing in the Kṛishṇa temple at Hampe the image of Bāla-Kṛishṇa which he had very carefully brought from his victorious expedition against Udayagiri, at the end of the same Śaka year 1436, Bhāva, on the 16th of February 1515 A.C., when he made a present of valuable jewels and a gift of nine villages (Nos. 25 and 26 of 1899 and No. 498 of 1907; also Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09, page 176). Thus the capture of the Udayagiri fortress, which was the main event of Kṛishṇarāya's first campaign in the north took place within nine days of the date of the Conjeevaram trilingual inscriptions, i.e., 31st May 1514 A. C., and nearly a month before the date of the Tirumala trilingual inscriptions, i.e., 6th July 1514 A.C. That is to say, it occurred on the 9th June 1514 A. C. and only twenty-six days elapsed between Kṛishṇarāya's capture of Udayagiri and his visit to Tirumala. The statement of Nuniz ("Forgotten Empire," page 316) that Kṛishṇarāya "laid siege to it for a year and a half," for the purpose, as it appears, of contriving

"many paths across rocky hills, breaking up many great boulders in order to make a road for his soldiers to approach the towers of the fortress," because "the place at this time was so strong that they could not approach it except by one way which was so narrow that men could only pass along it one at a time; and in this place he made a broad road, and many others also, so that he could come close to the fortress," and "because it could not be taken except by (its inmates) being starved out," cannot command our acceptance of it, since the indigenous sources of information, e.g., our inscription No. 579—T. T., attribute the above narrated processes of reduction to the Koṇḍavīḍu fortress in these terms, *Koṇḍavīṭidurgam mīndanu viḍiśi, durgam chuṭṭu koṇḍachapparālu peṭṭi, kōṭa paḍakoṭṭiñchi, durgamunu paṭṭukoni*, all these contrivances involving much labour and time, and not to the Udayagiri fortress whose capture they refer to as a matter of a little effort, *Udayagiri durgamunu sādhiñchi*. And Nuniz himself says of Koṇḍavīḍu that Sāḷuva Timma occupied only 'two months besieging it; and he took it.' Though the capture of the Udayagiri fortress might have prolonged for some time as indicated in the "Kṛishṇarāya-Vijayamu" (Canto III, verses 57—60), altogether the Udayagiri campaign itself did not extend beyond nine months at the most from the 20th September 1513 when Kṛishṇarāya is reported to have been staying at his capital, apparently before starting on his 'eastern expedition,' upto the 9th June 1514 when the fort was actually taken by him.

Seizure of The Gajapati's Forts in Utkala :—The epigraphs from Udayagiri, Tirumala and Hampe noticed above, all of them dated in Śaka 1436, Bhāva, though they mention the pursuit of the Gajapati and the capture of Udayagiri by Kṛishṇarāya, fail to record the capture of Rautarāya-Mahāpātra, the governor of Udayagiri under Pratāparudra Gajapati, and the reduction 'in a single expedition, of the forts of Addaṅki, Vinikoṇḍa, Bellaṁkoṇḍa, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Taṅgēḍa, Kētavaram and other forts on hills and plains'—events which are found recorded in Kṛishṇarāya's inscriptions of Śaka 1437 and later. It is therefore certain that, by the date of the Hampe inscriptions (Nos. 25 and 26 of 1889), these forts (situated to the north of Udayagiri in the modern districts of Nellore and Guntur) had not been seized, as that of Udayagiri (in the Nellore district) had been, prior to that date by Kṛishṇarāya personally, and that their subjugation came later. It must have taken place after the capture of Udayagiri in June 1514, in the interval of four months between the setting up of Bāla-Kṛishṇa at Hampe on the 16th February 1515 and the capture of Koṇḍavīḍu (in the Guntur district about 120 miles further

north of Udayagiri) on the 23rd June 1515 A.C. (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1903, para 16), through the efforts, it is said, of his able minister Sāḷuva Timma (Nos. 255 and 257 of 1892; Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pages 108-133).

Capture of Kondavidu with its Generals in the Second Campaign :—Having reduced the fortress of Koṇḍavīḍu in June 1515 during his second campaign, within a day and a half as per the statement of the "Rāyavāchakamu" or 'after a two months' siege' as Sewell mentions in his "Forgotten Empire" (page 131), Kṛishṇarāya therein captured alive Pratāparudra Gajapatirāya's son Vīrabhadrarāya,[1] Kumāra-Haṁvīrarāya's son Narasādēva or Naraharidēva, Rāchūr Mallukhān and Uddaṇḍakhān, Janyāla Kasavāpātra, Pūsapāṭi Rāchirāja, Śrīnātharāja Lakshmīpatirāja, Paśchima Bālachandra-Mahāpātra, and other *Pātra-Sāmantulu*[2] (feudatory princes) and *Mannevāru* (hill-chieftains) of the Gajapati king, gave them assurance of safety, and at the close of this second campaign performed the *Tulāpurusha* ceremony in the Amarēśvara temple at Dharaṇikōṭa, returned to Vijayanagara and ruled for a time (No. 576—T.T.). The Amaravati inscriptions (Nos. 266 and 272 of 1897) dated in Śaka 1437, Yuva, (=8th July 1515 A.C.),—just a fortnight after the reduction of Koṇḍavīḍu on 23rd June 1515 A.C.—which "refer to the capture of Vīrabhadra, the seizing of Koṇḍavīḍu and the performing of *Tulāpurusha* at Amarāvati," must be the earliest dated records to mention these events and their date is immediately anterior to that of the Śrīśailam inscription (No. 18 of 1915), namely, Śaka 1438, Yuva (=25 July 1515 A.C.), which states that Kṛishṇarāya, after making gifts at Amarēśvara, went to Śrīparvata (Śrīśaila) and granted two villages to the temple.

Commencement of His Kalinga Expedition :—But both of them make no reference at all to the Kaliṅga expedition of Kṛishṇarāya which is mentioned in No. 64 of 1915 from Ahōbalam (dated five months later) whose shrine Kṛishṇarāya is reported to have visited during his campaign against

NOTE 1:—Kṛishṇarāya mentions in his "Āmuktamālyada" (Canto II, verse 101) the capture of the generals of the Gajapati's son Vīrabhadra both at Koṇḍavīḍu and Pūrvādri (Udayagiri); and Peddana in his "Manucharitramu" (Canto I, verse 46) refers to the capture of the son of the Kaliṅgarāja, i.e., Vīrabhadra himself, quite easily in half a second.

NOTE 2:—"Kṛishṇarāya-Vijayamu" (Canto III, verses 84-94) names fifteen out of the sixteen *Pūtras* summoned by the Gajapati for a council of war, when Kṛishṇarāya pitched his camp at Poṭṇūri-Siṁhādri (verse 74); but none of them is identifiable with those *Pūtras* reported in lithic and other records to have been captured by Kṛishṇarāya at Koṇḍavīḍu and Koṇḍapalli.

Kaḷiṅga. Kṛishṇarāya's march against Kaḷiṅga must have therefore been undertaken just a few days before his visit to Ahōbalam on the 21st of December 1515 A. C. (Śaka 1438, Yuva), and continued towards Bezvada which he probably reached[1] before the middle of January 1516 A.C. He had therefore a very short respite of about six months only between his seizing the Koṇḍavīḍu fortress and capturing Vīrabhadrarāya and other *Pātra-Sāmantas* in June 1515 A.C. and setting out on his third campaign against the Gajapati king into the Kaḷiṅga country about the middle of December 1515 from his capital, from which he covered a distance of about 350 miles to Bezvada in about 25 days through rapid march.

Completion of the Kalinga Expedition :—Having proceeded to Bezvada, he took the fort of Koṇḍapalli, captured alive Praharārāja-Śiraśchandra-Mahāpātra,[2] Bōḍajana-Mahāpātra, Bijilikhān and others who collected

NOTE 1 :—" Āmuktamālyada, Canto I, verse 11 relates that Kṛishṇarāya halted at Vijayavāḍa, i.e., Bezvada, for a few days, in the course of his Kaḷiṅga expedition and from there visited God Āndhra-Madhumathana, i.e., Āndhra-Vishṇu, abiding at Śrīkākuḷam, where he fasted in His contemplation on the *Harivāsara* or *Ēkādaśī* day during the fourth quarter of which night that God Āndhra-Jalajāksha appeared to him in his dream, and directed him to compose a Telugu work and dedicate it to Vēṅkaṭēśa who is identical with Himself. The *Ēkādaśī* in the bright fortnight of the Telugu month Māgha, which was then current, fell on Tuesday, the 15th January 1516 and in the dark fortnight of the same month on Tuesday, the 29th January. The expressions in the Telugu work imply that Kṛishṇarāya spent a few days at Bezvada prior to the observance of the *Harivāsara* at Śrīkākuḷam. After the *Harivāsarōpavāsa* he must have started for the siege of Koṇḍapalli, which was reduced and clubbed along with its surrounding territory with the Koṇḍavīḍu province through 'an edict set up under orders of the king by Rāyasam Koṇḍamarasayya,' recorded in No. 325 of 1919 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. from Bezvada, dated in Śaka 1438, Yuva, Phālguṇa śu. 5, Thursday, equivalent to 7th February 1516 A.C. Though the reduction of the Koṇḍapalli fortress might not have prolonged for a number of days, the occupation of the adjoining territory might have required some day's work for him. On the whole the time between the *Harivāsaram* day and the date of the Bezvada edict is in the one case twenty-three days for the bright half of Māgha and in the other case nine days only for the dark half of the month. However, it seems quite likely that, after his visit to Ahōbalam on 21st December 1515 A.C., he reached Bezvada within three weeks, spent a few days there in reconnoitring the country round about, observed the *Harivāsarōpavāsa* at Śrīkākuḷam in the earlier fortnight of Māgha on the 15th January 1516 A.C. and then started for the siege of Koṇḍapalli.

NOTE 2 :—This Praharārāja-Śiraśchandra-Mahāpātra must be identical with Pātra-Praharēśvara mentioned by Kṛishṇarāya in his "Āmuktamālyada," Canto III, verse 93, as having been captured alive by him at Koṇḍapali along with other chiefs of the Utkala king, i.e., the Gajapati. The commentator of the "Āmuktamālyada," however, wrongly identifies the younger paternal uncle (*pitṛivya*) of Pratāparudra Gajapati, whose diadem

together within the fort and defended it against his attack, granted them their lives, seized in a single attack Anantagiri, Uṇḍrakoṇḍa, Urlagoṇḍa, Aruvapalli, Jallipalli, Kandikoṇḍa, Kappaluvāyi, Nallamakoṇḍa, Kambhammeṭṭu, Kanakagiri,* Śaṅkaragiri and other fortresses in the Teluṅgaṇa-rājya,[2] set up a pillar of victory to the north of Siṁhādri-Pōttanūru,[3] and, having made great donations there, returned to Rājamahēndrāvara, and, after performing at the place a number of *mahādānas* through his two queens Chinnājidēvamma and Tirumaladēvamma who had accompanied him in his expedition, reached his capital Vijayanagara (No. 576—T.T.). The Siṁhāchalam inscriptions (Nos. 243 and 245 of 1899) dated in Śaka 1438, Dhātu (=29th March 1516 A.C.), summarily recount the military deeds of Kṛishṇarāya and state that he presented a number of ornaments by himself and through his two queens on the above date to the God thereat.

Duration of the Kalinga Expedition :—Koṇḍapalli fortress seems to have fallen early during its siege and the country round about was then clubbed with the province of Koṇḍavīḍu and their government organised and placed under Rāyasam Koṇḍamarasayya, its first governor, who issued an

Kṛishṇarāya is stated to have kicked with his foot at Udayagiri, with this Praharēśvara (Canto I, verse 89) who took his stand only at Koṇḍapalli. From the Udayagiri Nos. 37, 38, 40 and 41 of the "Nellore Inscriptions," it is evident that this younger paternal uncle (*pinataṇḍri* in Telugu and *Chikkappa* in Kanarese) of the Gajapati was Tirumala Rautarāya who was the governor of the Udayagiri fortress, when it was seized by Kṛishṇarāya along with him on the 9th June 1514 A.C. (See note 2 on page 160 *ante*).

NOTE 1 :—"Kṛishṇarāya-Vijayamu" (Canto II, verse 136) narrates that, when once the Gajapati king proceeded to the Gōdāvarī for a bath, a host of the *Pāśchātya-vīrulu* (the Muhammadans) attacked the king at Kanikoṇḍa, and that only four *Kshatriya-Pātras* gallantly put them to rout and slew them. It therefore appears that this Kanikoṇḍa or Kanigiri must be somewhere adjacent to the Gōdāvarī beside the cluster of forts reduced by Kṛishṇarāya, and identical with this Kanakagiri of the inscriptions. (Cf. Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09, page 179, note 5).

NOTE 2 :—"Manucharitramu" (Canto II, verse 79) states that Kṛishṇarāya seized several towns of the Utkala king situated in the land lying between the Kṛishṇā and Gautamī (Gōdāvarī), and these must evidently refer to the above forts as well as those taken during the last campaign, viz., Addaṅki, Vinukoṇḍa, etc., which are almost all of them situated in the Utkala or the Vēṅgi country bounded by the two rivers.

NOTE 3 :—This planting of the pillar of victory is recorded by Kṛishṇarāya himself in his "Āmuktamālyada," Canto IV, verse 289; in "Manucharitramu," Canto I, verse 39; in "Kṛishṇarāya-Vijayamu," Canto III, verse 112; and in "Rāyavāchakamu" ("Sources of Vijayanagar History," page 125).

edict under the orders of Kṛishṇarāya with reference to these two[1] subjugated provinces. No. 325 of 1919 from Bezvada which refers to this edict is dated on the 7th February 1516 A.C. (Śaka 1438, Yuva), and hence the capture of the fort of Koṇḍapalli, the subjugation of the province and the settlement of government must have taken place prior to that date, i.e., at the beginning of February 1516 A.C. The siege of Koṇḍapalli did not occupy three months, as Sewell says in his "Forgotten Empire" (page 131), for we see that it was taken within three weeks' time after his fast at Śrīkākuḷam on the 15th January (See note 1 on page 174 *ante*). The war with the Gajapati and the capture of the other forts enumerated might have been accomplished before the date of the above edict, namely, the 7th February 1516 A.C., and must have been completed, at any rate, before the date of the Siṁhāchalam epigraph which registers Kṛishṇarāya's visit to God Siṁhādrinātha on the 29th March 1516 A. C., after capturing Udayagiri, Koṇḍavīḍu, Koṇḍapalli, Rājamahēndrāvara, and other forts during his eastern expedition. This summary of the events is significant in that it refers to Kṛishṇarāya's capture of Rājamahēndrāvara before proceeding to Siṁhādri, while other records relate that he "returned" to Rājamahēndrāvara after visiting Siṁhādri and planting a pillar of victory at Siṁhādri-Poṭṭunūru. From this epigraph it appears that Kṛishṇarāya first captured Rajahmandry, thence proceeded to Siṁhādri and from there went back to Rajahmandry where he had through his two queens performed certain *mahādānas* and finally returned to his capital city of Vijayanagara. This double halt at Rajahmandry is borne out by the expression "having returned" in the other inscriptions, intended to indicate Kṛishṇarāya's return journey from Siṁhāchalam to Rajahmandry. It does not appear that Kṛishṇarāya halted at Rajahmandry on the second occasion for a period of six months, as Sewell mentions, but only for three months, if at all, until the end of June; and he might have been during this period engaged in settling the government of these newly acquired territories. For he must have reached his capital at the latest sometime prior to the 29th of June 1516 A.C., the date of the Kanekkal (Bellary) inscription (No. 457 of 1923) which records his grant of certain *dēvādāya* and *brahmādāya* lands from the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā in the presence of God Virūpāksha on the occasion of the *Karkaṭaka-Saṁkrānti* which occurred on the above date. The return to the

NOTE 1:—Probably there is an implication of the union of these two provinces in Peddana's expression of address to Kṛishṇarāya, viz., *Koṇḍapalli-Koṇḍavīṭi-maṇḍala* ("Manucharitramu," Canto III, verse 144).

capital is indicative of the close of the war with the Gajapati which Kṛishṇarāya waged for nearly two years and a quarter from about the end of the year 1513 to March 1516 A.C., deducting his three months' halt at Rajahmandry, and through which in three campaigns he reduced Pratāparudra to submission, and assumed the *biruda* "Gajapativibhāḷa," having robbed him of the seven emblems of royalty ("Gajapati-saptāṅgaharaṇa").

His Burning the Gajapati's Capital Katakapuri:—No. 824 of 1922 from Kommuru in the Bapatla taluk of the Guntur district, dated in Śaka 1438, Dhātu, (=12th March 1517 A.C.), incidentally mentions that Kṛishṇarāya accomplished his conquest of the Kaḷiṅga country as far north as Kaṭaka (i.e. Cuttack in Orissa). It is therefore certain that Kṛishṇarāya's march against Kaṭaka had taken place prior to the above date, whether it formed an integral part of his Kaḷiṅga expedition or a sequel to it. But the accounts furnished by the *Telugu-kāvyas*,—namely, "Manucharitramu" 'that Kṛishṇarāya did not stop with the setting up of the pillar (of victory at Poṭṭunūru) but went further north, even, into the interior of the Gajapati's dominions, devastated the country of Oḍḍādi[1] and burnt his capital town of Kaṭaka (i.e. Cuttack)' (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09, pages 179-180), and "Pārijātāpaharaṇamu" that 'from the subjugation and devastation of the forts of Udayagiri, Vinukoṇḍa, Koṇḍavīḍu, Bellaṁkoṇḍa, Vēlupukoṇḍa, Jallipalle, Anantagiri and Kambambumeṭlu, the king of Utkala, i.e., the Gajapati, daily feared that the forces of Kṛishṇarāya might ever march against Kaṭakamu and bury it deep in the

NOTE 1:—It is to be doubted if "the country of Oḍḍādi" was actually "devastated" and Kaṭakapuri "burnt," for Peddana describes the military career of his patron king in hyperbolical language in the manner of a poet comparing the king's "valour" to "fire" (*pratāpāgni*). But there can be no doubt as to the capture of the towns of Oḍḍādi and Kaṭakamu by Kṛishṇarāya, after the reduction, one after another, of Udayādri, Koṇḍavīḍu with Kasavāpātra in it, Jammilōya, Vēgi, Kōna, Koṭṭāmu, Kanakagiri, Gautami or Gōdāvarī, Poṭnūru and Māḍemulu (Canto I, verse 37)—the bare events that come to light when the figurative language is dispensed with.

Vide also "Manucharitramu," Canto II, verse 79 for a further reference to Kṛishṇarāya's capture of the Gajapati's towns in Utkala; and Canto VI, verse 123, for a reference to the Gajapati's capital city being Kaṭaka. From the mention of the Gajapati's palace at Siṁhādri both in the "Rāyavāchakamu" ("Sources," page 125) and "Kṛishṇarāya-Vijayamu" (Canto III, verse 113; and Canto IV, verses 18, 19, 25, 31, 72 and 74), wherein the Gajapati is stated to have celebrated his daughter's marriage with Kṛishṇarāya (Canto IV, verses 113-137), it appears that Siṁhādri too formed the Gajapati's other capital, perhaps a secondary one with the primary position at Kaṭaka or Kaṭakapuri (Cuttack) on the Mahānadī.

January 1517 during which month he passed through Tirupati on its 2nd day (Nos. 628 and 628-A of 1904; and No. 578—T.T. of our collection), through Kalahasti on the 5th day (No. 196 of 1903) and thence successively through Arigandapuram or Nagalapuram in the Chingleput district (Nos. 628 and 628-A of 1904; and Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1905, para 33), Conjeevaram (Nos. 474 and 533 of 1919), Tiruvannamala (No. 574 of 1902) and Chidambaram (Nos. 174 and 175 of 1892 and No. 371 of 1913), and was at Kumbhakonam at the beginning of February 1517 A.C., on the 6th day of which month the *Mahāmakha* festival took place (Nos. 628 and 628-A of 1904). Though the date of the two Nagalapuram inscriptions is remote from the occasion by five or six years, the proximate date is furnished by No. 493 of 1907 from Kuttālam (Tanjore district) which records that Kṛishṇarāya made a gift of taxes to its temples on the occasion of the "Māmāṅgam" festival at the request of Basavarasa. This is dated in the cyclic year Dhātu, actually corresponding to the Śaka year 1438 which is wrongly given in the inscription as Śaka 1440, expired.

Consequent Impracticability of Conducting the Kataka Campaign in this Tour Period :—The *Mahāmakha* festival is an event which occurs once in twelve years, and it last occurred in 1921 and will recur in 1933 A.C. The date can be verified by calculating backwards and we find that it must have occurred in 1517 A.C., in the Tamil month of Kumbha, corresponding to the Telugu month of Māgha. Thus we arrive at the 6th of February 1517 A.C., as the date of the *Mahāmakha* festival at Kumbhakonam at which Kṛishṇarāya was present and made gifts for the temple at Kuttalam. On his return from Kumbhakonam, he visited Kāñchī at the beginning of Śaka 1438, Īśvara, on the 1st of April 1517 A.C. (No. 641 of 1919), and probably proceeded thence to his capital straight. Thus Kṛishṇarāya's journey to the *Mahāmakha* festival

Gokarnam reached his capital city. The halt of Kṛishṇarāya at his capital meanwhile on the 26th September 1516, as per the statement of No. 457 of 1923 from Kanekkal, prior to his starting on his religious tour, is not taken into account by the two narratives. The washing of his bloody sword at Dhanushkoti seems to imply again the completion of his wars with the Gajapati. The three *Tulābhāras* performed at Dhanushkoti must relate to the weighing of himself and his two queens Tirumaladēvi and Chinnājidēvi, both of whom must have accompanied him during his pilgrimage tour as they did during his military campaigns. From the positions of Gokarnam and Srirangapatam, it appears quite likely that Kṛishṇarāya first visited Srirangapatam and then Gokarnam which is about 250 miles to the north-west of the former and from there reached his capital, about 150 miles east-north-east of Gokarnam.

and back to his capital occupied a period of three to four months' time from January to April 1517 A.C., when it is impossible that he could have conducted his campaign against Kaṭaka. Hence it is reasonable to infer that the expedition of Kṛishṇarāya "as far north as Kaṭaka" referred to in the Kommuru inscription dated on the 12th of March 1517 A.C., was according to the available evidence undertaken and completed quite possibly before June 1516 or even March 1516 A.C.

Catuir or Kataka Campaign Effected during Kalinga Expedition :—This is the campaign against 'Catuir' which Nuniz describes in his narrative at the end of Kṛishṇarāya's wars ("Forgotten Empire," pages 320-322). Defective knowledge of the country and deficient information of the locality and its topography might have occasioned the Portuguese traveller's vague description of the invaded territory and the omission of its proper name. This cannot certainly be considered as an anachronistic narration made by Nuniz, as suggested by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in his brochure on "Krishna Deva Raya," pointing to the invasion by Kṛishṇarāya at the beginning of his reign against the Kāḍava (Pallava) princes, who were holding sway over the territory round about Conjeevaram, while both literary and epigraphic evidences substantiate Nuniz' statement that Kṛishṇarāya's attack was directed against Kaṭaka, the Gajapati's capital in Orissa, at the end of his Kaḷiṅga expedition.

His Complete Subdual of the Gajapati :—The Gajapati having thus been completely reduced to submission through his defeat in battle and devastation of his kingdom and its capital, Kṛishṇarāya had no more anxiety on the north-eastern frontier of his empire and was now free to turn his arms against the Muhammadan States of Bahmani[1] which, being in alliance with Utkala, exhibited their hostility to Kṛishṇarāya by supplying contingents to Pratāparudra under Muhammadan generals, such as Mallukhān, Uddaṇḍakhān

Note 1:—While returning from the Gajapati's capital after his marriage with Pratāparudra's daughter, at the end of his wars, with the object of making a religious tour to the important Śiva and Vishṇu temples in his own kingdom, Kṛishṇarāya is stated to have, on his way, attacked the fort of Kalbaragi (Kulbarga), escaladed its walls and captured it (See note 1 on page 178 *ante*). This defeat of the Kalabarigi chief is also referred to in the "Manucharitramu," Canto II, verse 81. Kṛishṇarāya in his "Āmuktamālyada" (Canto I, verse 41) mentions that he killed in battle a large number of the *Yavanas* of the combined forces of Kalbariganagara and Sagarapuravara (i.e. Ayōdhya, according to the commentator). It is probable that 'Sagarapuravara' refers to Sagar situated about 50 miles south of Kulbarga in the Nizam's dominions, rather than to 'Ayōdhya' as mentioned by the commentator.

and Bijilikhān, in upholding the siege of the fortresses of Udayagiri and Koṇḍavīḍu.

His Grant from Bezavada of 10,000 Varahas for Temples in Chola-Mandalam :—Meanwhile, after his return from Kumbhakonam, Kṛishṇarāya had a divine duty to discharge towards the Gods who blessed him with success in his previous wars, and whose protection was required to be invoked in his future wars with the Bijapur Sultan. During his journey to Kumbhakonam for the *Mahāmakha* festival and back, he visited only a few of the more important shrines, to whose deities he personally made donations; but a great number of the less prominent ones had not been accorded similar honour of a personal visit. These deities had to be appeased and consequently an edict was issued in Śaka 1439, Īśvara, while he was staying on the bank of the Kṛishṇavēṇī (Kṛishṇā) between the temple of Anantaśāyin at Uṇḍavalli (Guntur taluk) and the temple of Mallikārjuna at Bezvada, remitting a revenue of *Jōḍi, Śūlavari, Piṛavari* and *Araśupēṛu* amounting to 10,000 *varāhans* in favour of the Śiva and Vishṇu temples in Chōḷa-maṇḍalam and this grant was ordered to be registered in all the temples so benefited (Nos. 74 of 1903 and 80 of 1911 and Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1903, page 5, para 16). A list of them numbering more than fifty is furnished by No. 125 of 1904, No. 511 of 1905, No. 406 of 1918, and No. 167, etc., of 1925 (vide Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1904, para 23; and for 1925, para 32). The epigraphs coming from some of these places are uniformly dated in Śaka 1439, Īśvara, and a few of them, such as No. 406 of 1918, Nos. 210 and 235 of 1917, and Nos. 184, 226 and 235 of 1925, from their astronomical details yield the date, the 28th of December 1517 A. C. for Kṛishṇarāya's donation from the banks of the Kṛishṇā; and it may be noted that this grant was made two years subsequent to the termination of his war with the Gajapati. Out of the total number of beneficiaries specified in the above lists, a few temples missed the benefit and the omission was subsequently rectified on the 4th June 1520 (Śaka 1443, Vikrama) in the case of the temple of Tirukkadaiyur (Tanjore district) by three residents of the place proceeding to Vijayanagara and representing the matter to the king in person (No. 246 of 1925).

No Second Kalinga Expedition against Catuir after the Grant :—'The choice of the bank of the river Kṛishṇā for making a grant in favour of the temples of Chōḷa-maṇḍala in the south, cannot be reasonably explained,' at this distance of time, but the surmise 'that Kṛishṇarāya was about this time *viz.*, the end of Śaka 1439, again on his march for a second time to the Kaliṅga country against 'Catuir'' (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908–09, page 182), cannot be

relied upon in the face of the Kommuru inscription (No. 824 of 1922) noticed above, since the campaign against 'Catuir' (Kaṭaka) took place, as we have seen, before March or June 1516 A. C., i. e., about a year and a half before the date of the grant on the 28th December 1517 A.C.

Raichur Battle the Result of Adil Shah's Attempt at its Recapture:—The ratification of the grant in the case of the temple at Tirukkadaiyur was made by Kṛishṇarāya at Vijayanagara on the 4th June 1520 A.C., only a fortnight after the battle of Raichur which was fought, according to Sewell's calculation, on Saturday, May 19th, in the same year 1520 A.C. Kṛishṇarāya therefore returned to his capital soon after the battle within a fortnight, and this is sufficient evidence to show that the fort of Raichur was already in his possession and he was only required to repulse its attack by Ismail Adil Shah who advanced to retake it from Kṛishṇarāya. This confirms the statement of the "Kṛishṇarāya-Vijayamu" (Canto III, verse 9) and "Rāyavāchakamu" ("Sources," page 118) that Kṛishṇarāya had already occupied the fort of Raichur during his military progress through the country early in his reign in 1513 A.C. and garrisoned it while Ismail Adil Shah was 'too much employed in attending to the internal affairs of his government to afford it timely relief' (Sewell's "Forgotten Empire", page 127). Consequently, the fact appears to have been, not that 'Krishna Deva, flushed with victory, returned at once to the attack of Raichūr, and the fortress was after a short time captured,' as Sewell mentions (*Ibid.*, page 140), but that Kṛishṇarāya first compelled Ismail Adil, who attempted to recapture[1] it with the help of the Ahmadnagar and Golkonda Sultans, to raise the siege of the fortress, decisively defeated the combined forces in a pitched battle[2] and drove them across the river. He

Note 1:—Compare the account of the battle from Ferishtah's narrative—"Ismail Adil Shah marched "to recover Mudkal and Roijore from the roy of Beejanugger,"' (Sewell's "Forgotten Empire," page 151). Compare also the representations of the envoy from Ismail Adil Shah to Kṛishṇarāya (*Ibid.*, page 352)—"that he was without suspicion when they brought him the news how thou hadst besieged the city of Rachol, and hadst robbed and destroyed the country round about, which news caused him to move and come to its rescue." These go to confirm the fact that Kṛishṇarāya had previously possessed himself of these forts, and Adil Shah attempted to retake them by force when conciliatory means failed. His hopeless failure in this attempt also brought about the humiliation of all the three Muhammadan Sultans (*Dunēdārlu*) in that they were forced to acknowledge their fidelity to Kṛishṇarāya during his return journey from Simhādri (Note 1 on page 178 *ante*).

Note 2:—The description given in "Kṛishṇarāya-Vijayamu" (Canto III, verses 11 and 40–47) of the battle fought between Kṛishṇarāya and the three Muhammadan

then seized the military camp of Adil Shah who escaped[1] for life, and with great spoil returned to his capital Vijayanagara triumphantly.[2]

His Earlier Military Operations for a Decade followed by Later Respite for Intellectual Avocations :—Kṛishṇarāya was thus obliged to devote the first dozen years of his reign, since his accession to the throne,[3] to warfare constantly with the Gajapati primarily during the quinquennium from 1512 to 1516 A.C. and occasionally with the Muhammadan Sultans in the succeeding years, whereby he dealt a death-blow to the Utkala kingdom of the Gajapati and infused 'a wholesome dread of Krishna Rāya and his valiant troops' such that 'the Sultan, panic-stricken, never again during his enemy's lifetime ventured to attack the dominions of Vijayanagar' ("Forgotten Empire," page 139). After this preliminary period of strenuous life, Kṛishṇarāya secured the much needed rest for a decade which he utilised in intellectual avocations through encouragement and cultivation of Poetry, Drama, Music, Dancing, Sculpture, Architecture and other allied arts of peace. He accepted the dedication of *Prauḍha-kāvyas* and *Rasākhaṇḍakavi-kāvyas*, such as the "Manucharitramu" and the "Pārijātāpaharaṇamu," and himself composed the "Āmuktamālyada," one of the best Telugu poems, and

Sultans on the south bank of the Kṛishṇā river seems to relate to the battle of Raichur, though it is not mentioned by that name. In the order of events as narrated in the same Telugu work, this battle took place before Kṛishṇarāya's march against the Gajapati and his capture of the Udayagiri fortress on the 9th June 1514 A.C. (See note 1 on page 160 *ante*).

Note 1 :—Kṛishṇarāya in his "Āmuktamālyada" (Canto I, verse 42) mentions that he cut off the head of Ēdulakhānu (Adil Shah) and hung it in the extensive dry fields of the north as a scare-crow.

Note 2 :—Not satisfied with these victories over the Sultans, Kṛishṇarāya is stated to have prepared for an attack of Billgao (Belgaum) in his last days but to have been prevented from carrying it out through his illness which proved fatal ("Forgotten Empire," page 362).

Note 3 :—As mentioned above (page 167, *ante*), Kṛishṇarāya's accession to the Vijayanagara throne must have taken place about the 26th July 1509 A.C., in view of this earliest date furnished for him by the Gulya inscription No. 703 of 1919 and in relation to the date of No. 289 of 1915 from Vikravandi (Villupuram taluk, South Arcot district) supplied for Vīra-Narasiṁha's reign, viz., Śaka 1431, Śukla, Karkaṭaka Śu. 5, Friday (?), Hasta, corresponding to 22nd July 1509 A.C. From the closeness of these two dates, this 22nd July 1509 A.C. must be the absolutely latest date for Vīra-Narasiṁha's reign and likewise the 26th July 1509 A.C. the absolutely earliest date for Kṛishṇarāya's reign. Kṛishṇarāya must therefore have ascended the throne within the three days' interval between these two dates during which Vīra-Narasiṁha must have breathed his last. Kṛishṇarāya's formal coronation, however, happened, after the lapse of six months, on the 23rd January 1510, as recorded in his Hampe inscriptions.

the "Jāmbavatī-Kalyāṇa," a Saṁskṛit drama. As the *Vidvat-sabhā-rāya*, he presided over the "Council of Music and Dancing" wherein the chorus was led by such masters as Rañjakam Śrīraṅgarāja (Nos. 87 and 300, A—T.T.), his daughter Rañjakam Kuppāyi (No. 110—G.T.) and Naṭṭuva Nāgayya (No. 558 of 1915). A work on music known as "Saṁgīta-sūryōdaya"[1] was written at his instance and guidance by Lakshmaṇa, probably the descendant of Chatura Kallinātha, the famous commentator on "Saṁgīta-ratnākara" of Śārṅgadēva. Under his patronage Timmaṇṇa rendered "Mahābhāratra" into Kanarese in *Shaṭpadī* metre. The translation was made not directly from Saṁskṛit but from the Telugu version of Tikkana whose terse and classical style must have excited the admiration of even the Kanarese scholars.[2] The effect of some of these royal pursuits is illustrated by the literary attainments and classical scholarship possessed by his own officers who were, besides, both capable military commandants and efficient civil administrators, *e.g.*, Śirahpradhāni Sāḷva Timmaya-Daṇḍanātha's commentary on Agastya's "Bālabhārata" and his nephews Nādiṇḍla Appamantri's and Gōpamantri's Telugu and Saṁskṛit works.

His two Queens Tirumaladevi and Chinnadevi :—Two queens of Kṛishṇarāya, namely, Tirumaladēvi and Chinnājidēvi, are generally mentioned in the inscriptions. Of these two, Tirumaladēvi was his senior queen, having been wedded prior to his accession to the throne, as it is known from No. 87 of 1912 from Cholasamudram (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1912, para 55) which states that the emperor Kṛishṇarāya 'ascended the Karṇāṭa throne with his queen Tirumalāmbikā.' Kṛishṇarāya must have therefore married Chinnājidēvi after he ascended the throne and consequently she must have been only the junior

Note 1 :—In the preface to this work, the author, referring to the military career of Kṛishṇarāya says that, even while young, he overcame Gaṅgarāja, captured him alive and took his stronghold Śivanasamudram and conferred prosperity on the place. He also defeated the Gajapati and received the latter's wealth as well as his daughter in marriage. Further Kṛishṇarāya drove the Muhammadan chief of Raichur from his camp at Gobbūru and seized his horses and elephants and took possession of the strong fortress of Rāchūru. He next crossed the river Kṛishṇā, burnt down the whole *Yavana* country and occupied Fērōjābāda, Suṁkhādsaru (Khasimbad (?)), Sagara and other forts, routed the Persian army and invested Kalubarigapurī and captured the three sons of the Sultan together with the ladies of his harem.

Note 2 :—I am obliged to Mr. M. Ramakrishnakavi, M.A., for this information as also the extract from the preface to the "Saṅgīta-sūryōdaya" (Note 1 above).

queen disabled from acquiring the dignity and prestige of the chief consort.[1] They are also the two queens noted in the *Telugu-kāvyas* of the time, both being therein accorded the honour of wedded queens (*dēvērulu*). And these two queens alone are represented in the two statues[2] placed beside Kṛishṇarāya in a group in the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara at Tirumala, Chinnādēviyaru on the right, Kṛishṇarāya Mahārāyaru in the middle and Tirumaladēviyaru on the left, with their names incised on their shoulders. But Kṛishṇarāya in his "Āmuktamālyada" (Canto I, verse 33), while apparently quoting the eulogistic verses from his poet-laureate Allasāni Peddana's "Manucharitramu"[3] dedicated

NOTE 1:—"Kṛishṇarāya-Vijayamu" (Canto II, verse 148) mentions that Tirumaladēvi gave *Kappurapu-dīvena-viḍemu* (betel leaves and nuts indicative of favourable sign of success) to Kṛishṇarāya at the time of his starting on his *digjaitrayātra*, being the privilege of the queen-consort.

NOTE 2:—"Rāyavāchakamu" informs us that Kṛishṇarāya set up, as indicative of their eternal service (obeisance) to God, these three statues cast in copper in a worshipping posture with joined palms, at the entrance gate of the temple, i.e., adjoining the entrance *gōpuram* on its inner side northward of the passage into the temple, and also had the deity (the processional image of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara) brought before these statues to bless them ("Sources", page 127). The installation of the three statues is reported to have been effected on the occasion of Kṛishṇarāya's visit to Tirumala during his South Indian religious tour undertaken after successful completion of his war with the Gajapati (Note 1 on page 178 *ante*); and we know that this visit occurred on the 2nd January 1517 A.C. The statues must therefore have been fixed in the Tirumala temple on or before the 2nd January in the king's immediate presence and under his direct supervision; and, as such, they must be expected to give a true and genuine representation of the three royal personages with the king in the centre in his military suit according to the artistic conventions of the time. The figure of the king also agrees well enough with the description of Kṛishṇarāya given by Paes as being 'of medium height, and of fair complexion and good figure' ("Forgotten Empire," pages 246-7), and he could not obviously have put on 'fat' with his daily consumption of gingelly oil and immediate recourse to physical exercises (*Ibid.*, pages 249-50), which only tend to strengthen the muscles and joints, making the man robust and not fatty, as indicated by Peddana in his expression of address to Kṛishṇarāya in the "Manucharitramu" (Canto VI, verse 121), viz., 'Vyāyāma-sthira-sandhibandha.' (Cf. however, Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1904, Part I, para 9, pages 3-4).

NOTE 3:—Of the three literary works mentioning Kṛishṇarāya's two consorts, Peddana's "Manucharitramu" and Timmana's "Pārijātāpaharaṇamu," which name them as Tirumaladēvi and Chinnādēvi, are certainly anterior in date of composition to Kṛishṇarāya's "Āmuktamālyada" for the very obvious reason that the latter work incorporates into itself the dedicatory verses from the first of the two former works which must have evidently been composed immediately on the close of Kṛishṇarāya's war with the Gajapati in March 1516 A.C., while Chinnādēvi was alive and Kṛishṇarāya had not yet married Annapūrṇādēvi; and "Āmuktamālyada" must have been composed

to him, slightly modifies this stanza which names his queens, substituting "Annapūrṇādēvi" for "Chinnādēvi" and giving precedence to Tirumaldēvi. This change of names cannot be lightly taken as mere verbal alteration,—a substitution of a cognomen for the primary name,—for in that case we should have had warrant for it in the works of the poets and other records of the period; and the king would not have taken the trouble and the liberty to recast the particular stanza for the fun or pleasure of a change of expression. It must have been a responsible act done by the king intentionally to indicate a real change of persons, the replacement of one deceased queen Chinnādēvi by another newly wedded young queen Annapūrṇādēvi. Again the inscriptions of the time up to Śaka 1440 (1517-18 A.C.) refer to these two queens, while the later ones point out to only one queen Tirumaladēvi and do not at all bring Annapūrṇādēvi to our notice. Consequently it is reasonable to infer that Tirumaladēvi and Chinnādēvi were the king's two consorts during the earlier period of his life, that Chinnādēvi deceased sometime after the religious tour in 1517 and that her place was subsequently occupied by Annapūrṇādēvi. We know that Chinnādēvi lived on to witness and share the glory of her lord's victory against the Gajapati and also performed certain *mahādānas* at Siṁhāchalam and Rājamahēndrāvara in company with the senior queen before Kṛishṇarāya's return to his capital in June 1516 A.C. Though subsequent to those works, after the death of Chinnādēvi and his marriage with Annapūrṇādēvi, perhaps after some interval of time. Kṛishṇarāya, though he repeatedly refers to his war with the Gajpati through the several incidents pertaining to it in the introduction as well as in the colophons at the end of each canto of his "Āmuktamālyada," has not given us even a single reference to his marriage with the Gajapati's daughter, in spite of his changing the names of his queens (Canto I, verse 33), which therefore seems to indicate a distinctness of personages of Annapūrṇādēvi and the Gajapati Princess. This omission, coupled with his exultant spirit that pervades the above prologue and epilogues, throws back the time of the composition of the "Āmuktamālyada" to a date much anterior to the occasion of the marriage, when the excited feelings of both Kṛishṇarāya and Pratāparudra had cooled down for an alliance; that is to say, if "Manucharitramu" and "Pārijātāpaharaṇamu" were written about 1516-17 A.C. at the close of the wars while Chinnādēvi was living, "Āmuktamālyada" might have been written within the next three or four years, i.e., about 1519-20 A.C., by which time Chinnādēvi had died and Kṛishṇarāya married Annapūrṇādēvi. And his marriage with Pratāparudra's daughter, which is vouched for by the "Prabōdha-Chandrōdaya-Vyākhyā," the "Tamil-Nāvalar-Charitai" and the "Saṁgīta-sūryōdaya," must have taken place sometime after 1520 A.C. It seems possible that the Gajapati Princess, on her marriage with Kṛishṇarāya, did not acquire the status and prestige of his chief queens, and consequently she was not represented by the lithic records dated during this second decade of Kṛishṇarāya's reign.

it is not explicitly stated in the records that Kṛishṇarāya had the company of his queens during his pilgrimage tour in South India in the first quarter of 1517, still we have reason to infer their presence at Tirupati and Dhanushkōṭi from the mention in the "Rāyavāchakamu" of the fixing of their statues along with that of the king at the former place and the weighing of the three *Tulas* at the latter place.[1] The definitely known occasions on which we miss her, while we meet with Tirumaladēvi, are during Kṛishṇarāya's sixth and seventh visits to Tirumala on the 16th October 1518 (No. 697 of 1922) and on the 17th February 1521 (pages 165 and 166 *ante*). Her demise must therefore have taken place some time between April 1517 and October 1518 A.C.

Status and Parentage of Chinnadevi :—Chinnājidēvi has been considered by some as the daughter of Pratāparudra Gajapati, and by others as a damsel not regularly espoused to Kṛishṇarāya. Neither supposition is right. The recognition given to her by the court-poets as one of the two duly wedded wives (*dēvērulu*) of the king who was himself celebrated for his chastity[2] is sufficient evidence of her lawful marriage with Kṛishṇarāya, and this is strengthened by the testimony of lithic records of the time found throughout the country as well as by her statue placed beside those of Kṛishṇarāya and Tirumaladēvi at Tirumala. It is therefore inexpedient to suspect her as a favourite damsel of low birth and dubious parentage in the face of this available evidence from native sources and give credence to the statements of foreigners like Nuniz and Paes, who could not have had full knowledge of Hindu manners and customs and of Indian life. It may be that Kṛishṇarāya had four or a dozen ladies or even more in his harem, but they were all of no account at all and went unrecognised by the men of that age, while the queenly rank was accorded to only two among them. It may, however, be conceded that she was the favourite queen of Kṛishṇarāya, being apparently given precedence in the records in the matter of mention of her name before that of the senior queen in registering their charities at some of the religious centres. Again as to her filial relation with the Gajapati, two of the other authorities beyond tradition that we have for the marriage of the Gajapati's daughter with Kṛishṇarāya are the narration of the "Kṛishṇarāya-Vijayamu"

NOTE 1 :—See note 1 on page 178 *ante*.

NOTE 2 :—"Pārijātāpaharaṇamu," Canto I, Introduction, stanza 17, euphuistically suggests that Śrī Kṛishṇa of Dvārakā was reborn on earth as king Kṛishṇarāya in order to fulfil certain desires of His, one of which was to live as a brother towards other women, since He had spent His life in jesting with the cowherd women.

wherein her name occurs as "Tukhkā" (Canto IV, verses 12, 25 and 72) and the statement of the "Rāyavāchakamu" which calls her "Jaganmōhinī" ("Sources," page 126), while "Prabōdha-Chandrōdaya-Vyākhyā" of Nādiṇḍla Gōpamantri, "Tamil-Nāvalar-Charitai" (*Ibid.*, pages 144-5 and 155-6) and "Saṁgīta-sūryōdaya" merely mention the marriage of Kṛishṇarāya with the daughter of Pratāparudra Gajēśvara, the Oḍḍiyan (king of Orissa), and omit the name of the princess. It is also evident from the first two literary works that the marriage was the result of and the sequence to Kṛishṇarāya's victorious war with the Gajapati. It must have therefore taken place subsequent to March 1516 when Kṛishṇarāya planted his pillar of victory near Siṁhādri and made his offerings to God Siṁhādrinātha (page 175 *ante*). But, as a matter of fact, Chinnādēvi had been married to Kṛishṇarāya some years before this date, since her name finds mention in the epigraphs dated so early as Śaka 1434, i.e., February 1513 A.C. (Nos. 2, 31, 40 and 84—T.T.). It is not therefore correct to say that Chinnādēvi was the daughter of Pratāparudra Gajapati.

His Marriage with Annapurnadevi after Chinnadevi's Death :—As regards Annapūrṇādēvi, it has been shown that she took the place of Chinnādēvi and that she was a lawfully married wife, as testified to by her royal husband himself in his "Āmuktamālyada." As to the date of the marriage, it must have been far later than the date of the death of Chinnādēvi. Even the inscriptions of Śaka 1442 (February 1521) (Nos. 301, 302 and 578—T.T. of this collection) fail to mention her, while they register the presentation of a valuable ornament for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa by the senior surviving queen at the time, viz., Tirumaladēvi, and omit the name of the deceased favourite queen Chinnādēvi and her substitute Annapūrṇādēvi. Again she might be considered as the daughter of the Gajapati, as tradition is supported by literary evidence as well as the accounts of the Portuguese travellers Nuniz and Paes, and "Annapūrṇādēvi" as a new name given to her after her marriage, while her original name was Tukhkā or Jaganmōhinī. But in the acceptation of this equation, a discrepancy arises as to the date of her marriage with Kṛishṇarāya. It has been pointed out that the marriage[1] must have taken place long after

NOTE 1 :—See note 3 on page 186 *ante*. The detailed description of the celebration of the marriage given in the "Kṛishṇarāya-Vijayamu" (Canto IV, verses 73-137) invests the subject of marriage with an air of genuine reciprocal love, while the "Tukkā-Pañchakam" ("Sources," pages 143-4) denies it on the part of Kṛishṇarāya. If "Tukkā" was only an *alias* of "Annapūrṇādēvi," the reciprocity of love is strengthened by the avowal of this sensibility by his mention of her name in substitution of "Chinnādēvi"

the close of the Gajapati war and also subsequent to Kṛishṇarāya's religious tour in the South in Śaka 1438 (=1517 A.C.), and even later than Śaka 1442 (=1521 A.C.); but "Kṛishṇarāya-Vijayamu" and "Rāyavāchakamu" narrate that the marriage was celebrated immediately at the close of Kṛishṇarāya's war with the Gajapati and before his setting out on his religious tour, that is to say, between March 1516 and January 1517. Further evidence is needed to settle the point of time.

Four Queens Married by Him:—However, the statement of Nuniz that 'this King Crisnarao married four,' though he had many other wives ("Forgotten Empire," page 363), appears to be substantially correct, in view of the combined evidence of the literary works. Of them, Tirumaladēvi was the first and foremost queen, the queen-consort, along with whom Kṛishṇarāya ascended the Vijayanagara throne in 1509 A.C., and she lived on apparently for the full two decades of his reign and kept him company throughout his life.

in his "Āmuktamālyada," and then the "Tukkā-Pañchakam" would need to be relegated as spurious. On the other hand, if Tukkā was a different personage from Annapūrṇādēvi, "Tukkā-Pañchakam" would stand as a true indicator of the inharmonious relations of the royal couple, and as a pointer to the deliberate attempt of Kṛishṇarāya to dishonour and disgrace the Gajapati towards whom he had entertained malice and spite for the very reason of the Gajapati's encroachment into the southern provinces of the Vijayanagara kingdom prior to the accession of Kṛishṇarāya (note 2 on page 160 *ante*), for the ventilation of which ill-will he should have found ample scope through the alleged ill-treatment of Pratāparudra's daughter whom he must have therefore wedded with the ostensible purpose of such revengeful degradation. But from the courteous and statesmanlike treatment that he accorded to the Gajapati's son Vīrabhadrarāya, in appointing him as a viceroy, the alleged disgracing of the Gajapati's daughter seems incredible.

Mr. M. Ramakrishnakavi furnishes me with the following note of his regarding "Tukkā-Pañchakam":— "Tukkā-Pañchaka" consists of five verses apostrophising the neglect of a lover towards his love. The "Sources of Vijayanagar History" attributes them to the pen of Tukkā, the Gajapati's daughter. One of these verses is found in Vallabhadēva's "Subhāshitāvaḷi" whose compilation cannot be dated later than 1400 A.D. One more verse of the celebrated five is also found quoted by Mukuḷa Bhaṭṭa in his "Abhidhāvṛittimātṛikā," a work of 900 A.D. The remaining three verses have not been traced to their sources. Thus it has to be doubted whether Tukkā was ever a poetess. It is also doubtful if Tukkā was the name of the daughter of the Gajapati married by Kṛishṇarāya. For the verse in the commentary on "Prabōdhachandrōdaya" which refers to this marriage appears to indicate in a pun that she was "Subhadrā." It is not improbable that the Gajapati would call his daughter by the name of his Guardian Deity at Jagannātha, that is, Subhadrā. Thus the above facts reject the evidence of the "Tukkā-Pañchaka" in accusing Kṛishṇarāya of sacrificing the sacred laws of matrimony to mere political revenge.

Chinnādēvi was his junior queen married after his accession and enjoyed the royal favour for five or six years until her demise in 1517-18 A.C. Her junior place was then taken by Annapūrṇādēvi about a year or two later and she probably lived through the remaining years of the reign. Subsequently Kṛishṇarāya espoused Tukhkā or Jaganmōhinī, the daughter of Pratāparudra Gajapati, and presumably she was alive during the next six or seven years till the end of her lord's rule. It is thus clear that Kṛishṇarāya altogether married four queens, of whom one died within half a dozen years and the other three survived through his reign. Among them, Tirumaladēvi might have been the daughter of Kumāra-Vīra-Śyāmarāya, 'King of Serigapatao,' i.e., the governor of Srirangapatam, who took part in the battle of Raichur ("Forgotten Empire," pages 327 and 336), and Tukhkā or Jaganmōhinī, the daughter of the Gajapati king, while the parentage of Chinnādēvi and Annapūrṇādēvi remains unknown.

KRISHNARAYA'S OFFICERS.

Some of the officers of Kṛishṇarāya appear in these inscriptions as offering their obeisance to God Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha and making donations and gifts to His temple.

Pradhani Saluva Timmarasa and his Family Relations:—His chief minister (*Pradhāni*) Sāḷuva Timmarasayya granted the village of Parāndalūr in Pottapi-nāḍu in Śaka 1433, Prajāpati (=13-1-1512 A.C.) (No. 277—T.T.). He was the son of Rāchirāja or Rāchcharasa and grandson of Vēmaya or Vēmarasa and belonged to the Kauṇḍinya-gōtra, Āpastamba-sūtra and Yajuś-śākha. He had married Lakshmī-amman, the sister of Nādiṇḍla Timmarāja (Nos. 277 and 334—T.T.) of Kauśika-gōtra and gave his sister Kṛishṇāmbā or Kṛishṇamāmbā in marriage to Nādiṇḍla Timmaya (Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, No. 12, page 111). Kōna, Appa and Gōpa, the sons of Nādiṇḍla Timmaya, were therefore the nephews of Sāḷuva Timmarasa and this bond was strengthened by the matrimonial ties of the two daughters of Sāḷuva Timmaṇa-mantrīndra with the two younger sons Appaya and Gōpaya of Nādiṇḍla Timmaya (*Ibid.*). Tirumalāmbā who was married to Appamantri ("Sources of Vijayanagar History," page 148) must be the elder daughter of Sāḷuva Timmamantri. Sāḷuva Timmarasayya's younger brother was Sāḷuva Gōvindarāja who is mentioned by Paes to have held the governorship of the capital city of Vijayanagara (Sewell's "Forgotten Empire," page 284). It has been stated

on the authority of the inscription No. 196 of 1918 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. that Pradhāni Sāḷuva Timma was the younger brother of Sāḷuva Gōvindarāja, but Nos. 278—T.T. and 102—G.T. of our collection are quite positive in declaring that Gōvindarāja was the younger brother of Timmarasayyaṅgār. Twenty days prior to the above gift by Sāḷuva Timma, his wife Lakshmī-amman provided for offerings to the deity through the payment of 1200 *naṟpaṇam* into the *Śrī-Bhaṇḍāram* and stipulated that the donor's quarter-share of the offered *prasādam* belonging to her be issued to her son-in-law (*marumakan*) Appayyan, the son of Nāridiṇḍila Timmarāja. This is Nādiṇḍla Appa, the second son of Nādiṇḍla Timma and the elder brother of Gōpa. From the above stipulation it seems as if Appa was in or near Tirupati at the time and quite probably at Chandragiri holding some office under the king so that he would be able to receive the *prasādam* at least through any local agent of his. Nothing is known of the eldest brother Kōna, but the other two brothers Appa and Gōpa are stated to have 'served one after the other as governors of Koṇḍavīḍu soon after it was captured from the Gajapati king' (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908–09, page 183; Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, page 112). From the "Rājaśēkhara-Charitramu" we learn that Gōpa was the governor of Gutti and this post he probably held before his appointment at Koṇḍavīḍu. The fortress of Koṇḍavīḍu was captured on the 23rd June 1515 A.C. through the personal valour of Sāḷuva Timma-Daṇḍanātha who was consequently appointed its first governor. But as Sāḷuva Timma accompanied the king in his further campaigns against the Gajapati, Timma's elder son-in-law Appa was placed in charge of the fort temporarily, and, on the settlement of the administration of the country after the close of the wars, Timma is said to have 'installed Appa's younger brother Gōpa as governor of Koṇḍavīḍu in Śaka 1442, while Appa himself received the governorship of Vinukoṇḍa, Gutti and Amarāvati' (*Ibid.*, page 112). But from No. 325 of 1919 from Bezvada dated in Śaka 1438, Yuva (=7th February 1516 A.C.), we know that the provinces of Koṇḍavīḍu and Koṇḍapalli were clubbed together and placed under Rāyasam Koṇḍamarasayya. It therefore appears that Kṛishṇarāya first appointed Appa as governor of Koṇḍavīḍu as a temporary measure soon after its capture in June 1515, and that he next posted Koṇḍamarasayya to the charge of the joint province when the adjoining country was subjugated and formed into a single administrative unit early in 1516 A. C. (Śaka 1438) (page 176 *ante*). Koṇḍamarasayya governed the Koṇḍavīḍu province until about Śaka 1440 and Udayagiri until Śaka 1442, when Nādiṇḍla Gōpa was posted to Koṇḍavīḍu as governor. Meanwhile, Nādiṇḍla Appa, its first governor, must

have been transferred to the governorship of the combined province of Vinukoṇḍa (whose fortress was reduced earlier during the first campaign in 1514–15 A.C. prior to the capture of Koṇḍavīḍu in June 1515), Gutti and Amarāvati, on the appointment of Koṇḍamarasayya in February 1516 A.C. to the Koṇḍavīḍu province. Thus the two brothers Appa and Gōpa primarily owed their preferment in the king's service to the favour of their uncle and father-in-law Pradhāni Sāḷuva Timma, and occupied responsible posts in the state.

Saluva Timmarasa's Gifts and Other Transactions at Tirumala :— Pradhāni Timmarasa is once again mentioned in No. 80—G.T. dated in Śaka 1446 (=1524–25 A.C.) in the reign of Kṛishṇarāya, and is also represented by two more records Nos. 278 and 270—T.T., falling into the reign of Achyutarāya. No. 278 with the date Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=26th February 1535 A.C.), registers the sale by Sāḷuva Timmaṇa of the right to the donor's share of the *prasādams*, arranged for being offered to Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa and Śrī Gōvindarāja previously by his younger brother Sāḷuva Gōvindarāja to whom the share belonged, in favour of Tirumalayyaṅgār, son of Tāḷḷapākam Annamayyaṅgār, for a sum of 4600 *paṇam*. No. 270 dated in Śaka 1458, Durmukhi (=29–12–1535 A.C.), is a similar document registering the sale by Sāḷuva Timmaṇa of his own right to the donor's share of the *prasādam* which he himself provided for the two deities previously, in favour of the same Tāḷḷapākam Tirumalayyaṅgār. In this case a condition was imposed on the purchaser of the right that he should reside permanently at Tirumala. The object of the condition was probably the insistance on some personal service to be rendered by Tirumalayyaṅgār, such as singing certain adulatory songs before Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa during the rites of waking Him up early in the morning (*Suprabhātam*) and putting Him to bed in the night (*Ēkānta-sēva* or *Pānupu-sēva*) (No. 497—T.T.), as is now being done. Another epigraph No. 102—G.T., whose date is lost, records the sale of certain *prasādam* belonging to Sāḷuva Timma and his younger brother Sāḷuva Gōvindarāja for a sum of 5203 *paṇam*, probably to the same Tāḷḷapākam Tirumalayyaṅgār, and this sale deed must be a combined record of the above two deeds executed separately at an interval of ten months, and must be dated some time later. Two Saṁskṛit verses in the *Anushṭhup* metre relate that Pradhāni Timmaṇa presented a *pītāmbaram*, a yellow silk robe, for God *Prasanna Śrīnivāsa*, i.e., the benign Śrī Vēṅkatēśvara (No. 59—G.T.).

Saluva Govindaraja :—Sāḷuva Gōvindarāja's gift to this temple, of Mālpāḍi village in the Gaṇḍikōṭa-sīrmai, was made in Śaka 1445, Chitrabhānu

(=27-8-1522 A.C.), for the merit of Kṛishṇarāya (No. 97—G.T.). His next gift of Hanumaniguṇḍam village in the Uruvakoṇḍa-śīrmai dated in Śaka 1446, Tāraṇa (=20-11-1524 A.C.), was made for the merit of his daughter Tirumalamma, and the food-offerings intended to be provided for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa and Śrī Gōvindarāja from the income of the grant-village were arranged through Peṇḍilikoḍuku Chennayyan, son of Narasiṅgayyan of Harita-gōtra, Āpastamba-sūtra and Yajuś-śākha (No. 12—G.T.). Tirumalamma was also the name of the elder daughter of Sāḷuva Timma, married to Nādiṇḍla Appa. A third gift by Sāḷuva Gōvindarāja of another village is dated in Śaka 1463, Plava (=5-11-1541 A.C.), in the last years of Achyutarāya's reign (No. 85—G.T.). The situation in the Gaṇḍikōṭa-śīrmai and the Uruvakoṇḍa-śīrmai of the two villages granted by Sāḷuva Gōvindarāja, combined with the *daśavanda* gifts made for the merit of Kṛishṇarāya and Sāḷuva Gōvindarāja Voḍiyalu jointly at Devagudi in the Cuddapah district as mentioned in Nos. 342 and 343 of 1905 dated respectively in Śaka 1437, Dhātṛi, and Śaka 1440, Bahudhānya, leads to the inference that Sāḷuva Gōvindarāja administered, sometime during the period from about Śaka 1437 to 1446, also the Udayagiri-rājya in which the above divisions were comprised. Gōvindarāja is stated to have governed for a time the Gutti-rājya, Koḍugu-nāḍu and the Terkaṇambeya-śīme in Mysore and to have 'after that apparently, filled some important office at the capital Vijayanagara' (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09, page 183).

Saluva Timmana's and Govindaraja's Continuance in Service under Achyutaraya :—Śirahpradhāni Sāḷuva Timmaṇa-Daṇḍanātha had successively served the first three kings of the Tuḷuva dynasty, viz., Vīra-Narasiṁha, (Nos. 342 and 343 of 1892), Kṛishṇarāya and Achyutarāya as their *Pradhāni* for a period of over thirty years until about 1535-36 A.C. (Śaka 1458), the date of his latest record in this collection. He took a prominent part in Kṛishṇarāya's wars against the Gajapati king and the Bijapur Sultan. The successful termination of the wars as well as the prosperous rule of Kṛishṇarāya are attributable to the wise statesmanship of this able minister Sāḷuva Timma —*Śrī Kṛishṇadēvarāya-sāmrājyabhāra-dhurandharuṇḍu* ("Kṛishṇārjuna-Saṁvādamu" in "Sources," page 150). The capture of the Koṇḍavīḍu fortress in Śaka 1437 (June 1515 A.C.) is ascribed to the valour of Pradhāni Timmaṇa. He was therefore famous both as a minister and as a general, besides being a literary scholar who commented on Agastya's "Bāla-Bhārata" ("Sources," page 143). The story related by Nuniz (Sewell's "Forgotten Empire," pages 359-361) of the *Pradhāni's* alleged treachery against his

king committed through the poisoning of the six year old prince Tirumalarāya Mahārāya and his consequent imprisonment along with his younger brother Gōvindarāja and his son 'Timadanayque,' with their eyes put out, is incredible in the face of the later records of Timmaṇa-mantrīndra who continued to enjoy his ministership even in the reign of Achyutarāya. If the murder of prince Tirumala was a fact, that heinous crime must have been perpetrated by some other Timma who was perhaps also honoured with the position of a minister; and the Portuguese traveller must have confounded the traitor Timma with the Pradhāni Sāḷuva Timma. Sāḷuva Timma's younger brother Sāḷuva Gōvindarāja also enjoyed a privileged position at the royal court, as it would appear from the epithets *Mahāpradhāni* and *Śirahpradhāni* applied to him in some of the records (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09, page 183). Like his elder brother, he also served the same three kings both as a minister and a general until almost the end of Achyutarāya's reign. He must therefore have outlived his brother by about half a dozen years up to 1541-42 A.C.

Periya-Obala-Nayakkar Rama-Nayakkar a Commander :—Periya-Ōbaḷa-Nāyakkar Rāmā-Nāyakkar, entitled *Śrīman Mahānāyaṅkāchārya*, i.e., the great commander-in-chief, must be a prominent Vijayanagara general. His earlier gift made in Śaka 1426 is recorded under Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁha, the son of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha (No. 305-T.T.). During the reign of Kṛishṇarāya, he made a gift of the village of Śeṅgōḍupalli in Śittanavōlu-śīrmai in Pulugūr-nāḍu in Śaka 1434, Āṅgirasa (=14-7-1512 A.C.) (No. 312-T.T.). He also presented 200 cows to the temple in Śaka 1435, Śrīmukha (=18-1-1514 A.C.) (306-T.T.). He too had served three successive kings, viz., Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁha, Vīra-Narasiṁha and Kṛishṇarāya, as the commander of the Vijayanagara forces, stationed at Chandragiri in all likelihood.

Rayasam Kondamarasayya :—Two of the prominent officers of Kṛishṇarāya who took part in the battle of Raichur, viz., Rāyasam Koṇḍamarasayya and Tryambakadēva, are brought to our notice in Nos. 77 and 182—T.T. The former records the gift of Mulumbūṇḍi in the Nellūr-śīrmai in the Udayagiri-rājya in Śaka 1441, Pramādi (=17-4-1519 A.C.), by Rāyasam Koṇḍamarasayya, son of Timmarasayyaṅgār of Bhāradvāja-gōtra, Āśvilāyana-sūtra and Ṛik-śākha. No. 87 of 1912 from Cholasamudram is reported first to introduce king Kṛishṇarāya in a long passage and next speak of his military officer Rāyasam Koṇḍamarasayya. It is stated that 'he was the grandson of Śrīpatyāchārya, the chief of Poḍaṭūru which was a flourishing village in the Drāviḍa country, and a Brāhmaṇa of the Udayagiri-Kannaḍiga sect, the son of

Timmarasa-mantri and Saṅgamāmbika, the chief of fortresses such as Ghanagiri[1] (i.e., Penugoṇḍa), Udayādri (Udayagiri) and others, the hero who actually accomplished for Kṛishṇarāya the planting of the pillars of victory at Siṁhādri and Śrīkūrmam and a scholar who was acquainted with the curious writings prevalent in the fifty-six countries (*Chhappanna-dēśa*)'. The grant was made so that 'the king may be blessed with issue'. It is evident from the above record that Koṇḍamarasayya was a Karṇāṭa-Brāhmaṇa, and that he was both an erudite scholar and an able general. His father and grandfather had served the Vijayanagara kings as administrative officers and the son followed in their wake. He was a capable military officer and earned distinction as the actual planter of the pillars of victory at Siṁhādri and Śrīkūrmam. All epigraphical records of Kṛishṇarāya and literary works of his time mention his one pillar of victory planted at Siṁhādri but this inscription is unique in mentioning the second pillar planted at Śrīkūrmam. The object of the grant by Koṇḍamarasayya was 'that the king may be blessed with issue,' and it indicates that Kṛishṇarāya had no issue up to that time and that prince Tirumala was born to his senior queen Tirumalāmbika some time after. Koṇḍamarasayya's later gift is registered in Śaka 1463, Plava (=1541-42 A.C.) (No. 110—G.T.), during the reign of Achyutarāya, and it shows that he continued to hold his position as a viceroy and a general to the end of Achyutarāya's reign.

Kondamarasayya's Viceroyalty :—He 'was the first general who was placed in charge of Udayagiri, soon after its capture' (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09, page 184) by Kṛishṇarāya on the 9th June 1514 A.C., and he must have held charge of it until about February 1516 A.C. when he was sent to govern the combined province of Koṇḍavīḍu and Koṇḍapalli, with reference to which he issued an edict under orders of Kṛishṇarāya (page 176 *ante*). No. 96 of 1913 from Kambaduru in the Kalyanadrug taluk of the Anantapur district registers a gift of land made by Rāyasta Koṇḍamarasayya for the merit of Kṛishṇarāya in Śaka 1434, Āṅgirasa, Kārtika śu. 12, equivalent to Friday, the 22nd October 1512 A.C., and states that the Kundurupiya-sīme in which was situated Kambhaduru 'was the *Jaghir* of the chief.' This indicates that he was governing the Gutti-rājya prior to his transfer to Udayagiri about June 1514 A.C. The *Jaghir* of Kambaduru which was bestowed by Kṛishṇarāya

Note 1 :—That Koṇḍamarasayya was the governor over Penugoṇḍa is supported by Aralikunta inscription of his dated 1434 Śaka in which he is reported to have granted, for the merit of Kṛishṇarāya, Rāyakuṇṭa village in the province of Penukoṇḍa. (Ep. Car., Vol. XII, Pa. No. 5).

upon Rāyasam Koṇḍamarasayya and enjoyed by him at the time is found from No. 99 of 1913 from the same village to have been granted by Achyutarāya as *Nāyakatana* (fief) to Bayyapa-Nāyaka, even though Koṇḍamarasayya was in Achyutarāya's service during that period and so continued for half a dozen years more. The practice therefore appears to have been that in each province certain fiefs were reserved for the maintenance of the provincial governors, military officers and other subordinates, that these officers were permitted to enjoy the proceeds from such *Jaghirs* and make grants of lands and villages out of them, during the period they remained in service within that particular province, but that they had no kind of hold on the fiefs in that province, when they were transferred to another province within which they could again exercise those rights and privileges, and that the fiefs were not granted as hereditary estates to the chiefs administering the several provinces and districts, and to the commanders and generals guarding the empire. From the Atmakur Nos. 28, 6 and 5 of the "Nellore Inscriptions" which record the charity of the construction of a tank and a temple with the installation of a deity in it at Kaluvāyi in Śaka 1441, Pramādi (=14-4-1519 A.C.), and another tank at Anantasāgaram in Śaka 1444 (wrong for Śaka 1442), Vikrama (=31-5-1520 A.C.), by Rāyasam Koṇḍamarasayya, the *Kāryakarta* (Viceroy or Agent) of the *Rāyasiṁhāsana* (royal throne), for the merit of his mother Saṁkāyamma and his father Timmarasayya, it appears that he held charge of the Udayagiri-rājya for a second time during the years 1519 and 1520 A.C., having been transferred to it from Koṇḍavīḍu. And it must have been from Udayagiri that Koṇḍamarasayya proceeded with his contingent of 'one hundred and twenty thousand foot, six thousand horse and sixty elephants' to take part in the battle of Raichur fought on 19th May 1520 A.C. His administration of each province was therefore generally limited to about two years' time. This is a typical illustration of the general principle of periodical transfer of the administrative officers from province to province scrupulously enforced by Kṛishṇarāya with a view to safeguard the Hindu Empire from the catastrophic consequences of the establishment of hereditary chiefships which threatened to wax strong in time and subvert the central authority. No. 97 of 1913 from the same village Kambaduru, dated in Śaka 1447, Pārthiva (1525-26 A.C.), during the reign of Kṛishṇarāya, registers the gift of the village of Jalavati to the temple of Mallikārjunadēva at the place by Rāyasta Ayyapparasayya 'in order that Rāyasta Koṇḍamarasayya may dwell in heaven'. From this it has been suggested that 'Koṇḍamarasayya must have died by the time the record

was engraved'. Certainly the statement of the above record must relate to some event entirely different from Koṇḍamarasayya's death, since Koṇḍamarasayya had not died by that date, i.e., Śaka 1447 (=1525-26 A.C.), in the reign of Kṛishṇarāya, but lived on for more than sixteen years until about Śaka 1463, Plava (=1541-42 A.C.), and served Achyutarāya almost to the end of his reign as his minister and general.

Tryambakadeva :—Tryambakadēva was the son of Tipparasa and belonged to the Vāśishṭha-gōtra and Āśvilāyana-sūtra. He is mentioned to have been residing at Śivanasamudram and this probably means that he was a native of the place. Kṛishṇarāya demolished to their foundations the fort-walls of Ummattūru and Śivanaṣamudram and seized the forts early during his military progress in September 1513 A.C. (note 1 on page 170 *ante*.); and quite possibly he appointed Tryambakadēva to administer the subjugated territory round Śivanasamudram. Tryambakadēva's gift of the village of Morandai in the Tirumaṇi-śīrmai is dated in Śaka 1439, Īśvara (=12-10-1517 A.C.), and was intended for the propitiation of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara on different occasions (No. 182—T.T.). From the "Chronicle" of Nuniz he is known to have taken part in the battle of Raichur, fought in May 1520, with his contingents consisting of 'fifty thousand foot and two thousand horse and twenty elephants,' and led the second line after the advance rank commanded by Kāma Naik, the chief of the guard ("Forgotten Empire," page 326). He is stated to have been 'one of Kṛishṇarāya's chiefs, who was governing the Muḷuvāyi country, in the last days of his reign' (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1916, para 66); but from the mention in our record of his residence at Śivanasamudram in Śaka 1439, Īśvara (1517 A. C.), and of his administration of the Muḷuvāyi country subsequently in Chitrabhānu and Svabhānu (1522 and 1523 A.C.), it is likely that his whole public career was generally confined to the Muḷuvāyi-rājya itself.

Karanikka Basavarasa :—Karaṇikka Basavarasa was another officer of Kṛishṇarāya, probably belonging to the king's personal staff. He was the son of Sōmarasa of Gautama-gōtra and Āśvilāyana-sūtra. He is stated to have been a resident of Tirupperrūr, perhaps the modern Tiruppattur in the Vellore district. For the merit of Kṛishṇarāya, he constructed an irrigation channel in the *dēvadāna* village of Maṇiyakkōnpaṭṭu in Śaka 1437, Yuva (=12-9-1515 A.C.). He also provided for a number of offerings for the deity in his own name and in the names of Rāmayyan, son of Gopparasar, residing at Rāhuttanallūr; Kaṅgāṭṭiyār, son of Iḍākeḍutta-perumāḷ of Vāśishṭha-gōtra and Āśvilāyana-sūtra, residing at Iraivānaraśūr; and Tammarasar, son of Sūrapparasar of the

Kāśyapa-gōtra and Āśvilāy ana-sūtra, residing at Pārimaṅgalam. Like himself the three persons menti oned above may have been accountants engaged in the service of the king or some near relations of the donor. He laid out a flower-garden at Tirumala and built a *maṇṭapam* in it and arranged for certain offerings in that *maṇṭapam* for the processional images on a particular day in the year (No. 311—T.T.).

Karanikka Attavanai Basavarasa :—Another Karaṇikka Basavarasa also appears. This was the son of Chaṇḍikai Ōbaḷadēva or Aubaḷadēva and belonged to the Kauṇḍinya-gōtra, Āśvilāya-sūtra and Ṛik-śākha. He provided for offerings for the God for the first time in Śaka 1443, Vishu (=1521-22 A.C.) (No. 184—T.T.) and for the second time in Śaka 1450, Sarvadhāri (21-9-1528 A.C.) (No. 29—T.T.), both the dates falling into the reign of Kṛishṇarāya; and for the third time in Śaka 1456, Jaya (=16-8-1534 A.C.) (No. 275—T.T.), and the fourth time in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=8-1-1536 A.C.) (No. 616—T.T.), both the latter during the reign of Achyutarāya. In the three latter records the historical introduction of the kings precedes the main donation and it indicates a certain relationship of the donor to those kings. This Karaṇikka Basavarasa is in No. 184 called Aṭṭavaṇai Basavarasar and this designation of *aṭṭavaṇai*, an adaptation of the Hindusthani revenue term *aṭhāvaṇi*, shows that he was a revenue officer and as such he may have served both Kṛishṇarāya and Achyutarāya. It seems that these *Karaṇikas* were Niyōgi-Brāhmaṇas like their modern representatives in the Telugu districts.

Gindi Basavarayalu :—A summary in Telugu of a record of gift mentions Giṇḍi Basavarāyalu as the donor and states that he was in the service of Śrī Kṛishṇadēva Mahārāya (No. 198—T.T.). It is not certain if he was identical with either of the two Basavarasas noticed above.

Avasara Narasayya and His Brother Timmayya :—Three brothers Narasayyan, Timmayyan and Narasayyan and their mother Basavamma are met with in a family group in No. 60—T.T. The epigraph, dated in Śaka 1434, Āṅgirasa (=7-8-1512 A.C.), records the incessant obeisance offered by the family to God Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha on the above date. It states that the two elder brothers Narasayyan and Timmayyan were porters in the palace of Kṛishṇarāya (*Rāyara-bāgila-Avasarada*). They were Royal Messengers (*Avasara*) stationed at the entrance door of the king's palace (*Rāyara-bāgila*) as informants to the king announcing the visitors that sought an audience with him. Of the two door-keepers, Timmayyan may be the Vākiṭi-Kāvali Timmana referred to in the episode of professional jealousy alleged to have existed

between a *Bhaṭṭu* (a bard), a new aspirant to literary fame, and Allasāni Peddana, the famous poet-laureate of Kṛishṇarāya. The story relates that Peddana sedulously endeavoured to shut out the *Bhaṭṭu* from the royal presence for fear of his gaining the king's favour through his poetic talents, but that the bard somehow managed to obtain an audience with the king to whom he represented the matter. Kṛishṇarāya assured him of his patronage and since then the *Bhaṭṭu* attended the royal court in company with the other poets. After rising high in the king's favour, he wished to make a show of his exalted position and with this object he requested the king to exclude the other poets from his court for a time, to which the king readily consented. When the king's order was communicated to the poets, they gathered at the house of Timma, the gate-keeper of the royal palace, and were considering over the matter, when the *Bhaṭṭu*, returning from the court in a palanquin, observed the group of poets assembled on the outer pial of the house. Desiring to add personal insult to the disgrace of the poets, he uttered a half of an extempore verse in which he compared the group of poets, assembled at the gate of the Gate-Keeper Timma's house, to a fold of pigs. The aggrieved poet-laureate instantly made up the first half of the verse and vociferated the full verse, with an out-burst of anger, so as to be heard by the *Bhaṭṭu* who had passed along. He retorted that with reference to a heap of pignuts which were the poetasters (like the *Bhaṭṭu*) who were dumfounded by the piggish noise, viz., the *Prākṛit*, and *Saṁskṛit* languages, the host of poets assembled at the gate of the Gate-Keeper Timma were certainly a fold of pigs (which would devour the pignuts of poetasters) ("Kavijīvitamulu" by Gurujada Sriramamurti, Third Edition, 1913, pages 170–173). From the assembling of the Court-Poets at the house of the Palace Gate-Keeper Timma, it appears that he must have been a person of distinction and rank at the Court who enjoyed the confidence of the king. Quite possibly it was this same Timma who is mentioned with the honorific name of Timmabhūpa, the king's door-keeper, in No. 455 of 1906 of Śaka 1441, Pramāthin (=1519–20 A.C.) from Anaimalai in the Madura district. The title *Bhūpa* connotes the rank of a feudatory chief with a tract of country to rule over. It must be again this 'Amaram Timmarasa who was the chief in waiting at the door of the king' that introduced the three *sthānikas* of the temple of Aragalur in the Salem district into the presence of Kṛishṇarāya at the capital city of Vijayanagara and 'had their grievances redressed' and had them 'presented with a garland, a head dress, a horse and an umbrella,' in Śaka 1441, Pramāthin (=10–6–1519 A.C.) (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1914, para 30). Probably

Timmappa-Nāyaka mentioned as the father of Vākiṭi Ādeppa-Nāyaniṁgāru, whose agent Sūrapparāja freed the temple servants at Gorantla from certain obligations (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1912, para 55 and No. 91 of 1912), is identical with this Amaram or Vākiṭi Timmayyan.

Udiyam Ellappa-Nayakkar :—A certain Ellappa-Nāyakkar comes to notice in three records of Kṛishṇarāya's time and one of Achyutarāya's time. For the merit of Kṛishṇarāya he granted three villages Karṟāḷaipaṭṭu, Nelvāy and Koḷḷiḍumbai to the temple in Śaka 1438, Dhātu (=2–6–1516 A.C.) (No. 180—T.T.), made some gift for a *satram* in Śaka 1449 (i.e. 1527 A.C.) (No. 291—T.T.), and also deposited 4600 *paṇam* in the temple-treasury for offerings for God Gōvindarāja from its interest (No. 266—G.T.). The *satram* for which he made the gift was the *Kal-Tēr-Satram* that he himself constructed, as mentioned in No. 292—T.T. dated on the 2nd day of the Chittirai month in the Śaka year 1449, corresponding to Friday, the 29th March 1527 A.C. The *Kal-Tēr* or the stone-car at Tirumala is at the present day lying half-buried at the north-east corner of the village, and the *satram* must have been situated beside this stone-car at the north end of the East Street. No. 548—T.T. dated in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=3–4–1536 A.C.), in the reign of Achyutarāya, supplies the information that Ellappa-Nāyakkar was the son of Śaṭṭayappa-Nāyakkar, that his birth-star was Chittirai (Chitta) occurring in the month of Chittirai, and that he was the *Uḍiyam* of Achyutarāya Mahārāya. The service might be that of a personal attendant upon the king and possibly he attended upon the persons of both Kṛishṇarāya and Achyutarāya successively.

Adaippam Baiyappa-Nayakkar :—Baiyappa-Nāyakkar, the son of Timmappa-Nāyakkar of the Kāśyapa-gōtra, was an *Aḍaippam* officer. For the merit of Kṛishṇarāya he arranged in Śaka 1441, Pramādi (=16–5–1519 A.C.), for the propitiation of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa (No. 79–T.T.). The *Aḍaippam* was the betel-bearer of the king and had to be in attendance upon the royal person, just like the *Uḍiyam*. Baiyappa-Nāyakkar continued in service as an *Aḍaippam* of Achyutarāya also, in whose reign he endowed this temple with 53,320 *naṟpaṇam* in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=9–11–1535 A.C.) (No. 469–T.T.), and again with a further sum of 15,630 *naṟpaṇam* in Śaka 1460, Viḷambi (=6–9–1538 A.C.) (No. 471–T.T.). The latter sum was made up by the donor on two occasions, viz., 15,000 *naṟpaṇam* on the 20th day of Tai in the cyclic year Durmukhi (=Tuesday, 16th January 1537 A.C.), and the balance considered to have been paid on the date of the record through an authorisation by the donor to the *Sthānattār* of the temple to collect the tolls and

other income amounting to 630 *paṇam* from the village of Vēḷilpāḷayam (*Grāmattil-Uttāram-kuḍutta-paṇam*). The village must have been a fief granted to Baiyappa-Nāyakkar who transferred a part of its income to the temple. It was evidently to this same Baiyappa-Nāyakkar that Achyutarāya granted as *Nāyakatana* the Kundurupiya-sīme which Kṛishṇarāya had previously bestowed upon Rāyasam Koṇḍamarasayya (page 196 *ante*).

Mannarpillai and Appapillai :—Mannarpiḷḷai, son of Karavaṭṭipuliyāḷvār of Kauṇḍiṇya-gōtra and Āpastamba-sūtra and a native of Mahīpālakulakālachchēri, a hamlet of Rājēndraśōḷa-chaturvēdi-maṅgalam alias Uttaramērūr, was another subordinate of Kṛishṇarāya. He made gifts of money on two occasions in Śaka 1434, Āṅgirasa, on the 27th June 1512 (No. 265–G.T.) and on the 20th December 1512 A.C. (No. 607–T.T.). He is also mentioned in No. 288–G.T. registering the donation of Tirumalai-Nāyakkar in the same year Śaka 1434, Āṅgirasa. His charity of the construction of a well at the foot of the front hill between the first two towers is recorded in No. 271–G.T. dated in Śaka 1411, Saumya (=25–1–1490 A.C.), during the time of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha. From the inclusion of Karavaṭṭippuliyāḷvār Mannarpiḷḷai as the recipient of a share of the offered *prasādam* along with the functionaries of the temple in No. 288–G.T., it is likely that he held some post in connection with the management of the temple, subordinate to the king, and not directly under the authority of the *Sthānattār* or Managers of the temple. Appāpiḷḷai was his younger brother, as may be inferred from the dates of his records, No. 197–G.T. of Śaka 1428, Akshaya (=30–11–1506 A.C.), and No. 255–G.T. of Śaka 1430, Vibhava (=18–7–1508 A.C.), both falling into the reign of Vīra-Narasiṁha, the elder brother of Kṛishṇarāya. The latter record of Śaka 1430 registers the donor's payment of 7800 *naṟpaṇam* for the merit of Vīra-Narasiṅgarāya Mahārāya. His later gift of Vīrakampanallūr situated in Āraṇi-śīrmai in Murugamaṅgala-paṟṟu within the Paḍaivīḍu-rājya made for the merit of Śrī Vīra-Kṛishṇarāya Mahārāya in Śaka 1433, Prajāpati (=7–4–1511 A.C.), is registered in No. 604—T.T. From No. 411 of 1919 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. we learn that he also made a gift of land to the temple of Aruḷāḷa-Perumāḷ at Conjeevaram some time earlier during the same reign in Śaka 1431, Śukla (=11–3–1510 A.C.), and the land is stated therein 'to have been handed over to him by Narasiṅgarāya-Mahārāya,' i.e., Sāḷuva Narasiṁha evidently. It is therefore certain that both the brothers Mannarpiḷḷai and Appāpiḷḷai were Vijayanagara subordinates from the time of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha to that of Kṛishṇarāya. No. 264–G.T. of Śaka 1431 which records the consecration of

an image of Hanumān, by one whose name begins with "Kara..." and who belonged to the Kauṇḍinya-gōtra and Āpastamba-sūtra, must certainly pertain to one of these two brothers.

Other Subordinate Officers :—A few other subordinates of Kṛishṇarāya also appear in some of the epigraphs of this collection. They are :—

(1) Bāhūr Mallarasa, son of Nāgarasa, whose donation to the temple is dated in Śaka 1440, Bahudhānya (=14–10–1518 A.C.) (No. 105—T.T.). From the closeness of this date of donation by Mallarasar to the date of Kṛishṇarāya's gift of land to the temple at Tirumala on 16–10–1518 A.C. (page 165 *ante*), i.e., only two days earlier, it is quite likely that he accompanied the king during his sixth visit to Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha's shrine. An extract of an inscription furnished in No. 579, A—T.T. records that Bāgūri Mallarasu was the *Ūḍigam* of Kṛishṇarāya Mahārāya, that Śrīpati was the *Rāyasam* of Kṛishṇarāya Mahārāya and that the epigraph was engraved by Śrīpati, the son of Peddayyāśāri. It is therefore certain that Bāhūr Mallarasa or Mallamarāju served on the personal staff of the king as his *Ūḍigam* or *Ūḍiyam* officer (Attendant or Messenger), just as Śrīpati must have done as his *Rāyasam* officer (Secretary), and both must have accompanied Kṛishṇarāya to Tirupati during his sixth visit.

(2) Nāgarāju, son of Mallamarāju, and Basavappa who paid their obeisance to God in the cyclic year Vishu corresponding to Śaka 1443 (=4–11–1521 A.C.) (No. 107—T.T.). The similarity of the names under these two items (1) and (2) suggests that the persons were related one to the other, and possibly Nāgarāju and Basavappa were both sons of Mallamarāju or Mallarasa who was in turn the son of an earlier Nāgarāju or Nāgarasa, the grandfather therefore of Nāgarāju and Basavappa.

(3) Tammu-Nāyakkar, son of Jillēḷḷa Basava-Nāyakkar (No. 251–T.T.). He was a mace-bearer of the king (*Kaṭṭikai*) and also held the rank of a general (*Daḷavāyi*). Another epithet *Dāḍinēni* or *Dāḍināyakkar* applied to him is not intelligible. The above inscription registers his donation of 1200 *naṟpaṇam* in Śaka 1435, Śrīmukha (=30–12–1513 A.C.), for daily offerings for God Vēṅkaṭēśa. A Telugu summary of this document is furnished by No. 265—T.T., and from this we learn that Kaṭige Dāḍinēni

Daḷavāyi Timmaya was the disciple of Anusandhānam Rāmānujaya. A third epigraph No. 300, B—T.T. records an incessant obeisance of his and in it the name occurs as Kaṭṭikai Tammayan.

(4) Another son of Jillēḍu Basava-Nāyakkar, by name Tiruvēṅkaṭayyan, appears in No. 252—T.T. dated in Śaka 1440, Bahudhānya (=11-10-1518 A. C.). From the later date of the gift of Tiruvēṅkaṭayyan, it may be inferred that he was the younger brother of Kaṭṭikai Tammayan or Tammu-Nāyakkar. Tiruvēṅkaṭayyan is also stated to have been the disciple of Anusandhānam Rāmānuja Jīyar, the spiritual teacher of Tammu-Nāyakkar.

(5) Ōbaḷayyan, son of Ōbayyan, and an accountant of Kandaṇavōlu or Kurnool, who made a gift in Śaka 1439, Īśvara (=31-10-1517 A.C.) (No. 260—T.T.).

(6) Lakku-Nāyakkar, son of Nāgu-Nāyakkar whose gift is dated in Śaka 1441, Pramādi (=4-10-1519 A.C.) (No. 349—T.T.).

(7) Tirumalai-Nāyakkar, son of Ellappa-Nāyakkar, who provided for offerings in Śaka 1434, Āṅgirasa (=1512-13 A.C.) (No. 288—G.T.). It is not known if this Ellappa-Nāyakkar, the father of Tirumalai-Nāyakkar, is identical with Ellappa-Nāyakkar, son of Śaṭṭayappa-Nāyakkar, noticed above. Tirumalai-Nāyakkar excavated an irrigation channel in the village of Parittiputtūr, and it was from the enhanced yield that was expected from this irrigational facility afforded to the village that the offerings were arranged for. In the distribution of these offerings Tirumalai-Nāyakkar allotted a share to Mannarpiḷḷai. The excavation of a similar channel in the village of Pānakam by Tirumalai-Nāyakkar is mentioned in No. 153—G.T. which registers a donation of 150 *naṛpaṇam* by one Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān in Śaka 1434, Āṅgirasa (=20-1-1513 A.C.), for investment in Tirumalai-Nāyakkar's channel in Pānakam, and therefore the original excavation of the Pānakam channel must have been effected some years earlier. Likewise a provision appears in No. 289—G.T. dated in Śaka 1454, Nandana (=1532-33 A. C.), for improvements to Tirumalai-Nāyakkar's channel in Parittiputtūr through an investment of 500 *naṛpaṇam*.

(8) Chinnappa-Reḍḍi, son of Sūrappa-Reḍḍi Tammu-Reḍḍi, a Veḷḷāḷa of the Mudiḍar family. For the merit of Kṛishṇarāya he made a

gift in conjunction with other persons in Śaka 1448, Vyaya (=17-1-1527 A C.) (No. 276—G.T.). The residence of the donor was Pūtalaippaṭṭu (Bhūtalaippaṭṭu, i.e., the modern Pūtalapaṭṭu village about seven miles east of Chittoor, the head-quarters of the district), which was at that time comprised in the Tuyya-nāḍu, a sub-district of Tiruvēṅkaṭa-kōṭṭam.

Ranjakam Srirangaraja and His Family :—As we had occasion to note the existence of a *Nāṭakaśāla* attached to the palace of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha, so we here find the existence of a *Nṛittaśāla* attached to the court of Kṛishṇarāya, besides a similar *Nāṭyaśāla* by means of which he probably had his own Saṁskṛit drama "Jāmbavatīkalyāṇam" enacted during the Chaitra festival of Virūpāksha at Vijayanagara ("Sources of Vijayanagar History," page 142). Our ancient kings had resorted to both the pastimes *Nṛitya* and *Nāṭaka* quite frequently, just as they had often called for an assemblage of poets and philosophers whom they patronised. Kṛishṇarāya was the President of the Council of the learned men (*Vidvatsabhārāya*), and the troupe of dancers delighted him with their dancing and music. The master of this troupe was a certain Śrīraṅgarāja, son of Tirumalaināthan, and he was designated *Vidvatsabhārāya-Raṅjaka* (No. 300, A—T.T.). He was probably granted a *Jaghir*, out of which he presented the village of Erlampūṇḍi in Vēlumāpuram comprised in the Māḍanallūr-śīrmai to the temple in Śaka 1436, Bhāva (=29-12-1514 A.C.) (No. 87-T.T.). Two generations of his descendants are met with, of whom his daughter Raṅjakam Kuppāyi or Kuppasāni made a gift to the temple in Śaka 1434, Āṅgirasa (=27-6-1512 A.C.) (No. 110-T.T.). Kuppāyi had two daughters, Tirumalamma, probably the elder, and Muddu-Kuppāyi, the younger, as may be inferred from the dates of their records. Tirumalamma's gift of 3000 *paṇam* is registered in No. 300—T.T. dated in Śaka 1439, Īśvara (=12-10-1517 A.C.), and an extract in Telugu (No. 300, A—T.T.) of this document mentions that she was the granddaughter of Śrīraṅgarāja and the daughter of Kuppamma. The younger daughter Muddu-Kuppāyi was originally attached to the palace of Achyutarāya at Vijayanagara, and was directed to proceed to Tirupati and render service to Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa. The remuneration for her service in the temple was a plateful of cooked food ordered to be given to her every day from the temple of Śrī Gōvindarāja. This order of Achyutarāya is dated in Śaka 1453, Khara (=6-6-1531 A.C.) and registered in No. 1—G.T. In this record Kuppasāni, the mother of Muddu-

Kuppāyi, has the same designation applied to her as that of her father Śrīraṅgarāja, viz., *Vidvatsabhārāyar-Rañjakam.*

Two Subordinates of the Gajapati in Krishnaraya's Service :—Kṛishṇarāya's statesmanship is brought to light by the generosity he showed not only to the fallen enemy Pratāparudra Gajapati and his son Vīrabhadra, but also to the subordinates of the Gajapati king. He took them into his service, granted them villages as fiefs and honoured them with dignities probably similar to those that they had enjoyed under their old king and thus brought them to his allegiance. Subuddhi Rāmadāsa, son of Śaṅkaradāsa of Bhāradvāja-gōtra, who previously held the post of the *Sthānāpati* under Pratāparudra, and Ambikāmuduśīla, son of Bhīmayya of the Kāśyapa-gōtra, who also served the Gajapati in some capacity, were both taken into his service by Kṛishṇarāya and granted respectively the villages of Taṇḍalam and Taḍapāla situated in the Jagadvāchchāri-śīrmai, which they later on gave to the temple in Śaka 1443, Vishu (=1-11-1521 A.C.), to serve for certain oblations intended for Śri Vēṅkaṭēśa (No. 104—T.T.).

His Purohitas :—Royal grants usually refer to the presence of the court *Purōhitas* and other learned men on the occasion of the gifts of kings, and in consonance with this practice we find his Purōhitas Raṅgā or Raṅganātha-Dīkshita, his son Yagña-Nārāyaṇa-Bhaṭṭa or Dīkshita and Śivā-Dīkshita, who had performed the different sacrifices (*Sarvakratu-Vājapēya-Sarvatōmukha-Yājis*), present with Kṛishṇarāya at the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa during his fourth visit to His shrine on the 6th July 1514 A.C. During this visit Raṅgā-Dīkshita and Śivā-Dīkshita were granted a portion of the donor's share of the offered *prasādam* arranged by Kṛishṇarāya with the produce derived from the village of Tāḷḷapāka in the Pottapināṇṭi-sīma endowed to the temple for the purpose (page 159 *ante*). Within the next four days, i.e., on the 10th July 1514, the son Yagña-Nārāyaṇa-Dīkshita presented 10,000 *chakram* or *chakrapaṇam* to the temple for certain offerings intended for God Vēṅkaṭēśa and required the feeding of twelve Brāhmaṇas with the donor's quarter share of the offered *prasādam* (Nos. 192 and 245—T.T.). This donor paid his respects to God Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha for a second time in Śaka 1443, Vishu (=9-3-1522 A.C.), when he made a further deposit of money for His propitiation on the days of his father's birth-star Punarvasu (No. 346—T.T.). Both the royal Purōhitas Raṅganātha-Dīkshitulu and Śivā-Dīkshitulu, entitled *Sarvakratu-Sarvatōmukha-Vājapēya-Yājis*, likewise attended the performance of the *Tulāpurusha-mahādāna* by Kṛishṇarāya, the *Ratnadhēnu-mahādāna* by Chinnādēvamma and the *Saptasāgara-mahādāna* by

Tirumaladēvamma in the presence of God Amarēśvara at Amaravati in Śaka 1437, Yuva (=8-7-1515 A.C.), in their return journey to the capital city after Kṛishṇarāya's capture of Koṇḍavīḍu during his second campaign against the Gajapati, and received two villages as their share of the gifts following upon the grant by the king of a village to God Amarēśvara and two villages to 108 learned Brāhmaṇas (No. 272 of 1897 published as No. 248 in S. I. I., Vol. VI).

RELIGIOUS TEACHERS OF THE TIME

Vyasatirtha the Founder of the Vyasaraya-Matha :—Even though Kṛishṇarāya's religious leanings were towards Vaishṇavism, as amply testified to by his composition of the *Telugu-kāvya* "Āmuktamālyada" with the alternative title of "Vishṇuchittīyamu," he had shown special favour to and greatly honoured the *Madhva-guru* Śrīmat Vyāsatīrtha Śrīpāda-Uḍaiyar, the disciple of Śrīmat Brahmaṇyatīrtha Śrīpada-Uḍaiyar. The discipleship is expressed by the term *Karakamala-saṁjāta*, i.e., born out of the lotus-like hand of Brahmaṇyatīrtha. He was the founder of the Vyāsarāya-Maṭha. He was entitled *Śrīmat Paramahamsa-parivrājakāchāryavarya, Padavākya-pramāṇagña, Durvādigarvasarvasvāpahāra, Śrīmat Vaishṇava-siddhānta-pratishṭhāpakāchārya* and *Sakala-vidvajjana-manahpadmavana-saupastika.* Another *biruda* is mentioned in para 33 of the Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1905, to wit, 'he who commented on all the Śāstras.' He figures as the donee in three records (Nos. 98 and 246—T.T. and No. 200—G.T.) dated on the same day in Śaka 1445, Svabhānu (=12-1-1524 A.C.). Kṛishṇarāya granted to him with libations of water, for the express purpose and on condition of building *Maṭhas*, the houses and house-sites belonging to one of the temple-priests, viz., Nambi Śiṟṟappaiyan who once committed the sacrilege of the theft of temple-jewels for which his houses and house-sites were ordered by Sāḷuva Narasiṁharāya Mahārāyar to be confiscated to the temple, and he also issued an edict (*rāyasam*) embodying the above order together with the authorisation to receive the donor's share of the *prasādam* arranged for being offered in the name of Kṛishṇarāya and to utilise it for his *Maṭhas*. The houses of the delinquent *Nambi* were situated, one of them to the north of the temple of Śrī Gōvindapperumāḷ in Tirupati and another in the North Street to the north of the *Svāmi-Pushkariṇi* at Tirumala. In the grant by Kṛishṇarāya one more house at Tirumala in the North Street standing by the side of the pathway

leading to the Pāpavināśa-tīrtha was included. In one of these epigraphs (No. 246—T.T.) it is stated that Kṛishṇarāya had previously granted to the temple the *pērāyam* levied during the *Puraṭṭāśi-tirunāḷ* and also presented half of the village of Kaḍaikūṭṭanpāḍi situated in *Uḷ-maṇḍalam* and the full villages of Tāḷḷappākkam, Pirāṭam, Dārattūr, Muḍiyūr, Satravāḍi and Tuṟaiyūr situated in *Pura-maṇḍalam*, being intended for offerings for Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha; and it is the quarter share of these offerings belonging to him as the donor which he authorised Vyāsatīrtha to receive and utilise for his *Maṭha* (page *166 ante*). In two later records Vyāsatīrtha figures as the donor. In Śaka 1446, Tāraṇa (=8-11-1524 A.C.), he instituted a capital of 14,000 *naṟpaṇam* for offerings for both Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa and Śrī Gōvindarāja during festivals and other occasions, and also granted the village of Śiyalapāṇḍūr in Paḍaināḍu-sīrmai including the *Kuppam* and *Paśuvāsam* (hamlets inhabited by people of the lower classes and village servants) for daily offerings for Śrī Gōvindarāja. The donor's quarter share of the *prasādam* was required to be issued to his *Maṭha* (No. 612—T.T.). Again in Śaka 1450, Sarvadhāri (=April 1528 A.C.), he granted as a *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* the village of Oḍḍampaṭṭi the income from which was 60 *rēkhai-pon*. Vyāsatīrtha's transactions, so far known from his records in this collection, are confined to Kṛishṇarāya's time. An epigraph from Conjeevaram, No. 370 of 1919 dated in the early years of Kṛishṇarāya's reign in Śaka 1433, Prajāpati (=28-8-1511 A.C.), registers a gift by Vyāsatīrtha for the conduct of the Āvaṇi festival and the presentation of a *Śēsha-vāhanam* (serpent-vehicle) with the sanction of the king to God Varadarāja. From No. 710 of 1922 we see that this *Madhva-guru* lived on into the reign of Achyutarāya and installed the image of God "Yōga-Varada-Nṛisiṁhasvāmi in the court-yard of the Viṭṭhala temple at Hampi," on Thursday combined with the Vaishṇava-Nakshatra (Śravaṇam) in the dark fortnight of the Vyōma or Śrāvaṇa month in the cyclic year Nandana, current with Śaka 1454, equivalent to the 18th of July 1532 A.C. 'The *Vyāsavijaya*, a small work dealing with his life, says that he built a big tank called Vyāsasamudra and resided for a number of years on the Tirupati hill' (para 84 of the Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1923). The inscriptions of this collection relating to him appear to confirm the latter statement and the time that he spent at Tirumala must be apparently covered within their dates extending from Śaka 1445, Svabhānu (i.e. 1523-24 A.C.) to Śaka 1450, Sarvadhāri (i.e. 1528-29 A.C.), about six or seven years during the third decade of the 16th century. Quite likely he spent some time in his earlier life at Kāñchī where his gift was registered and his

last days at Vijayanagara where he installed the image of Yōga-Varada-Nṛisiṁhasvāmi in July 1532 A.C., and breathed his last at Vijayanagara. 'Even to-day the pious pilgrim who goes to the *Pampākshētra* (Hampi) is shown the tomb of this great religious teacher and scholar on an island called "Navabṛindāvana" in the Tuṅgabhadrā river about half a mile to the east of Ānegondi' (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1923, para 84).

Vyasatirtha's Anachronous Transactions :—But we are informed that Vyāsarāja, born about 1446 A.C., corresponding 'to the period of the rise of the Sāḷuva chieftain, Narasimha, to power,' 'proceeded to the Court of Saluva Narasimha at Chandragiri,' and that 'owing to certain untoward occurrences at the temple of Tirupati, this Āchārya had to remain there for a number of years, noted down actually as twelve years' (A review of 'The Life of Sri Vyasaraja by Somanatha' by Mr. B. Venkoba Rao in the "Journal of Indian History," Vol. V, Part iii, Serial No. 15, pages 456-7). It is further stated that, having been 'often looked upon as guide and philosopher by successive rulers of Vijayanagar, so much so that under Narasa, he became the regular adviser to the Court,' 'he lived in Vijayanagar afterwards in one of its suburbs.' These statements therefore imply that Vyāsatīrtha stationed himself at Tirumala for a full period of twelve years in the time of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha, 'owing to certain untoward occurrences at the temple of Tirupati,' and set right the temple affairs, and that latterly he was called on by Tuḷuva Narasa to the Vijayanagara Court where he continued to live during the reigns of Vīra-Narasiṁha, Kṛishṇarāya and Achyutarāya. Among the one hundred and odd epigraphs in this collection that belong to the period of time intervening between the reigns of Mallikārjuna and Kṛishṇarāya, not even one gives any indication of 'the untoward occurrences at the temple of Tirupati,' nor makes a reference to Vyāsatīrtha or Vyāsarāja. The prominent person that figures in those records in the affairs of the temple was Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgār, the manager of the *Rāmānujakūṭams* established by Sāḷuva Narasiṁha who almost venerated him. From the way in which Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgār appears to have been honoured by Sāḷuva Narasiṁha, we have to infer that there was no room for a second religious teacher at the place. Probably there is a confusion here of the events of Śrīpādarāja's life as depicted in "Śrīpādarājāshṭaka" which mentions that 'Vīra Narasiṅga Rāya Nṛipati resigned his great throne effulgent with light (*Ujvala-mahā-simhāsana*) to Śrīpāda Rāja who sat on it and expiated him from the sin of *Brahmahatya*,' with the events connected with the life of Vyāsatīrtha or

Vyāsarāja (See "Śrīpādarāja and Vyāsarāja" by Mr. C. Krishnaswami Rao, published in the "Proceedings and Transactions of the Third Oriental Conference, Madras," page 361). Tradition also speaks to the twelve years' time spent by Vyāsatīrtha at Tirumala in worshipping Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa on each Thursday evening during that period. It is said that God Vēṅkaṭēśa assumed a ferocious appearance in His hunting dress of a loose gown with a sword hanging from His belt and His whole body adorned with flowers, and that the temple priests were terrified at it. Vyāsatīrtha stepped in, officiated as the *Pūjāri* on each Thursday evening during His *Pūlaṅgi-sēva* and at the end of twelve years brought back the usual calm and benignant look of the God, and restored His worship on Thursday evenings to the temple *Pūjāris* who gladly and thankfully resumed it. Vyāsatīrtha did not afterwards desire to worship Him directly in the sanctum but contented himself with making his obeisance to His representation in the figure carved over the *Vimāna* or pinnacle of the central shrine known as *Vimāna-Śrīnivāsa*. And to this day the pilgrims of the Mādhva community collect themselves on a raised platform under a porch to the north of the central shrine just facing *Vimāna-Śrīnivāsa*, and read *Purāṇas* and hold popular religious discourses.

If this ferocious appearance was one of the 'untoward occurrences' above referred to, it must have happened only in the time of Kṛishṇarāya,—and not earlier,—when Vyāsatīrtha can definitely be stated, from the existence of his inscriptions at this place dated in this king's reign, to have lived at Tirumala even for a dozen years. Further Kṛishṇarāya visited the temple and paid his obeisance to God Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān a number of times in the second decade of the 16th century and he had not probably noticed the ferocious appearance and had not been terrified by it; and so this ferocity should have been manifested in the third decade. Whatever may have been the nature of the manifested appearance, be it an invention for a causal connection of Vyāsatīrtha's activities with the affairs of the temple, we may however accept the tradition so far as it relates to the passing of twelve years' life of Vyāsatīrtha at Tirumala. It may therefore be concluded that Vyāsatīrtha, though he might be supposed to have lived for a time at the court of Sāluva Narasiṁha at Chandragiri, did not apparently reside at Tirumala, that his residence for six or seven or even the full period of twelve years happened only in the latter half of Kṛishṇarāya's reign as evidenced from the dates of his records at the place, that he changed his residence from Tirumala to Vijayanagara in the last years of Kṛishṇarāya's reign and established a *Maṭha* there in one of the

suburbs of the capital city, and that he breathed his last at Vijayanagara during the reign of Achyutarāya.

Vyāsatīrtha's Momentary Filling of the Karnāṭaka Throne:—A story is told that on a day in the reign of Kṛishṇarāya there occurred a planetary conjunction in the starry heavens at a particular time denominated the *Kuhū-Yōga* which portended calamity to the reigning king. Kṛishṇarāya apprehended death to him if he was the occupant of the throne at the time and placed on the throne for the nonce the ascetic Vyāsatīrtha who came to the king's rescue on the occasion. The prognosticated evil hour passed off quietly without a mishap to either Vyāsatīrtha or Kṛishṇarāya. So the *Madhva-guru* became for once in his life the occupant of the Vijayanagara throne (*Karṇāṭaka Siṁhāsanādhiśvara*), and assumed the name *Vyāsa-Rāṭ*, i.e., *Vyāsa-Rāja*, signifying his reign. Mr. Krishnaswami Rao, in his above article (page 363), opines that the *Kuhū-Yōga* must have occurred on the new moon day, preceding the date of the battle of Raichur fought on the 19th May 1520 A.C.

Vyāsatīrtha's Literary Activities:—Vyāsatīrtha was not only a religious preceptor but also a literary scholar and wrote works on Logic and Dvaita Philosophy, such as *Tarkatāṇḍava*, *Nyāyāmṛita*, *Sudhā*, *Mandāramāñjari*, *Madhvatātparyachandrikā*; and commented on several *Upanishats*, such as the *Chhāndōgyōpanishat*, *Taittirīyōpanishat* and *Māṇḍūkyōpanishat* (G. Oppert's "Lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts," Vol. II, page 691).

Narayana Jiyar the Second Head of the Ahōbila-Maṭha:—Śrīman Nārāyaṇa Jīyar, the disciple and successor of Śrī Vaṇ-Śaṭhakōpa Jīyar, who founded the *Ahōbila-Maṭha* of the *Vaḍagalai* sect of the Śrīvaishṇavas, was an elder contemporary of Śrīmat Vyāsatīrtha. Nārāyaṇa Jīyar appears to have stayed some time at Tirupati in the course of his religious tours through the country. Within the space of three months he paid two sums of 1860 and 3800 *naṛpaṇam* into the temple-treasury in Śaka 1438, Dhātu, the first on the 26th August and the second on the 7th November 1516 A. C., to form the capital fund from the interest on which he arranged for offerings for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa, Śrī Gōvindarāja and Āḻvārs and Uḍaiyavar on specified days (Nos. 60 and 106—G.T.). This Vaṇ-Śaṭhakōpa Jīyar, whose disciple Nārāyaṇa Jīyar was, must be the Śaṭhakōpa-Yati whom Allasāni Peddāna, the poet-laureate of Kṛishṇarāya, mentions as his *guru* and to whom he offers his adorations as 'the asylum of all learning,' and 'the dispeller of the thick darkness of sins of his disciples through the moonlight of his kind looks' ("Manucharitramu," Canto I, Introduction, verse 6).

The Guruparampara Account of the First Three Jiyars:—The "Sannidhi-Guruparampara", a small work in Tamil dealing with the lives of the successive heads of the *Ahōbila-Maṭha*, mentions that Vaṇ-Śaṭhakōpa Jīyar was the son of Kiḍāmbi Śrī Kēśavāchārya of Tirunarayanapuram (Melkote in Mysore), having been born on Thursday, the 5th lunar day of the bright half of the solar month Puraṭṭāśi in the cyclic year Siddhārthi, current with the Śaka year 1301 and Kali year 4480; and these details work out to 18th August 1379 A.C. His *Vidyā-guru* was Ghaṭikāśatam-Ammāḷ alias Varadakavi of Kanchi and he studied under him upto his 20th year. He had also married meanwhile. At the close of his studies, God Nṛisiṁhasvāmi of Ahōbilam appeared to Śrīnivāsāchārya, the name of Vaṇ-Śaṭhakōpa Jīyar in his *pūrvāśrama*, and called him on to Ahōbilam, where he proceeded and received initiation into *Sanyāsa* at the hands of God Nṛisiṁhasvāmi who on the occasion named him Śaṭhakōpa Jīyar. Thenceforward he worshipped Śrī Lakshmī-Nṛisiṁha of Ahōbilam and even in his religious tours he carried with him the images of the God and the Goddess. At Alvar-Tirunagari he reconsecrated the image of Nammāḷvār, converted the Pāṇḍya king to Vaishṇavism, thence proceeded north to Orissa, regained for Mukundadēva[1]

NOTE 1:—This Mukundadēva who lost his throne of Orissa and regained it through the grace of Śrī Lakshmī-Nṛisiṁha on his accepting Vaishṇavism at the hands of Vaṇ-Śaṭhakōpa Jīyar, as per the account of the "Guruparampara," must be identical with the Orissa king mentioned on page 208 of Sewell's "Lists of Antiquities," Vol. II, as Mukund Deva or Telingā Mukund Deva, 'the last of the independent kings of Orissa, and a man of great courage and ability,' who 'reigned 8 years' from 1551 to 1559 A.C. and during whose 'reign Kālāpahār, the general of the Muhammadan king of Bengal, invaded the province with a large force,' defeated and slew him 'in a battle outside the walls of the capital, Jājpur,' overthrew the monarchy in 1559 A.C. and 'plundered the holy city of Purī.' Epigraphical evidence credits Mukundadēva Gajapati with a longer reign than eight years, for No. 335 of 1919 from Draksharama in the Godavari district, dated in the 10th year of the reign of Vīra-Mukunda-Gajapati Mahādēva, on Thursday, the 5th day of the solar month of Makara and the 7th day of its dark fortnight, corresponding to the 7th lunar day of the dark fortnight of the lunar month Pushya in the cyclic year Akshaya, 'states that the king, while ruling from his throne at Kaṭaka (i.e., Cuttack) having conquered the Gauḍa (country) giving promise of favour to the Gauḍa king, and having performed the pearl tulāpurusha and other donations at the Gaṅgā (Ganges), remitted the duties on the marriages in the twenty-seven sthalas attached to Rājamahēndravaram.' The details of the date furnished by the record work out for Thursday, the 2nd January 1567 A.C., which is about two years subsequent to the date of the battle of Talikota and thus falls into the reign of Sadāśivarāya. Consequently Ādi-Vaṇ-Śaṭhakōpa Jīyar cannot be expected to have lived on, for half a century longer than his time, into the reign of Sadāśivarāya, after four of his immediate successors including

his lost throne through the grace of Śrī Lakshmī-Nṛisiṁha, installed images of Nammāḷvār and Emperumānār at Purushōttamam or the modern town of Puri and returning to Melkote built the *gōpuram* of Sampatkumāra temple through the help of some king and consecrated an image of Vēdānta-Dēśika at the place. Next he journeyed to Tirupati where he laid over the front hill the stone steps of the pathway leading to the temple at Tirumala; he then marched on to Kānchi and there he built the thousand-pillared *maṇṭapam* for Śrī Varadarājasvāmi, and from there proceeded to Śrīraṅgam and installed Kaliyan (Tirumaṅgaiyāḷvār) and Vēdānta-Dēśika at that religious centre. From the expressions of the Saṁskṛit verse quoted in the Tamil book from the "Vāsantikāpariṇayam" (a Saṁskṛit drama) by Vaṇ-Śaṭhakōpa Jīyar, the seventh in succession from the founder of the *Maṭha*, it appears that Śaṭhakōpa Jīyar visited Vijayanagara, the capital of the Karṇāṭa kingdom (*yayau punascha vijayī Karṇāṭa-siṁhāsanam*). It is also reported that Maṇapākkam Tōḷappar or Vaidikasārvabhauma, the author of several works on *Dharma-śāstra*, became the disciple of Vaṇ-Śaṭhakōpa Jiyar and through the *guru*'s help promulgated his *Vaidika* principles. Śaṭhakōpa Jīyar is said to have occupied the pontifical seat as the head of the *Ahōbila-Maṭha* for sixty *chāturmāsyas* (i.e. sixty years) and breathed his last at his birth-place Tirunarayanapuram. As for his

Śrīnivāsa Jīyar, the fourth head for a period of ten years from about 1541 to 1551 A.C., and a second Śaṭhakōpa Jīyar, the fifth head for six years from 1551 to 1557 A.C., had occupied the pontificate and breathed their last in the interval. It is further mentioned in a foot-note on page 56 of the same "Sannidhi-Guruparampara" that Sadāśivarāya, while returning to Vijayanagara after his visit to God Vēṅkaṭēśvara at Tirupati, renovated certain temples at Kamalapuram in the Cuddapah district through the consecration ceremony performed by Parāṅkuśa Jīyar, the sixth head of the *Maṭha*, for which the king remunerated him with the gift of the village Śrībhāshyapuram situated on the bank of the Pinākinī river. And this Parāṅkuśa Jīyar is stated to have presided over the *Maṭha* for a period of fifteen years which would roughly correspond to 1557 to 1572 A.C. It is therefore certain that it was the fifth head of the *Ahōbila-Maṭha* who was also named Śaṭhakōpa Jīyar, and not Ādi-Vaṇ-Śaṭhakōpa Jīyar, that was a contemporary of both Sadāśivarāya and Mukundadēva and that helped the Orissa king to regain his throne from the Gauḍa king who, as the epigraph from Draksharama reports, became the vassal of Mukundadēva. Apparently Mukundadēva Gajapati was not killed in the battle fought outside the walls of his capital Jājpur. Consequently Ādi-Vaṇ-Śaṭhakōpa Jīyar's relations with Mukundadēva are anachronistic incidents in his life, pertaining properly to the life and activities of one of his successors, the second Śathakōpa Jīyar, the fifth head of the *Ahōbila-Maṭha* who administered its affairs between the years 1551 and 1557, and hence his help to Mukundadēva must have been rendered during 1556-57 A.C. which according to the Draksharama record becomes the first year of the king's reign.

successor Śrīman Nārāyaṇa Jīyar, it is briefly recorded that he came to occupy the seat of the *Maṭhādhipati* on the 5th lunar day in the bright half of Chaitra in the year Bahudhānya, the Kali year 4560, which works out to Friday, the 9th March 1459 A.C., held the post for fourteen years and died on the second day of the dark fortnight of Paṅguni in the cyclic year Nandana, corresponding to the 16th March 1473 A.C., after having established the *Agrahāram* of Madhuramaṅgalam, and written the works, *Pūrvapaksha-Mīmāṁsā*, *Siddhānta-Mīmāṁsā* and *Śrītattva-Siddhāñjana*, and consecrated an image of Ādi-Vaṇ-Śaṭhakōpa Jīyar at Tirunarayanapuram. And he was succeeded by Śrīman Parāṅkuśa Jīyar on the full moon day in the month of Phālguṇa in Nandana, Kali year 4574, corresponding to Friday, the 12th February 1473 A.C., and the latter is said to have presided over the *Maṭha* for a period of thirteen years.

The Dates of the First Three Jiyars of the Ahobila-Matha :—As for the dates of these three early *Vaishṇava-āchāryas*, the earliest Vaṇ-Śaṭhakōpa Jīyar was the *guru* of Allasāni Peddana, who wrote his "Manucharitramu" before 1520 A. C., and was therefore an elder contemporary of the famous Telugu poet. The date furnished for Nārāyaṇa Jīyar by the two epigraphs of our collection, noticed above, is 1516 A. C, and likewise the dates given by two records from Conjeevaram for Parāṅkuśa Jīyar are Śaka 1452, Vikṛiti and Śaka 1461, Vikāri, equivalent to Wednesday, the 15th July 1530 A.C. and Wednesday, the 14th January 1540 A.C. respectively (Nos. 374 and 373 of 1919), both falling within the reign of Achyutarāya. But the dates indicated by the "Sannidhi-Guruparampara" are August 1379 for Vaṇ-Śaṭhakōpa Jīyar's birth and August 1398 again for his receiving the *Sanyāsa-āśrama*; March 1459 for Nārāyaṇa Jīyar's assumption of the headship of the *Ahōbila-Maṭha* and March 1473 for his death; and February 1473 for the accession of Parāṅkuśa Jīyar. From the epigraphical evidence these dates appear to be 'antedated by nearly a cycle of sixty years.' On the basis of the epigraphical dates we may endeavour to fix approximate dates for these three pontiffs, working from Parāṅkuśa Jīyar backwards. His pontificate has been limited to thirteen years and the dates of his two records at Conjeevaram, i.e., July 1530 and January 1540, are ten years apart. Distributing the remaining three years, we may roughly fix his period of activity as from 1528 to 1541 A.C. Likewise Nārāyaṇa Jīyar's fourteen years may be taken to extend from 1515 to 1528 A.C. into which also falls the year of his two donations at Tirupati, viz., 1516 A.C. Calculating back sixty years from 1515 A.C. for Vaṇ-Śaṭhakōpa Jīyar's religious activities, we come to 1456 A.C. as the year of his assuming the robe

at Ahōbilam, and deducting a further period of twenty years from the latter date we obtain the year of his birth as 1437 A.C. roughly. But to assume the Siddhārthi year corresponding to Śaka 1361 and 1439 A. C. as the year of birth of Vaṇ-Śaṭhakōpa Jīyar would throw forward the period of his successor Nārāyaṇa Jīyar by nearly two years, as 1517 to 1530 A.C., whch would fall outside the date of his two records of our collection, viz., 1516 A.C. The dates thus calculated for the three Jīyars may be taken as approximately correct. We then find that Vaṇ-Śaṭhakōpa Jīyar was born in the reign of Dēvarāya II, became a recluse in the time of Mallikārjuna, when he continued his religious propaganda for sixty years down to a third of the reign of Kṛishṇarāya, and had witnessed the alleged usurpations of the Vijayanagara throne at the end of the 15th century. From thence Nārāyaṇa Jīyar lived almost to the end of Kṛishṇarāya's reign and his successor Parāṅkuśa Jīyar throughout the period of Achyutarāya's reign. Just as the *Vyāsarāya-Maṭha* was founded by Vyāsatīrtha under the patronage of Kṛishṇarāya, the *Ahōbila-Maṭha* had been established by Vaṇ-Śaṭhakōpa Jīyar during the time of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha or in the reign of Mallikārjuna at the earliest. It is therefore apparent that the two *Maṭhas* came into existence one after the other under royal patronage in the course of half a century.

Van-Sathakopa Jiyar's Activities at Tirupati :—Ādi-Vaṇ-Śaṭhakōpa Jīyar's activities were seen to have extended to Tirupati also. He established a *Maṭha* at Tirumala sometime prior to Śaka 1427, Krōdhana (=1-3-1506 A.C.), on which date Dharmapuram Śiṭṭamu-Śeṭṭi, a merchant residing in the suburb of Narasiṅgarāyapuram in Tirupati, while providing for certain offerings for Śrī Vēṅkṭēśa after His ablutions on the alternate Fridays, stipulated for the issue of the donor's share of the *prasādam* to the *Ēkāki-Śrīvaishṇavas* managing the *Vaṇ-Śaṭhakōpan-Maṭha* (No. 276—T.T.). The exact position of this *Maṭha* is not mentioned but it must have been situated in the north row of the South Street in Tirumala where a new building for the *Ahōbila-Maṭha* is now under construction. During his stay in Tirupati Śaṭhakōpa Jīyar had initiated a number of Śrīvaishṇavas into the philosophy and precepts of the Vaishṇava religion, and some of these disciples of his are found in No. 275—G.T. making provision in Śaka 1450, Sarvadhāri (=November 1528 A.C.), for offerings for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa and Śrī Gōvindarāja on specified days through a deposit of 260 *paṇam*. The above record brings to notice also a flower-garden laid out by him (*Jīyar-nandavanam*) below a tank which was the charity of a certain king (*Rāyar-kuḷam*). Curiously enough we find Vaṇ-Śaṭhakopa Jīyar made the

recipient of the donor's share of the offered *prasādam* arranged by a disciple of his by name Malaiperumāḷ in No. 504—T.T. dated in Śaka 1463, Plava (=23-3-1542 A.C.), in the last days of Achyutarāya's reign. We have seen that his activities had come to a close by about 1515 A.C., more than two decades and a half prior to this date, and his two successors also had left their mortal frames, Narāyana Jīyar by 1528 and Parāṅkuśa Jīyar by 1541 A.C.; and so the date must relate to the fourth *Jīyar*, viz., Śrīnivāsa Jīyar, according to the succession given in the "Guru-parampara." Consequently 'Vaṉ-Śaṭhakōpa Jīyar' must refer to this fourth pontiff Śrīnivāsa Śathakōpa Yatīndra Mahā-Deśikan. Vaṉ-Śaṭhakōpa Jīyar had thus followed the usual path of a religious preceptor for propagating the Vaishṇava religion and its tenets through the establishment of a *Maṭha* at this religious centre, through the initiation of a number of disciples and through the enjoining upon them of meditation and divine service.

Kandadai Madhavayyangar and His Guru Ramanujayyangar :—A third religious teacher, not quite so prominent and famous as the two founders of religious institutions noticed above, comes to notice in some of these epigraphs. He was Kandāḍai Mādhavayyaṅgār, the disciple of Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgār whom Sāḷuva Narasiṁha held in high esteem and appointed as the manager of his *Rāmānuja-kūṭams* at Tirumala and Tirupati. As the disciple of Rāmānuja-ayyaṅgār, Mādhavayyaṅgār occupied the post of the guardian (*kartar*) of the gold-treasury (*Poṟpaṇḍāram*), i.e., the jewellery and other gold and silver articles belonging to the temple, along with the management of the free feeding-houses (*Rāmānuja-kūṭams*), in succession to Rāmānujayyaṅgār who was first appointed *kartar* of the *Poṟ-paṇḍāram* through an order (*rāyasam*) of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha issued in Śaka 1417, Rākshasa (=1-7-1495 A.C.) (No. 628—T.T.). The order authorised Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgār, the disciple of Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa Jīyar of Kanchi, to utilise from the aggregate income derived from the village of Narasiṅgarāyapuram established by Rāmānujayyaṅgār in the name of the *Rāyar*, from the *śandai*, *makamai*, and *kuttakai* probably from Tirupati, from the lands and villages granted by Narasiṁha for the conduct of the *Rāmānuja-kūṭams* and from the proceeds of the donor's share of the offerings, a sum of 3000 *paṇam* for repairs to the gold and silver jewels. The repairs were required to be executed in the presence of the *Sthānattār* of the temple to whom the repaired jewels were to be handed over. Any balance remaining out of this sum of 3000 *paṇam* was to be carried over to the succeeding year and any deficit arising in this aggregate sum was permitted.

to be made up from the *Śrī-Bhaṇḍāram* (the temple-treasury). Rāmānuja-ayyaṅgār appears to have wielded great influence over Sāḷuva Narasiṁha whose establishment of the *Rāmānuja-kūṭams* both at Tirumala and Tirupati as well as donations and grants to the temple are traceable to this religious preceptor's initiative (page 49 *ante*). His religious activities were confined to Tirupati and here to the community of the Śāttāda-Śrīvaishṇavas. In his later days he visited the 108 *Tirupatis* or the religious centres sacred to Vishṇu and on returning to Tirumala from his religious tour he had gilded the doors and door-jambs of the passage leading into the inner shrine and the *Vaikuṇṭha* passage round the central shrine of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa's temple (No. 494—T.T.). His greatness and his service were so far recognised as to permit the chanting of his *ulā* (encomium) in the presence of the deity at the time of the smearing of the deity's holy body with civet oil immediately after the holy bath for Him on alternate Fridays (No. 336—T.T.). Both Kandāḍai Mādhavayyaṅgār and Kandāḍai Appachchiyār-Aṇṇa must have been his kinsmen, although the discipleship is claimed for the former and no relationship is indicated for the latter who however made a gift of land for offerings for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa immediately after the chanting of the *ulā* of Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgār was finished (No. 336—T.T.). Mādhavayyaṅgār founded the village of Tirumala-dēvipuram and made it over to the *Śrī-Bhaṇḍāram* for the propitiation of God Vēṅkaṭēśa. No. 601—T.T. dated in Śaka 1442, Vikrama (=28-11-1520 A.C.), which registers this gift of the village, refers to the *Tai-tirunāḷ* started by Kṛishṇarāya, to the *Narasā-Nāyakkar-maṇṭapam*, and to the grant of 1600 *kuḻi* of *sarvamānya* land in Bhaṇḍāravāḍai villages in Kuḍavūr-nāḍu to Rāmānuja-ayyaṅgār for the offering called *Alarmēlmaṅgai-Nāchchiyār-śiṟappu* and to the gift of land to the *Rāmānuja-kūṭams* by Tirumala-Nāyakkar on the date of the record. In No. 107—G.T. dated in Śaka 1444, Chitrabhānu (=2-4-1522 A.C.), we find this Mādhavayyaṅgār recounting the previous grant of land for the *Rāmānuja-kūṭams*, the utilisation of its *phalabhōgam* (income) for them and the offering of three *appa-paḍis* yearly as the share of the donor in these offerings. A later member of this family, viz., Kandāḍai Kumāra-Rāmānuja-ayyaṅgār, presented a wooden car to the temple of Śrī Rāma on the 18th day of Tai in the cyclic year Virōdhi (=14-1-1530 A.C.), for the merit of king Achyutarāya Mahārāya (No. 318—G.T.).

Kandadai Vedantacharya alias Doddayyangar-Appai:—Kandāḍai Vēdāntāchārya alias Doḍḍayyaṅgār-Appai was probably a member of a collateral branch of the family to which Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgār and others

noticed above belonged. He was the son of Veṅgumālaiyiṭṭa-perumāḷ-nāyanār of the Vādhūla-gōtra and Āpastamba-sūtra and resided at Ghaṭikāchalam or Sholinghur. He was a reputed scholar, known as *Māhāchārya* or *Doḍḍāchārya*, and wrote the works *Pañcha-Vijaya*, *Chaṇḍamāruta*, *Advaitavidyā-Vijaya*, *etc.* (G. Oppert's "Lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts," Vol. II, page 687). From the first verse of his "Vaibhava-prakāśikā," it appears that he was the son of Śrīnivāsāchārya and the disciple of Lakshmaṇārya. We have therefore to equate Veṅgumālaiyiṭṭa-perumāḷ of the inscription with Śrīnivāsāchārya of the Saṁskṛit work. Doḍḍayyaṅgār made a deposit of 2520 *nāṛpaṇam* in the temple-treasury in Śaka 1441, Pramādi (=13-4-1519 A.C.), and required its interest to be utilised for the propitiation of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa (Nos. 38 and 37—T. T.).

Srotriya-Brahmanas of the Time:—A few *Śrōtriya-Brāhmaṇas* appear in some of these epigraphs. Nāraṇayyan or Nārāyaṇadēva, son of Tatvādi Tirumalayyan, was a *Śrōtriya-Brāhmaṇa* of Gautama-gōtra and Āpastamba-sūtra and a resident of Agaram Kampasamudram in the Paḍavīḍu-rājya. His gift of Tivalaippūṇḍi in Koṇḍavāli-śīrmai, one of his *śrōtriyam* villages, made in Śaka 1436, Bhāva (=26-7-1514 A.C.), is found registered in two inscriptions apiece (Nos. 27 and 284—T.T.). The incessant obeisance of the father Tatvādi Timmaṇan is recorded in No. 344—T.T. Sālaippākkam Narasayyar was another *Śrōtriya-Brāhmaṇa* and he gave to the temple the village of Muttūr in Gaṇḍikōṭa-śīrmai in Śaka 1452, Vikṛiti (=29-12-1529 A.C.) (No. 279—T.T.). He was the son of Mantravādi Mādarasar of Kāśyapa-gōtra, Āśvilāyana-sūtra and Ṛik-śākha. Only a single record No. 76—T.T., belonging to the Tāḷḷapākam family of poets who were the hereditary musicians of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's temple, comes to notice in the reign of Kṛishṇarāya. It registers the payment of a sum of 1500 *naṛpaṇam* in Śaka 1439, Īśvara (=30-11-1517 A.C.), by Tāḷḷapākam Tirumalayyaṅgār, son of Annamayyaṅgār of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra, Āśvilāyana-sūtra and Ṛik-śākha, for the deity's daily propitiation.

Nagarattar of the Time:—A few *Nagarattār* are also noticed here. Pāppu-Śeṭṭi, son of Vaṇḍaiyāram Chennamu-Śeṭṭi of the Kuṇḍina-gōtra, was one of the *Nagarattār* residing in Narasiṅgarāyapuram, a suburb of Tirupati. He made an endowment of 2500 *naṛpaṇam* for offerings for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa, Śrī Gōvindarāja and other deities in the name of himself, his father Chennamu-Śeṭṭi and his mother Mārakka, in Śaka 1434, Āṅgirasa (=15-9-1512 A.C.) (No. 267—T.T.). Koṇḍu-Śeṭṭi, son of Dharmapuram Tammu-Śeṭṭi, was another merchant residing in the same suburb of Narasiṅgarāyapuram in Tirupati,

For some reason Kṛishṇarāya is stated to have granted to him the village of Chintayappalli situated near Vēḷumapāḷam as *Umbiḷikai*. Probably the village was given to the merchant as a *Jaghir* free of rent for certain services rendered by him in connection with the supply of provisions for the army during Kṛishṇarāya's military progress in the south early in his reign, which appears to have commenced before Śaka 1433, Prajāpati, Kaṛkaṭaka śu. (ba.) 14, Wednesday, Punarpūśam (=23rd July 1511 A.C.), when a *sarvamānya* land was granted to the temple at Sendalai in the Tanjore district 'by Vīraiya Deṇāyakka-Uḍaiyār to secure victory[1] to the king and to himself,' as reported in No. 213 of 1926, nearly a year and a quarter prior to his camp at Śivanasamudram on 'state business' on the 22nd September 1512 A.C. (page 169 *ante*). Koṇḍu-Śeṭṭi already gave half of the village to God Kāḷahastigirīśvara, i.e., Śrīkāḷahastīśa of Kalahasti, and the remaining half village he gave to this temple in Śaka 1439, Īśvara (=27-11-1517 A. C.), for offerings for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa and Śrī Gōvindarāja (No. 610—T.T.). A third merchant that comes to notice is Śaraṇu-Śeṭṭi, son of Periya-Peṅgāṇḍai of the Vaṇṇakka-gōtra, and a resident of the main town of Tirupati. He made a deposit of 3700 *paṇam* in Śaka 1449, Sarvajit (=16-8-1527 A.C.), for certain offerings for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa and Śrī Gōvindarāja (No. 244—T.T.). The term *Nagaraṭṭār* has sometimes been interpreted as 'members of the village assembly,' but from its restricted application to the members of the merchant class in these and other records, it must refer only to the *Vaiśyas* or *Kōmaṭis* who from time immemorial had carried on trade and commerce in India and are still seen to exercise it as their hereditary profession in small towns and villages in South India and are hence known as *Vāṇijyas*.

NOTE 1:—This evidently refers to Kṛishṇarāya's campaigns in the farther south against certain rebel chiefs and enemies of Vijayanagara, in whose subjugation Vīraiya-Daṇāyakka was interested and probably also took part. From the existence of Parvata-Rāhuttar's inscription No. 169 of 1910 at Erode in the Coimbatore district, with the possible anterior date in Śaka 1432, Prajōtpatti (=1510-11 A.C.), it appears quite likely that Kṛishṇarāya's efforts were at this time directed towards the reclamation of the Mysore territory from Pratāparudra Gajapati, whose predecessor Purushōttama Gajapati had annexed it and whose paternal uncle Parvata-Rāhuttar or Tirumala Rautarāya Mahāpātra governed it under Pratāparudra (note 2 on page 160 *ante*). It is thus obvious from the Sendalai record that Kṛishṇarāya commenced his preliminary military operations against the Gajapati in the south early in 1511 A.C. within a year and a half after his accession to the throne at the end of July 1509 A.C. (note 3 on page 184 *ante*.), or in April—May (Vaiśākha) 1509, as per the account of Viresalingam Pantulu in his "Lives of Telugu Poets," Part II, pages 171 and 189.

ACHYUTARAYA

Achyutaraya's Coronation :—Achyutarāya, the half-brother and successor of Kṛishṇarāya on the throne of Vijayanagara, is represented by a large number of inscriptions of this collection. His earliest mention occurs in No. 318—G. T. which registers the charity of the construction of a wooden car for Raghunātha, i.e., Śrī Rāma or Śrī Kōdaṇḍa-Rāma of Tirupati, by Kumāra-Rāmānujayyaṅgār for the merit of Achyutarāya Mahārāya. The record is dated on the 18th day of Tai in the cyclic year Virōdhi, corresponding to the Śaka year 1451, (equivalent to Friday, 14th January 1530 A.C.); but Achyutarāya had already begun to rule when his 'coronation was first celebrated at Tirupati where he was bathed in the water poured out of the conch in the hand of the God Venkaṭēśa,' and again for a second time at his capital *Vidyānagara* ("Sources of Vijayanagar History," page 158). It is however reported that his coronation took place at Kalahasti in the presence of God Śrīkāḷahastīśvara on the 5th day of the dark half of the lunar month Kārtika in the same cyclic year Virōdhi, equivalent to Thursday, the 21st October 1529 A. C. (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1924, para 45). There is still another date furnished by Nos. 49 and 50 of 1900 from Conjeevaram for 'Achyuta's coronation, *viz.*, the 5th *tithi* of the second half of the solar month Vṛiśchika in the Virōdhin year, which corresponded to the Śaka Year 1452—A.D. 1529–30' (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1900, para 70). The solar month Vṛiśchika did not coincide with the lunar month Kārtika, but succeeded it, and hence the 5th day of the former fell a month later than the 5th day of the latter. That is to say, while the date of the coronation supplied by the Kalahasti inscriptions as noted above, is Thursday, the 21st October 1529 A. C., that supplied by the Conjeevaram inscriptions works out to Saturday, the 20th November 1529 A.C. Consequently, of the two dates, the 20th November must be the date of his coronation celebrated later at his capital Vijayanagara, as stated in the "Achyutarāyābhyudayam." Thus Achyutarāya appears to have been crowned thrice successively, for once at Tirumala immediately on release from his confinement in the fort at Chandragiri, for the second time at Kalahasti and finally with all due ceremonial and pomp at the capital city of Vijayanagara, all the three within an interval of about a month during October-November 1529 A.C. But out of these three occasions, only the second one mentioned in the Kalahasti inscriptions, viz., 'the day of Kārttika-bahuḷa-panchami,' i.e., the 21st October 1529, is referred to again in Nos. 544 and 545 of 1919 from

Conjeevaram itself, whose other records Nos. 49 and 50 of 1900, are stated to give a date falling a month later. Since November 1529, therefore, Achyutarāya must have assumed the reins of government and ruled the Vijayanagara empire as a co-regent with his half-brother Kṛishṇarāya, for some months longer during 1530–31, when he must have become the sole ruler on the death of Kṛishṇarāya some time in 1531 A.C. (page 168 *ante*).

His First Visit to Tirumala :—As in the case of Kṛishṇarāya, we do not come across any frequent visits of Achyutarāya paid to the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara, notwithstanding his rich presents and gifts to it and other charities at Tirupati. One definite occasion is however noticed, viz., the Friday combined with the star Aśvini, which was the 7th lunar day in the solar month of Kumbha in the cyclic year Nandana, current with the Śaka year 1454, equivalent to 31st January 1533 A.C. On this occasion of his visit to Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān he was accompanied by his queen Varadāji-amman and his son Kumāra-Vēṅkaṭādri, and he performed the *mahādānas Kapila paśu* (*Kapila-dhēnu*) and *Svarṇavarsham* (*Suvarṇamēru*, *Kāñchanamēru* or *Mahāmēru*), and presented to God Vēṅkaṭēśvara a big *kaphā* (garment for the body) fully decked with pearls, rubies, emeralds and diamonds; four *pon-valaiyam*, (*bāhu-valaiyam*), a pair of *uchchippū* set with gems for the head; a *kuṭṭam* ornamented with diamonds for the top of the crown; a long string of pearls and other jewels consisting of differently shaped gold beads and nuts. At that time he also conducted the *Archana* himself for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara, while the *Archaka* recited the *Śrīnivāsa-sahasranāma* (No. 453—T. T.). This visit of Achyutarāya to the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara on the 31st January 1533 A. C. took place more than a year since 'he went on a war with the Tiruvaḍi (Travancore), and levied tribute from him, brought under subjection Tumbichchi-Nāyaka and Sāḷuva-Nāyaka and planted a pillar of victory on the banks of the Tāmraparṇī after marrying the daughter of the Pāṇḍya sovereign,' and had in conjunction with his queen 'Varadāmbikā and (his son) Chika-veṅkaṭādri severally performed the Muktā-Tulābhāra ceremony in the presence of the god Hari at Kāñchī' in Śaka 1455, Nandana (=14-7-1532 A.C.), in commemoration of his victory (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1924, para 45; and No. 178 of 1924).

His Second Visit :—A second visit of Achyutarāya to God Vēṅkaṭēśa may be inferred from his two records, Nos. 544 and 546—T. T. dated in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=26th December 1535 A. C.). On this occasion he instituted two new festivals, viz., the *Lakshmīdēvī-mahōtsavam* to be celebrated for

Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān and Alaimēlmaṅgai-Nāchchiyār for five days, and the *Punarvasu-tirunāḷ* for Raghunāthan (Śrī Rāma), Nāchchiyār (Sītādēvi), and Iḷaiya-Perumāḷ (Lakshmaṇa) on each of the 13 days of the Punarvasu star occurring in the year. Towards the expenses of the festivals, Achyutarāya granted to the temple the *uttarāyam* of 300 *rēkhai-pon* and 60 *rēkhai-pon* respectively from the villages situated in the Koṇḍavīḍu-śīrmai and stipulated for the supply of all articles from the *Śrī-Bhaṇḍāram*. In recounting the details of the *Lakshmīdēvī-mahōtsavam*, the month in which it was required to be celebrated has been left out, though the omission of the actual days of beginning and ending was made good in a post-script as being *Uttiraṭṭādināḷ* for the *aṅkurārpaṇam* (seed-sowing prior to the actual commencement of the festival) and *Rōhiṇi-nāḷ* for the *Śāttumuṟai* (last day). In the same record No. 544 are mentioned seven *maṇṭapams* two of which were named after King Achyutarāyar-svāmi, two after his queen Varadāji-amman-svāmi, one after his son Kumāra-Chikka-Vēṅkaṭādri-Uḍaiyar, one after his father Narasā-Nāyakkar and one after his mother Ōbāchchi-amman, i.e., Ōbāmbika. In consonance with the Hindu practice of perpetuating the memory of men through designating buildings, tanks, gardens and even certain charities and services in temples after their names, we here find the memory of Achyutarāya kept up by the *maṇṭapams* which he built as well as the tank which he constructed—*Achyutarāya-Kōnēri*, the suburb which he laid out—*Achyutarāya-puram*, the deity whom he installed—*Achyuta-Perumāḷ*, the feeding house which he established—*Achyutarāyar-satram*, and the offerings he provided *Achyutarāyar-avasaram*. Similarly his mother's memory was endeavoured to be preserved at Tirumala through the *aṅgaṇa-maṇṭapam* built in her name, that of his father by the *aṅgaṇa-maṇṭapam* and the *tiruvīdhi*, his queen's memory by the *maṇṭapam* and the *aṅgaṇa-maṇṭapam* and the *avasaram* (offerings) provided in her name to God Vēṅkaṭēśa and his son's by the *maṇṭapam* named after him. Elsewhere their memory had been sought to be perpetuated by the establishment of villages and tanks and installation of deities, such as Ōbāchchiamman-samudram in the Chingleput district and Ōbāḷēśvara in the same village (No. 47 of 1900); Bukkēśvaradēva in a village in the Bellary district (No. 195 of 1913) and Kumāra-Vēṅkaṭādri-samudram, Vēṅkaṭādri-samudra and Kumāra-Vēṅkaṭādrīyapura, surnames of villages in the North Arcot (No. 58—T.T.) and Anantapur districts (Nos. 574 and 578 of 1912).

Officers who Accompanied Him in His Second Visit :—On this second occasion of his vist to Tirumala on the 26th December 1535, it does not

appear that Achyutarāya was accompanied, as on the previous occasion, by his queen and his son; but from the date of donations and grants made by some of his officers, viz., Rāmā-Bhāṭṭarayyan, Rāyasam Rāmachandra-Dīkshita, Malaiyapparayyan and Aḍaippam Rukmiṇi-amman and Aḍaippam Parmādamman, it is quite certain that they attended upon the royal person at the time. Rāmā-Bhaṭṭa, the Viceroy of Achyutarāya at Chandragiri, established an *agrahāra* known as Tiruvēṅkaṭapuram and installed an idol of Raghunātha in it (No. 515—T. T.). Rāyasam Rāmachandra-Dīkshita made some provision for offerings (No. 538—T. T.); Malaiyapparayyan presented the village, Paṅchavan-mādēvi-grāmam in Tiruvadi-rajyam yielding an annual income of 140 *rēkhai* (No. 537—T. T.); and certain offerings were provided for God in the names of Rukmiṇi-amman and Parmādamman (Nos. 540 and 541—T.T.). Sāḷuva Timmarasa, the famous minister of Kṛishṇarāya, has a record registering his transaction of the sale of *prasādams* belonging to him as donor, effected in favour of Tāḷḷapākam Tirumalayyaṅgār for 1900 *paṇam* on condition of the latter residing at Tirumala permanently, dated only 3 days later than this second visit of Achyutarāya, i.e., 29th December 1535 A. C. (No. 270—T. T.); and this proximity of the two dates seems to admit the inference that Sāḷuva Timma continued in the service of Achyutarāya and accompanied the King to Tirumala on this occasion as a royal officer, like the rest.

His Third Visit :—Another visit of Achyutarāya to Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's temple at Tirumala is indicated from the personal gifts made by some of his officers, viz., Bāchcharasayya, Rāmā-Bhaṭlu, Aḍaippam Viśvanātha-Nāyaka, Salakarāja Siṅgarāja, Immaḍi Ellappayya and Kṛishṇappa-Nāyaka in Śaka 1458, Durmukhi (=12-1-1537 A.C.), when each of them made a donation of 15,000 *naṟpaṇam* to the *Śrī-Bhaṇḍāram* for the propitiation of the deity with 300 *appa-paḍis* yearly on behalf of each one of them. No. 396—T.T. records the grant of the village Mallāpuram on the above date by an officer of Achyutarāya whose name is lost, made on the suggestion of Achyutarāya Mahārāya himself, for the propitiation of Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān on the seventh days in each of the eight *Tirukkoḍi-tirunāḷ* held at Tirumala, with the stipulation that the donor's quarter share of the offered *prasādam* might be delivered to a certain Appayyan. Probably this Appayyan is the Nādiṇḍla Appayya mentioned as the recipient of similar *prasādam* provided by Lakshmī-amman, wife of Sāḷūva Timmayyaṅgāru in Śaka 1433, Prajōtpatti (=25-12-1511 A.C.) (No. 334—T.T.). If so, the donor was perhaps Sāḷuva Timmayya himself.

His Construction of Kapilatirtham with Mantapams :—About a year and a half prior to his first visit to Tirumala in Śaka 1454, Nandana, Achyutarāya had provided with steps of granite stone the Kapilatīrtham which he renamed "Chakratīrtham" as being sacred to God Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha, and also constructed *Sandhyā-vandana-maṇṭapams* on the east and west sides, and planted stones bearing the discus of Vishṇu (*Sudarśanaśila* or *Tiruvāḻikkal*) at the four corners of the pond excavated in rock. Three of these inscribed stones are visible, while the fourth is built into a parapet wall of a later building. They are dated in Śaka 1453, Khara (=25th June 1531 A.C.) and record, in the three South Indian languages Telugu, Kanarese and Tamil, this charitable service rendered by Achyutarāya through the laying of the stone steps and the construction of the *maṇṭapams* for the attainment of the four human ends (*chaturvidha-purushārtha-siddhi*) (Nos. 206, 207 and 208—G.T.) (Page 72 *ante*).

His Installation of Achyuta-Perumal at Achyutarayapuram :—Besides these charities, Achyutarāya had also built a temple in Tirupati for Achyuta-Perumāḷ in the land belonging to the village of Kōṭṭūr which was a *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* of Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān and established an *agrahāram* of 120 houses built round the temple, after paying 2400 *naṟpaṇam* into the *Śrī-Bhaṇḍāram* (temple-treasury) of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara as compensation for the site taken up (pages 69–70 *ante*). To facilitate the daily worship of this deity, he granted the village of Parittiputtūr, dividing it into 20 shares assigned to this new temple. In Śaka 1460, Viḷambi (=8–2–1539 A.C.), he made a gift of 100 out of the 120 houses in the *agrahāram* to the Brāhmaṇas who occupied them at the time with all rights of possession, succession, sale, mortgage, transfer, gift, etc., but reserved the 20 houses the occupants of which had also enjoyed the 20 shares of the village of Parittiputtūr assigned to the temple of Achyutaperumāḷ (No. 355—G.T.). The reservation must have been occasioned by the suspicion of a prospective evacuation of the houses by their inmates who, probably being *archakas*, *parichārakas* and other servants of the temple, were responsible for the conduct of the daily worship, and the fear therefore of an eventual cessation of the *pūja* of the deity in the case of such an evacuation. This *agrahāram* of Achyutarāya-puram must have formed the northern suburb of Tirupati situated at the foot of the hill to the east of the road leading to Kapila-tīrtham, in the site in which a ruined tower now stands with raised ground of concrete and debris and broken idols and stones to its immediate west indicating the existence of a temple in the past. While the grant of one-

hundred houses in the *agrahāram* was made by the king in Śaka 1460, Viḷambi, the consecration of the deity, the construction of His temple and the establishment of the village must have taken place some years earlier. For there is a reference to Achyutapperumāḷ in a record of Śaka 1458, Durmukhi (=31–1–1537 A.C.) which registers a provision for His propitiation at a certain *maṇṭapam* on the *Pāḍiyavēṭṭai-nāḷ* (No. 140—G.T.), and hence His installation must have been effected by Achyutarāya during the early years of his reign soon after his accession to the throne of Vijayanagara. A fragmentary inscription No. 317—T.T. dated on the 16th day of Āvaṇi in the cyclic year Viḷambi, Śaka 1460 (=15–8–1538 A.C.), seems to register some provision made for Achyutarāya-Mahārāyar-satram and for Achyutapperumāḷ in Achyutarāyapuram, and it therefore appears that Achyutarāya also established a *satram* or a free feeding-house in the suburb laid out by him. A different Achyutarāyapuram comes to notice in No. 532—T.T. as having been situated near Sagavarai in Gaṇḍikōṭa-śīrmai and the income from this village was granted to the temple by Gōvinda-Paṇḍitar, son of Viṭṭhōji-Paṇḍitar in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=6–1–1536 A.C.).

His Deputation of Damsels for Temple-Service:—In addition to these services of Achyutarāya in the cause of Hindu religion, he had also sent a number of damsels to Tirupati from his capital City of Vijayanagara to serve God Vēṅkaṭēśa in their humble way and live on the *prasādam* granted to them from the temple. Muddu-kuppāyi, daughter of Kuppāyi and granddaughter of Śrīraṅgarāja, entitled *Vidvatsabhārāya-Raṅjakam*, (page 205 *ante*), was one of these *Emperumānaḍiyārs* and she was deputed by the king in Śaka 1453, Khara (=6–6–1531 A.C.), for service in the temple (No. 1—G.T.). She was enjoined to reside permanently in Tirupati and maintain herself with the one plateful of *prasādam* ordered to be issued to her every day from the temple of Śrī Gōvindarāja. She was further required to see to the continuance of this peculiar service through her descendants. Hanumasāni, daughter of Uṭṭida Timmayan, was another such damsel. The epigraph No. 422—T.T., which registers her gift of 820 *naṟpaṇam* to the temple in Śaka 1461, Vikāri (=31–1–1540 A.C.), for providing certain offerings to God, states that she was one among the damsels resident in Tirupati who had been assigned to the temple by Achyutarāya.

His Grant of two Villages to Tallapakam Tirumalayyangar:—A private grant of Achyutarāya comes to notice in No. 588—T.T. which registers the gift of the villages of Pūṇḍi and Saṅgamakōṭṭai to the temple by

Tāḷḷapākam Tirumalayyaṅgār in Śaka 1454, Nandana (=27-3-1532 A.C.). It is recorded that these villages were previously granted through a copper-plate to the donor Tirumalayyaṅgār who belonged to the family of musicians attached to the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara and that on the above date Tirumalayyaṅgār gave them to the temple.

His Queen Varadajiamman's Gift of six Villages to the Temple :— Varadājidēvi-amman, the queen of Achyutarāya, arranged for an *avasaram* for Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān in Śaka 1456, Jaya (=5-4-1534 A.C.), stipulated to be offered after His propitiation with the *avasarams* provided in the names of Achyutarāya and Kṛishṇarāya, and towards its conduct she granted the income from six villages amounting to 920 *rēkhai-pon* (No. 49—T.T.), viz., Chinamaḍappulūr and Muttukkūr, situated in Gaṇḍikōṭa-śīrmai, each contributing 200 *rēkhai-pon*; Poliva in Koṇḍavīḍu-rājyam another 200 *rēkhai*, and Valli and Maṅgamūr in the same province 35 *pon* each; and Paiṇḍapalli-grāmam in Nārāyaṇapurachchīrmai 110 *rēkhai*; and all the villages together yielding 140 *rēkhai* more from other sources. The provision for offerings in the names of Achyutarāya and Kṛishṇarāya mentioned above is not known directly from their respective records, but is now and then referred to in connection with similar arrangements made by others.

Gifts Made for the Merit of the Royal Family :— Salakarāja Śiṟu-Tirumalarāja, the brother of Varadāji-amman, purchased a plot of ground in the West Street in Tirumala for 120 *pon* and laid an *aṅgaṇa-tiruvīdhi* for the merit of Varadāji-amman, the *Paṭṭamahādēviyār* of Achyutarāya Mahārāya, in Śaka 1463, Plava (=21-12-1541 A.C.) (No. 360—T.T.). Siṅgarāja, son of Salakarāja, had provided for certain offerings for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa in Śaka 1458, Durmukhi (=12-1-1537 A.C.), and in the disposal of the donor's share of the *prasādam* he made it over to the *āchārya* of his own sister (Uḍappiṟandāḷ) (No. 455—T.T.). Probably this sister was Varadāji-amman herself and, if so, he was a third brother of Varadāji-amman. We also find a military officer Śrīraṅga-Nāyakkar, son of Tuḷuva Veṅgaḷu-Nāyakkar of Paḍavīḍu, arranging for offerings through a deposit of 650 *naṟpaṇam* in Śaka 1458, Durmukhi (=14-12-1536 A. C.), for the merit of Svāmi Achyutarāya Mahārāyar, Varadāji-amman-avargaḷ and Chikka-Vēṅkaṭādri-Uḍaiyar (No. 543—T. T.). Śiṟu-Timmayyar, son of Bhaṇḍāram Apparasar, provided in Śaka 1456, Jaya (=23-8-1534 A.C.), for the *puḻugu-kāppu-murai* of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa on the 13 days of the Mṛigaśīrsham star as well as the 53 Fridays occurring in the year (No. 331—T.T.); and the reason for the consecration of the particular star

for the special function is stated to be that Achyutarāya was born under its ascendancy.

ACHYUTARAYA'S OFFICERS.

Continuance of Some of Krishnaraya's Officers in Achyutaraya's Service :— As already noticed, some of the officers of Kṛishṇarāya continued in service under Achyutarāya. Pradhāni Sāḷuva Timmaṇa's transactions relating to the sale of *prasādam*s belonging both to his younger brother Sāḷuva Gōvindarāja and to himself in favour of Tāḷḷapākam Tirumalayyaṅgār are respectively dated in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=26-2-1535 A.C.) (No. 278—T.T.), and in Śaka 1458, Durmukhi Tai, Thursday (=28-12-1536 A.C.) (No. 270—T.T.); and Sāḷuva Gōvindarāja's gift of a village is registered in Śaka 1463, Plava (=5-11-1541 A.C.) (No. 85—G.T.). Consequently the two brothers must have lived at least up to the end of 1535 and 1541 A.C. and served the king. Similarly Rāyasam Koṇḍamarasayya might have functioned as a minister of the crown up to the year 1541 A.C., on the 30th April of which his gift of money to the temple is dated (No. 110—G.T. of Śaka 1463, Plava). Karaṇikka Basavarasa, son of Chaṇḍikai Ōbaḷadēva, has two records of his dated respectively in Śaka 1456, Jaya (=16-8-1534 A.C.) (No. 275—T.T.) and Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=8-1-1536 A.C.) (No. 616—T.T.). Likewise Ūḍiyam Ellappa-Nāyakkar, son of Śaṭṭayappa-Nāyakar, had served his sovereigns Kṛishṇarāya and Achyutarāya successively until at least Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=3-4-1536 A.C.) on which day is registered his gift of 600 *naṟpaṇam* to the temple for offerings to be made for Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān on the day of the Chittirai (Chitra) star occurring in the month of Chittirai, being the birth-asterism of Ellappa-Nāyakkar, and other days during festivals at Tirumala (No. 548—T.T.). This same Ellappa-Nāyaka, son of Śeṭṭiyappa-Nāyaka, is found in No. 288 of 1912 from Sivankudal in the Chingleput district to make a gift of a village to the local temple three years earlier in Śaka 1455, Vijaya (=7-4-1533 A.C.). And so did the Aḍaippam officer Baiyappa-Nāyakkar, son of Timmappa-Nāyakkar, continue in Achyutarāya's service until about Śaka 1460, Viḷambi (=5-9-1538 A.C.) (No. 471—T.T.). His earlier record during the same reign is dated in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=9-11-1535 A.C.) (No. 469—T.T.). It was this same Baiyapa-Nāyaka who was ruling, in Śaka 1458, Durmukhi (=18-6-1536 A.C.), the Kundurupiya-sīma which was granted to him as his fief (*nāyakatana*) by Achyutarāya, in supercession of Rāyasam Koṇḍamarasayya who enjoyed it during the reign of Kṛishṇarāya (Nos. 96 and 99 of 1913) (pages 196-197 *ante*).

The Salaka Family :—Other officers of Achyutarāya appear to have gained prominence during his reign alone. The foremost among them were the two famous brothers Salakarāja Periya-Tirumalarāja and Salakarāja Śiṟu-Tirumalarāja who led the campaign against the Tiruvaḍi, i.e., the king of Travancore and Tumbichchi-Nāyaka and Sāḷuva-Nāyaka (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1914, para 32; and for 1923, para 82). As noted already, Śiṟu-Tirumalarāja constructed an *aṅgaṇa-tiruvīdhi* (rows of houses around an open space in the middle) in the West Street in Tirumala in Śaka 1463, Plava (=21-12-1541 A.C.), for the merit of his sister Varadāji-amman (No. 360—T. T.). Periya-Tirumalarāja is mentioned in No. 542—T.T. dated in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=14-2-1536 A.C.), which records the donation of 150 *varāhan* to the temple for a daily offering by his wife Tatukkōṇamman. This 150 *varāhan* must be equal in value to 1500 *naṟpaṇam* usually invested as capital for a daily offering during this period and as such a *varāhan* must have been valued at 10 *naṟpaṇam*. The donor's share of the offered food was given to her *āchāryar* (spiritual teacher) Śrīraṅgam Kandāḍai Appan. As their name indicates, the two brothers were the sons of Salakarāja, identical with the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Timmarāja-Salakarāja who constructed a *maṇṭapam* at the *Śiṟṟēttam* (the short ascent) on the pathway to Tirumala and opened a watershed in it, for the maintenance of which he deposited a capital of 600 *naṟpaṇam* in the temple-treasury in Śaka 1455, Vijaya (=21-8-1533 A.C.) (No. 262—G.T.). It is this same chief who is represented by No. 492 of 1906 and No. 170 of 1924 in which he 'has not got any distinguishing titles like Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara' and who is considered as the agent of Salakarāja Śiṟu-Tirumalarāja (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1924, para 48). This identity is confirmed by No. 544 of 1909 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. which is reported to trace back the ancestry of Peda-Tirumalayyadeva-Mahārāja of the Salaka family from Lakkarāja his great-grandfather through Siṅgarāja his grandfather to Salakarāja his father; and by No. 202 of 1913 which mentions Hiriya-Tirumalarājayya-Mahāarasu as the son of Salakayadeva-Mahāarasu. A third son of Timmarāja Salakarāja, viz., Siṅgarāja, appears in Nos. 455 and 421—T.T. The former epigraph registers the payment of 15000 *naṟpaṇan* by Siṅgarāja in Śaka 1458, Durmukhi (=12-1-1537 A.C.), for offering 300 *appa-paḍis* to the processional image at his *maṇṭapam* built on the bank of Achyutarāya's tank. The donor's share of the offered *prasādam* was stipulated to be issued to the *āchārya* of his sister. Quite likely this sister was Varadāji-amman herself, the queen of Achyutarāya. No. 421 registers another payment by Siṅgarāja in Śaka 1463, Plava (=10-2-1542 A.C.), of

15000 *naṟpaṇam* for a similar offering of 300 *appa-paḍis*, the donor's share in which was made over to his own *āchārya* Tirumalai Tātayyaṅgār, son of Tirumalai Śoṭṭai Kumāra-Tātayyaṅgār of Śaṭhamarshaṇa-gōtra, Āpastamba-sūtra and Yajus-śākha. In this inscription Salakarāja is called Salakayyadēva Mahārāja. No. 253 of 1906 from Tiruppanaṅgāḍu in the North Arcot district, 'dated in Śaka 1453, Khara, supplies the additional information that it was the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Tirumalaidēva-Mahārāja that led the expedition into the Tiruvaḍi-dēśa (*i.e.* Travancore country), the reason for so doing being apprehension of a certain Vīra-Narasiṁharāya-Nāyaka who had deserted his charge and fled to the Tiruvaḍi, for protection. Having secured the chief it is stated that Tirumalaidēva was pleased to arrive at Kāñchīpuram in the solar month Makara (*i.e.* Māgha) of that year' (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09, page 188), which was January 1533 A.C., and accord permission for the grant of *jōḍi* of 50 *pon* for the merit of king Achyutarāya by his subordinate Bhōgayadēva Mahārāja. Salakarāja Periya-Tirumalarāja must therefore have been the leader of the expedition, while his two younger brothers Śiṟu-Tirumalarāja and Siṅgarāja might have assisted him in conjunction with other generals. 'The Pradhāna (minister) Tirumalarāja,' mentioned in No. 681 of 1922, must also represent the elder of the two brothers with the same name, and he granted some land as *umbaḷike* in the Chiyēṭisīma to Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Varadarāju Chennayadēva Mahāraju (No. 324 of 1926) and the village Kaḍabūru as a *Jāghir* to Veṅgaḷarāju (No. 510 of 1915). 'The *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Hiriya (*i.e.* Pedda in Telugu) Tirumalarāja-Voḍeyaru, perhaps identical with the Salaka chief of that name, is stated to have constructed a temple for Tiruveṅgaḷanātha on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā river and to have presented to it, jewels worked in nine kinds of gems, a golden flagstaff, vessels, and a village in the Malayāḷa (Malabar) country' (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09, page 190). In No. 422 of 1919 from Conjeevaram he receives the epithet 'Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Chaḷukkarāja.' While his earliest record, viz., No. 544 of 1909, dated in Śaka 1452, Vikṛiti (=1530 A.C.) comes from the Guntur district, within the ancient Koṇḍavīḍu-rājya, his latest one, viz., No. 202 of 1913, dated in Śaka 1461, Vikāri (=6-6-1539 A.C.), comes from the Bellary district, perhaps belonging to the old Gutti-rājya. His younger brother China-Tirumalayyadēva Mahārāja appears to have secured victory through the favour of God Maṇḍem Nārasiṁhadēva 'who was pleased to manifest himself in a field near Dharmavaram' in the Anantapur district, and to have in gratitude given to the deity 'the village Mallapanāyanipalle which he had

founded, for the merit of his father Salakarāja and his mother Tippājamma,' in Śaka 1455, Vijaya (=1533 A.C.) (No. 59 of 1912). Probably this refers to certain political disturbances in that part of the Penugoṇḍa-rājya at the time. In Śaka 1454, Nandana (=February 1533, A.C.), he granted a charter to the people of Kevatāḷada-sīme who had migrated from that district and personally prevailed upon them to rehabilitate the *sīme* (No. 492 of 1915). No. 360—T.T. of our collection furnishes the latest date for him, viz., Śaka 1463, Plava (=21-12-1541 A.C.). Thus in the reign of Achyutarāya, the Salaka family comprised four members, a father and three sons, the two elder of whom, viz., Periya-Tirumalarāja and Śiṟu-Tirumalarāja, wielded much authority in the state and through their arrogant behaviour alienated the allegiance and sympathy of the feudatory chiefs of Achyutarāya, whose death was followed by a disputed succession, leading to 'the eventual usurpation by the Āravīḍu chiefs, who from very early times had rendered substantial military aid to the rulers of the First and Second Vijayanagara dynasties' (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09, page 190). Thus the power and prestige of the Salaka chiefs, which they enjoyed during the reign of Achyutarāya, suddenly came to an end with the accession of Sadāśivarāya under whom Aḷiya-Rāmarāja, the prominent representative of the Āravīḍu family, exercised the suzerain authority in the state.

Bhutanatha Rama-Bhatlayya:—Rāmā-Bhaṭlu was another subordinate of Achyutarāya. He was the son of Vīramma and Bhūtanātha Chiṭṭa-Bhaṭṭa of Gautama-gōtra, Āśvalāyana-sūtra and Ṛik-Śākha, and resided in the suburb of Kṛishṇarāyapuram in Chandragiri situated in Vaikuṇḍavaḷanāḍu (No. 549—G.T.). His wife was Timmāji-amman who gave two villages in Tūrpu-Paḍaināṭṭu-Śīrmai in Śaka 1460, Viḷambi (23-12-1538 A. C.), for God Śrīkāḷahastīśvara for the merit of herself and her husband' (No. 167 of 1924). Rāmā-Bhaṭṭa was born under the star Aviṭṭam or Dhanishṭhā. In Śaka 1454, Khara (=18-2-1532 A. C.), he started the *Kōḍai-tirunāḷ* (summer festival) in the month of Āni for God Periya-Raghunāthan, i.e., Śrī Rāma whose temple stands in the northern part of Tirupati (No. 251—G.T.). No. 515—T.T. dated in Saka 1457, Manmatha (=26-12-1535 A. C.), mentions a *maṇṭapam* constructed by him at the entrance to Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple in Tirupati and an *agrahāram* denominated Tiruvēṅkaṭapuram established by him in Tirupati in which he installed an image of Raghunātha and provided for its worship. He also arranged for certain offerings for God Vēṅkaṭēśa for which he paid in Śaka 1458, Durmukhi (=15-12-1536 A. C.), a sum of 225 *Chakram-pon* into the treasury of the

temple to form a capital fund (No. 549—T.T.). He consecrated an image of Śrī Gōpāla-Kṛishṇa in his *tōppu* (grove of trees) in Tiruchchukanūr surnamed Varadarājapuram and in Śaka 1458, Durmukhi (=7-1-1537 A. C.), he deposited a sum of 1700 *naṟpaṇam* as capital from the interest on which the daily propitiation of the image had to be carried on (No. 135—G.T.). Within five days of the above date, i.e., on 12-1-1537 A. C., he arranged through a deposit of 15000 *naṟpaṇam* for the offering of 300 *appa-paḍis* yearly to the processional image of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa at his *maṇṭapam* built on the bank of the *Achyutarāya-kōnēri* (No. 425—T.T.). For similar offering of *dōśai-paḍis* he granted in Śaka 1462, Śārvari (=25-1-1541 A. C.), the village of Ālambākkam in Perumbēr-śīrmai yielding 150 *rēkhai-pon* annually as income, together with the payment of 3600 *naṟpaṇam* in cash (No. 531—T. T.).

Rāmā-Bhaṭlu had previously granted the village of Vaḷitiraṭṭi in the Viḻuppurattu-śīrmai of the Tiruvadirājyam to a *Śrōtriya-Brāhmaṇa* by name Trivēdi Mahādēva-Sōmayāji, son of Lingama-Bhaṭṭa of Rāvaṇūr, belonging to the Harita-gōtra, Āpastamba-sūtra and Yajuś-śākha, who in Śaka 1456, Jaya (=17-6-1534 A.C.), transferred it to the temple for offerings provided by him from its income of 250 *rēkhai-pon* (No. 447—T. T.). The Viḻuppura-śīrmai was a sub-district formed of the villages situated round about the modern town of Viḻuppuram, the head-quarters of a taluk in the South Arcot district and a junction station on the South Indian Railway. The Tiruvadi-rājyam was a province of the Vijayanagara empire and was formed of a portion of the territory comprised within the ancient Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam of the Chōḷa times, while other portions of it went to make up the Paḍavīḍu-rājyam and the Chandragiri-rājyam of the Vijayanagara times. The Tiruvadi-rājyam seems to have been formed only during the reign of Kṛishṇarāya and sometime placed under the charge of Karaṇikka Maṅgarasayya, as evidenced by No. 426 of 1909 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. dated in the cycle year Śrīmukha (Śaka 1435=1513 A.C.), and continued as a province throughout the reign of Achyutarāya as indicated by our epigraph No. 447—T.T. But during the reign of Sadāśivarāya the Tiruvadi-rājyam was reduced into the Tiruvadi-śīrmai and made a 'subdivision of Tirumunaippāḍi-vaḷanāḍu, which was itself a portion of Vaḷudilampaṭṭu-uśāvaḍi (i.e. chāvaḍi) in Kuṟukkai-kūṟṟam, a district of Malāḍu alias Jananātha-vaḷanāḍu' (No. 312 of 1921). That is to say, the new groupings of the country, so far as they related to that particular province, were given up in favour of the older divisions (Cf. Nos. 308 and 311 of 1921 and No. 431 of 1909). To have granted a village in the Tiruvadi-rājyam, Rāmā-Bhaṭṭar must have

occupied the responsible post of the viceroyalty of the province sometime prior to Śaka 1456. He is stated to have been the first governor of Udayagiri under Achyutarāya (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1908, para 82) and, from the existence of his inscriptions at Tirupati, Kalahasti and other surrounding places, he appears to have governed the Chandragiri-rājya sometime during the period from Śaka 1458 to 1463, i.e., 1536 to 1542 A. C. (No. 165 of 1922).

Rama-Bhatlayya's Viceroyalty:—Rāmā-Bhaṭlu must therefore have successively administered the Udayagiri-rājya as its first governor under Achyutarāya about Śaka 1452 (=1530-31 A.C.), the Tiruvadi-rājya about Śaka 1456 (=1534 A.C.) (No. 447—T.T.), the Udayagiri-rājya for a second time during the Śaka years 1457 and 1458 (=1535-37 A.C.) (Nos. 432 of 1923, 607 of 1907, 210 of 1894 and 159 of 1905), the Chandragiri-rājya between the Śaka years 1458 and 1463 (=1536 and 1541 A.C.) (Nos. 160, 167 and 174 of 1924 and 577 of 1919), and the Penugoṇḍa-rājya during Śaka 1463 and 1464 (=1541 and 1542 A.C.) (Nos. 176 and 177 of 1913). From Udayagiri he restored the grant of the village Aṇḍupūru to the temple at Nandalur in the Cuddapah district 'on the request of Tāḷapāka Tirumalayyaṅgāru, with the permission of the king', in Śaka 1456, Manmatha (=1535-36 A.C.) (No. 607 of 1907). In the Penugoṇḍa-rājya he 'remitted *rājulagutta* tax in the *māgāṇi* of Krottacheruvu, for the merit of the king', in Śaka 1463, Plava (=17-10-1541 A.C.) (No. 176 of 1913), and also the 'taxes on marriages and the taxes on the earnings of Brahmans for the merit of the king,' in Śaka 1464, Śubhakṛit (=5-4-1542 A.C.) (No. 177 of 1913). He was an able 'general and viceroy of Achyutarāya' and occupied 'a pre-eminent position' in the state. In the grant of a village by the king, Rāmā-Bhaṭṭar received 'a small share probably in his capacity as a scholar' (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1925, para 33). He had also received from Achyutarāya Mahārāya, through a copper-plate grant, the village Kāsaram in Kalimichchi-Śīrmai, with the income of which he arranged for offerings for Śrīkāḷahastīśvara in Śaka 1454, Nandana (=20-5-1532 A.C.) (No. 159 of 1924). From No. 432 of 1923 from Saṅgamēśvaram in the Kurnool district, which records his grant of the village Bīravōlu 'to the gods Saṅgamēśvara of Saṅgamēśvaram and Mallikārjuna of Śrīśailam' and for feeding Brāhmaṇas, we are informed that Mosalimaḍugu-sīma was granted to Rāmābhaṭlu as *nāyaṅkara* by Achyutarāya. Kandukuru No. 78 of the "Nellore Inscriptions" from Siṅgarāyakoṇḍa dated in Śaka 1458, Manmatha (=2-3-1536 A.C.), furnishes the information that Rāmābhaṭlu, 'who was skilled in the administration of the empire of king Achyutarāya' was at the time governing the Udayagiri-durgam

which was considered the primary *durgam* in the Vijayanagara empire, and that he appointed, as his assistant to the office of the governor of Udayāchala or Udayagiri, Vēṅkaṭādrayya, the son of Yaṇḍalūri Tima-Jōsya of Vishṇuvardhana-gōtra and a scholar who studied the Ṛig-Vēda and other Vēdas. The record under reference registers the grant by Vēṅkaṭādrayya of the village Chāṅgollu in the Kandukūru sīma within the Udayagiri-rājya to God Parṇaśāla Śrī Narasiṁha at Sōmarājupalli as a *sarvamānya* for the merit of Achyutadēva Mahārāya and Rāmā-Bhaṭlayya. This Yaṇḍalūru Vēṅkaṭādrayya is the donor whose gift of a village yielding 700 *rēkhai-pon* to the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara in Śaka 1460, Viḷambi (=23-12-1538 A.C.), and of a sum of money to the temple in Śaka 1462, Śārvari (=4-5-1540 A.C.), is registered in Nos. 399 and 517—T.T. respectively. No. 582 of 1919 from Conjeevaram dated in Śaka 1472, Sādhāraṇa (=7-2-1551 A.C.), during the reign of Sadāśivarāya, registers, under the king's introduction, the 'gift of the village of Śiṭṭaṇañjēri by Rāmābhaṭṭa, son of Bhūtanātha Chiṭṭabhaṭlu, for offerings to the God Vēgavati Raghunāthan,' and this shows that Rāmābhaṭlu not only served Achyutarāya throughout his reign but also continued in service under his successor Sadāśivarāya for about a decade until 1551 A.C.

Bhutanatha Ellappayya :—Bhūtanātha Ellappayya, the donor in No. 405—T.T., must be a cousin of Rāmā-Bhaṭṭar for whose merit he made a gift of 200 *pon* to the temple of Śrīkāḷahastīśvara in Śaka 1462, Śārvari (=27-1-1541 A.C.) (No. 162 of 1922). He was the son of Bhūtanātha Ellā-Bhaṭṭar, of Gautama-gōtra, Āśvalāyana-sūtra and Ṛik-śākha, and like Rāmā-Bhaṭṭar resided in Chandragiri in the suburb of Kṛishṇarāyapuram. In Śaka 1463, Plava (=9-12-1541 A.C.), he granted to the temple the income of 200 *rēkhai-varāhan* from Rathakāvuḷḷi and of 100 *rēkhai-varāhan* from Uttamapaḷḷi, two villages situated in Ādināṭṭu-śīrmai (No. 405—T.T.). The grant is preceded by the historical introduction of Achyutarāya and it therefore appears that he held some position among the provincial staff at Chandragiri.

Immadi Ellappayya :—Immaḍi Ellappayya, mentioned in No. 426—T.T. as having made a donation of 15,000 *naṟpaṇam* in Śaka 1458, Durmukhi (=12-1-1537 A. C.), for certain offerings for God Vēṇkaṭēśa, was an officer of Achyutarāya, though his antecedents are not known. He was the son of Vaṅgāpuram Timmaṇa-Uḍaiyar and he constructed a *maṇṭapam* on the bank of Achyutaraya's tank. He was also probably related to Rāmā-Bhaṭlu of Chandragiri. The date of his donation is the same as the dates of the gifts made by Achyutarāya and some of his officers, viz., Rāmā-Bhaṭlu,

Bāchcharasayya, Viśvanātha-Nāyaka, Salakarāja Siṅgarāja and Kṛishṇappa-Nāyaka.

Bayakara Ramappayya :—Bayakāra Rāmappayya or Rāmayya, 'the partner of the king in the administration of the country,' comes to notice in two records of which one belongs to Achyutarāya's reign and another to Sadāśivarāya's reign. He was the son of Hiriya or Periya-Lakkalīśamma and Periya-Timmarasayya of Parāśara-gōtra, Āpastamba-sūtra and Yajuś-śāka and a native of Pādirikuppam, and 'the daughter's son of Tōḍaramalla Kaḷḷināṭha, the commentator of Śārṅgadēva's *Saṅgītaratnākara* and the protege of Mallikārjuna Prauḍhadēvarāya.' His son was Liṅgālayya and his daughters were Kāmamma and Achchutamma. The provision made by him for offering one *tiruppōnakam* daily for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa is referred to in connection with the six *tiruppōnakams* provided in Śaka 1456, Jaya (=20-7-1534 A. C.), for the merit of Chikka-Vēṅkaṭādrirāya, i.e., Kumāra-Vēṅkaṭādri, son of Achyutarāya, by Bāchcharasayya, son of Śrīrāmayya of Parāśara-goṭra, Āpastamba-sūtra and Yajuś-śākha, residing in the same village of Pādirikuppam (No. 439—T.T.). Rāmappayya's father Timmarasayya had similarly arranged in Śaka 1460, Viḷambi (=18-9-1538 A. C.), for the daily propitiation of Śrī Gōvindarāja in Tirupati through the gift of the villages Chīrāla, Pērāla and Āṇḍupalli situated in the Koṇḍavīḍu-śīrmai and Koppōli in Manamapōlu-śīrmai in the Koṇḍavīḍu-rājya (No. 254—G.T.). The first three villages together yielded an income of 150 *rēkhai-pon* and the last village 350 *rēkhai*, making up a total of 500 *pon*. In Śaka 1466, Krōdhi (=16-6-1544 A. C.), falling into the reign of Sadāśivarāya, Rāmappayya instituted fresh services in the temple of Śrī Gōvindarāja, partly in substitution of the services previously arranged by his father and partly in addition to them. Towards these he granted the villages of Paruchchūr in Addaṅki-sīrmai, Kuppāyinikoṇḍai in Vellamukkoṇḍai (i. e., Bellaṁkoṇḍa) and Kāruchchūṟu in another *śīrmai*, all situated within the Koṇḍavīḍu-rājya (No. 352—G.T.). The grant of Koppōlu made by Timmarasayyar was continued and for Chīrāla, Pērāla and Āṇḍupalli was substituted half the village of Kuḷattūr, situated to the east of Īchchampāḍi in Neḍu-nāḍu, after deducting the *agrahāram* attached to it, so as to yield the 150 *rēkhai-pon* hitherto derived from the three villages together, which were now released from the grant. The five villages were expected to yield 950 *rēkhai* to the temple annually and as charges upon this sum offerings were provided by him for Śrī Gōvindarāja and certain minor deities for the merit of Bāchcharasayyar's son Kṛishṇappayyar. A portion of the donor's share of the *prasādam*

was given with libations of water in the presence of the same deity for the merit of Bāchcharasayyar to Śrīnivāsa-Bhaṭṭar, son of Udayagiri Dēvarāya-Bhaṭṭar of Vāsishṭha-gōtra and Āśvalāyana-sūtra, to be enjoyed by him and his descendants. This Udayagiri Śrīnivāsa-Bhaṭṭar was the famous commentator of Kāḷidāsa's "Śākuntala-Nāṭaka", and he was at the time the priest (*Pūjāri* or *Nambi*) conducting worship in the temple of Śrī Rāma or Raghunātha situated in the northern part of Tirupati, where his descendants still continue to discharge the priestly functions.

Ramappayya's Kinsmen :—From the genealogy of the family given on page 105 of the Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1919, we learn that Rāma-mantri who married Telugamā had five sons, viz., Peda-Timmaya, Timma-mantri, Sūra, Bhāskara or Rāmaya-Bhāskara and Bhāvaya, and a daughter Chinnamāmbā married to Pratāpa-Yalla. Of these sons Peda-Timmaya, the father of Bayakāra Rāmaya who was governor of Koṇḍavīḍu, is identical with Periya-Timmarasayyar, the father of Bayakāra Rāmappayya, mentioned in our record No. 352—G.T. Bāchcharasayya who was the son of Śrīrāmayya and who made provision for offerings in Śaka 1456 for the merit of Chikka-Vēṅkaṭādrirāya (No. 439—T.T.) is the same Bāchcharasayya for whose merit his nephew Rāmappayya provided for offerings for Śrī Gōvindarāja in Śaka 1466 (No. 352—G.T.). Rāmappayya also constructed 'the temple of Bāchēśvara, Ammēśvara and Kṛishṇēśvara for the merit of his uncle Bācharasayya, his aunt Ammājamma and his brother Kṛishṇappa' in Śaka 1461, Vikāri (=25-8-1539 A.C.) (No. 306 of 1918). This Bāchcharasayya is identical with Bhāskara or Rāmaya-Bhāskara, the fourth son of Rāma-mantri in the genealogical table referred to above. It also appears that Bhāskara and Bhāvaya represented as the fourth and the fifth sons on the table were really one and the same person whose exploits and charities are attributed to two different individuals in the Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1915, para 51, and for 1916 para 67; and No. 422 of 1915. In the same table Kṛishṇappayya is shown as the son of Peda-Timma and the younger brother of Bayakāra Rāmappa, but it is explicitly stated in No. 352 of our collection that Kṛishṇappayya was the son of Bāchcharasayya, the paternal uncle of Rāmappayya. This filial relationship of Kṛishṇappayya with Bāchcharasayya is confirmed by the combination of their names in the consecration of the deities designated after them. As the son of Bāchcharasayya, Kṛishṇappayya was a cousin of Bayakāra Rāmappayya with a brotherly relationship and not his own brother as represented in the genealogical table. Rāmappayya's aunt Chinnamāmba is brought to notice in No. 401—G.T. of our

collection as Chinnamman, the wife of Pratāpa Ellamarasa of Ātrēya-gōtra, Āśvalāyana-sūtra and Ṛik-śākha, and as the donor of the village of Vaṅkāyalapāḍu surnamed Śrī-Rāmachandrapuram in Koṇḍavīḍu-śīrmai with an annual income of 300 *rākhai*, in Śaka 1469, Plavaṅga (=8th July 1547 A. C.), in the reign of Sadāśivarāya. This grant-village Vaṅkāyalapāḍu was previously converted into an *agrahāra* and denominated Rāmachandrapura by Chinnamāmba on the occasion of the lunar eclipse that occurred on the full moon day in the month of Chaitra in the cyclic year Śārvari, Śaka 1462, corresponding to the 22nd March 1540 A.C., in conjunction with her other charities, viz., the building of a temple of Śiva called Parvatanātha at Sāntalūru and the construction of the tank Gōpinātha-samudra near Vaṅkāyalapāḍu, as reported in No. 422 of 1915 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

Their Official Career under Achyutaraya :—Bayakāra Rāmappayya or Rāmayamantri was an able minister and viceroy of both Achyutarāya and Sadāśivarāya (No. 464 of 1914). Like his uncle Bhāskara, he 'also obtained from king Achyutadēvarāya the governorship of Koṇḍavīḍu together with the *insignia* of authority such as the parasol of pearls,' constructed a number of temples and tanks and '*founded many Brahman villages in the Āndhradēśa*' and presented them to Brāhmaṇas' (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1915, para 51). During the reign of Sadāśivarāya he is stated to have secured the viceroyalty of Koṇḍavīḍu from Aḷiya-Rāmarāja (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1915, para 51). No. 439—T.T. of our collection is apparently the earliest inscription to refer to his activities in the reign of Achyutarāya in Śaka 1456, Jaya (=20th July 1534 A.C.). At the end of the same year, i.e., on 7-2-1535 A.C., he is seen to be in charge of the Hadināḍu-sīme in the Mysore country wherein his agent 'restored the villages and lands belonging to the temple of Mallikārjuna at Old Mōḍahaḷḷi' (No. 245 of 1913). Eight epigraphs mentioning his charities relating to the building of temples, construction of tanks and establishment of villages come from some of the villages of the Bellary district, and all of them are dated in Śaka 1461, Vikāri, i.e., at the end of August 1539 A.C. (Nos. 300 to 307 of 1918). His second gift to the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara at Tirumala was made in Śaka 1466, Krōdhi (=16-6-1544 A.C.) (No. 352—G.T.); and his later charities are again found in a village of the Bellary district in the latter part of the same year, i.e., on 27-1-1545 A.C. (Nos. 514 and 517 of 1914), while his latest record comes from another village of the same district with the date Śaka 1478, Nala (=12-4-1556 A.C.) (No. 304 of 1925). With this distribution of his records in the different provinces of the empire compared

with the statement of some of them, it is inferable that he was promoted from the lower ranks to the governorship, for the first time, of Koṇḍavīḍu by Achyutarāya and that he retained the rank since then, though transferred to the other provinces. If the statement of his inscriptions is taken literally, the inference would be inevitable that the governorship of Koṇḍavīḍu was confined in the family of Rāmayāmātya for two generations during which his uncle Rāmaya-Bhāskara administered it for about a decade from 1530 to 1539 A.C. and he himself governed it for nearly two decades from 1539 A.C. onwards. Rāmappayya was a capable administrator 'who was bearing the burden of the kingdom with the king' in the government of the provinces, just as Rāmā-Bhaṭṭayya did. He was the author of "Svaramēḷakaḷānidhi", a treatise on music, which art he must have acquired from his maternal grandfather Tōḍaramalla-Kaḷḷinātha. His father Periya-Timmarasayya or Peda-Timmaya belonged to the personal staff of the king as his *Rāyasam* officer (Secretary) as mentioned in No. 254—G.T. His uncle Bāchcharasayya also held the viceroyalty of Koṇḍavīḍu for a decade during Achyutarāya's reign. It is reported that this uncle 'founded the town of Gōpīnāthapura (at the foot of the Koṇḍavīḍu hill) for the first time with its magnificent walls, set up therein an image of God Gōpikāvallabha (i.e., Gōpīnātha) in all grandeur, that he ruled the Āndhra-maṇḍala and conquered all the Muhammadan armies with his valour and that he was the able minister of Achyutadēvarāya' (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1916, page 68). It was this Bāchcharasayya or Rāmaya-Bhāskara that was placed in charge of the Vinukoṇḍa fortress by Kṛishṇarāya as soon as it was captured from Pratāparudra Gajapati in the earlier half of 1515 A.C., along with other officers over the other captured forts, as mentioned in the "Rāyavāchakamu" (Note 1 on page 162 *ante*.) Bāchcharasayya accompanied king Achyutarāya and some of his officers, viz., Rāmā-Bhaṭṭa, Aḍaippam Viśvanātha-Nāyaka, Salakarāja Siṅgarāja, Immaḍi-Ellappa-Uḍaiyar and Kṛishṇappa-Nāyaka to Tirumala in Saka 1458, Durmukhi (=12-1-1537 A. C.) (No. 440—T.T.), when each one of them paid 15000 *naṛpaṇam* into the *Śrī-Bhaṇḍāram* for the propitiation of the deity with 300 *appa-paḍis* apiece yearly. It cannot be merely a religious tour that this group of royal officers and the king undertook at the time, but the progress of Achyutarāya through the country must relate to some military operations occasioned by some war waged probably in the south to which we have no direct clue at present. Kṛishṇappayya, the son of Bāchcharasayya, must have followed in the wake of his family tradition of royal service and served Achyutarāya in some capacity.

Dalavayi Timmarasayya :—As the seat of a viceroy and the capital of one of the provinces of the Vijayanagara Empire, Chandragiri was an important political and military centre. The original building of the fort at the place is traditionally ascribed to a Yādava Rāya named Immaḍi-Narasiṁha and its date is given as Śaka 922 (=1000 A.C.). Probably Vīra-Narasiṁha Yādavarāya, a Chōḷa subordinate of the 13th century (page 118 *ante*), is the Yādava Rāja referred to here and, if so, the Śaka year is ante-dated by about two centuries and a half. "Sāḷuvābhyudayam" relates that Sāḷuva Narasiṁha, on the advice of his chief minister, transferred his main army (*mūlabala*) to Chandragiri before setting out on his conquering expeditions (page 144 *ante*). It is reported that later on Kṛishṇarāya confined his half-brother Achyutarāya along with other princes of the royal family in the fort at Chandragiri till almost the end of his reign when he ordered his brother's release in or about 1528 A.C. in order to take part along with himself in the administration of the empire, after his hopes till then centred in his young son Tirumala were frustrated, owing to the prince's sudden death prematurely. Part of Achyutarāya's army was stationed at Chandragiri and it was under the command of his Brāhmaṇa general Daḷāvayi Timmarasayya, son of Pradhāni Sōmarasayya of Kāśyapa-gōtra, Āśvalāyana-sūtra and Ṛik-śākha. Epigraph No. 558—T.T. dated in Śaka 1462, Śārvari (=31-12-1540 A.C.), registers his donation of 15,000 *naṟpaṇam* and the gift of the village of Samapura-Tiṇṇai in Gōkulagunḍachchīrmai with an income of 150 *rēkhai-pon.* The deposited capital was intended for daily offerings for God Vēṅkaṭēśa and the income from the village for occasional offerings for the processional image. He had also constructed a *maṇṭapam* in Narasā-Nāyakkar-tiruvīdhi at Tirumala and another *maṇṭapam* in the grove of trees planted by him. The record states that Chandragiri was the residence of Timmarasayya. From his two gifts registered at Pushpagiri in the Cuddapah district in the years Śaka 1462, Śārvari (=1440 A.C.), and Śaka 1463, Plava (=1441 A.C.), in the reign of Achyutarāya (Nos. 302 and 303 of 1905), this general Timmarasayya is stated to have been 'in charge of the Ghaṇḍikōṭa-sīma, to which Pushpagiri belonged.' His father Pradhāni Sōmarasayya was 'the *Upapradhāna* (i.e., second minister) Sōmarasa, an assistant of Timma (Sāḷuva Timmarasayya, the *Mahāpradhāna* of Kṛishṇarāya) and the son of Mēḷamamantri of Chandragiri' Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1923, para 80; Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09, page 183). No. 186 of 1897 from Bapatla which registers a gift of land made by Sōmarasa-mantrīśvara, son of Chandragiri Mēḷamamantri, in Śaka 1440, Bahudhānya (=24-5-1518 A.C.), on the order

of Mantrīśvara Sāḷuva Timmayārya with the permission of king Śrī Kṛishṇarāya, records at the end that the above charity of Sōmarasayya was executed by his son China-Tirumalayya, who must be identical with Daḷavāyi Timmarusayya. It is possibly this same Timmarusayya to whom, as a military commander, was granted Yaḷape (Yalpi in the Bellary district) by Kṛishṇarāya as a *mukhāsa* village with the obligation of maintaining certain contingents of horses, as recorded in No. 216 of 1913.

Perunkondai Virappanna :—Peruṅkoṇḍai (Penugoṇḍa) Vīrappaṇṇa was a royal officer belonging to the personal staff of Achyutarāya. He was the king's door-keeper (*Achyutarāya-mahārāya-vāśal*), as mentioned in No. 21 A—T.T. His parents were Lēpākshi Nandilakku-Śeṭṭi and Muddamma. He had two younger brothers of whom Vīraṇa-Nāyaka in conjunction with his elder brother Vīrappaṇṇayya is reported to have built the *prākāra* walls for the temple of Lakshmīdēvi at Lakhanapura and granted certain incomes to the same temple (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1912, para 56); and the other younger brother Chikka-Mallappa-Nāyaka of Penugoṇḍa is said to have 'made over part of his rights in the *dharmakartā-prasāda* at Vīrapura, to a certain Saṅkayadēva-Uḍaiyar', 'for the merit of his father Lakku-Śeṭṭiyār, mother Muttāyamman and elder brother Vīrappaṇṇagaḷ' (No. 163 of 1922). Vīrappaṇṇa himself is seen to have constructed the Kalyāṇa-Vēṅkaṭēśa-Perumāḷ temple at Narayanavanam in the Chittoor district in Śaka 1463, Plava (=1541-42 A.C.), during the reign of Achyutarāya, for the merit of Vēṅkaṭādrirāya-Mahārāya (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1912, para 56). He also made grants of villages and lands to the temples at Śrīkāḷahasti in the Chittoor district (No. 166 of 1922) and Lepakshi in the Anantapur district (Nos. 88, 89 and 90 of 1912). For God Vēṅkaṭēśa he presented a *vaṭṭil* (tray or platter) of pure gold of 10 *māṟṟu* (carats) fineness weighing 330 pagodas probably and valued at 5000 *paṇam* (No. 21 A—T.T.) and in Śaka 1458, Durmukhi (=15-12-1536 A.C.), gave the village of Pāchikalapāḍu in the Gaṇḍikōṭa-śīrmai (No. 21—T.T.) and also deposited in Śaka 1460, Hevilambi (=22-1-1538 A.C.), a certain sum of money as capital for offerings for Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān for the merit of Achyutadēva Mahārāya (No. 22—T.T.). From the valuation of the 330 pagodas or *varahas* of pure gold at 5000 *paṇam*, we get to know that on the average a *varaha* of pure gold was worth about 15 *paṇam*; but from the value of 10 *naṟpaṇam* that we found the gold coin *varaha* or *pon* to have commanded during the same reign (page 228 *ante*), we are forced to conclude that the coin in circulation at the time was of inferior quality, containing only two thirds or less of pure

metal in weight mixed up with a base metal such as copper to make up the remaining weight of a third. He made further gifts of a silver plate and a silver vessel in the cyclic year Vikāri (=27-1-1540 A.C.) (No. 26—T.T.), and of 15000 *naṟpaṇam* in Śaka 1462, Śārvari (=27-1-1541 A.C.), for offerings for the processional image at his *maṇṭapam* constructed in the *Narasā-Nāyakkar-vīdhi* (No. 414—T.T.). He must have been holding some high position in the state to be enabled to make grants of villages to several temples and gifts of money on a large scale, together with the presentation of gold and silver vessels. From his original post of the door-keeper of Achyutarāya's palace and sometime *taḷavāra* (*talayāri*) of Vidyānagara (Vijayanagara (Nos. 785 and 786 of 1917) he must have been promoted to the governorship or a slightly subordinate office in the provinces of Penugoṇḍa and Chandragiri. Vīrappaṇṇa appears to have been a devout worshipper of God Vīrēśvara, abiding on the Kūrmaśaila (hill) at Lēpākshipura in the Anantapur district, 'who had bestowed favours on Vīrappaṇṇa,' and to this deity he had not only made gifts of villages himself (Nos. 88, 89 and 90 of 1912 and No. 781 of 1917), but also caused the grant of several villages to be made by king Achyutarāya (No. 785 of 1917) and by his other officers such as Bhaṇḍāra Timmappa (No. 72 of 1912), Daḷavāyi Kṛishṇappa-Nāyaka (No. 73 of 1912) and Achyutarāya Mallappaṇṇa (No. 576 of 1912). It is possible that the grant by these three royal officers 'at the instance of Vīrappaṇṇa' was occasioned by their subordinate relationship to him as his lieutenants in the administration of the Penugoṇḍa-rājya or its division the Rodda-nāḍu.

Angaraja Nagappayya :—Aṅgarāja Nāgappayya who paid his obeisance to God Vēṅkaṭēśa and presented 15,000 *naṟpaṇam* to the temple in Śaka 1462, Śārvari (=27-1-1541 A.C.) (No. 559-T.T.), in company with Rāmā-Bhaṭṭar and Peruṅkoṇḍai Vīrappaṇṇan, must have been a body-guard of the king, as his designation "Aṅgarāja" indicates. He had built a *maṇṭapam* in the *Narasā-Nāyakkar-aṅkaṇam* at which 300 *appa-paḍis* were required to be offered to the processional image annually from the interest on the above sum.

Adaippam Visvanatha-Nayaka, Founder of the Nayaka Dynasty of Madura :—Viśvanātha-Nāyaka of the Kāśyapa-gōtra, the founder of the Nāyaka Dynasty of Madura, comes to notice in No. 451—T.T. He was the son of Nāgama-Nāyaka, the able general of Śāḷuva Narasiṁha, and served Achyutarāya originally as his *Aḍaippam* officer, i.e., betel-bearer. Like Peruṅkoṇḍai Vīrappaṇṇan and Aṅgarāja Nāgappayyar, Viśvanātha-Nāyaka also deposited 15,000 *naṟpaṇam* in the temple-treasury for offerings for the deity at his

maṇṭapam built on the bank of *Achyutarāya-kōnēri*, when he accompanied the king along with some of his officers, viz., Rāmā-Bhaṭlu, Salakarāja Siṅgarāja, Immaḍi-Ellappayya and Kṛishṇappa-Nāyaka, to Tirumala in Śaka 1458, Durmukhi (=12-1-1537 A.C.). Nāgama-Nāyaka who served under Sāḷuva-Narasiṁha does not appear in the succeeding reigns and his son Viśvanātha-Nāyaka who is first mentioned under Achyutarāya does not appear in the earlier reigns, and the latter's service under Kṛishṇarāya is only inferred. As a military officer, Viśvanātha-Nāyaka is reported to have followed Achyutarāya 'in his campaign against Travancore' and 'conquered many kings including the Pāṇḍyas on the battlefield in the Tiruvaḍi (Travancore) country and acquired by force the sovereignty over Madhurā-rājya' (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911-12, page 194). In addition to this sovereignty over the Madura country possessed during the reign of Achyutarāya, Viśvanātha-Nāyaka is stated 'to have acquired the Tiruvaḍi-dēśa (i.e., Travancore) as an *amaranāyakam* from Rāmarājar-Ayyan (i.e., Aḷiya-Rāmarāja)' during the time of Sadāśivarāya (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1912, para 58). He is mentioned in No. 599 of 1916 of Śaka 1472, Sādhāraṇa (=22-9-1550 A.C.), as the agent of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Rāmarāja-Viṭṭhalayadēva Māharāja, while No. 385 of 1916 of Śaka 1480, Kāḷayukti (=3-12-1558 A.C.), designates him 'as the agent of (the Karṇāṭa king) Rāmarājadēva,' i.e., Aḷiya-Rāmarāja who was 'the agent (*kāryakarta*) of the whole empire of Sadāśivadēva-Mahārāya' (No. 475 of 1915). He also granted for the merit of Āḷiya-Rāmarāja, 'son of Śrīraṅgarājayyadēva Mahārāja, i.e., Raṅga I,' 'an annual fee (to the temple) collected from each loom of the *Kaikkōḷa-Mudalis* and from the residents living in the *maḍaviḷāgam* of the temple at Anniyūr' (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1916, para 70). As in the time of Achyutarāya, Viśvanātha-Nāyaka appears to have taken part in the war against Tiruvaḍi carried on by Viṭṭhalayadēva and his cousin China-Timmarāja under orders of Sadāśivarāya and Aḷiya-Rāmarāja (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1917, para 48; and for 1915, para 50). It may be noted that the Nayaka dynasty founded by Viśvanātha-Nāyaka flourished for nearly two centuries from 1559 to 1736 A.C. with Vijayaraṅga-Chokkanātha as its last ruler (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911-12, page 194; Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1911, para 62).

Adaippam Mallappa-Nayaka :—Another *Aḍaippam* officer of Achyutarāya was Mallappa-Nāyaka, son of Timmappa-Nāyaka of Neḍuṁkuṉṟam. He is recorded to have paid 450 *rākhai-pon* into the *Śrī-Bhaṇḍāram* upto the cyclic year Viḷambi which he supplemented by the payment of 206 *rākhai* in Śaka 1461, Vikāri (=26-2-1540 A.C.), and with this aggregate capital of

656 *rēkhai-pon* he arranged for certain offerings for God. It is mentioned that Achyutarāya 'had very high regard' for him and that for his merit the king consecrated a Dakshiṇāmūrti shrine in Kīḻputtūr in the Wandiwash taluk of the North Arcot district, in the cyclic year Vikāri (=January 1540 A.C.) (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1916, para 67). Five inscriptions[1] belonging to him come from Devikapuram in the North Arcot district ranging in dates between Śaka 1451, Virōdhin (=1529 A.C.) and Śaka 1464, Śubhakṛit (=12-2-1543 A.C.); one No. 108 of 1918 from Kugaiyur in the South Arcot district dated Śaka 1465, Śōbhakṛit (=12-8-1543 A.C.), during Achyutarāya's reign; and one more No. 240 of 1904 from Singavaram also in the South Arcot district of Śaka 1472, Sādhāraṇa (=1550 A.C.), falling into the reign of Sadāśivarāya.

Rayasam Ramachandra-Dikshita :—Rāyasam Rāmachandra-Dīkshita, son of Nāgara-Bhaṭṭa of Kāśyapa-gōtra, Āpastamba-sūtra and Yajuś-śākha, must have been a *Rāyasam* or secretary of the king. Like other royal officers, he too had built a *maṇṭapam* on the bank of the *Achyutarāya-kōnēri* at Tirumala as well as a *maṇṭapam* in a garden laid out by himself. In Śaka 1455, Vijaya (=1-7-1533 A.C.), he paid 200 *rēkhai-pon* and also granted the village of Tāmarapākkam in the Yerumigaichchīrmai and arranged for the propitiation of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara daily and of the processional image on certain festive occasions at his two *maṇṭapams* (No. 83—T.T.). Within a month and a half from the above date, i.e., on 13-8-1533 A.C., he made a further deposit of 5000 *naṟpaṇam* and provided for offerings for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara daily, as previously, and to the processional image and the two consorts on the days of the star Rōhiṇi occurring each month, under whose ascendancy the *Dīkshita* was born (No. 58—T.T.). His third record dated in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=26-12-1535 A. C.), mentions his mother Nāgamman. The two earlier epigraphs refer to him as a native of Agaram-Kaḍalāḍi alias Kumāra-Vēṇkaṭādrisamudram; and this *agrahāram* should have received the surname from Prince Vēṅkaṭādri, son of Achyutarāya.

Bhandaram Timmappa and Siru-Timmaya :—Timmappa, son of Bhaṇḍāram Apparasa of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra and Kātyāyana-sūtra, was a royal officer belonging to the treasury of the king, like his father. In Śaka 1453, Khara (=23-3-1531 A.C.), he paid a sum of 3000 *naṟpaṇam* which he intended to be utilised for purchasing the irrigation channel Mādhavan-kālvāyi flowing within the limits of the village Śīrpāḍi which was at the time in

NOTE 1 :—Nos. 360, 376, 381, 383 and 394 of 1912 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

the possession of the *Dēśāntaris* (No. 62—T.T.). These latter had purchased it from Tūppil-Dīkshitar who got it through a grant from Kṛishṇarāya Mahārāya. In Śaka 1455, Vijaya (=18-7-1533 A.C.), Timmappan made a further payment of 2000 *naṟpaṇam* for offerings for the deity (No. 166—T.T.). This Timmarasa is stated to have granted the village of Muttakadahalli, under the name of Mahālakshmīpura, in Śaka 1456, Jaya (=1536 A.C.), to the temple of Mahālakshmī at Lakhanapuri near Hindupur, at the instance of Penugoṇḍa Vīrappaṇṇa (No. 72 of 1912). From No. 576 of 1912 from Lepakshi in the Anantapur district we learn that Bhaṇḍāra Timmappa had sold to Achyutarāya-Mallappaṇṇa for a gift to the local temple of God Vīrēśa in Śaka 1459, Hemalambi (=18-6-1537 A.C.), the village Nandicherla alias Virūpākshapura which 'was originally granted in Śaka 1389, Sarvajit, Pushya *śu.* 2, Monday, Makara-Saṅkrānti, to Timmappa's grandfather Vīmarsa by Virūpākshadēva-Mahārāya, son of Prauḍhapratāpa-Dēvamahārāya', i.e., on 28th December 1467 A.C. He is also known from No. 179 of 1913 from Bukkapatnam to have 'made rent-free the *dēvadāya* and *brahmadāya* lands below the tank of Hosakere, included in Penugoṇḍa, a district of Yeṟamaṇṭi-rājya' and announced it 'on the occasion when the king performed the *Lakshahōma* ceremony at Varadarājammana-pēṭhe', in Śaka 1455, Vijaya (=28-2-1534 A.C.); and this authority of remission of taxes indicates that he was holding the reins of administration of the Yeramaṇṭi-rājya, i.e., the Penugoṇḍa-rājya. Timmappa or Timmarasa had a younger brother Śiṟu-Timmayya who made a gift of 4000 *naṟpaṇam* to the temple in Śaka 1456, Jaya (=23-8-1534 A. C.) (No. 331—T.T.). With this sum as capital he arranged for the offering of one *vaḍai-paḍi* to Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa on each of the 53 Fridays occurring in the year on which the deity had the *Puḻugukkāppu-muṟai* (i.e. the anointing of the holy body with the civet-oil during the weekly bath) conducted for Him, and on the 13 days of the star Mṛigaśīrsham in the year under which king Achyutarāya was born. Like their father Apparasar who served Kṛishṇarāya as his Treasurer, the two sons Timmappa and Śiṟu-Timmayya served Achyutarāya as his treasury officers.

Nottakkara Nagappa :—A royal appraiser of gems and jewels in the king's treasury was Nōṭṭam or Nōṭṭakkāra Nāgappan son of Rāmarasayyar, residing in the village of Kuṅjappalli. For the propitiation of the deity he gave two sums of money of which 1600 *naṟpaṇam* was paid in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=6-1-1536 A.C.), and 1560 *naṟpaṇam* in Śaka 1462, Śārvari (=7-6-1540 A.C.) (Nos. 534 and 530—T.T.).

Dalavayi Krishnappa-Nayaka :—Kṛishṇappa-Nāyaka was the son of Chinnappa-Nāyaka. Accompanying Achyutarāya to Tirumala in Śaka 1458, Durmukhi (=12-1-1537 A.C.), he paid 15,000 *naṟpaṇam* to the temple for offerings for the processional image at his *maṇṭapam* built on the bank of Achyutarāya's tank (No. 441—T.T.). His gift of the village of Goravanahaḷḷi surnamed Lakshmīsāgara in Rodda-nāḍu, a district of Penugoṇḍa-rājya, to the temple of Lakshmīdēvi at Lakhanapura in the same year Śaka 1458, Durmukhi, is registered in No. 73 of 1912 from Gorrepalle in the Anantapur district, which states that the gift was made 'at the instance of Vīrappaṇṇayya'. Similarly the gift of Muttakadahaḷḷi surnamed Mahālakshmīpura to the same temple in Śaka 1456, Jaya, 'by Timmarasa, son of Apparasa of the treasury,' is recorded to have been also made 'at the instance of Vīrappaṇṇayya of Penugoṇḍe' (No 72 of 1912). It is therefore certain that both Timmarasa, son of Bhaṇḍāra Apparasa, and Kṛishṇappa-Nāyaka, son of the cavalier (Sāṇi) Chinnappa-Nāyaka, were in some political capacity related to Peruṅkoṇḍai Vīrappaṇṇan, possibly as his lieutenants. During the reign of Achyutarāya his career seems to have been confined to the Penugoṇḍa-rājya, as disclosed by his two epigraphs Nos. 73 and 96 of 1912. He was still in the Penugoṇḍa province at the time of the accession of Śadāśivarāya for whose permanent occupation of the throne of Vijayanagara he offered prayers and made a grant of a village in Śaka 1465, Śōbhakṛit (=19-4-1543 A.C.), as reported in No. 800 of 1917. He is therein mentioned as Daḷavāyi Kṛishṇappa-Nāyaka, the son of Daḷavāyi Chennama-Nāyaka, and as 'the agent of the king.' In Śaka 1472, Sādhāraṇa (=1550 A.C.), he was governing the Kōtūra-sīma, which was granted to him as an *amaramāgaṇe*, as well as the Noṇambavāḍi 32,000 country, as noted in Nos. 71 and 85 of 1904; and in Śaka 1483, Durmati (=January 1562 A.C.), he held the *adigāram* over the southern province, probably the Paḍa-vīḍu-rājya, which included Kugaiyūr, in the modern South Arcot district, where his record No. 106 of 1918 occurs.

Periya-Timmappa and Chinna-Ramappa :—Periya-Timmappan and Chinna Rāmappan were the sons of Basava-Nāyaka who was the son of Koluva Tippu-Nāyaka of Vaimali-gōtra. Their payment of 15,000 *naṟpaṇam* for the offering of 300 *appa-paḍis* annually to the processional image at their *maṇṭapam* built in *Narasā-Nāyakkar-tiruvīdhi* (No. 562—T.T.) is dated on the same day in Śaka 1462, Śārvari, i.e., 31-12-1540 A.C., as the gift of Daḷavāyi Timmarasayya of Chandragiri (No. 558—T.T.). It is quite likely that they were subordinates of the *Daḷavāyi* and as such accompanied him to

Tirumala on the occasion of his visit. Chinna-Rāmappan is identical with Rāmappa-Nāyakkar-Ayyan, son of Basuvaṇa-Nāyakkar, who made a gift at Piranmalai for the merit of the king, as recorded in Nos. 217 and 222 of 1924, in the latter of which he is mentioned as the agent of Achyutarāya. From the dates of these two epigraphs it appears that Chinna-Rāmappan or Rāmappa-Nāyakkar-Ayyan acted as the agent of the king in the south somewhere in the Ramnad district about the Śaka years 1460-61 (=1538-39 A.C.) and that he was then transferred to the Chandragiri-rājya in Śaka 1462 (=1540 A.C.), as indicated by No. 562 of our collection.

Minor Officers of Achyutaraya :—Other officers of Achyutarāya were less prominent. They were :—

Sriranga-Nayaka :—(1) Śrīraṅga-Nāyaka who provided in Śaka 1458, Durmukhi (=14-12-1536 A.C.), for offerings for God Vēṅkaṭēśa for the merit of Svāmi Achyutarāya Mahārāyar, Varadājammanavargaḷ and Chikka-Vēṅkaṭādri Uḍaiyar, through a deposit of 650 *naṟpaṇam* (No. 543—T.T.). He was the son of Tuḷuva Veṅgaḷu-Nāyakar who was a native of Paḍavīḍu. This donation is a day earlier than the gift of 225 *chakram-pon* by Rāmā-Bhaṭṭar-Ayyan (No. 549—T.T.) and the grant of Pāchikalapāḍu village by Peruṅkoṇḍai Vīrappaṇṇan (No. 21—T.T.).

Sajjarautu Chikkaya-Savayan :—(2) Sajjarautu Chikkaya-Savāyan, son of Pōlu-Nāyakan of Tirupati, who paid some money in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=28-3-1535 A.C.) (No. 257-G.T.).

Matla Ramayya :—(3) Maṭla Rāmayya, son of Mallaya and disciple of Parāśara-Bhaṭṭāchārya of Harita-gōtra. His donation to the temple in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=6-3-1536 A.C.) is registered under the historical introduction of Achyutarāya (No. 553—T.T.).

Astigirinathar :—(4) Astigirināthar, son of Astigiri-Nāyakar Aṇṇā-jiyār of Puduppākkam, whose arrangement for his daughter's *ubhaiyam* for the deity in Śaka 1460, Viḷambi (=17-3-1539), is also recorded under the historical introduction of Achyutarāya (No. 195—G.T.).

Gangu Reddi :—(5) Gaṅgu-Reḍḍi, son of Ōgamapāḍi Tappaḍa Basavu-Reḍḍi, whose deposit of 1500 *naṟpaṇam* in Śaka 1456, Jaya (=19-2-1535 A.C.), is also registered under the historical introduction of Achyutarāya (No. 475—T.T.). He paid a further sum of 10,080 *naṟpaṇam* in Śaka 1464, Śubhakṛit (=11-9-1542 A.C.) (No. 428—T.T.), and made a gift in Śaka 1468, Parābhava (=3-11-1546 A.C.), both these dates falling into the reign of Sadāśivarāya, of the income of half the village of Korlaguṇṭa in Śrīkara-nāḍu, amounting to

120 *rēkhai-pon* annually which he agreed to pay himself into the *Śrī-Bhaṇḍāram* each year, while retaining the possession of the half village as *uḷavaḍai-kāṇiyātchi* (No. 665—T.T.).

Adaippam Parmadamman and Rukminiamman :—Certain ladies are observed to have been on the personal staff of Achyutarāya. Aḍaippam Parmādamman and Rukmiṇi-amman whose services in the temple are registered in Nos. 541 and 540—T.T. dated in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=26-12-1535 A.C.), under the king's introduction, were the betel-bearers of Achyutarāya, as their designation represents them to be. On the above date the two ladies accompanied Achyutarāya, Varadāji-amman and Kumāra-Vēṅkaṭādri during their visit to Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's temple (Nos. 544 and 546—T.T.), along with Rāmā-Bhaṭṭar (No. 515—T.T.), Rāyasam Rāmachandra-Dīkshitar (No. 538—T.T.) and Malaiyapparayyan (No. 537—T.T.). Two other ladies Mallamman and Āravīṭṭu Lakshmī-amman are mentioned in Nos. 325 and 328—T.T., as having been in the harem (*aramanaikkuḷ*) of Achyutarāya Mahārāya. As her cognomen shows, Lakshmī-amman must have belonged to the Āravīḍu family and as such related to Aḷiya-Rāmarāja, its prominent representative at the time. A certain Timmakka is stated to have served both Kṛishṇarāya and Achyutarāya as their hand-maid (No. 60, A—T.T.).

Vaidika Brahmanas :—Certain *Vaidika Brāhmaṇas* and *Paṇḍitas* also came to notice in some of these inscriptions, viz.,

Vengalayyar :—(1) Vēṅgaḷayyar, son of Yagñēśan of Āttakkūr belonging to the Harita-gōtra, Āpastamba-sūtra and Yajuś-śākha, who paid 1500 *naṟpaṇam* in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=24-8-1535 A.C.) (No. 194—T.T.).

Malaiyapparaiyan :—(2) Malaiyapparaiyan, son of Yaṇḍalūr Tirumala-Bhaṭṭar of Vishṇuvardhana-gōtra, Āśvalāyana-sūtra and Ṛik-śākha, who in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=26-12-1535 A.C.), made a gift of Paṅchavanmādēvi-grāmam in Tiruvadi-rājyam, yielding 140 *rēkhai-pon* annually as income (No. 537—T.T.). From the date of the gift it appears that he accompanied the king to Tirumala during his visit, as one of his religious functionaries. From No. 164 of 1922 this 'Malaiyappa-Ayyan, son of Tirumalai-Bhaṭṭar, a Vaidika-Brāhman, residing at Chandragiri', is seen to have made a gift of gold to the temple at Kālahasti in Śaka 1462, Śārvari (=27-1-1541 A.C.), which was the occasion when 'Rāmābhaṭṭar-ayyan, son of Bhūtanātha Śiṭṭayar, a Vaidika-brāhmaṇa, residing at Kṛishṇarāyapuram in Chandragiri', consecrated an image of Vīrēśvara-Tambirānār, constructed a shrine and provided for his offerings as well as those for Nāyanār Tirukkāḷatti-uḍaiya-Nāyanār, for the merit of

Achyutarāya (No. 167 of 1922). Malaiyappa's gift to the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara of two villages, one in the Uttara-rājyam with an annual income of 100 *rēkhai-pon* and another in the Paḍavīḍu-rājyam with 200 *rēkhai-pon*, is registered in No. 661—T.T. dated in Śaka 1473, Virōdhikṛit (=30-7-1551 A.C.), under the historical introduction of Sadāśivarāya. Of his two brothers, Vēṅkaṭādri-ayyan and Śrīrāma-Bhaṭṭar, the latter appears in the reign of Sadāśivarāya as making a gift of Muttūr in Siddhavaṭṭa-śīrmai with an annual income of 100 *rēkhai-pon* and another village in Paḍavīḍu-rājyam with 200 *rēkhai* in Śaka 1463, Plava (=21-7-1541 A.C.) (No. 659—T.T.).

Venkatadri Ayyan :—(3) Vēṅkaṭādri-ayyan, son of Tirumala-Jōsyar and brother of the above Malaiyapparayyan, who gave a village yielding 700 *rēkhai-pon* in Śaka 1460, Viḷambi (=23-12-1538 A.C.), for offerings and for an incessant lamp (*akhaṇḍa-dīpam*) (No. 399—T.T.). Within a fortnight he paid 800 *naṟpaṇam* for eleven *atirasa-paḍis* in the same year on 6-1-1539 A.C. (No. 516—T.T.), and again 6000 *naṟpaṇam* for four *veḷḷai-tiruppōnakam* daily for Śri Vēṅkaṭēśvara in Śaka 1462, Śārvari (=4-5-1540 A.C.) (No. 517—T.T.), and also granted on the last date the village Gollapalli situated in the Rāmāpura-śīrmai, a subdivision of the Pāṅgu-nāḍu in the Udayagiri-rājya, with an income of 120 *rēkhai-pon* for the propitiation of Śrī Gōvindarāja with eight *veḷḷai-tiruppōnakam* daily (No. 194—G. T.). From the "Nellore Inscriptions" this Vedic scholar Yaṇḍalūri Vēṅkaṭādri-ayyan is known to have been appointed to the government of the Udayagiri-durgam under Rāmā-Bhaṭlayya who administered the Udayagiri province in the early years of Achyutarāya's reign and to have made a gift of the village Chāṅgollu for the merit of Achyutarāya and Rāmā-Bhaṭlayya in Śaka 1458, Manmatha (=2-3-1536 A.C.) (page 232 *ante*).

Kalahasti Dikshita :—(4) Kāḷahasti-Dīkshita, son of Nārāyaṇa-Bhaṭṭar-Upādhyāya-Sōmayājiyār of Bhāradvāja-gōtra, Āpastamba-sūtra and Yajuś-śākha, residing at Rāyaprōli, who deposited 150 *chakram-pon* in Śaka 1460, Viḷambi (=13-10-1538 A.C.), for offering one *tiruppōnakam* daily to Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa (No. 552—T.T.). The usual capital for one daily *tiruppōnakam* at this time was 1500 *paṇam* or *naṟpaṇam* and as such the 150 *chakram-pon* herein invested as the capital fund must be equal to 1500 *naṟpaṇam* which would give a value of 10 *naṟpaṇam* for a *chakram-pon*. Consequently the *chakram-pon* and *varāhan* must be one and the same coin (page 228 *ante*).

Mallarasar Nagaragal :—(5) Mallarasar Nāgaragaḷ or Nāgara-Paṇḍitar, son of Anantarasar or Ananta-Paṇḍitar of Vāsishṭha-gōtra, Āśvalāyana-sūtra

and Ṛik-śākha, residing in Vijayāpuram (Bijapur). He is stated to have been the disciple of Pāpavināśam-Ayyagaḷ or Pāpavināśam Śrīrāmayyaṅgār. Nāgara-Paṇḍitar paid 1365 *gaṭṭi-varāhan* to the temple in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=4-11-1535 A.C.) (No. 470—T.T.), a second sum of 1885 *naṟpaṇam* in Śaka 1460, Viḷambi (=6-9-1538 A.C.) (No. 415—T.T.), and a third sum of 3240 *paṇam* in Śaka 1461, Vikāri (=6-12-1539 A.C.) (No. 416—T.T.). The last record refers to a *maṇṭapam* built by him on the bank of the *Tirukkōneri*, i.e., the *Svāmi-Pushkariṇi*. No. 415 mentions his sister Gauramma.

Govinda Pandita :—(6) Gōvinda-Paṇḍitar entitled *Vēdakkoṭṭai-Sahavāsi*, son of Viṭṭhoji-Paṇḍitar of Lavugākshi-gōtra, Āśvalāyana-sūtra and Ṛik-śākha, whose payment of 600 *rēkhai* from Achyutarāyapuram situated near Sagavarai in Gaṇḍikōṭa-śīrmai is registered in No. 532—T.T. dated in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=6-1-1536 A.C.).

Panditar Purushottamayyan :—(7) Paṇḍitar Purushōttamayyan, son of Vēṅkaṭattuṟaivār of Bharādvāja-gōtra, Āpastamba-sūtra and Yajuś-śākha, who as the agent of his wife and her sister provided in Śaka 1458, Durmukhi (=24-11-1536 A.C.), for certain offerings for God Vēṅkaṭēśa (No. 424—T.T.). He is again mentioned along with Chinna-Timmayyan as making a gift of two villages one of which was Vennamapalli (No. 341—G.T.).

Nagarattar :—Some *Nagarattār* or merchants that appear in some of these records are :—

(1) Nārāyaṇa-Śeṭṭiyār, son of Vaṇikar Nāgu-Śeṭṭi, one of the *Nagarattār* of Tirupati. He arranged for offerings at the *Vaṇ-Śaṭhakōpan-maṭham* for the processional image during the procession in the car on the 8th day of the Kārtikai festival, through a deposit of 21,430 *naṟpaṇam* made in Śaka 1455, Vijaya (=11-11-1533 A.C.) (No. 51—T.T.).

(2) Periya-Sāmu-Śeṭṭi, son of Mummaḍi Śeṭṭi of the Vaṭṭanidhi-ṛishi-gōtra, one of the merchants of Tirupati. He made a gift in Śaka 1460, Viḷambi (=23-5-1538 A.C.), of Uttamanallūr village, situated to the east of Kōṭṭai in the Paḍaināṭṭu-śīrmai of the Chandragiri-rājya, yielding 50 *puṭṭis* of grain and 12 *rēkhai* of cash, for certain offerings for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara, for His processional image and for Śrī Gōvindarāja (No. 94—T.T.). It is mentioned that the 12 *rēkhai* was expected to yield an interest of 12 *paṇam* per year, and this sum works out to a rate of 10 per cent per annum, in as much as one *rēkhai* was equivalent to 10 *paṇam*.

(3) Nāmi-Śeṭṭi, son of Sādayapalli Tippu-Śeṭṭi, a merchant of Kṛishṇarāyapaṭṭaṇam, a suburb of Chandragiri. He deposited two sums of

1575 and 1230 *naṟpaṇam* in Śaka 1458, Durmukhi (=31-1-1537 A.C.), for offerings for Śrī Gōvindarāja and Achyutapperumāḷ on the *Pāḍiyavēṭṭai-nāḷ* at the *Pāḍiyavēṭṭai-maṇṭapam* built by him in the land which he purchased from the *Kaikkōḷar* (Nos. 140 and 258—G.T.) The former epigraph which refers to this purchase mentions the rod of 36 feet employed for measuring the land. Probably the rod of 16 spans observed in earlier times was replaced in the Vijayanagara period by the 36 feet rod or the latter was used side by side with the former. Achyutapperumāḷ was the deity whom Achyutarāya installed at Achyutarāyapuram, the northern suburb of Tirupati, some time in the early years of his reign (page 224 *ante*).

(4) Charaṇu-Śeṭṭi, son of Periya-Peṅgāṇḍai-Śeṭṭi of Vaṇṇakka-gōtra, a merchant residing in Tirupati. In Śaka 1453, Khara (=9-11-1531 A.C.), he paid 1,000 *naṟpaṇam* and transferred a share of the land purchased by him from Śaṭhakōpa-Mudaliyār, for some offerings for Śrī Gōvindarāja on certain festive occasions (No. 281—T.T.).

(5) Kṛishṇappa-Śeṭṭi, son of Kommūr Śevvu-Śeṭṭi, of Vēṇandi-gōtra, a merchant of Chandragiri, who paid 640 *naṟpaṇam* in Śaka 1458, Durmukhi (=12-1-1537 A.C.) (No. 419—T.T.).

The Gopala-Setti Class :—A few members of the cowherd class are also represented. Tirumalaināthar-Piḷḷai, son of Malaiperumāḷ, gave 5700 *naṟpaṇam* to the temple in Śaka 1459, Hēviḷambi (=11-7-1537 A.C.) (No. 33—T.T.). Piḷaiporuttār, son of Malaiperumāḷ made a gift in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=1535-36 A.C.), of Perumāḷpaḷḷi-grāmam with an income of 100 *rēkhai*, Penniyapaḷḷi with an income of 30 *rēkhai-pon*, Marumaṇigauṇḍapuram with another 30 *rēkhai*, and two more villages, the aggregate income from all the five being 360 *rēkhai-pon* (No. 480—T.T.). Probably the two Malaiperumāḷs were one and the same individual, and then Piḷaiporuttār and Tirumalaināthar-Piḷḷai would be brothers. Ellappā-Piḷḷai, son of Kachchirāyakōnār, belonging to the *Gōpāla-Śeṭṭi* class and residing in Tiruvakkarai, made a donation once in Śaka 1455, Vijaya (=6-10-1533 A.C.), and again in Śaka 1457, Manmatha (=23-3-1536 A.C.) (Nos. 568 and 570—T.T.).

SADASIVARAYA

Duration of His Reign :—Sadāśivarāya is represented in our collection by nearly a hundred and fifty inscriptions most of which begin with his introduction. A peculiar feature of this *praśasti* is that to the king is ascribed not only the lordship of the eastern, southern and western oceans which fringe the Peninsula, but also that of the northern ocean that is non-existent in the case of India itself. The earliest date that is available for him in these epigraphs, viz., Thursday combined with the star Puṇārvasu, the 12th day of the dark fortnight of the Karkaṭaka month in the cyclic year Plava, current with the Śaka year 1463, corresponding to the 21st July 1541 A.C., which occurs in No. 659—T.T. registering the gift of Muttūr and another village to the temple by Śrīrāma-Bhaṭṭar, son of Yaṇḍalūr Tirumalai-Jōsyar, is about eight months anterior to the latest date furnished for his predecessor Achyutarāya in No. 504—T.T., viz., Thursday combined with the star Ārdrā, being the 7th day of the bright fortnight of the Mīna month in Plava, current with Śaka 1463, corresponding to the 23rd March 1542 A.C. It has been stated that Sadāśivarāya had "been chosen crown prince already" in Śaka 1459, Hēvilambi (=1537 A.C.), nearly five years earlier (Ar. Sur. Sep. for 1908-09, page 193), and this statement seems to be supported by the surname "Sadāśivapura" found to have been given to Dēvarāyapura in No. 89 of 1912 from Lepākshi dated in Śaka 1460, Viḷambi, i.e., one year later. Though Sadāśiva might have administered the empire apparently as a co-regent with Achyutarāya, his position on the Vijayanagara throne appears to have been shaken immediately on the death of Achyutarāya, through the attempted usurpation by Salaka Timmarāja, one of the two brothers-in-law of Achyutarāya, and the ensuing civil war which continued for over a year. Along with his two younger brothers Tirumalarāya and Vēṅkaṭādri, Aḷiya-Rāmarāja is said to have taken up the cause of his brother-in-law Sadāśivarāya, vanquished the usurper Salaka Timma and then installed Sadāśiva on the throne in Śaka 1465, Śōbhakṛit. The happy news of this enthronement of Sadāśiva evoked a gift of a village, on the full moon day of the Vaiśākha month during the same year (=19th April 1543 A.C.), from the king's agent Daḷavāyi Kṛishṇappa-Nāyaka, son of Daḷavāyi Chennama-Nāyaka, "in gratitude for the fulfilment of his prayer that the king's accession to the throne of Vijayanagara must be a permanent one" (No. 800 of 1917). Similar gratitude is found

expressed by Tāmalappa-Nāyaka in his grant of a village made on the 6th day of the bright fortnight of the Simha month of the same year (=6th August 1543 A.C.), "on the joyous occasion when the royal communication (*rāyasam*) reached him of Sadāśivarāya's capturing Vijayanagara" (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1916, para 70). Consequently the political disturbances must have ended by the beginning of Śaka 1465, Śōbhakṛit, and Sadāśivarāya firmly established by Aḷiya-Rāmarāja and his supporters on the Vijayanagara throne by March 1543 A.C.

Similarly the latest date available in our collection for Sadāśiva is Śaka 1495, Śrīmukha, Kumbha (=29th January 1574 A.C.), furnished by No. 133—G. T. which registers the gift of a certain Āravīḍu chief. But the latest date found for him elsewhere is Śaka 1497, Yuva, Ṛishabha, corresponding to 9th May 1575 A.C., and it is remarked that this later date "only suggests the continuance of the nominal rule of Sadāśiva even after Tirumala I had practically assumed the reigns of government in Śaka 1493", as indicated by the imperial titles that are attributed to the latter in his records dated in the same Śaka year 1493, in place of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara-biruda* given for him in the records dated upto Śaka 1492 (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1919, para 45; and Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911-12, page 180). Sadāśiva's reign therefore extended over a period of about 40 years from Śaka 1459 to Śaka 1497, including his co-regency during the last years of Achyutarāya.

His Visits to Sri Venkatesa's Temple :—Two visits of Sadāśiva to Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's temple are indicated. The first one occurred in the month of Kumbha in Śaka 1475, Pramādīcha (=3-2-1554 A.C.), when he granted with libations of water a portion of the *prasādams*, arranged by Achyutarāya Mahārāya for Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān and utilised for his *satram* till then, to a certain Śrīnivāsan and others; and the grant was executed by Aḷiya-Rāmarājayyādāva Mahārājayya (No. 393—T.T.). The other visit is mentioned to have taken place on the auspicious occasion of the *Makara-Saṅkramam* which occurred prior to the Karkaṭaka month of Śaka 1476, Ānanda, i.e., in the year Pramādīcha on the 28th December 1553 A.C. (No. 417 G.T.). It is recorded that Sadāśivarāya Mahārāya then granted with libations of water, as a *sarvamānya* gift, the taxes *uḷḷāyam*, *pērāyam*, *makamai*, *mulaivīśam* and *taraku* on all loads except on those of *teppāṭṭu*, *pachchaivaḍam*, *ney* and *eṇṇai*, brought to Tirupati on 200 pack-bullocks impressed with the *hamsa-mudra* (swan-mark), together with the *mēlakai*, *makamai*, *kōḍai* and other taxes from the Paḍaivīṭṭu-rājyam, Śeñji, Tiruvadi, Pōnagiri (Bhuvanagiri),

Paṭṭaṇam (Kāvērīpaṭṭaṇam), Śōḷamaṇḍalam, Tiruvaṇāmalai, Kāñchīpuram, Chandragiri-rājyam, Pāḷaiyam, Paḷavēṟkāḍu, Mudupānkarai, Paṭṭaṇam and Peruṅkoṇḍai-Śīrmai, as well as the *āyam, aṟupu, uḷḷāyam, pērāyam, makamai, mulaivīśam* and *taraku* from the remaining *śīrmais*, for the benefit of the *Nammāḻvār-Rāmānujakūṭam* built by Śrīman Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Koṇḍarāja, son of Rāmarāja-Kōnēṭiayya of the Ātrēya-gōtra, Āpastamba-sūtra and Yajuś-śākha. It is also stated that the *rāyasam* (royal writ) was communicated to the chiefs of all the *śīrmais* concerned as also to the *Sthānattār* of Tirupati. These *śīrmais* and *rājyas* roughly composed the middle portion of the Vijayanagara empire which comprised further territory in the north extending upto the Kṛishṇā river and in the south bordering the ocean.

His Private Grants :—A few grants of the king to private individuals also come to notice. It is mentioned in No. 651—T.T. that he granted a village near Peruṅkoṇḍai (Penugoṇḍa) to one Padaṇḍayar, son of Timmarasa-Padaṇḍayar, who made a gift of half of tne village to the temple in Śaka 1468, Parābhava, Siṁha (=19-8-1546 A.C.), for daily offerings for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara. The half village was accounted to yield 100 *gaṭi-varāhan* annually. A similar gift of the village Periya-Ekkalūr in Jagadāpi-Gutti-śīrmai, together with a deed of grant executed on a copper-plate, to Śrīnivāsayyaṅgār, son of Śoṭṭai Ēṭṭūr Tirumalainambi Kumāra-Tātayyaṅgār of Śaṭhamarshaṇa-gōtra, Āpastamba-sūtra and Yajuś-śākha is registered in No. 415—G.T., dated in Śaka 1469, Plavaṅga, Mithuna (=3-6-1547 A.C.), when it was handed over to the temple by the donee for providing for offerings daily and on festive occasions, and for conducting *Pallavōtsavam* started by him at the time. The yearly income from the village is said to have been 2000 *chakram-pon*; and to yield such a large income the village must have been very extensive and highly fertile. A third case relates to an exemption of taxes from the village Mutyālapaṭṭu for which Tāḷḷapākam Tirumalayyaṅgār, son of Annamayyaṅgār, secured a *rāyasam* from Sadāśivarāya Mahārāya and a *tirumukam* from Rāmarājayya. In spite of irrigation facilities provided for this village through a tank which was improved by Tirumalayyaṅgār at a cost of 100 *pon*, its soil appears to have been so poor as to yield a return of only 280 *rēkhai* annually at the time when Tirumalayyaṅgār endowed it to the temple in Śaka 1467, Viśvāvasu, Karkaṭaka (=3-7-1545 A.C.), for the conduct of the festival started by him (No. 681—T.T.).

SADASIVARAYA'S OFFICERS.

The Aravidu Family :—Sadāśiva's reign was dominated by the chiefs of the Āravīḍu and other allied families by reason of the united support that they brought to him for his installation on the Vijayanagara throne at the hands of Aḷiya-Rāmarāja. The Āravīḍu family is represented in our collection by ten chiefs whose relationship to each other stands as brothers and nephews. They are Poṭlapāṭi Timmarāja, his four sons Timmarāja, Viṭṭhalarāja, Chinna-Timmarāja and Pāppu-Timmarāja; Aḷiya-Rāmarāja and Tirumalarāja; Koṇḍarāja; and Poṭlapāṭi Raṅgarāja and Śrīpati Ōbaḷēśvara. The senior member among them was Poṭlapāṭi Timmarāja, son of Rāmarāja and grandson of Āravīṭi Bukkarāja. Timmarāja's two younger brothers were Peda-Koṇḍarāja and Śrīraṅgarāja. Timmarāja had four sons by his wife Gōpamāmbā, viz., Tirumalarāja or Timmarāja, Viṭṭhalarāja, Chinna-Timmarāja and Pāpa-Timmarāja. Peda-Koṇḍarāja's son was Kōnēṭirāja, who had four sons, viz., Aubaḷarāja, Koṇḍarāja, Timmarāja and Raṅgarāja, Śrīraṅgarāja had five sons Kōnarāja, Timmarāja, Aḷiya-Rāmarāja, Tirumalarāja and Vēṅkaṭādrirāja, besides four daughters who were married to princes of the Gobbūru and other families. Besides these members of the Āravīḍu family proper descended from Āravīṭi Bukkarāja by his wife Ballāmbikā through his son Ramarāja, Bukkarāja had by a different wife Abbaladēvī three other sons Siṅgarayya or Siṅgarāja, Rāmarāja and Ahōbalarāja on whom the father conferred the chiefship of Nandyāla and whose descendants henceforth came to be known as the chiefs of the Nandyāla or Nandēla family. Siṅgarāja's son was Nandyāla Nārasiṅgarāja whose two sons were Aubaḷarāja and Nāraparāja. These Āravīḍu and the Nandyāla chiefs with their sons and grandsons must have formed a compact and powerful body whose combined strength, like that of the Sāḷuva chiefs at the end of the Saṁgama dynasty of Vijayanagara a century earlier, was a factor to be reckoned in the state. Bukkarāja's power is indicated by his firm establishment of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha on his throne, but his four sons do not appear to have gained similar prominence. His grandsons in both the lines were mere rulers of chiefships, ostensibly without much power, subject as they were to the authority of Kṛishṇarāya and Achyutarāya's ministers the two Salakarāja Timmarājas. It was on the death of Achyutarāya that an opportunity presented itself to the great-grandsons of Āravīṭi Bukka to take stock of their strength to oppose the Salaka chiefs and seize power in the kingdom. It was given to Aḷiya-Rāmarāja to organise his family

in this respect to bid for power, vanquish his enemies and exercise absolute authority in the Vijayanagara empire, and transmit that authority with the royal dignity to his brother Tirumalarāya.

Aliya-Ramaraja :—Aḷiya-Rāmarāja was the most prominent figure during the reign of Sadāśivarāya. He was the *de facto* ruler of the Vijayanagara empire, while Sadāśiva was the *de jure* king, so that the royal gifts and grants seemed to be ratified, as it were, by the minister. In the matter of the exemption to the taxes from the village of Mutyālapaṭṭu, Tāḷḷapākam Tirumalayyaṅgār had not only obtained the royal writ (*rāyasam*) from Sadāśivarāya Mahārāya but secured the executive order (*tirumukam*) from Rāmarājayya (No.681—T.T.). In the grant by Sadāśivarāya to Śrīnivāsan and others of a portion of the *prasādams* previously arranged by Achyutarāya, the executor of the grant was Aḷiya-Rāmayyadēva Mahārājayya (No. 393—T.T.). Gifts of some of the officers are also found to have been made for the merit of both Sadāśiva and Rāmarāja. It is mentioned in No. 360—G.T. that Poṭlapāṭi Timmarāja, the paternal uncle of Aḷiya-Rāmarāja, arranged for the reading of *Tiruvēṅkaṭa-Māhātmyam*, i.e., "Śrī Vēṅkaṭāchala-Māhātmyam," in the temples of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara and Śrī Gōvindarāja and for the propitiation of the two deities, for the merit of both the king and his minister. This arrangement made for the merit of both is again referred to in No. 48—G.T. which registers a provision, for the merit of Sadāśivadēva Mahārāya, by Aḷiya-Rāmarāja himself for the *aṅgaraṅga-vaibhōgam* of Śrī Gōvindapperumāḷ in Tirupati through the gift of the village Pudupaṭṭu near Neydal in Āryachchīrmai in Śaka 1466, Krōdhi, Makara (=January 1545 A.C.). This epigraph No. 48 calls Aḷiya-Rāmarāja the son of Āravīṭṭi Bukkarāja-Śrīraṅgarāja, while his other inscription No. 414—G.T. states that he was the son of Bukkarāja-Rāmarāja-Śrīraṅgarāja of the Ātrēya-gōtra and Āpastamba-sūtra, thus showing the intermediate link, viz., Rāmarāja, between Āravīṭi Bukkarāja and his grandson Śrīraṅgarāja. No. 414 records Aḷiya-Rāmarāja's gift of the villages Siṅgalabāvi in Rāchchūr-śīrmai, Vaḷakōḷil in Mudukalluchchīrmai, and Yāraḷachchēri and Māgāṇippaṭṭu in Peripākka-śīrmai, altogether yielding 4000 *rōkhaipon*, in order to serve for the offering of 200 *veḷḷai-prasādam* for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara daily, together with the stipulation that, in lieu of the donor's quarter share of the offered *prasādam*, viz., 50 *taḷigais*, available from Śrī Vēṅkaṭesvara's temple at Tirumala, this quantity might be made available from the *prasādams* offered daily to Śrī Gōvindarāja and issued to the *Nammāḷvār-Rāmānujakūṭam* built by Śrīman Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Koṇḍurājayyan, son

of Timmarāja-Kōnēṭayyan, in Śrī Bhāshyakārar street within the inner streets round Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple in Tirupati, for the feeding of Śrīvaishṇavas. Sewell notes that at the beginning of Achyutarāya's reign the frontier fortresses of Mudkal and Raichur together with the Doab were seized by the Adil Shah, "after they had been in possession of the infidels for seventeen years" since their capture by Kṛishṇarāya early in his reign (pages 170 and 183 *ante*), and that they "were never again subject to Hindu princes" ("Forgotten Empire", page 166). But Mūrtikavi in his "Narasabhūpālīyamu" (Canto I, verse 82) states that Aḷiya-Rāmarāja not only killed Salakaya-Timma, i.e., Salakarāja-Timmarāja, established firmly the entire Karṇāṭa kingdom, placed "Kutupana Malka" (Kutb Mulk or Kutb Shah), "Sapāda" (Adil Shah) and the supplicant "Malka-Nijāmu" (Nizam Shah) on their respective thrones, but also wrested Rāchūru (Raichur) and Mudugallu (Mudkal) from the Adil Shah and ruled the earth like Rāma of yore. This statement of Mūrtikavi as to the recapture of Raichur and Mudkal appears to be attested by the grant of villages situated in both the districts of Raichur and Mudkal by Aḷiya-Rāmarāja himself, their conqueror, in Śaka 1476, Ānanda, Vṛischika (=12-11-1554 A.C.), and they must have been retained by Vijayanagara almost till the time of the eventful battle of Tālikōṭa in 1565 A.C., when the Muhammadans devastated that part of the Hindu empire and parcelled it out among themselves, never more to return to Vijayanagara. A fragmentary inscription No. 152—G.T. mentions the *Mahāpradhāni* of Sadāśivadēva and registers a gift of 10,000 *kuḷi* of land in Pudarṭūr village to *Śrī-Bhaṇḍāram* in Śaka 1468, Parābhava, Makara (8-1-1547 A.C.). This *Mahāpradhāni* must be Aḷiya-Rāmarāja himself.

Aḷiya-Rāmarāja's influence and power appear to have been derived from his connection with the royal family through his marrying the daughter of Kṛishṇarāya Mahārāya. This alliance is attested by the statements of "Rāmābhyudayamu" (Canto I, verse 55) of Ayyalarāju Rāmabhadrakavi, "Rāmarājīyamu" (verse 290) of Veṅgayyakavi and "Svaramēḷakaḷānidhi" of Rāmayāmātya Tōḍaramalla, though the "British Museum Plates of Sadāśivarāya" indicate his marriage with the sister of Sadāśivarāya himself (Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, page 4). "Svaramēḷakaḷānidhi" was dedicated to Aḷiya-Rāmarāja by its author Rāmayāmātya Tōḍaramalla, i.e., Bayakāra Rāmappayya (page 237 *ante*), who is therein mentioned to have constructed a palace called "Ratnakūṭa", for his patron from whom he received the viceroyalty of the Koṇḍavīḍurājya ("Sources of Vijayanagar History," page 190).

Tirumalaraja :—Tirumalayyadēva Mahārāja or Tirumalarāja represented in No. 633—T. T. was the son of Āravīṭṭu Bukkarāju-Rāmarāju-Śrīraṅgarāja, and the younger brother of Aḷiya-Rāmarāja. He constructed an *Uñjal-maṇṭapam* within the *Sampaṅgi-pradakshiṇam* i.e., the corridor round the inner *prākāra* wall which contains the *dhvajastambham*, and therein arranged for the propitiation of the processional deities on festive occasions. This must be the one that is now known as the "*Tirumalarāya-maṇṭapam*," situated just to the south of the *dhvajastambham* within the *Sampaṅgi-pradakshiṇam* at its south-east corner. In Śaka 1483, Durmati, Dhanus (=15-12-1561 A.C.), he provided for offerings for the processional images during the five days of the *Vasanta-Tirunāḷ*, during the *Uñjal-tirunāḷ* formerly instituted by Sāḷuva Narasiṁha, the ten *Tirukkoḍi-tirunāḷ* or *Brahmōtsavams*, fourteen other festivals and numerous holy occasions observed at the time in Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's temple. The processions of the images for the five days of the *Vasanta-tirunāḷ* were to be conducted on the *Śēsha-vāhanam* (serpent vehicle) on the first day, on the *Haṁsa-vāhanam* (swan vehicle) on the second day, on the *Garuḍa-vāhanam* (kite vehicle) on the third day, the *Vaikuṇṭha-vimānam* (divine chariot) on the fourth day and the *Ānai-nampirān* (elephant vehicle) on the fifth day. This *Vasanta-tirunāḷ* during which Tirumalarāja arranged for processions and offerings at his *Uñjal-maṇṭapam* is seen from Nos. 649 and 659, A—T.T. to have been established by Manumapōli Timmarāja, son of Kamparāja of the Kāśyapa-gotra and Āpastamba-sūtra, belonging to the Solar race. Tirumalarāja's arrangement for the conduct of this *Uñjal-tirunāḷ* or *Dōḷāmahōtsavam* is again recorded in a fragmentary inscription No. 190—T.T., comprising a few Samskṛit verses which trace the genealogy of the Āravīḍu family from Bukkarāja to Tirumalēndra and his four sons. Bukka was entitled *Antembavaragaṇḍa* and he had the "Boar" ensign. By Vallāṁjī (Ballāmbikā) he had a son named Rāmarāja. Rāmarāja's son was Śrīraṇgarāja who had acquired great fame on earth and resembled Jayanta. Śrīraṅgarāja was the lord of Kalyāṇapura and represented on earth the Amaranth (*Bhū-Pārijāta*) in his gifts to Brāmaṇas. On account of his daily gifts and prayers he obtained an excellent son, namely Rāmarāja, who was well versed in the sixty-four arts and who was wedded by the goddesses of Heroism, Earth, Learning, Fame, Wisdom and Beauty. Rāmarāja, was entitled *Chāḷikka-Nārāyaṇa, Nānāvarṇa-śrī-maṇḍalīka-gaṇḍa* and *Rāyarāhutta-miṇḍa*. Tirumalāmbikā was the queen of Rāmarāja, just as Kausalyā was the queen of Daśaratha. Rāmarāja's brother was Tirumalēndra who was like-

Lakshmaṇa towards Rāghava (Rāma). This king Tirumalēndra instituted the *Dōḷāmahōtsava* according to the rules of the *Śāstras*. By his queen Veṁgāḷāmbā he had four sons, viz., Raghunātha who was a second Raghunātha (Śrī Rāma), his brother king Śrīraṅga, the latter's brother Rāmarāja who possessed critical scholarship and who equalled Manmatha in form, and the latter's brother Vēṅkaṭādri. Tirumalēndra brought all kings under his subjection. On the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Dhanurmāsa in the cyclic year Durmati (corresponding to Śaka 1483, on the 17th December 1561 A.C.), Tirumala made provision for the celebration of the *Dōḷōtsava* for God Vēṅkaṭēśa. This date is two days later than that given by the Tamil inscription No. 633—T.T. noticed above. An extract in Telugu at the end of the inscription mentions that the above stone record registers the services, together with the genealogy, military conquests and the string of *birudas* relating to Tirumalarājayya's reduction of the Tulukāṇam-Allā, i.e., Turkish or Muhammadan chief, of Tirumaladēva Mahārāja, the son of Śrīraṅgarājayya and the brother of Aḷiya-Rāmarājayyadēva Māhāraja. It is significant that among the members of the Āravīḍu family, Tirumala and his second son Śrīraṅga alone are in the epigraph accorded a royal dignity. They no doubt enjoyed it subsequent to the death of Sadāśivarāya, but it is to be doubted whether they had any chance to become kings during the lifetime of Sadāśiva, especially while Rāmarāja was still alive in Śaka 1483 (=1561 A.C.), which is some four years prior to the battle of Tāḷikōṭa. It was after this battle in which Aḷiya-Rāmarāja lost his life that Tirumala could step into the place of his brother as the chief minister of Sadāśiva and ultimately ascend the Vijayanagara throne about Śaka 1497 (=1575 A.C.), which is the latest date available for Sadāśivarāya (No. 5 of 1919). Tirumala's reign was short and during that period he had associated his son Śrīraṅga with himself in the administration of the kingdom, "and eventually retired from the Karṇāṭa throne in his favour" (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911-12, page 181). Śrīraṅga appears to have reigned until Śaka 1507, Pārthiva (=1585-86 A.C.), and then succeeded by his youngest brother Vēṅkaṭādri (*Ibid.*, page 187).

Potlapati Timmaraja :—Poṭlapāṭi Timmarāja was, as noted already, the son of Bukkarāja-Rāmarāja and the elder brother of Peda-Koṇḍarāja and Śrīraṅgarāja. As such, he was the paternal uncle of Aḷiya-Rāmarāja and Tirumalarāja. He had four sons by his wife Gōpamāmbā, viz., Tirumala or Timma, Viṭṭhala, Chinna-Timma and Pāppu or Pāpa-Timma. "Rāmarājīyamu" (verse 218) states that Timmarāja was given Avuku (Awku) by his

father Rāmarāja to rule over, and henceforth his descendants came to be known as the Avuku family. However our inscriptions not only call him Poṭlapāṭi Timmarāja but apply this place-name "Poṭlapāṭi" to his son also by denoting him as Poṭlapāṭi Rāmarāju-Chinna-Timmayadēva Mahārāja (Nos. 371 and 405—G.T.). It is therefore possible that Rāmarāja, the son of Bukkarāja, must originally have acquired the chiefship of Poṭlapāḍu which, along with Avuku, must have been passed on to his son Timmarāja and the latter's son Chinna-Timmarāja to bestow a family name on the chiefs. "Poṭlapāḍu" must be the modern town of Poṭlapāḍu situated in the Pattikonda taluk of the Kurnool district. Timmarāja is in some of the inscriptions (as No. 347—G.T.) mentioned as the son of Āravīṭi Bukkarāja, but this must be a mistake for Āravīṭi Bukkarāja-Rāmarāja as indicated in No. 561—T.T. Literary works evidence only one son of Bukkarāja by Ballāmbikā, viz., Rāmarāja, while they name three sons of his by Abbaladēvī as Siṅgarayya, Rāmarāja and Ahōbaḷarāja ("Kaḷāpūrṇōdayamu"); and there is no "Timmarāja" occurring among them. Consequently this Timmarāja must be identical with Timmarāja, the eldest of the three sons of Rāmarāja by his wife Lakkāmbikā and the ruler of the chiefship of Avuku.

Poṭlapāṭi Timmarāja's services in these temples are recounted here and there in the inscriptions registering the gifts of others. For the merit of king Sadāśivarāya Mahārāya and Rāmarājayya, Timmarāja arranged in Śaka 1466, Krōdhi, Makara (=January 1545 A.C.), for the recitation of "Tiruvēṅkaṭa-Māhātmyam," i.e., "Śrī Vēṅkaṭāchala Māhātmyam," every day in the presence of Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān at Tirumala, Gōvindarāja in Tirupati, Achyutapperumāḷ in the suburb of Achyutarāyapuram and Varadarājaperumāḷ in Tiruchānūr at the time of their *tirumañjanam* (ablutions). Two sums of 4 *paṇam* and 5 *paṇam* were required to be paid monthly to one Anantayyaṅgār, son of Tiruvēṅkaṭayyan as remuneration for his reading the *Māhātmyam* daily in the temples of Achyutapperumāḷ and Varadarājaperumāḷ (No. 360—G.T.). He constructed an *aṅkaṇam* (a row of houses round an open space) in the *Peria-Rājavīdhi* in Tirupati and the rent of 30 *rēkhai* collected yearly from the shop-keepers carrying on retail trade in the premises was authorised by him to be utilised by Dēvarāya-Bhaṭṭar for the additional offerings of God Viṭṭhalēśvara installed by the said Bhaṭṭar (No. 367—G.T.). Timmarāja himself installed an image of Tituvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān at the fourth *iunai* (*dona* in Telugu, a pool of water) above the Āḻvār-tīrtham (Kapila-tīrtham) and in Śaka 1469, Plavaṅga, Mithuna (=3-6-1547 A.C.), Śrīnivāsayyaṅgār, son of Śoṭṭai

Ēṭṭūr Tirumalanambi Kumāra-Tātayyaṅgār, provided for daily offerings for this image (No. 415—G.T.). Probably this Śoṭṭai Ēṭṭūr Śrīnivāsayyaṅgar was the family *guru* of the Avuku chiefs, viz., Poṭlapāṭi Timmarāja and his sons (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09, page 196). The village Pallipuram is said to have been granted by Timmarāja to Tāllapākam Periya-Tirumalayyaṅgār during the reign of Achyutarāya sometime prior to Śaka 1460, Viḷambi, Makara (=15-1-1539 A.C.), when it was made over by Tirumalayyaṅgār to the temple for certain offerings for the deities (No. 587—T.T.). It was probably by virtue of his authority as a royal officer that Timmarāja, in conjunction with the *Sthānattār* of the temple, permitted the use of a small palanquin for Tiruvēṅkaṭa-Māṇikkam who dedicated her life to the service of the temple, having been favoured with that solemnised name by God Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān and Goddess Alamēlmaṅgai-Nāchchiyār, and also ordered the grant to her from the temple on the occasion, of two *taḷigas* of *prasādam* without removal of *Aḷḷu-Aḷivu* (shares due to other servants of the temple) from them, in Śaka 1468, Parābhava, Karkaṭaka (=23-7-1546 A.C.) (No. 507—T. T.). From "Bālabhāgavatamu" ("Sources," page 207) we learn that this Rāmarāju-Timmayya defeated Ēdulakhānu (Adil Khan) at Mānuva (Manve) and also heroically captured the fortress of Ādavēni (Adoni) with its tyrant and presented him to king Vīra-Nṛisiṁharāya and received from the king the *Svāmidrōhagaṇḍa-peṇḍāramu*, the anklet indicative of his vanquishing the rebel chief. Timmarāja must therefore have served the four Vijayanagara kings from Vīra-Narasiṁha to Sadāśivarāya with an official career extending through almost the first half of the 16th century A.C.

Timmarajayya :—Timmarājayya was the son of Āravīṭṭil Timmarāja who must evidently be the same as Poṭlapāṭi Timmarāja. Timmarājayya would then represent his eldest son Tirumalarāja mentioned in the "Bālabhāgavatamu" ("Sources", page 208) to have laid a garden, built a *maṇṭapam* and choultries and provided for the ablutions with camphor and musk for *Garuḍādrināṭha*, i.e, Śrī Nṛisiṁha, the Lord of Ahōbala, and also constructed a tank for Him. For the merit of Rāmarājayya, i.e., his cousin Aḷiya-Rāmarāja, he arranged in Śaka 1468, Parābhava, Kanyā (=21-9-1546 A.C.), for offerings for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa and Śrī Gōvindarāja (No. 356—G.T). As at Ahōbalam, he constructed a *maṇṭapam*, for the use of God Vēṅkaṭēśa on certain auspicious occasions, in the *aṅkaṇam* situated to the south of the temple and south-west of Achyutarāya's tank at Tirumala.

Vitthalaraja :—Viṭṭhalarāja or Viṭṭhalēśvara Mahārāja was the second son of Āravīṭṭi Bukkarāju-Rāmarāju-Timmarājayya, i.e., Poṭlapāṭi Timmarāja, and hence a cousin of Aḷiya-Rāmarāja and Tirumalarāja. In Śaka 1467, Viśvāvasu, Karkaṭaka (5—7—1545 A.C.), Viṭṭhalēśvara granted three villages, Pālamaṅgalam in Niṉṟaiyūrnāḍu-śīrmai with an annual income of 500 *rēkhai*, Paraṇūr in the same *śīrmai* with an income of 250 *rēkhai* and Vēṇakattūr in Pāḷaiyachchīrmai with 250 *rēkhai* as its annual income. With this aggregate yield of 1000 *rēkhai* he arranged for daily offerings for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara, for the distribution of cloths to the devotees who congregated for the *Puraṭṭāśi-tirunāḷ* at Tirumala, for the free supply at the entrance to the temple of whey or butter-milk to the thirsty pilgrims and for the conduct of the *Pallavōtsava-tirunāḷ* to be celebrated for five days in the month of Vaikāśi ending with the *śāttumuṟai* on the day of Rōhiṇi under which Viṭṭhalarāja was born (No. 561—T.T.).

Viṭṭhala is known to have, in combination with his younger brother Chinna-Timmarāja, extended the Vijayanagara sovereignty "right up to the shore of the southern ocean and made the whole country free from oppressive rulers.....and set up pillars of victory at Rāmasētu (Ramesvaram) and Kanyākumārikā in order to establish their fame" (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1915, para 50). "Viṭṭhala's victorious campaign is reported to have commenced in Anantaśayanam (Travancore) in the south and ended at Mudugal in the north". Having reduced the Tiruvaḍi-rājya, Viṭṭhala ruled over it, holding also Trichinopoly and Madura under his charge; and this lordship of the southern portion of the Peninsula as a semi-independent prince continued for nearly a decade and a quarter. His overlordship of the Travancore country is found acknowledged by the Tiruvaḍirāja who was then ruling the Tiruvaḍi-rājyam through the grant of half the village of Kuḻayapāṭṭam situated on the bank of the river Tāmraparṇī within the Tiruvaḍi-rājyam to God Vēṅkaṭēśa, for the merit of Viṭṭhalarājayya, in Śaka 1479, Piṅgaḷa, Kanyā, i.e., in the middle of September 1557 A.C. (No. 147—G.T.). This war, commenced in the earlier years of Achyutarāya's reign, appears to have been renewed against Travancore in the last years of the same reign and in it Viṭṭhala is credited with the reduction of Sāḷuva-Nāyaka and Tumbichchi-Nāyaka and the ultimate subjugation of the Tiruvaḍi-rājya. The Tiruvaḍirāja conquered by Viṭṭhalēśvara and accorded a subordinate position was Veṉṟumaṉ-koṇḍa Bhūtalavīra Rāmavanmar of Jaṭuṅga-nāḍu who, in 'Kollam 722 corresponding to A.D. 1546—47', 'provided for special offerings to be made to the Vishṇu

shrine at Śuchīndram on the birthday of Viṭṭhalēśvaramahārāja' (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1900, para 80). And it was through his submission to the Vijayanagara authority that Rāmavarman was enabled to proceed to Tirumala and offer his obeisance to God Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān in Śaka 1479, Piṅgaḷa (September 1557 A.C.). The other half of the village Kuḻayapāṭṭam was intended to serve as the dower of Śūḍikkuḍutta-Nāchchiyār.

Chinna-Timmaraja :—Chinna-Timmayadēva Mahārāja was the third son of Poṭlapāṭi-Timmarāja and the younger brother of Viṭṭhalēśvara. He accompanied his elder brother Viṭṭhalarāja in his campaign against the Tiruvaḍi-rājya and, having reduced the country, ruled it jointly with him (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1917, para 45). It is, however, stated that 'Chinna Timmarājadēva Mahārāja was ruling the Chandragiri-rājya as his own province (*nammiḍaśīrmai*) in Śaka 1467.' His direct gifts to the temple are not available but references occur in the records of other donors to the services of Chinna-Timmayadēva. For the merit of Poṭlapāṭi Rāmarāju-Chinna-Timmayadēva Mahārāja, the *Kōmaṭis* of Tirupati paid a certain amount into the *Śrī-Bhaṇḍāram* and the unexpended balance of 1565 *paṇam* from it was utilised for offerings provided by his younger brother Pāppu-Timmaya Mahārāja in Śaka 1469, Plavaṅga, Vṛśchika (=24-11-1547 A.C.) (No. 371—G.T.). Again in the arrangement effected by Śevvu-Nāyaka on the 4th day of Tai in Plavaṅga, current with Śaka 1469 (=1-1-1548 A.C.), for offerings for God Gōvindarāja, provision was also made for the propitiation of the same deity at Śevvu-Nāyaka's *maṇṭapam* in the name of Poṭlapāṭi Rāmarāju-Chinna-Timmayadēva Mahārāja (No. 405—G.T.). Rāyasam Vēṅkaṭādri stipulated for the offerings of *atirasapaḍis* to the processional image of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa during the ten *Brahmōtsavams* celebrated at Tirumala at the time (No. 662—T.T.), and it is mentioned therein that the *Āni-Tirukkoḍi-tirunāḷ* was established by Rāmarāja-Chinna-Timmarāja. This *Āni-tirunāḷ* or *Āni-Tirukkoḍi-tirunāḷ* is stated in No. 354—G.T. to have been instituted by Eṟṟa-Timmarāja, and it is possible that Rāmarāja-Chinna-Timmayadēva was surnamed Eṟṟa-Timmarāja. No. 372—G.T. brings to notice an undertaking avowed on the 29th day of Āḍi in the cyclic year Parīdhāvi (=27-7-1552 A.C.), by the shepherds supplying dairy products to the palace of Tirumalarāja, to the effect that they would measure out a definite quantity of ghee to the *Śrī-Bhaṇḍāram*. This palace of Tirumalarāja must have been situated in Tirupati wherein a *Periya-Rājavīdhi* is mentioned in No. 367—G.T. to have existed, in which street Potlapāṭi Timmarāja constructed an *aṅkaṇam* occupied by retail merchants. This *Periya-Rājavīdhi*

is probably represented by the present "High Road" passing east and west through the heart of the town. This Tirumalarāja whose palace stood in the *Periya-Rājavīdhi* in Tirupati must be identical with Rāmarāja-Chinna-Timmayadēva who held the viceroyalty of the Chandragiri-rājya in Śaka 1467, as noticed above. From No. 700 of 1917 we learn that this Chinna-Timmayadēva held Avukusīma as a Nāyaṅkara from king Sadāśivarāya. In No. 347—G.T. dated in Śaka 1467, Viśvāvasu, Mīna (=25-3-1546 A.C.), we are informed that Dēvaraya-Bhaṭṭar or Dēvaṇa-Bhaṭṭar, son of Udayagiri Nārasiṁha-Bhaṭṭar of Vāśiṣṭha-gōtra, Āsvalāyana-sūtra and Ṛik-śākha, was on the personal staff (*Vāśal-Kāryappēr*) of this Chinna-Timmayadēva Mahārāja; and in other records we find him as the recipient of the offered *prasādam* arranged by some of the donors, such as Manumapōli Ōbuḷarāja (No. 402—T.T.), Hanumayyan (No. 417—T.T.) and Padaṇḍayar (No. 651—T.T.).

Papa-Timmaraja :—Pāppu-Timmaya Mahārāja or Pāppu-Timmaya-rājayyan, i.e., Pāpa-Timmarāja, was the fourth son of Poṭlapāṭi Timmarāja by his wife Gōpamāmbikā, and the youngest brother of Viṭṭhalarāja. He is represented by two records of our collection. The *Kōmaṭis* (merchant class) inhabiting the suburb of Kottapāḷaiyam in Tirupati installed an image of Janārdanaperumāl and His consorts, and for these images Pāppu-Timmarāja provided in Śaka 1469, Plavaṅga, Vṛiśchika (=24-11-1547 A.C.), for daily propitiation through the gift of the village Koḷḷūr in Pāḷaiyattu-śīrmai yielding an annual income of 100 *rēkhai-pon* (No. 371—G.T.). It is stated that the sum of 1565 *paṇam* which was outstanding from the deposit made by the *Kōmaṭis* for the merit of Poṭlapāṭi Ramarāju-Chinna-Timmayadēva Mahārāja was also utilised for the purpose. Pāppu-Timmayarāja made a gift of another village Vēnāḍu with an income of 250 *rēkhai* to the temple in Śaka 1477, Rākshasa, Mēsha (=14-4-1555 A.C.) (No. 678—T.T.). This latter record mentions a *maṇṭapam* constructed by him at Tirumala. From No. 591 of 1919 it appears that this Pāppu-Timmayadēva Mahārāja was a joint ruler of the Chandragiri-rājya with his two elder brothers Viṭṭhalarāja and Chinna-Timmarāja.

Kondaraja :—Koṇḍarāja was the son of Āravīṭṭu Rāmarāja-Kōnēṭirāja or Kōnēṭiayyadēva Mahārāja and as such the grandson of Periya-Koṇḍarāja and the great-grandson of Āravīṭi Bukkarāja-Rāmarāja. Hence Rāmarāja-Kōnēṭirāja would signify the lineage of Kōnēṭirāja from Rāmarāja of the Āravīḍu family proper, the son of Bukkarāja by his wife Ballādēvī, just as Chinna-Timmarāja

is denominated Rāmarāja-Chinna-Timmarāja in distinction to the lineage from Siṅgarayya or Siṅgarāja and his two brothers of the Nandyāla family, being also sons of Bukkarāja by his other wife Abbaladēvī. Koṇḍarāja is represented in our collection by five epigraphs. No. 660—T.T. registers his payment of 3000 *nāṟpaṇam* as capital, in Śaka 1468,—Prabhava, Siṁha (=12-8-1546 A.C.), for the propitiation of Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān with special offerings on the day of Aviṭṭam (Dhanishṭhā) in the Tamil month of Paṅguni as well as with one *veḷḷai-tiruppōṇakam* daily in the name of his grandfather Periya-Koṇḍarāja. In No. 407—G.T. Koṇḍarāja is reported to have purchased land lying to the north of *Ayyaṅgār-tiruvīdhi* surnamed *Śrī-Bhāshyakārar-agrahāram* situated within the inner streets surrounding Śrī-Gōvindarāja's temple in Tirupati, to have constructed a shrine for Nammāḻvār at the *Rāmānujakūṭam* established therein and to have arranged in Śaka 1472, Sādhāraṇa, Tulā (=2-10-1550 A.C.), for the offering of 125 *veḷḷai-tiruppōnakam* daily for this image of Nammāḻvār and their distribution among Śrīvaishṇavas. To this end he endowed the temple with ten villages with an aggregate income of 5713 *rēkhai-pon*, namely, Taṟkōlam, Tāyanūr, Malaiyanūr, Attiyūr, Āśūr, Paḻandai, Muḷḷappaṭṭu, Kūḍaippākkam, Meyyūr and Toṟuppāḍu. It was stipulated that with their income 125 *veḷḷai-tiruppōnakam* might be offered to Nammāḻvār daily and all charges incident to the upkeep of the *Rāmānujakūṭām* might be met. Two men were engaged for watching the shrine of Nammmaḻvār and they were paid 12 *rēkhai* per year, that is to say, each of the two watchers received a salary of 5 *paṇam* monthly. Likewise the men guarding the *ugrāṇam* or the provisions-store of the *Rāmānujakūṭam* received 10 *rēkhai* and 2 *paṇam* yearly. The accountant's salary was 12 *rēkhai* per annum. The servants, fifteen in number, got 180 *rēkhai* yearly at 15 *rēkhai* per month; and the cooks 9 *rēkhai* and 6 *paṇam* per year, while the *adhikāri* or manager was paid 24 *rēkhai* annually. Assafoetida is one of the articles of supply to the *Rāmānujakūṭam* provided in the record.

No. 408—G.T. details the purchase by Koṇḍarāja of certain gardens, lands and house-sites from the *Śrī-Bhaṇḍāram* to which they were formerly granted by Āḻvār-Mudaliyār and the provision made by him for offerings for Śrī-Gōvindarāja Nāchchimār, etc., at his *maṇṭapam* constructed in the Śelva-nārāyaṇan flower-garden, being one of the items of purchase, and on the car festival days in the four main festivals celebrated in Māśi, Āni, Vaikāśi and Mārgaḻi in Tirupati. Towards the cost of the offerings which came to 57 *rēkhai* per year, he granted in Śaka 1473, Virōdhikṛit, Mīna, (=10-3-1552 A.C.),

certain shares which he purchased from some of the *Vaidika-Brāhmaṇas* in the two villages Takkili and Pālēpalli collectively denominated Rāmāpuram, a *sarvamānya-agrahāram*, in the Penumbalai-śīrmai within the Puluguru-Nāṭṭu-śīrmai. Ellama-Bhaṭṭar, son of Taṅgēḷi Liṅgama-Bhaṭṭar, residing in the suburb of Kṛishṇarāyapuram in Chandragiri, had parted with his two shares. Likewise Periya-Timmayan, son of Ellāvadhāni Timmayan, of Gōpidēvipāḷaiyam in Chandragiri, had sold his quarter of a share; so did Sarvadēva-Sōmayāji, son of Pūvāḍai Sūri-Bhaṭṭar of Rāmā-Bhaṭṭar-agrahāram in Tirupati, with his two shares; Malaikiniyaninṟaperumāḷ, son of Prativādibhayaṅkarar Nainārayyar with his one share; and Kṛishṇayan, son of Periya-Aṇṇayan of Achyutappēṭṭai, with his half share; these making a total of five shares and three-quarters. Koṇḍarāja had secured other five shares in the same village and for the aggregate ten shares and three-quarters he had paid a sum of 30 *rēkhai*. Out of the estimated cost of 57 *rēkhai* per year for the offerings provided by him, he got credit for 30 *rēkhai* worth of land purchased and granted to the temple, and the balance of 27 *rēkhai* was made up by the collection of *vāśalvari* of 25 *rēkhai* and *mākāyanvari* and *kīḻvari* of 2 *rēkhai* from Āḻvār-Mudaliyār-pāḷaiyam, including *śilvari*, *Pālappalli-vṛitti* and *uppu-rēkhai*.

In Śaka 1475, Pramādīcha, Ṛishabha (=25-5-1553 A.C.), he made a gift to the temple of the village Nagari near Paraṇūr belonging to Vīḍugrāmam in Niṉṟai-nāḍu; and it fetched an annual income of 300 *rēkhai-pon* to serve for the offerings of the different Āḻvārs on the days of their birth-stars (No. 416—G.T.). As mentioned already (page 251 *ante*), Koṇḍarāja obtained a grant of tolls and taxes from the several districts and sub-districts of the Vijayanagara kingdom from Sadāśivarāya Mahārāya on the auspicious occasion of the *Makara-Saṅkramam* (winter-solstice) which occurred on the 28th December 1553 A.C., and had it given effect to in Śaka 1476, Ānanda, Karkaṭaka (=2-7-1554 A.C.), for the utilisation of the proceeds for the *Tiruppati-Rāmānujakūṭam* constructed by him to the north of Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple. He had similarly secured, through his paternal uncle Aḷiya-Rāmarāja, the grant of 31 villages from king Sadāśivarāya in Śaka 1478, Naḷa (=1556 A.C.), for the Rāmānuja's shrine at Sriperumbudur in the Chingleput district ("British Museum Plates of Sadāśivarāya" in Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, pages 1-22). He is also reported to have "handed over to the temple of Ahōbalēśvara the copper-plate *śāsana* of Sadāśiva which registered the grant" of a village for the *Rāmānujakūṭa* at that holy centre (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1915, para 49). He "was in charge of the Vinukoṇḍa-śīma under orders of the

Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Rāmarāja Tirumalarājayya" in Śaka 1484 (*Ibid.* for 1914, para 33).

The Nandyala Family: Narapparaja:—The Nandyāla family is represented in this collection by only one member, viz., Nārapparāja. The Nandyāla family was, like the Āravīḍu family, descended from Āravīṭi Bukkarāja through his son Siṅgarayya or Siṅgarāja and his two younger brothers. "Rāmarājīyamu" (verse 207) states that Bukkarājēndra married Abbaḷadēvi and Baḷḷādēvi and had Siṅgavibhu and other sons by Abbaḷadēvi and Rāmarāja by Baḷḷādēvi; and that he conferred on Siṅgarāja and his brothers the chiefship of Nandēla for them to rule over. These princes continued to rule their chiefship with Nandēla as their capital, and hence their sons and grandsons came to acquire the family appellation "Nandēla", i.e., Nandyāla. Being descended from Bukkarāja, the Nandyāla chiefs also belonged to the Lunar race of Kshatriyas and partook of the Ātrēya-gōtra, Āpastamba-sūtra and Yajuś-śākha. Nārapparāja was the son of Nandyāla Nārasiṅgarāja who was himself the son of Siṅgarayya, the progenitor of the Nandyāla family. In Śaka 1469, Kīlaka, Dhanus (=December 1548 A.C.), he set up two *Dvārapālakas* in front of the central shrine of Śrī Gōvindarāja and provided for their daily propitiation through the grant of the villages Pallipaṭṭu in the Nagari-śīrmai and Guṇḍippūṇḍi near Añjūr which together yielded an annual income of 100 *rēkhai-naḍappu-pon* (No. 373—G.T.). The donor's share of the offered *prasādam* was stipulated to be issued to his *āchārya* Vēdānta-Śaṭhakōpa-Jīyar and to his disciples after him (No. 374—G.T.). This Vēdānta-Śaṭhakōpa-Jīyar must be the fifth head of the *Ahōbaḷa-Maṭha* who, according to the account of the "Sannidhi-Guruparampara", occupied its headship for six years which would roughly correspond to the period from 1553 to 1558 A.C. It was his successor Parāṅkuśa-Jīyar, the sixth pontiff, that renovated the temples round about Kamalāpuram in the Cuddapah district and received the grant of the village Srībhāshyapuram for his service from king Sadāśivarāya (note 1 on page 212 *ante*).

The Manamapoli Family: Srirangaraja:—Two chiefs of the Manamapōli or Manambōli family come to notice in some of these epigraphs, viz., Śrīraṅgarāja and Peṇḍilikoḍuku Timmarāja. Śrīraṅgarāja was the son of Manamapōli Ōbuḷarāja of Kāśyapa-gōtra, and in Śaka 1466, Krōdhi, Makara (=19-1-1545 A.C.), he made a gift of half the village of Raṇapākkam in Pāḷayachchīrmai with an annual income of 100 *pon*, deducting the *agrahāram* being the other half (No. 402—T.T.). The donor's quarter share of the

offered *prasādam* he transferred to Dēvappayyar or Dēvaraya Bhaṭṭar, son of Udayagiri Nārasiṅga-Bhaṭṭar of Vāśishṭha-gōtra and Āśvalāyana-sūtra, to be enjoyed by him and his descendants (No. 403—T.T.). From the identity of the names it is likely that Manamapōli Ōbuḷarāja and his son Śrīraṅgarāja, were the same as the two chiefs of the Kuruchēḍu family, viz., Ōbuḷarāja and his son Śrīraṅgarāja, noticed in Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09 on page 196, the latter of whom is reported to have been a Vaishṇava feudatory of Sadāśivarāya and to have made a gift of a garden to the shrine of Tirumaṅgai-Āḻvār at Hampe in Śaka 1483, Raudri (=1560-61 A.C.). And these are probably again identical with Siddhirāja-Aubaḷarāja and his son Śrīraṅgarāja who granted "the money and grain income in the village of Haḷigera belonging to the Ādavāni-durga which was held . . . . . as an amara-umbaḷi, to the temple of Kēśava-Perumāḷ at Hālaharivi and to the choultry which was resorted to by itinerant Brāhmans travelling by the military road,' in Śaka 1482, Raudri, Mārgaśira (=29-11-1560 A.C.) (No. 731 of 1919). They do not however appear to belong to the Chōḷa family of the chiefs, viz., Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Manumbōlu Chennayadēva-Chōḷamahārāja mentioned in No. 718 of 1916 from Sermadevi in the Tinnevelly district, and Raṅgayadēvaśōḷa Mahārāja, son of Chāḷikyadēva-Chōḷa-Mahārāya, mentioned in No. 504 of 1919 from Little Conjeevaram. "Manamapōli" or 'Manambōli' was perhaps assumed by these chiefs from their residence at or rule over Manambōlu or Manumbōlu, the modern town of Manumbōlu, near Gudur in the Nellore district; and this name must have lent itself as the appellation of a few families.

Pendilikoduku Timmaraja :—The other member of the Manamapōli family, viz., Peṇḍilikoḍuku Timmarāja, was the son of Kamparāja of the Kāśyapa-gōtra and Āpastamba-sūtra. In the two records that represent him, he is called the "Sūryavaṁśādhipati," i.e., the lord of the Solar race. In Śaka 1468, Plavaṅga, Mithuna (=8-6-1547 A.C.), he started a *Vasanta-tirunāḷ* in the temple at Tirumala to be celebrated for five days in the month of Māśi from its commencement on the day of the Viśākha star to its close on the day of Śravaṇam; and towards its conduct, together with offerings for Periya-Perumāḷ, i.e., *Mūla-Mūrti* Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvare, Malaikiniyaninṟa-Perumāḷ (the processional image) and Nāchchimār (the two consorts), he granted to the *Śrī-Bhaṇḍāram* three villages in the Vendavāḍai-śīrmai, viz., Baṅgāram with an income of 100 *rākhai* previously given to him by Eṟṟa-Timmarāja for providing for offerings for Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān, Viṭṭaśēri with 50 *rākhai* and Būdāpuram along with its hamlet (*kuppam*) with 50 *rākhai*, the aggregate income being

200 *rākhai* (No. 649—T.T.). In the course of the next half a dozen years the income from the three villages stopped, and, in lieu of these villages, Timmarāja endowed the temple on the 20th day of Māśi in Śaka 1475, Pramādīcha (=15-2-1554 A.C.), with Vattalūru in the Pādirikuppattu-śīrmai which yielded by itself the total income of 200 *rākhai* with which the festival and offerings could be carried on as previously arranged (No. 649, A—T.T.).

The Matli Family : Varadaraja :—In the reign of Sadāśivarāya the Maṭli family is represented by only one member. This Maṭli chief was the son of Chennamma and Pōtarāja who was the son of Sōmarāja (No. 503—T.T.). In this record he appears with the *birudas Kāvērivallabha, Cāyibhiṇḍibiruda*, and *Okketturājula-tala-guṇḍu-gaṇḍa-gaja-simha*. In Śaka 1465, Śōbhakṛit, Makara (=5-1-1544 A.C.), he provided, through a donation of 312 *rākhai-pon* as capital, for a daily offering for Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān and occasional offerings for the processional images at the *maṇṭapam*, constructed in the garden laid in the name of his mother Chennamma, during the *Tirukkoḍi-tirunāḷ* and other festivals celebrated for the deity at the time. From the *Telugu-Prabandha-Kāvya* "Kakutsthavijayamu" we learn that Sōmarāju, the son of Bommarāju who was the progenitor of the Maṭli family, had five sons the eldest of whom was Pōtarāja. Pōtarāja married two wives Chinnamma and Rāmamāmba and begot Varadarāja and Vaiyārirāja on Chinnamma and Paiḍirāja, Rāmarāja, Chiṭṭirāja and China-Ellamarāja on Rāmamāmba. The eldest of these six sons, viz., Varadarāja, married Kṛishṇama and by her had a son named Vaiyārirāja. With a strong hand he put down evil-doers and ruled the earth. Just as Vishṇu and Īśvara were the sons-in-law of the Ocean and the Mountain, so did Varadarāja become the beloved son-in-law of Kṛishṇarāya by virtue of his possession of the divine river, sages, elephants, horses, trees, cows, fierce vehicle, forehead-ornament, mountain-ornament, etc. The above genealogy therefore indicates that one of the two brothers Varadarāja and Vaiyārirāja, the sons of Pōtarāja by his wife Chennamma and the grandsons of Sōmarāja, must be the donor in our record No. 503—T.T. And quite possibly it was the elder brother Varadarāja himself, the son-in-law of the famous Kṛishṇarāya of Vijayanagara, that was the author of the afore-said services for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara. It is inferable that Kṛishṇamāmba, the single consort of Māṭli Varadarāja mentioned in the *Telugu-Kāvya* under reference, was the daughter of Kṛishṇarāya, whose other daughter Tirumalāmba was married to Aliya-Rāmarāja to become the senior among his four wives ("Rāmarājīyamu," verses 290 and 292). Varadarāja is known to

have made a gift of money to the temple at Little Conjeevaram in Śaka 1466, Krōdhi, Mithuna (=14-6-1544 A.C.), 'for providing daily offerings to the god and for special offerings on his natal-star day' (No. 528 of 1919; and to have granted a *daśavanda* charter to certain Reḍḍis, probably of Pottapi, under orders of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Rāmarāju-Tirumalarājayyadēva Mahārāja, i.e. Tirumala I, during the reign of Sadāśivarāya (No. 434 of 1911). In the former epigraph Varadarāja is stated to be represented with the *birudas*, *Kāvēri-vallabha*, *Katikasurāhāra*, *Ōttōtturājulattiguṇagaṇḍa* and *Gajasimha*. This Varadarāja, the son of Pōtarāja, grandson of Sōmarāja and great-grandson of Bommarāja, the progenitor of the Maṭli family, was related as paternal uncle to Maṭli Anantarāja, the author of "Kakutsthavijayamu." being the son of Ellamarāja, grandson of Kōnarāja, great-grandson of Timmarāja, the younger brother of Sōmarāja, and great-great-grandson of Bommarāja. The Maṭli chiefs belonged to the Dēva-Chōḍa family of the Solar race and were therefore different from the ancient Pottapi-Chōḷas and Uṟaiyūr-Chōḷas, though these were also of the Solar race. It may be noted that the two sons-in-law of Kṛishṇarāya, viz, Āravīṭi Aḷiya-Rāmarāja and Maṭli Varadarāja, had not made their appearance in the reign of Kṛishṇarāya himself or in that of his successor Achyutarāya, but only in the succeeding reign of Sadāśivarāya when the influence and power of the two brothers, the elder and younger Salakarāja Tirumalarājas, had been undermined.

Śrīpati-Obaleśvara :—Śrīpati-Ōbaḷēśvara was the son of Mārurāju-Rāmarāju of the Ātrēya-gōtra, Āpastamba-sūtra and Yajuś-śākha, and, as such, probably belonged to the Āravīḍu family, though the names of the son and the father do not admit of identification with the known members of that family. This Ōbaḷēśvara arranged in Śaka 1468, Parābhava, Simha (=13-8-1546 A.C.), for the offering of one *junnu-paḍi* and eight *tiruppōnakam* daily for Śrī-Vēṅkaṭēśvara and, to meet the expenses, granted to the temple the village Pārūr which yielded an annual income of 300 *gaṭṭi-varāhan*. This coin must have been of a higher value than the ordinary *varāhan*, *pon* or *rēkhai-pon* noticed in several inscriptions of our Collection.

Potlapati Rangaraja :—Raṅgarāja must be another member of the Āravīḍu family, probably related closely to Poṭlapāṭi Timmarāja, grandson of Āravīṭi Bukkarāja, noticed above. No. 361-G.T. dated in Śaka 1468, Parābhava, Tula (=13-10-1546 A.C.), which registers his gift of the village Rāchcherulu in Viḍatoṇi-śīrmai with an annual income of 370 *rēkhai-pon*, states that Poṭlapāṭi Raṅgarāja was the son of Āravīṭṭi Nārapparāja of the Ātrēya-gōtra.

Among the members of the Āravīḍu family the name Nārapparāja does not occur. One Raṅgarāja of the Āravīḍu family was the son of Kōnēṭirāja and the younger brother of Koṇḍarāja, while another was the son of Pina-Koṇḍarāja who was the son of Poṭlapāṭi Timmarāja. This Poṭlapāṭi Raṅgarāja provided for offerings for Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān during the *tiruvārādhanam* (worship) following the daily ablutions and for the image of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa installed in the eastern portion of the *Maṭham* in Tirupati presided over by Vānamāmalai-Jīyar. This *Maṭham* is the local *Jīyar-Maṭham* noticed earlier (pages 91 to 95 *ante*) and still found linked on to the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara.

Bayakara Ramappayya :—As noticed under Achyutarāya, Bayakāra Rāmappayya continued in service under Sadāśivarāya in whose reign he resuscitated the provision for offerings for Śrī-Gōvindarāja originally made by his father Rāyasam Periya-Timmarasayya and also supplemented the same in Śaka 1466, Krōdhi, Mithuna (=16-6-1544 A.C.) (page 234 *ante*). From the statement of his records and his work on music "Svaramēḷakaḷānidhi" which he dedicated to Aḷiya-Rāmarāja, he appears to have been the *protege* of this all-powerful *Mahāpradhāni* from whom he is stated to have received the governorship of Koṇḍavīḍu, that is to say, he retained the governorship of the province through the favour of Aḷiya-Rāmarāja. Hence for this patron, Rāmappayya constructed the palace called *Ratnakūṭa*, possibly in the capital city of Vijayanagara itself. Rāmappayya was therefore a versatile genius, being, like others of his time, not only a scholar, a musician and a statesman but an architect as well. The charity of his aunt Chinnamāmba, the wife of Pratāpa-Ellamarasa, relating to the gift of Vaṅkāyalapāḍu to the temple for daily offerings for Śrī Gōvindarāja and Viṭṭhalēśvara is recorded in No. 401—G. T. dated in Śaka 1469, Plavaṅga, Karkaṭaka (=8-7-1547 A.C.), in the reign of Sadāśivarāya.

Rayasam Venkatadri and His Brother Konappayya :—Rāyasam Vēṅkaṭādri was the son of Timmaya or Timmarasaya and grandson of Mosalimaḍugu Vīramarāja or Vīramarasaya of Haritasa-gōtra, Āpastamba-sūtra and Yajuś-śākha. For the purpose of offering 250 *atirasa-paḍis* to Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa on certain days during the ten *Tirukkoḍi-tirunāḷ* at Tirumala and other holy occasions, he granted to the temple in Śaka 1473, Virōdhikṛit, Karkaṭaka (=8-7-1551 A.C.), three villages, viz., Dēsūr with an annual income of 700 *rēkhai* in the Jagattuvāchcheri-śīrmai in Kalavai-paṟṟu within Meyyūr-nāḍu in Palakunra-kōṭṭam of Paḍaivīḍu-rājyam, Velaṅjinēṟu with 200 *rēkhai-pon* in Jagattuvāchchēri-śīrmai in Nārāyaṇapurapparṟu in Taṇigai-nāḍu within Kunṟa-

vardhana-kōṭṭam of Chandragiri-rājyam, and half of Kuḍuvūr alias Timmasamudram with 130 *rēkhai* in Gaṇḍikōṭa-śīrmai, making a total income of 1030 *rēkhai* (No. 662—T.T.). The institutors of the festivals with the month of their celebration are mentioned in this inscription. The *Tiruninṟa-Ūr-uḍaiyār*, i.e., the temple-accountants, instituted the festival celebrated in the month of Āvaṇi; Kāḍavanperundēvi, the queen of Sundara-Pāṇḍya, instituted the original festival *Brahmōtsavam* in the month of Puraṭṭāśi in the name of Ādi-Brahma; Dēvarāya Mahārāya in Arpaśi; Bukkarāya Mahārāya in Kārtikai; Kṛishṇarāya Mahārāya in Tai; Hariharārāya in Māśi; Vīra-Nārasiṅga Yādavarāya in Paṅguni; the temple-accountants in Chittirai; Tāḷḷapāka Tirumalayyaṅgār in Āni; and Rāmarāja-Chinna-Timmarāja one more in the same month of Āni. It may be noted that one of these donors, viz., Kāḍavanperundēvi, the queen of Sundara-Pāṇḍya., i.e., the first of that name who extended the Pāṇḍya supremacy into the north upto the Kṛishṇa river in the middle of the 13th century, is apparently different from Sāmavai alias Kāḍavanperundēvi, the queen of the Pallava chief who was a subordinate of Koppātra-Mahēndra-Panmar (page 20 *ante.*). These festivals which were only nine in the time of Achyutarāya rose to ten in the same reign and to eleven during the period of the Āravīḍu dynasty (No. 329—G.T.).

In Śaka 1483, Durmati, Dhanus (=5-12-1561 A.C.), Rāyasam Vēṅkaṭādriayyan once again provided in conjunction with his younger brother Kōnappayyan, for special offerings for both Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa and Śrī Gōvindarāja (No. 645—T.T.). The charges of his provision at Tirumala came to 100 *rēkhai* and at Tirupati to 429 *rēkhai* per year, and towards these expenses he endowed the temple with two villages and 34 *vṛittis* of land in different villages. Āppūr with an annual income of 50 *rēkhai* in Śeṅgaḷunīrpaṭṭu-śīrmai and Ākāśi-Sūryampaṭṭi with Ghaṇṭākaṇakuppam in another *śīrmai* were the two full villages granted by him. The *vṛittis* were situated in Satravāḍai surnamed Timmarasapuram in Kōṭṭūr-śīrmai, Vēppaguṇṭai alias Kumāra-Timmarasapuram in Pērūr-śīrmai, Echchiyūr-agrahāram in Kōṭṭūr-śīrmai, Panaippākkam near Yiruppūr and Puttūr and other villages. Most of these villages are now found near Tiruttani and Arkonam. The younger brother Kōnappayyan's *Ubhaiyam* consisted of a single item of four *tiruppōnakam* to be offered each day for Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān, the total cost for a year of 365 days aggregating to 117 *rēkhai*, for which he granted two villages Iḷaiyāṇḍānpaṭṭu and Perumaṇanipūndi with 22 *vṛittis* of land in Vīḍu-grāmam in Vīḍūru-śīrmai. The total endowments of the two brothers were therefore four full villages and

56 *vṛittis* of land and they fetched an income of 646 *rēkhai* to the *Śrī-Bhaṇḍāram* annually. From the large number of *vṛittis* that Rāyasam Vēṅkaṭādriayyan and his brother Kōnappayyan transferred to the possession of the temple on this occasion as well as from the gift of the 30 additional shares made 'as a preferential share, to the minister, the secretary (*rāyasa*) Vēṅkaṭādri, a son of the minister Timmaya and grandson of the minister Mosalimaḍūvīrama, who belonged to the *gōtra* of Harita, was a distinguished student of the Yujurvēda, and followed the *sūtra* of Āpastamba', out of the entire grant of the village Uhinai surnamed Achyutēndramahārāyapura effected by king Achyutarāya in Śaka 1462, Śārvari, Kārtika (=12-10-1540 A. C.), as recorded in the Ūnamāñjēri Plates of Achyutarāya (Ep. Ind., Vol. III, page 151), it is evident that they were *Vaidika-Brāhmaṇas*, and, as such, Vēṅkaṭādri-Nāyaka cannot be identified with this Brāhman minister Rāyasam Vēṅkaṭādri, as is done in the Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1908-09, page 193. Again as mentioned therein, Musalimaḍuvu Vīraparāja-Timmarājayya was not the brother of Rāyasam Vēṅkaṭādri, but he was the latter's father, as noted there alone and as may be gathered from Nos. 534 of 1919 and 191 of 1916 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

Vēṅkaṭādri served Achyutarāya as his *rāyasam* or secretary, while his father Timmarāja, and probably grandfather Vīrapparāja also, had been engaged as ministers of the crown during the same reign (Ep. Ind., Vol. III, page 151). From No. 14 of 1904, we find that the father Timmarāja continued in the service of Sadāśivarāya and made a gift of gold 'with the consent of Aḷiya-Rāmapayyadēva-mahā-arasu', at Hampe in Śaka 1476, Ānanda (=1554 A.C.). Likewise the elder son Rāyasam Vēṅkaṭādri continued in service under Sadāśivarāya also and made a gift of Tuṟaiyūr and another village to the temple at Tiruppukkuḻi in the Conjeevaram taluk of the Chingleput district in Śaka 1483, Durmati, Tulā (=15-10-1561 A. C.) (No. 191 of 1916) and received ten days later, i.e., on 25-10-1561 A.C., 'the assignment, on interest . . . . . of the income of certain villages for providing offerings to the God' at Conjeevaram (No. 534 of 1919); whereas the younger son Kōnappayya appears to have entered service only during the reign of Sadāśivarāya (No. 645—T.T.).

Rayasam Hariyappa and his Son Lakkarasayya:—Like Rāyasam Vēṅkaṭādri, Rāyasam Hariyappa of the Kāśyapa-gōtra, Āśvalāyana-sūtra and Ṛik-śākha, also belonged to the secretarial staff of king Sadāśivarāya, as indicated by his designation. Hariyappa provided for a daily offering for

Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān in Śaka 1466, Krōdhi, Kanya (=11-9-1544 A.C.), and as capital therefor paid 1580 *naṟpaṇam* into the *Śrī-Bhaṇḍāram* (No. 443—T.T.). Lakkarasayya, son of this Vaṅgāpuram Rāyasam Hariyappa, is brought to notice in No. 82—T.T., wherein the donor authorised Lakkarasayya to receive the donor's share of the offered *prasādam* in Śaka 1470, Kīlaka, Ṛishabha (=7-5-1548 A.C.).

Adaippam Surappa-Nayaka :—Sūrappa Nāyaka was the son of Pōttappa-Nāyaka of Kāśyapa-gōtra, Āpastamba-sūtra and Yajuś-śākha. In Śaka 1473, Virōdhikṛit, Ṛishabha (=10-5-1551 A.C.). he provided for the propitiation of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara with eight *veḷḷai-tiruppōnakam* daily and established the *Sahasranāma-mahōtsava-tirunāḷ* in the month of Māśi with *aṅkurārpaṇam* (seed-sowing) on the day of the star Makha, *adhivāsam* (dwelling, i.e., in the particular chamber outside the central shrine) on the day of Uttara and *Śāttumuṟai* (closing function) on the day of the star Chitta (No. 666—T.T.). Towards the expenses of the festival and offerings he granted the village Villiyanallūr with an annual income of 400 *rēkhai-pon* in Viḷuppura-śīrmai in Tiruvadi-rājyam. The epigraph also refers to the *maṇṭapam* of Bayyappa-Nāyaka and the *tōṭṭam* (garden) of Sūrappa-Nāyaka. Several inscriptions of the Mad. Ep. Coll. indicate that his official career during Sadāśivarāya's reign from Śaka 1465, Śōbhakṛit, Māgha (=January 1544 A.C.) (No. 334 of 1917), to Śaka 1489, Prabhava, Vṛiśchika (=November 1567 A.C.) (Nos. 313 and 314 of 1921), was confined to the Tiruvadi-rājyam, i.e., Tiruvadi-śīrmai (a portion of the modern South Arcot district), which was 'a subdivision of Tirumunaippāḍi-vaḷanāḍu, which was itself a portion of Vaḷudilamppaṭṭu-uśāvaḍi (i.e. chāvaḍi) in Kuṟukkai-kūṟṟam, a district of Malāḍu alias Jananātha-vaḷanāḍu, (No. 312 of 1921). He appears to have been originally a lieutenant under Adigāram Daḷavāyi Kṛishṇappa-Nāyaka for whose merit he made a gift to the temple at Dēvikāpuram in the North Arcot district in Śaka 1468, Parābhava, Vṛiśchika (=26-11-1546 A.C.) (No. 391 of 1912), and his agent granted the tax *talaiyārikkam* to the temple at Kugaiyūr in Śaka 1483, Durmati, Makara (=January 1562 A.C.) (No. 106 of 1918). One of his early services consisted of the reconsecration in Śaka 1465, Śōbhakṛit, Māgha (=31-1-1544 A.C.), of the temple at Eṇṇāyiram in the South Arcot district 'which was built by Rājēndra-Chōla and (which) had become dilapidated' (No. 334 of 1917). This same record mentions that he was an younger brother of Aḍapa Baiyappa-Nāyaka ; and both Baiyappa-Nāyaka and Sūrappa-Nāyaka together made a gift of the village Śiṟṟāmūr to the temple of Sembedu

in the South Arcot district in Śaka 1469, Plavaṅga, Ṛishabha (=23-5-1547 A.C.) (No. 1 of 1919). This Baiyappa-Nāyaka is not the same Aḍaippam Bayyappa-Nāyaka who had served under Kṛishṇarāya as suggested in para 74 of the Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1918, for the latter was the son of Timmappa-Nāyaka, while the former was the son of Pōttu-Nāyaka or Pōttappa-Nāyaka. It is stated that they had another brother Vīrappa or Viśvappa-Nāyaka (*ibid*). During the later years of Sadāśivarāya's reign Sūrappa-Nāyaka became the agent (*kāryakartā*) of the king whereby he exercised authority (*pūravartanam*) over the same Tiruvadi-rājya (No. 41 of 1922). Even by Śaka 1474, Parīdāpi, Tula (=29-10-1552 A.C.), he is found to have assumed the *biruda* 'Maṇi-nāgapuravarādhīśvara' ('lord of Maṇināgapura') (No. 312 of 1921), and it probably indicates his rule of the surrounding territory from his capital at 'Maṇināgapura'. He had a number of agents, such as Vaḍamalai-Nāyaka, Vēṅkaṭappayya-Vēṅgappayya, Urattu Pāppu-Nāyaka, Kumārappa-Reḍḍi and Timmayar-Aṇṇagaḷ, under him in the several towns of the Tiruvadi-śīrmai.

Adaippam Sevvappa-Nayaka :—Śevvappa-Nāyaka was the son of Māṇikkakoḍiyār of Maḍippākkam. In Śaka 1469, Plavaṅga, Karkaṭaka (=8-7-1547 A.C.), he granted to the temple the income from the village Maḍippākkam situated in Perunagari-śīrmai for daily offerings for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara (No. 643—T.T.). The annual income from the village was 70 *rēkhai-pon*. Śevvappa-Nāyaka retained the possession of the village as *kāṇiyākshi* and undertook to pay the 70 *pon* each year into the *Śrī-Bhaṇḍāram* towards the conduct of the offerings.

Tirumalai-Nayaka :—Tirumalai-Nāyaka, son of Bālu-Nāyaka of Āraṇi, provided for offerings thrice a day for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara and therefor granted in Śaka 1474, Parīdhāvi, Siṁha (=1-8-1552 A.C.), the income of the village Tachchūr-Attimalaipaṭṭu situated on the north bank of the river Śeyyāṟu in Tachchūr-nāḍu in Gaṇḍagōpālan-paṟṟu comprised in Rājagambhīra-rājyam within Palakuṉṟa-kōṭṭam in Jayaṅkoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam within Paḍaivīḍu-rājyam (No. 539—T.T.). The income from the village was 80 *rēkhai-naḍappu-pon* annually. As in the case of Śevvappa-Nāyaka, Tirumalai-Nāyaka retained the village in his own hands as *kāṇiyākshi*, agreed to defray the salaries of the village servants (*paṇiyākshi*) and pay the 80 *pon* into the temple-treasury each year towards the expenses of the daily offerings and obtain the *paṟṟumuṟi* (receipt) from the authorities of the temple.

Murti-Nayaka :—Mūrti-Nāyaka, son of Kaṭ'a Koṇḍama-Nāyaka of the Chaturtha-gōtra residing at Kumarapalli, arranged in Śaka 1467, Krōdhi, Siṁha

(=7-8-1544 A.C.), for offerings for the processional images during the *Brahmōtsavams* in the names of his kith and kin at the *maṇṭapam* built by him in a grove of trees at Tirumala (No. 578. A—T.T.). During the *Āḍi-tirunāḷ* the services were stipulated to be conducted in the names of Mūrti-Nāyaka's parents Koṇḍama-Nāyaka and Bokkamma; in the Āvaṇi festival in his own name; in the Puraṭṭāśi festival in the name of his wife Mūrtiamman; in the Arpaśi festival his other wife Kanakamman; in Kārtikai festival his younger brother Narasayyan; Tai festival his other brother Nārāyaṇan; Māśi festival his son Mattaiyan; Paṅguni festival another son Tattaiyan; Chittirai festival his wife's brother (*machchinanār*) Kommu-Nāyaka; and in the Āni festival instituted by Tāḷḷapāka Tirumalayyaṅgār in the name of his *rāyasam*, viz., Tirumalayyan. He also established a watershed at the *maṇṭapam* built by him beside the pathway leading to Tirumala and to the west of the pathway leading to *Siṅgar-kōyil* in Tirupati and engaged the services of two watermen at it on a remuneration of 1 *rēkhai* 5½ *paṇam*, per year probably. He set up two watersheds at Tirumala one of which was located at the *tēr-maṇṭapam* for whose annual repairs a sum of 1 *rēkhai* 6 *paṇam* was also provided. His services for Śrī Gōvindarāja in Tirupati consisted of an offering for the Garuḍa flag during the Āni festival in the name of his father Koṇḍama-Nāyaka; in the Māśi festival in the name of his younger paternal uncle Karu-Nāyaka; in the Vaikāśi festival in his own name and in that of his brother Narasayyan's wife, Chinnamman; and in another festival, perhaps the Mārgaḷi one, in the name of Muḷuttayya-Nāyaka and Rāyasam Tirumalayyan. The total cost of the offerings was estimated at 75 *rēkhai* per year and towards their conduct Mūrti-Nāyaka granted Rājēndrasiṅganallūr in Perundimā-nāḍu in Paḍuvūr-kōṭṭam and transferred to the temple his right valued at 25 *rēkhai* in half of the *Kōnēṭi-kālvāy* in Puduppaṭṭu village situated in Kuḍavūr-nāḍu in Tiruvēṅkaṭa-kōṭṭam within Chandragiri-rājyam.

Sevvu-Nayaka :—Śevvu-Nāyaka was the son of Siṅga-Nallappan of Kaṇḍapāla-gōtra and belonged to the community of Veḷḷāḷas of Pāṅgu-nāḍu (No. 403—G.T.). In Śaka 1468, Parābhava, Makara (=13-12-1546 A.C.), he provided, through a capital of 2480 *paṇam*, for offerings for Śrī Gōvindarāja in the names of Basavayan, son of Kodimikōḷil Pōttunāyani-Basavayan; Pāppayan, son of Eṟṟa-Basavayan; Pōttu-Nayaka, son of Sōmugaṅgayan; Śrīraṅgarāja-Rāmayan-Timmayan; Ugrāṇam Rāmayan; Śrīnivāsan, son of Kuṅjaippūr Nallār; and Timmu-Nāyaka, elder brother of the donor Śevvu-Nāyaka. He also appears to have established a watershed in Tirupati and this charity is mentioned in

two extracts registered in Nos. 438, A—T.T. and 438, B—TT., while his services pertaining to the propitiation of the deity are referred to in No. 409—G.T., dated about a month later in the same year in the month of Kumbha on 6-2-1547 A.C. Śevvu-Nāyaka supplemented his original provision in Śaka 1469, Plavaṅga, Tai (=1-1-1548 A.C.), with offerings for the processional image of Śrī Gōvindarāja on the *Pāḍiyavēṭṭaināl* in the name of Poṭlapāṭi Rāmarāju-Chinna-Timmayadēva Mahārāja and Pōli-Reḍḍi, son of Mummaḍi-Reḍḍi of Rāmānujapalli; and in his own name for Raghunātha on the day of *Pāḍiyavēṭṭai* (No. 405—G.T.). The donor's share of the offered *prasādam* was required to be delivered to the donor Śevvu-Nāyaka himself, except that offered in the name of Pōli-Reḍḍi which was stipulated to be issued to the *Kandāḍai-Rāmānujakūṭattār*. This *Rāmānujakūṭam* originally instituted by Sāḷuva Narasiṁha and managed by Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgār is heard of again after half a century in the reign of Sadāśivarāya, in whose time it appears to have been under the management of Kandāḍai Kumāra-Rāmānujayyaṅgār. An extract at the end of the inscription records that this *poliyūṭṭu* pertained to Śevvu-Nāyaka, son of Siṅga-Nallappan who belonged to the Veḷḷāḷa community of Pāṅgu-nāḍu, and states that he was entitled *Gaṇḍaraganḍa* ('the bravest of the brave') and *Yōnikōṭi-jīvanukkellām-rakshāpālaka* ('the protector of the innumerable living beings') (No. 406—G.T.) A small Telugu inscription No. 198—G.T. mentions Tamma-Nāyaṇḍu and Chevvi-Nāyaḍu, sons of Chevvi-Nāyaḍu, and Rāmayya, son of their sister Rōḷama. From the provision for offerings made by Śevvu-Nāyaka in the name of Poṭlapāṭi-Rāmarāju-Chinna-Timmayadēva Mahārāja, the younger brother of Viṭṭhalarāja, it may be inferred that the former was an official subordinate of the latter either in the administration of Avuku-sīma which was a *nāyaṅkara* held by Chinna-Timmayadēva from the king (No. 700 of 1917), or in the joint government of the Chandragiri-rājya by the three brothers Viṭṭhalarāja, Chinna-Timmarāja and Pāppu-Timmayadēva Mahārāja (No. 591 of 1919).

Rachavittu-Nayaka :—Rāchavīṭṭu-Nāyaka authorised the utilisation of the 200 *paṇam* paid as capital by Sevvusāni, one of the *empurumānaḍiyār* of Tirupati, for the daily propitiation of Vighnēśvara installed by her in the temple of Nāyanār-Kapilēśvaramuḍaiya-Nāyanār, towards the repairs to the *prākāra* walls and the kitchen attached to the same temple, while they were damaged by being struck by thunder during rains (No. 205—G.T.). In Śaka 1484, Dundubhi, Kumbha (=30-1-1563 A.C.), he however managed to carry out the original obligation of daily worship for vighnēśvara with a lamp,

flower-garland and offerings at a cost of 2 *paṇam* monthly, being the interest on the capital of 200 *paṇam* at one *paṇam* per month per cent. This yields a rate of interest of 12 per cent per annum.

Attilanka-Nayaka :—Attilaṅka-Nāyaka, son of Āmikāla Taṅgaḍa-Nāyaka, of Vēpambaṭṭupāḷaiyam, made a donation of 550 *naṟpaṇam* to the temple for certain offerings for the processional image at the *maṇṭapam* in his garden in Śaka 1466, Krōdhi, Mithuna (=5-6-1544 A.C.) (No. 513—T.T.).

Timmana-Udaiyar :—Timmaṇa-Uḍaiyar, son of Vaṅgāpuram Ellappa-Uḍaiyar, paid 12,000 *naṟpaṇam* into the temple-treasury in Śaka 1468, Parābhava, Tula (=13-10-1546 A.C.), for offering daily six *veḷḷai-tiruppōnakkam* for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara along with the *Achyutarāyar-sandhi-avasaram* (No. 400—G.T.). The donor's quarter share of one and a half *prasādam* was required to be delivered to Vaṅgāpuram Nārāyaṇa-Śeṭṭi for maintaining the *taṇṇīr-pandal* (watershed) at *Tirumala-aḍivāram* (at the base of the hill) at Vaṅgāpuram Ellappa-Uḍaiyar's *maṇṭapam*.

RELIGIOUS TEACHERS AND VAIDIKA BRAHMANAS.

Yatiraja-Jiyar and Vanamamalai-Jiyar :—Some of the religious teachers that come to notice in the epigraphs of this period were servants of the temple who were obliged to conduct certain religious rites in these temples. Such was Yatirāja-Jīyar, the disciple of Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa-Jīyar and the manager of the *Pēraruḷāḷan-Maṭham* (No. 410—T.T.). He was designated *Periya-Kōyil-kēḷvi*, the senior superintendent of the temple, in distinction to the *Iḷaiya-Kōyil-kēḷvi*, the junior superintendent who at the time was Vānamāmalai-Jīyar. Yatirāja-Jīyar provided for offerings for the deity during the Āni and the Āḍi festivals through the payment of 820 *naṟpaṇam* into the temple-treasury in Śaka 1463, Plava, Mithuna (=21-6-1541 A.C.), in the last days of Achyutarāya's reign. Some cash payments also were required to be made to the staff of the temple for conducting the *tiruvōlakkam* or *āsthānam* arranged by him on the day of *Viḍāyāṟṟi* (closing day) during the *Āni-Tirukkoḍi-tirunāḷ*; and we find the following dozen items of payment noted therein :—4½ *paṇam* for the 4½ *Sthānattār-vagai*, 1 *paṇam* for *Sabhaiyār-tirumunkāṇikkai*, 1 *paṇam* for *anusandhānam*, 1 for *Kaṅgāṇippān*, 1 for *viṇṇappamiṭeyvār*, 1 for *Kōyil-adhikāri*, 1 for *tēvaiyāḷ*, 1 for *maṇṭapakkottar*, 1 for *maṇṭapam-vitānikka-*

kaikkōḷar, ½ *paṇam* for *śippiyar*, 2 *paṇam* for *tiruppaḷittāmam* and 1 for *tūkkan*, making a total *tirukkai-vaḷakam* of 1 *rākhai* 6 *paṇam*. From this list it would appear that there existed three authorities in the temple, viz., the *Sthānattār*, the *Adhikāri* and the *Kōyil-kēḷvi*, whose jurisdiction could not have been co-ordinate. The *Sthānattār* might exercise superior authority, the general management and supervision over all matters religious and secular pertaining to the temples, while the duties of the *Adhikāri* might be confined to certain secular affairs and those of the *Kōyil-kēḷvi* to religious functions, both the latter forming part of the *Sthānattār* who alone executed all documents of the temples. In the name of Yatirāja-Jīyar were provided certain offerings for the deity during the month of Mārgaḷi by Ellappā-Piḷḷai, son of Andakālam-tīrtār, one of the Śeṭṭi class of Gōpāla-gōtra residing at Tiruvakkarai, in Śaka 1465, Śōbhakṛit, Tulā (=3-10-1543 A.C.) (No. 668—T.T.). Yatirāja-Jīyar was the head of the local religious institution generally known as the *Jīyar-Maṭham*, and Vānamāmalai-Jīyar was the junior of this *Periya-Kōyil-Kēḷvi* Yatirāja-Jīyar. No. 509—T.T. states that Vānamāmalai-Jīyar was the disciple of Rāmānuja-Jīyar and grand-disciple of Vānamāmalai-Jīyar and that he was the manager of the *Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷan-nandavanam* and the *Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷan-Maṭham*. In Śaka 1463, Plava, Kumbha (=24-2-1542 A.C.), he arranged for offerings for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara and the processional image during the ten *Tirukkoḍi-tirunāḷ* and other festivals and auspicious occasions. One such occasion was the Āḍi-Pūram, *i.e.*, the day of Pūrva-Phalguni or Pubba star in the month of Āḍi, which was the *āṭṭai-tirunakshatram* of his *guru* Rāmānuja-Jīyar. In the course of the procession of the processional images during the *Jalakrīḍai-tirunāḷ*, the images were propitiated with offerings while being seated on the *Uñjal* in the *nilaittiruttār* (the stationary stone-car) standing in front of the *Maṭham* over which he presided. From this it would appear that the *Maṭham* of the junior Jīyar was situated somewhere adjacent to the stone-car which now stands half-buried at the north-east corner of the Tirumala village, whereas his present *Maṭham* is located near the south-west corner. In the distribution of the donor's share of the offered *prasādam*, he allotted a portion to Ānandāmpiḷḷai-Jīyar, who is stated to have been his *āchārya*, and to Kōyil Kandāḍai Aṇṇan, and the balance he stipulated to be delivered only to the *Dēśāntari* who took charge of the *Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷan-Maṭham*. This indicates the principle of succession obtaining in the *Jīyar-Maṭham* wherein the successors of the junior *Jīyar* were *Dēśāntaris*, i.e., immigrants into Tirupati from the Tamil country and not natives of the town

itself. We are informed in No. 402—G.T. that Kōyil-kēḷvi Vānamāmalai-Rāmānuja-Jīyar built a shrine in the eastern portion of his *Maṭham* situated in the *Sannidhi-tiruvīdhi* of Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple in Tirupati and set up an image of Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān and, through the payment of 2000 *naṟpaṇam* as capital into the temple-treasury in Śaka 1468, Parābhava, Tulā (=13-10-1546 A.C.), provided for its daily propitiation during the daytime with *tiruppōnakam* cooked and prepared in the kitchen of Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple at the time of the offering of the *avasaram* arranged by Poṭlapāṭī Raṅgārāja, son of Āravīṭṭi Nārapparāja of Ātrēya-gōtra, while Raṅgarāja also provided for *rāppaḍi* (night offerings) for the same image on the above date (No. 361—G.T.).

Vedanta-Sathakopa-Jiyar :—Vēdānta-Śaṭhakōpa-Jīyar was the religious preceptor who presided at the time over the *Ahōbala-Maṭham* of the *Vaḍagalai-Śrīvāishṇavas* of South India. He was the fifth pontiff in succession to Ādi-Vaṇ-Śaṭhakōpa-Jīyar, the founder of this religious institution in the last years of the third quarter of the 15th century A.C. (page 215 *ante*). He was the spiritual *guru* of the chiefs of the Nandyāla family, as expressed in the grant of the donor's share of the offered *prasādam* made to his *āchārya* Vēdānta-Śaṭhakōpa-Jīyar by Nārapparāja, son of Nandyāla Narasiṅgarāja, in Śaka 1469, Kīlaka, Dhanus (=December 1548 A.C.) (Nos. 373 and 374—G.T.). It is this same Vēdānta-Śaṭhakōpa-Jīyar that regained for the Gajapati king Mukundadēva his throne from the Gauḍa king of Bengal as mentioned in the footnote on page 212 *ante*. From the date of our epigraph No. 373—G.T., it would seem necessary to push back the pontifical period of Vēdānta-Śaṭhakōpa-Jīyar by about three years or fix its commencement sometime earlier than the date of our record and extend it to nine years, instead of six years, upto 1557 A.C., in consonance with the date of the Drākshārāma inscription noticed in the above footnote. Unlike the *Jīyars* of the local *Maṭham* who were mostly confined to their headquarters Tirupati, owing to their obligatory service in the temples, the *Jīyars* of the *Ahōbala-Maṭham* with their nominal headquarters at Ahōbalam originally which they transferred to Tiruvallur near Madras at the end of the 19th century, felt themselves free to tour the country constantly.

Venkatatturaivar :—Vēṅkaṭattuṟaivār belonged to the family of the *Nambimār* who carried on the worship of Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān, i.e., the officiating priests of the temple. He was the son of Malainiṉṟān-Bhaṭṭar-Appayan of Kāśyapa-gōtra, Vaikhānasa-sūtra and Yajuś-śākha. The *Nambimār* of the temple were paid certain remuneration in each of the festivals celebrated

in the temples and each one among them partook of it. Out of a sum of 130 *paṇam* paid as the *Dhruva-darśanam* present at the celebration for five days of the *Lakshmīdēvi-tirunāḷ* instituted by Achyutarāya in Śaka 1457, Manmatha, Dhanus (=26-12-1535 A.C.), Vēṅkaṭattuṟaivār obtained 60 *paṇam* as his share for his service for two days of the festival (No. 544—T.T.). During the ten *Tirukkoḍi-tirunāḷ* conducted at Tirumala at the time, this *Nambiyār* held three-eighths share in each as *āchāryam*, that is to say, for the ten festivals in the year his claim amounted to three and three-quarter days. No. 448—T.T. mentions two other items of remuneration which Nambi Vēṅkaṭattuṟaivār obtained each year, viz., 25 *paṇam* as *pratimai-dakshiṇai* in the general distribution during the *Tirukkoḍi-tirunāḷ* and 20 *paṇam* for *Nāmārchanai* or worship with the recitation of the 1008 appellations of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa. This amount of 45 *paṇam*, paid to him out of *Vartana-vagai*, he authorised the *Sthānattār* to credit to the temple as an additional investment by him towards the expenses of the offerings which he arranged in Śaka 1461, Vikāri, Vṛiśchika (=7-11-1539 A. C.), during the reign of Achyutarāya, through the deposit of 150 *paṇam* as capital in the *śālai* of the temple (No. 448—T. T.). In Śaka 1467, Viśvāvasu, Vṛiśchika (=26-11-1545 A.C.), falling into the reign of Sadāśivarāya, he supplemented his original provision for offerings, oil and butter made in Śaka 1461, Vikāri, Kanya (=17—9—1539 A. C.) (No. 446—T. T.), by arranging for the distribution of oil and turmeric powder during the procession of Śrī Kṛishṇa and by making further offerings to the deities (No. 667—T. T.).

A few members of the *Nambimār* family appear in some of these epigraphs, viz., Malainiṉṟaperumāḷ, son of Karuṇākara-Bhaṭṭar-Gōvindayan of Bhāradvāja-gōtra, Vaikhānasa-sūtra and Yajuś-śākha (No. 448—T. T.); Śrīnivāsan, son of Malainiṉṟān-Bhaṭṭar-Aṇṇan; Malainiṉṟaperumāḷ, probably son of Tiruvēṅkaṭa-Bhaṭṭar-Akkaṅan; and Śiṟṟanar-Pārivartaman, son of Periyaperumāḷ-Bhaṭṭar-Anantappar (No. 667—T. T). Another Nambiyār Śrīnivāsan, son of Tiruvēṅkaṭa-Nambiyār-Timmayar, who belonged to the Śrīvatsa-gōtra and Vaikhānasa-sūtra, was the recipient of the offered *prasādam* provided by the *Tiruvaḍi-rāja* for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa and Śrī Gōvindarāja in Śaka 1479, Piṅgaḷa, Kanya (=September 1557 A. C.), for the merit of Viṭṭhalarāja, the conqueror of the Tiruvaḍi-rājya (No. 147—G.T.).

The Tallapakam Family of Musician-Poets : Annamayyangar :—Four genarations of the Tāḷḷapākam family that flourished in the 15th and 16th centuries A. C. come to notice in the *Saṅkīrtana* copper-plates and the

epigraphs of our Collection. The Tāḷḷapākam musician-poets were *Nandavarīka Brāhmanas*, like Allasāni Peddanāmātya, the poet-laureate of Kṛishṇarāya, and belonged to the Bhāradvāja-gōtra, Āśvalāyana-sūtra and Ṛik-śākha. Annayārya is the earliest member of the family but no epigraphical records are available for him. Among the literary compositions of the family preserved on copper-plates in a small room in the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara at Tirumala, three works are found written by him. They are "Adhyātma-Saṅkīrtanalu", "Śṛiṅgāra-Saṅkīrtanalu" and "Śṛiṅgāra-Mañjari". The prologues prefixed to the first two works recount that Tāḷapāka Annamāchārya commenced composing both the *Saṅkīrtanas* in Śaka 1346, Krōdhi (=1424 A. C.), being then in his 16th year of age during which he had a manifestation of God Tiruvēṅgaḍanātha, and continued his work until the 12th day of the dark fortnight of Phālguṇa in Śaka 1424, Dundubhi (=23rd February 1503 A. C.), from which date also commence his son Peda-Tirumalāchārya's literary activities. That is to say, for a period of 80 years from 1424 to 1503 A.C., Annayārya went on composing *Saṅkīrtanas* in the name of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa and sang one or more of them each day in His holy presence. And his age at his retirement from his literary-musical activities was therefore 96 years and he must have deceased about this date. He was thus contemporaneous with Ādi-Vaṇ-Śaṭhakōpa-Jīyar and Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgār, having lived through the reigns of the last kings of the First dynasty of Vijayanagara from Dēvarāya II to Virūpāksha, into those of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha and his son Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁha, and witnessed the two alleged usurpations of the Vijayanagara throne by the Sāḷuvas and the Tuḷuvas in the middle of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries of the Christian era. In the "Śṛiṅgāra-Saṅkīrtanas" God Vēṅkaṭēśa is addressed as *Nāyaka* (lover) by the poet who conceives himself as the *Nāyikā* (lady-love), and the *Nāyaka* is sometimes petted, coaxed, reproved, praised and petitioned with the ultimate object and request for being favoured with His divine grace. The theme of the "Adhyātma-Saṅkīrtanas" is the inculcation of *Bhakti* and insistence on the adoration of Tiruvēṅkaṭapati, i.e., Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa. These *Saṅkīrtanas* are therefore addressed to the layman before whom is held up a picture of the depravity of a man's life not dedicated to God's service and the glory and merit that become the true devotee of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara, and hence the necessity of His worship—"Kaṁsāntaka-Vēṅkaṭagiripatēh praśamsaiva paschād-iha-nāsti", "Tridaśavandyuṇḍagu-Tiruvēṅkaṭapati vedaki-vedaki-sēviṅchuḍī" (Plate 1). The third work "Śṛiṅgāra-Mañjari" deals with the love of a maiden for God

Vēṅkaṭēśa and its consummation through the intercession of her companions. It is a short Telugu piece engraved both sides on four copper-plates. In the colophon of this "Śṛiṅgāra-Mañjari" Tāḷḷapāka Annayārya refers to himself as the *guru-Bharadvājaika-gō'ra-pāvana* and *Nandāpurīvaṁśa-nāyakō'tama*, that is to say, he owned the Bhāradvāja-gōtra and belonged to the *Nandavarīka* sect of Brāhmaṇas. Annamayyaṅgār's grandson Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha also mentions in his "Paramayōgi-Vilāsamu" that he belonged to the Nandavaravaṁśa, Bharadvājasa-gōtra and Āśvalāyana-sū'tra. At the end of the "Śṛiṅgāra-Mañjari" a song is inserted apparently composed by his admirers or disciples to whom Annamayya brought enlightenment. The song relates that "Annamayya, the obtainer of *Appa's* (Vēṅkaṭēśa's) grace, always stands by us. He firmly implanted Ādi-Nārāyaṇa, the protector of the universe, in his heart of hearts, *i.e.*, he was unswerving in his devotion to God Vishṇu; and having attained the ecstatic state he was a compeer with Sanaka, Sanandana and other sages. He sang in praise of Hari (Vishṇu) and through those songs he taught the full essence of the extensive Vēdas, having himself comprehended and realised it. Gracefully he embraced the religion of Rāmānujāchārya and adhered to it; even to us among others Tāḷḷapāka Annamayya has given a feast (of the blissful vision) of Śrī Vēṅkaṭanātha."

Being by birth a *Smārta-Telugu-Brāhmaṇa* of the *Nandavarīka* or *Nandavaidika* sect and, as his house-name indicates, a native of Tāḷḷapāka village in the Rajampet taluk of the Cuddapah district, Annamayya transferred his residence during his early life to Tirupati where he received initiation into the Vaishṇava faith later on with all the insignia attaching to it, viz., the *Vaishṇava caste-mark Mudrādhāraṇam*, etc., together with the nominal suffix of *Āchārya* or *Ayyaṅgār*. And likewise his sons and grandsons became adherents of Vaishṇavism. This change of faith must have been occasioned through their connection with the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara wherein one or more *Smārta-Brāhmaṇas* rendering service are still seen to put on the Vaishṇava forehead marks without forswearing their *Smārta* faith and without actually embracing Vaishṇavism in other respects. For his composition of the numerous *Saṅkīrtanas* and his erudition in the *Drāviḍāgama*, i.e., the *Nālāyira-Divya-Prabandha*, Annayāchārya was famed as "Saṅkīrtanāchārya," Drāviḍāgama-sārvabhauma" and "Paṅchāgama-chakravarti". From the preface to the "Saṅkīrtana-Lakshaṇam" of Chinna-Tirumalayyaṅgār, we learn that Annamayyaṅgār wrote the same originally in the Saṁskṛit language and that his grandson Chinna-Tirumalayyaṅgār rendered it into Telugu verse

at the instance of his father Tirumalārya-Dēśika who expounded it to the son. Annamayyaṅgār is also mentioned to have written a centum of Telugu verses depicting the love of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara and Alamēlumaṅga under the denomination "Śṛiṅgāra-Vṛittapadyāla-Śatakamu" and dedicated it to Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara; and hence also called "Vēṅkaṭēśvara-Śatakamu[1]". It is reported that "many huge inscribed copper plates are kept" in "the underground cellars in the temple on Upper Ahōbalam", which "are of the same type as those found in the Tāḷḷapākamvāri-koṭṭu on the Tirupati hill.....and actually also belong to that temple and *not* to Ahōbalam; for the Telugu songs both erotic and philosophical which are recorded on them in the various *rāgas* and *tāḷas* are all addressed to Veṅkaṭēśa or Tiruveṅgaḷanātha by their authors Annamāchārya and his son Tirumalāchārya of Tāḷḷapākam" (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1915, page 96, para 19). Thus it is seen that the father and the son composed many more *Saṅkīrtanas* in the name of Vēṅkaṭēśa but somehow they have been transferred to the temple of Śrī Nṛisiṁhasvāmi at Upper Ahōbalam wherein they are still preserved.

In his "Lives of Telugu Poets" Viresalingam Pantulu differentiates between Tāḷḷapāka Chinnanna who wrote "Aṣhṭamahishī-Kalyāṇamu" and Tāḷḷapāka Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha, author of "Paramayōgi-Vilāsamu" and grandson of Annamāchārya, and states that both Chinnanna and Annayārya lived in the reign of king Kṛishṇadēvarāya of Vijayanagara and that the grandfather obtained grants of some *agrahāras* from the king (pages 208 and 260). But it is known that Chinnanna is the same as Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha and, as such, the two authors are one and that this Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha alias Chinnanna, son of Peda-Tirumalayyaṅgār, lived in the reigns of Achyutarāya and Sadāśivarāya and received from the latter the grant of the village Mallavaram in Śaka 1467 (=1545 A.C.) ("Nellore Inscriptions", Ongole No. 21). And we have seen that Annamayyaṅgār had not lived even into the reign of Kṛishṇarāya's elder brother and predecessor Vīra-Narasiṁha and so there could have been no grants of Kṛishṇarāya to Annayārya. Again no grants are available of Kṛishṇarāya executed in favour of Annamayyaṅgār's son Peda-Tirumalayyaṅgār,

NOTE 1:—Mr. Vanguri Subba Rao states in his "Śataka-Kavula-Charitramu" (page 137) that this *Śatakamu* was transcribed from the copper-plates on which they were engraved for the "Journal of the Telugu Academy" ("Andhra-Sāhitya-Parishat-Patrika") some years previously. But it is unfortunate that the original copper-plates should now be missing from their place of preservation in the temple, having been probably removed to the Telugu Academy Office itself and not returned at all, as they ought to have been.

who lived on during the same reign. Royal patronage for this musician-poet Tāḷavāka Tirumalayya, i.e., Peda-Tirumalayyaṅgār, came only from Achyutarāya, as indicated by Tirumalayyaṅgār's provision for special offerings for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara effected in Śaka 1452 Vikṛiti, Vṛischika (=28-11-1530 A.C.), commemorating Achyutarāya's birth-star Mṛigaśira (No. 589—T.T.), and by the poet's presence in the following year at the royal capital Vijayanagara where he made a gift to the Viṭṭhalasvāmin temple in Śaka 1453, Khara (=1531 A.C.) (No. 8 of 1904).

Peda-Tirumalayyangar:—As recorded in the preface to his "Śṛiṅgāra-Saṅkīrtanalu", the musical composition of Annamayyaṅgār's son Tirumalayyaṅgār commenced in Śaka 1424, Dundubhi, Phālguṇa (=23rd February 1503 A.C.), at the bidding of the father who enjoined upon the son the sacred duty of composing a *Saṅkīrtana* each day and singing it before Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara; and, as noted from the introduction to the "Adhyātma-Saṅkīrtanalu" and the "Śṛiṅgāra-Saṅkīrtanalu" of Annamāchārya, on this date Annamayya ceased to write *Saṅkīrtanas*, being then about 96 years of age. Tirumalayyaṅgār's works comprise "Śṛiṅgāra-Saṅkīrtanalu", "Vairāgya-Vachanamālikā-Gītamulu", "Śṛiṅgāra-Daṇḍakamu", "Chakravāḷa-Maṅjari", "Śṛiṅgāra-Vṛittapadyāla-Śatakamu", "Udāharaṇamu", "Nīti-Sīsapadya-Śatakamu", "Sudarśana-Ragaḷa" and "Rēphaṛakāramulu". Of these the first three are respectively in tune with the style and contents of the three works of his father noted above. The fourth work "Chakravāḷa-Maṅjari", though differing in style from the "Śṛiṅgāra-Daṇḍakamu", is similar to it in matter. The fifth "Śṛiṅgāra-Vṛittapadyāla-Śatakamu" is written in different *vṛittas* (metres) depicting the *śṛiṅgārachēshṭa* of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara. "Udāharaṇa" is in praise of Vēṅkaṭēśvara, combining in its style the *vṛittas*, *kaḷikas* and *utkaḷikas*. "Nīti-Sīsapadyāla-Śatakamu" is a century of verses in the *sīsa* metre addressed to Vēṅkaṭēśa and written with the object of teaching morals and hence it is an ethical code. So far these seven works are addressed to God Tiruvēṅgaḷanāthadēva. "Sudarśana-Ragaḷa" is taken up with the description of the form, qualities and merits of the "Sudarśana-Chakramu" held in the hand of Śrī Vēṅkaṭapati. The last work "Rēphaṛakārālu" is, as the author himself states in the introduction to it, a compilation on prosody detailing the usage of the two R's in simple and compound words in the Telugu language illustrated from the works of the ancient Telugu poets including the three classical authors of the Telugu "Mahābhāratamu". In these works this musician-poet calls himself Annaya-Timmanārya, Timmayya, Timmaya and Tirumalārya,

while in the preface to each one of them he is likewise variously named as Tirumalāchārya, Peda-Tirumalāchārya and Tirumalayyaṅgāru, and the first plates of each of the works are denoted by the initial letters "Ti. A." or "Pe. Ti. Chā" of the names "Tirumala-Ayyaṅgār" and "Peda-Tirumalā-chārya." This denotation of the copper-plates with the initials "Pe. Ti. Chā" shows that the works contained on them, viz., "Vairāgya-Vachanamālikā-Gītālu", "Śṛṅgāra-Vṛittapadyāla-Śatakamu" and "Udāharaṇamu" are later in date than those engraved on the plates with the initials "Ti. A," and that the particular initials were designed to distinguish the compositions of the father Peda-Tirumalāchārya from the writings of his son China-Tirumalāchārya, whose name contracted into "Chi. Ti" is affixed to his plates. Tāḷḷapāka Chinnanna alias China-Tirvēṅgaḷanātha states in his "Ashṭamahishī-Kalyāṇamu" that his father Peda-Tirumalāchāryavarya who was learned in philosophy wrote the works "Āndhra-Vēdāntamu" in *Dvipada* metre, "Harivaṁśamu", "Chakravāḷa-Maṅjari" and "Rēphaṛakāramulu" in Telugu. The last two works which are preserved for us on copper-plates in the temple have been noticed above, but the first two works are not available among the plates in the temple. Their composition however bespeaks of Peda-Tirumalayyaṅgār's eminent knowledge of "Vēdāntavidyā", as mentioned by his son.

Chinna-Tirumalayyangar :—The works of China-Tirumalāchārya, son of Peda-Tirumalāchārya and grandson of Ānnamāchārya, consist of "Adhyātma-Saṅkīrtanalu", "Śṛṅgāra-Saṅkīrtanalu", "Ashṭabhāshā-Daṇḍakam" and "Saṅkīrtana-Lakshaṇam". The first two works fall in line with those of the same category of his father and grandfather, while the "Ashṭabhāshā-Daṇḍakam" is written in praise of God Vēṅkaṭēśa, Lord of Vēṅkaṭādri, in Saṁskṛit and seven Prākṛit languages. The colophon suffixed to it states that his grandfather Tāḷḷapāka Annayārya's words were as sweet and elegant as the sound of the *Vīṇa* (lute) of Vāṇi (Sarasvati) and those of his father Timmayārya outshone those of *Phaṇi* (Ādi-Śēsha). At the end is noted that this "Ashṭabhāshā-Daṇḍakam" was transcribed on copper-plates, three in number, on Wednesday, being the 5th day of the bright fortnight of the Mārgaśira month in the cyclic year Hēmaḷambi (Śaka 1459) (=7th November 1537 A.C.). This "Daṇḍakam" testifies to the profound scholarship of the author in the Prākṛit languages besides Saṁskṛit and Telugu. And generally he must have been acquainted with the languages spoken in different parts of the Indian continent, just as Rāyasaṁ Koṇḍamarasayya was a master of the

languages spoken in the *Chhappannaḍēśa* (fifty-six countries) (page 196 *ante*). His "Saṅkīrtana-Lakshaṇam" written in Telugu verse treats of prosody and describes the composition of the *Saṅkīrtana* in different metres and styles, and prose, poetry, psalms and songs, and purports to be a Telugu rendering in verse of the "Saṅkīrtana-Lakshaṇam" written in Saṁskṛit by his grandfather Annayaguru, at the bidding of his father Tirumalārya-Dēśika who expounded it to him. Herein he refers to himself as the eldest of the sons of Tirumalārya (*tatsutāgraja*) named China-Timmaya. His works contained on copper-plates preserved in Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's temple are all denoted by the initial letters "Chi. Ti" of his full name China-Tirumalāchārya. In the genealogy given in "Ashṭamahishī-Kalyāṇamu" written in *Dvipada* metre in Telugu by Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha, the fourth son of Peda-Tirumalāchārya, and hence the third younger brother of Chinna-Tirumalāchārya, we have to recognise the eldest son of Peda-Tirumalayyaṅgār, viz., Tirumala or Chinna-Timma, entitled *Ashṭabhāshākavichakravarti* as being our China-Tirumalāchārya, author of "Ashṭabhāshā-Daṇḍakam" and other works noticed above.

Peda-Tirumalayyangar's Transactions:—As already mentioned, Annamayyaṅgār is not represented by any epigraphical records. His son Peda or Periya-Tirumalayyaṅgār's earliest inscription No. 76—T.T. is dated during the first half of Kṛishṇarāya's reign in Śaka 1439, Īśvara, Dhanus (=30-11-1517 A.C.), when he paid a sum of 1500 *naṛpaṇam* in the temple-treasury for the propitiation of God Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha with one *tiruppōnakam* daily from the interest on this capital. His next record is dated almost at the commencement of the second year of Achyutarāya's reign in Śaka 1452, Vikṛiti, Vṛiśchika (=28-11-1530 A.C.) (No. 589—T.T.). This time he granted to the temple four villages and a half and stipulated for the offering of four *tiruppōnakam* daily for Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān and 365 *atirasa-paḍis* both within the temple and outside it at his *maṇṭapam* during certain festivals and auspicious occasions including the *Achyutarāyar-tirunāḷ*, during which they were offered at the *Saṅkīrtana-Bhaṇḍāram* (the small room in the temple adjoining the central shrine wherein the copper-plates on which were engraved the *Saṅkīrtanas* of the Tāḷḷapākam poets have been so long preserved for us), the 13 days of the star Tiruvēṇam or Śravaṇam being the birth-star of Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān, the 13 days of Uttiram or Uttara-Phalguni, the birth-star of his consort Alaimēlmaṅgai-Nāchchiyār and the 13 days of Mṛigaśīrsham being the nativity star of king Achyutarāya. The villages granted comprised Rāyalappāḍu in Avukkuchchīrmai (Owk in the Koilkuntla taluk of the Kurnool

district), Sōmayājulappalli in Muddalūril-Kalavaichchīrmai, Gaḍḍamuvāripaḷḷi (Gaḍḍamāyapalle) and Tippaṇappalli in Dūvūr (Duvvūru)—Gaṅjikuṇṭaichchīrmai in Mulikki-nāḍu (portion of the modern Cuddapah district included in the Proddatur and Siddhavattam taluks) and half the village of Erraguṇṭayappalli in Śiruvōḷūr-śīrmai. This *tirunāḷ* of Achyutarāya cannot be the *Lakshmīdēvi-Mahōtsavam* started by him in Śaka 1457, Manmatha, Dhanus (=26-12-1535 A.C.) (No. 544—T.T.), since its date is five years later, but it must refer to some festival such as a *Tirukkoḍi-tirunāḷ* which is also mentioned in No. 608—T.T. of Śaka 1452, Vikṛiti, Mēsha (=15-4-1530 A.C.), pertaining to Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgār. Probably Achyutarāya had arranged for the celebration of a *Tirukkoḍi-tirunāḷ* or *Brahmōtsavam* for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara as soon as he was crowned in October–November 1529 A.C. (page 220 *ante*).

In Śaka 1454, Nandana, Mēsha (=April 1532 A.C.), Tirumalayyaṅgār arranged for further daily offerings for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa, the investment of three sacred threads (*tiruyagnōpavītam-pūṇṇūl*) at the time of *Aḷagappirānār-tirumañjanam* each day and the presentation of one *pannīr-chembu* on the occasion of the *Puḷugukkāppu* conducted on each Friday in the week (No. 588—T.T.). To cover the expenses of these items he gave the temple the two villages Pūṇḍi and Saṅgamakkōṭṭai in Mēṛaichchīrmai which together yielded 1000 *rēkhai-pon* annually. These two villages are stated to have been granted to the donor previously by king Achyutarāya Mahārāya together with a gift deed executed on a copper-plate. Out of these offerings, the one *Yagnōpavītam-jōḍu* daily and the *Puḷugukkāppu-śiddam* filled in the *pannīr-chembu* on each Friday were required to be returned to Tirumalayyaṅgār at the time of the singing of the *Saṅkīrtanas*. No. 497—T.T. of Śaka 1457, Manmatha, Vaikāśi (=17-5-1535 A.C.), relates in Tamil verse that Tāḷilpākai Anamayaṅgār and his son Tirumalayaṅgār who both composed and dedicated their *Saṅkīrtanas* to *Tambirān* (i.e. God Vēṅkaṭēśa) for the *gati* (salvation) of the world, renovated the stone steps of the ancient holy tank (*Paḷaṅkōnēri*), reconstructed the *Nirāḷi-maṇṭapam*, the *aṅkaṇams* on the tank bund, the thick *prākāra* walls and the *gōpuram* of Śrī Varāhasvāmi's shrine and the *maṇṭapams* adjoining these *prākāra* walls; and out of these services, the construction of the *Kōnēriaṅkaṇam*, and the *prākāra* walls and the *gōpuram* of Gñānappirān's shrine formed the services of the honey-mouthed Tāḷilpākaiyil Anamayaṅgār.

Tirumalayyaṅgār's next transaction pertains to the purchase from Śāḷuva Timmarasayya, son of Rāchchirāja and the *Mahāpradhāni* of king Kṛishṇarāya, of the donor's share of the *prasādam* arranged by Timmarasa's

younger brother Sāḷuva Gōvindarāja for being offered to Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa, for a sum of 4600 *paṇam* in Śaka 1457, Manmatha, Paṅguni (=26-2-1536 A.C.) (No. 278—T.T.), of the *prasādam* arranged for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa by Sāḷuva Timmarasa himself for a sum of 1900 *paṇam* in Śaka 1458, Durmukhi, Tai (=28-12-1536 A.C.) (No. 270—T.T.), and also of those *prasādams* arranged by the two brothers Sāḷuva Timmarasa and Gōvindarāja in Tirupati for Śrī Gōvindapperumāḷ for 5203 *paṇam* (No. 102—G.T.). These sales related to the daily offerings provided by the two Sāḷuva minister brothers for the deities at Tirumala and Tirupati, but in the case of Sāḷuva Timmaya's own *prasādams*, the sale was coupled with the gift of certain *prasādams* provided by him on some auspicious occasions (*tiṅgaḷ-divasam* and *viśēsha-divasam*) for God Vēṅkaṭēśa which Tāḷḷapāka Tirumalayyaṅgār was required to receive in person through perennial service in the temple of Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān.

In Śaka 1459, Hēviḷambi, Tula (=25-10-1537 A.C.), Tirumalayyaṅgār again provided for daily offerings for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara and occasional offerings for the processional images during the *Tirukkoḍi-tirunāḷ* said to have been started by himself, and the *Kōḍai-tirunāḷ* and other auspicious days (No. 683—T.T.). A *vanabhōjanam* (picnic) was also arranged on a day in the Kārtika month. This practice of a *vanabhōjanam* in the Tamil month of Kārtikai known as *valasa* is still observed in these villages whose entire population, young and old, leave them with their cattle on a day and flock to adjacent gardens or forest, enjoy a picnic and return home in the evening. During the *Kōḍai-tirunāḷ* the offerings were required to be made at the *Nirāḷi-maṇṭapam* renovated by him in the centre of the *Kōnēri*, as already stated in No. 497—T.T. Towards their expenses he granted two villages Maruvakarai and Kāvanūr together yielding 200 *rēkhai-pon* annually. In the succeeding year, i.e., Śaka 1460, Viḷambi, Makara (=15-1-1539 A.C.), Periya-Tirumalayyaṅgār granted another village Pallipuram situated in Duvvūr-Gaṅjikuṇṭachchīrmai which he had previously received from Bukkarāju-Timmarāja, i.e., Poṭlapāṭi Timmarāja of the Āravīḍu family (No. 587—T.T.).

Tirumalayyaṅgār is stated in No. 683—T.T. noticed above to have instituted an additional *Tirukkoḍi-tirunāḷ* by Śaka 1459, but no details are furnished therein for the festival. It was however actually started in Saka 1460, Viḷambi, Mīna (=17-3-1539 A.C.), and arranged to be celebrated each year in the month of Āni, commencing with *aṅkurārpaṇam* on the day of Tiruvēṇam (Śravaṇam) and *tirumuḷai* on the day of Śataiyam (Śatabhisham) and ending

with *tīrthavāri* (holy bath) on the day of Mṛigaśīrsha, being the nativity star of Tirumalayyaṅgār himself, the whole festival lasting for a period of thirteen days (No. 457—T.T.). Provision was made for numerous offerings at the several functions during the festival and for the repair and decoration of the car to be drawn in procession as well as for offerings during the other ten *Tirukkoḍi-tirunāḷ* and other festivals together with the lighting of a lamp each Thursday over the stone-pillar set up by him on the tank bund and burning of 32 lights over the tank bund on the Tirudvādaśi day (i.e. Mukkōṭi-dvādaśi). These charges were to be met from the interest on 2000 *rēkhai-pon* which he paid into the temple-treasury to form the capital fund for the purpose.

Saṅkīrtana-Bhaṇḍāram was first brought to our notice in No. 589—T.T. of Śaka 1452, Vikṛiti, when Tirumalayyaṅgār arranged for certain offerings for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara in front of it during *Achyutarāyar-tirunāḷ*, and that *Bhaṇḍāram* was given prominence later on by his providing in Śaka 1462, Śārvari, Kumbha (=12-2-1541 A.C.), for daily offerings as well as occasional offerings for the processional images in front of the same through the grant of Kuppam near Kāvanūr, and Kīḻaṅkuṇṟam, the two together yielding 300 *rēkhai-pon* annually, supplemented by a cash payment of 450 *paṇam* at the same time (No. 682—T.T.). The donor's share of the offered *prasādam* was to be received by Tirumalayyaṅgār himself and some cash remuneration was authorised to be paid to the *Śrīvaishṇavas* who were in charge of the *Saṅkīrtana-Bhaṇḍāram*.

Periya-Tirumalayyaṅgār's next service consisted of a provision made by him in Śaka 1466, Krōdhi, Mīna (=19-3-1545 A.C.), for the propitiation of Nammāḻvār enshrined beside Āḻvār-tīrtham, on the tenth day, being the *Śāttumuṟai* day combined with the star Viśākha, during his *Tiruvadhyayanam*, at the *tiruvōlakkam* (assembly) held while the *Āḻvār* was seated in the *maṇṭapam* within his temple immediately after his procession on the car round the same temple (No. 393—G.T.). A sum of 1020 *naṟpaṇam* was paid into the *Śrī-Bhaṇḍāram* to form a fund, the interest on which was required to be utilised for the purpose.

In Śaka 1460, Viḻambi, Tirumalayyaṅgār instituted a fresh *Tirukkoḍi-tirunāḷ* in the month of Āni through the payment of 2000 *rēkhai-pon*, as detailed in No. 457—T.T. noticed above. No. 681—T.T. once again mentions this Āni festival and states that Tirumalayyaṅgār had originally endowed the temple with the village Mutyālappaṭṭu but that through some impediment the endowment had become void and that he conducted the festival through cash

payment to cover the costs thereof. He then approached king Sadāśivarāya Mahārāya and secured from him a *rāyasam* and from his minister Rāmarājarayyan a *tirumukam*, secured possession of the village and invested 100 *pon* towards the repairs to the tank in the village. The annual income from the village was then assessed at 280 *rēkhai-pon*. From these details it appears that, as first referred to in No. 683—T.T. of Śaka 1459, Hēviḻambi, Tirumalayyaṅgār had started a *Brahmōtsavam* in the Āni month in Śaka 1459 through the grant of the village Mutyālapaṭṭu but, the endowment having failed through some cause, Tirumalayyaṅgār was obliged to renew the Āni festival through a deposit of 2000 *rēkhai-pon* as capital in Śaka 1460, Viḻambi, as recorded in No. 457—T.T. Since then he made efforts to give effect to his original endowment and he succeeded therein with his obtaining the royal writ in Śaka 1467, Viśvāvasu, Karkaṭaka (=3-7-1545 A.C.) (No. 681—T.T.). In addition to the restitution of the village, a sum of 36 *rēkhai* was paid by him together with 70 *rēkhai* by his *śishya* (disciple) Śrīpati-Tonnaḍayan on this last date, and a revision in the offerings and the days and places thereof was effected at the same time. The Āni festival was reduced from 13 days to 12 days and a few additional offerings were provided in it as also in the other ten *Tirukkoḍi-tirunāḷ*, *Kōḍai-tirunāḷ* and *Uri-aḍi* days at Tirumala. The *Uri-aḍi* on one of the two days was the *ubhayam* of Tiruvēṅgaḷappan, grandson of Tirumalayyaṅgār and son of Śiṟu-Tirumalayyaṅgār (No. 419—G.T.). During the 20 days of the *Kōḍai-tirunāḷ* the occasion for the offerings was the time of the commencement of the *Saṅkīrtanas* on those days. Provision was also made by Tirumalayyaṅgār for the supply of *mañjal* (turmeric) at Tirumala for Alamēlumaṅgai-Nāchchiyār (i.e. *Vakshasthala-Lakshmi*) during Her *Puḻuguk-kāppu-tirumañjanam* on 53 Fridays in the year and 13 days of the star Mṛigaśīrsha; and of betel-nuts, leaves, *Nūl-Yagñōpavītam* and *mañjal* at Tirupati for Śrī Gōvindarāja and Nāchchimār each day during the *Tirumagaḷ-uḍanvaruvār-tirumañjanam*; as well as for the singing of *Saṅkīrtanas* at the proper time each day by two persons in each of the two temples on a monthly remuneration of 1 *rēkhai* 4 *paṇam* each and the reading of *Śrī-Bhāshyam* by a Śrīvaishṇava in each of the two temples on a monthly remuneration of 5 *paṇam*. Though the Tāḻḻapākam musician-poets considered themselves as the *Saṅkīrtanāchāryas* of the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara and in that spirit composed and dedicated their *Saṅkīrtanas* to Him, we here find that they did not execute the concomitant duty of singing their *Saṅkīrtanas* each morning and night before this deity, but arranged through the authorities of the temple

for the employment of two separate men in each temple for the purpose on a fixed remuneration for their services. The same inference seems to be pointed to by the provision made for remuneration in cash to the Śrīvaishṇavas who were in charge of the *Saṅkīrtana-Bhaṇḍāram* as stated in No. 682—T.T. above, while the receipt of the *Yagñōpavīta-jōḍu* each day and the *Puḷugukkāppu-śiddam* each Friday, as stipulated in No. 588—T.T., could be effected by Periya-Tirumalayyaṅgār himself in person at the particular time or through any agent of his. It is however possible that later on they themselves undertook this duty and rendered it themselves, as testified to by the performance of this service by their descendants at the present day. The other services instituted on this occasion consisted of some provision for offerings on *Uri-aḍi* days in the temple of Śrī Gōvindarāja and on the days of the *Dhvajārōhaṇam* and *Dhvajāvarōhaṇam* during the *Tirukkoḍi-tirunāḷ* of Śrī Gōvindarāja in the months of Vaikāśi, Āni and Māśi.

Within a month again, i.e., in Śaka 1467, Viśvāvasu, Simha (=2-8-1545 A.C.), Tirumalayyaṅgār provided for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara with two *taḷigai* consisting of 4 *rājānna-tiruppōṇakam* daily the cost of which for the 365 days in the year was estimated at 114 *rēkhai* 2½ *paṇam* (No. 450—T.T.). For this purpose he granted the village Gaṇḍama-Timmāpuram in Kariyapalli (śīrmai probably) which fetched only an annual income of 100 *rēkhai-varāhan*. There was therefore a deficit of 14 *rēkhai* and odd and this sum Tirumalayyaṅgār had to pay into the temple-treasury each year. His disciple Śrī-Palipaṭṭayan arranged on this occassion for the propitiation of the processional image on the car during the *Āni-tirunāḷ* on the 8th day in front of Tirumalayyaṅgār's house at Tirumala and of Śrī Gōvindarāja on the 10th day of His *Āni-tirunāḷ* at the time of His proceeding to the *tiruppaḷi-ōḍam*, out of the capital of 16 *rēkhai* paid by him on the above date. This Palipaṭṭayan, the disciple of Tirumalayyaṅgār, is stated to be the son of Narasayan, belonging to the *Śāttāda-Śrīvaishṇava* community which inhabited a part of Tirupati denominated *Kulaśēkharapuram*. Probably his other disciple, viz., Śrīpati-Tonnaḍayan noticed in No. 681—T.T. above, was also a *Śāttāda-Śrīvaishṇava*, and it seems likely that, like Kandāḍai Rāmānujayyaṅgār of the preceding century, Tāḷḷapāka Tirumalayyaṅgār too had brought into the fold of his disciples certain members of the *Śāttāda-Śrīvaishṇava* community.

About this time Tirumalayyaṅgār appears to have constructed a *Tīrthavāri-maṇṭapam* on the south bank of the *Āḻvār-tīrtham* and therein installed an image of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇaperumāḷ; and for this image he

provided, in Śaka 1468, Parābhava, Mithuna (=20-6-1546 A.C.), for a daily offering and an evening lamp, as well as for offerings on the 30 days of *Tiruppaḷḷi-eḻuchchi*, on the *tīrthavāri* days of the Vaikāśi, Āni and Māśi festivals conducted for Śrī Gōvindarāja, on the *tīrthavāri* day of Achyutapperumāḷ's festival and other auspicious occasions, through the payment of 2300 *naṟpaṇam* as capital into the temple-treasury (No. 394—G.T.).

Tāḷḷapāka Periya-Tirumalayyaṅgār's devotional services extended for a period of about four decades and a half from 1503 A.C. to 1546 A.C., the date of his latest record No. 394—G.T., while his father Annamāchārya's activities spread over eight decades upto 1503 A.C. (page 280 *ante*). As enjoined upon his son by Annamayyaṅgār, Periya-Tirumalayyaṅgār continued the composition and dedication of *Saṅkīrtanas* to God Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha, and had them inscribed on copper-plates preserved in a small room in the temple adjacent to the central shrine, called in the epigraphs the *Saṅkīrtana-Bhaṇḍāram* and popularly known as the *Tāḷḷapākam-ara*.

Pedda-Tirumalayyaṅgār is known to have made a gift to the temple of Viṭṭhalēśvara at Hampe in Śaka 1453, Khara (=1531 A.C.), as reported in No. 8 of 1904. He was also instrumental in the restoration of the grant of the village Aṅḍupūru to the temple at Nandalur in the Cuddapah district by Rāmā-Bhaṭṭayya, the governor of Udayagiri, with the permission of king Achyutarāya, in Śaka 1456, Manmatha (=1534 A.C.) (No. 607 of 1907). In No. 496 of 1919 from Little Conjeevaram we are informed that Periya-Tirumalayyaṅgār and his son Śiṟu-Tirumalayyaṅgār together provided for certain offerings for God Aruḷāḷapperumāḷ of Conjeevaram and arranged "for conducting certain festivals at specified scales of expenditure," in Śaka 1474, Parīdhāvi, Makara (=3-1-1553 A.C.). Having originally been a *Smārta-Brāhmaṇa* who subsequently adopted the Vaishṇava tenets from the example of his father Annamāchārya, Tirumalayyaṅgār became a staunch adherent of the Rāmānuja faith and a respected *Āchārya* with a following of disciples, through intensive study of the Vaishṇava religious lore and philosophy and through deep devotion to God Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha and earned the title "Vēdamārga-pratishṭhāchārya", as given in No. 8 of 1904 noticed above.

Chinna-Tirumalayyangar's Transactions:—Tāḷḷapāka Śiṟu-Tirumalayyaṅgār is represented in our Collection by two epigraphs Nos. 354 and 429—G.T., the former of which records the institution by him in Śaka 1469, Plavaṅga, Simha (=17-8-1547 A.C.), of the *Vaivāhikōtsavam* to be celebrated for Śrī Gōvindapperumāḷ for five days in the month of Chittirai ending with

the *śāttumuṟai* on the day of the star Rōhiṇi. Necessary details are furnished of the several rites and functions to be conducted on each day of this marriage-festival, together with the kind and quantity of offerings to be made at each function and the remuneration to be paid to the different servants of the temple for their particular services, the total expenditure amounting to 150 *rēkhai*. He endowed the temple with half the village of Neḍiyam with an annual income of 150 *rēkhai-pon* from the half village just sufficient to meet the charges. At the same time he also granted the village Vēḍumapākkam in the Māḍanallūr-śīrmai yielding annually 200 *rēkhai-pon* with which certain offerings were required to be carried on for Śrī Gōvindarāja, Viṭṭhalēśvara, Achyutapperumāḷ, Raghunātha, Varadarājaperumāḷ, Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇaperumāḷ installed by his father in the *Tīrthavāri-maṇṭapam* at the Āḻvār-tīrtham, Nārasiṅgaperumāḷ set up by himself in the Kāttāri-Hanumān temple, Śūḍikkuḍutta-Nāchchiyār, processional images and Tiruvāḻi-āḻvān abiding at the entrance *gōpuram* of Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple in Tirupati; and for Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān at Tirumala during the Āni festival started by Tirumalairāja. Tiruvāḻi-āḻvān or Sudarśana had to be propitiated with two *Manōhara-paḍis* on the days of the star Mṛigaśīrsha in the month of Vaikāśi being the *āṭṭai-tirunakshatram* of Periya-Tirumalayyaṅgār, and of the star Chittirai in the month of Chittirai being that of the donor Śiṟu-Tirumalayyaṅgār himself. In two other records, viz., Nos. 669—T.T. and 422—G.T., Periya-Tirumalayyaṅgār's birth-star is stated to have been Mṛigaśira occurring in the month of Chittirai and not in Vaikāśi as herein mentioned.

No. 429—G.T. secured from the temple of Kalyāṇa-Vēṅkaṭēśvara in the Maṅgāpuram village, situated below the hill about seven miles to the west of Tirupati, records his renovation of the temple and its rehabilitation by him with reconsecrated new images of the deities, *Āḻvārs* and *Āchāryas* in Śaka 1463, Śārvari, Chaitra (=22nd March 1540 A.C.), at Alamēlumaṅgāpuram which stands on the bank of the river Vikalya mentioned in "Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa-Māhātmyam" described in the "Skanda-Purāṇa" and which was a *sarvamānya-agrahāra*. It is implied in the expressions of the epigraph that consecration of places situated on the bank of *tīrthas* dedicated to gods was a function enjoined and approved also in "Śrīraṅga-Māhātmyam" and "Daśādhyāyam", and that the donor had therefore discharged a sacred duty. Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara, Nāchiyār, Ananta, Garuḍa, Vishvaksēna, a certain Perumāl, Āḻvārs and Uḍaiyavar as well as *Pūrvāchāryas* and Annamāchārya who was his own *Āchārya* were all installed afresh in the renovated temple and evening offerings

provided for them. The birth-asterisms of the *Āḻvārs* and *Āchāryas* for all the twenty-seven stars from Aśvini to Rēvati were required to be observed in the temple. It is mentioned that the consecration ceremony was graced by the *Āchāryapurushas, Jiyyar, Chinna-Jiyar* and other *Vaishṇavas* and that the document was drawn up by Śrī Yatīrāja-Jiyyaṅgār for being transcribed on stone. It would appear that, notwithstanding the august presence of these holy men at the function, the Kalyāṇa-Vēṅkaṭēśvara temple at Maṅgāpuram did not come under the care of the authorities of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's temple at Tirumala. This Yatirāya-Jiyar who composed the record was the Periya-Kōyil-Kēḷvi Yatirāja-Jīyar, the disciple of Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa-Jīyar and head of the *Tīraruḷāḷan-Maṭham* noticed above (page 276 *ante*). It is interesting to find that even by Śaka 1462, Śārvari (=1540 A.C.), Chinna-Tirumalayyaṅgār had established his fame and acquired a number of *birudas*, viz., *Śrīmad-Vēdamārga-pratishṭhāchārya, Śrī-Rāmānuja-Siddhānta-sthāpanāchārya, Vēdāntā-chārya, Kavi-ārkika-kēsari* and *Śaraṇāgata-vajrapañjara* which are titles usually found applied to Vēdānta-Dēśika. From the mention of his grandfather Annamāchārya as his own *Āchārya* by Chinna-Tirumalayyaṅgār, it would appear that Annamāchārya was the earliest member of the Tāḷḷapākam family who had first sought religious inspiration in *Rāmānuja-Siddhānta*, i. e., *Viśishṭādvaita* philosophy, and led the way for his sons and grandsons who too became staunch adherents of the same faith and earned distinctive titles in the field of religion. The renovation of the temple (*jīrṇōddhāraṇa*) and installation of all idols and images afresh suggests the existence of an ancient temple at Maṅgāpuram and its dilapidation some time previously. But what happened to the old idols and images and why they were discarded and new ones were sculptured and cast are points on which no information is furnished in the Maṅgāpuram inscription. Even at the present day the temple is in ruins and the central idol of Kalyāṇa-Vēṅkaṭēśvara, a huge standing figure measuring over eight feet from the stone pedestal to the crown is in an abandoned state without *pūja* and *naivēdya* and is found to be maimed of one or two fingers of its *Kaṭi-hasta* (left hand resting on the girdle). It is much taller than its original, the idol of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara in the temple at Tirumala, but lacks the grace and the majesty which are prominent features of the latter idol that still attracts to itself, with an abiding force, a perennial influx of pilgrims by thousands from all parts of the Indian continent. From No. 496 of 1919 from Conjeevaram we know that Śiṟu-Tirumalayyaṅgār, in conjunction with his father Periya-Tirumalayyaṅgār, provided for certain offerings and festivals for

God Aruḷāḷapperumāḷ of Conjeevaram in Śaka 1474, Parīdhāvi, Makara (=3-1-1553 A.C.).

Chinna-Tirumalayyangar's son Tiruvenkatayyan alias Tiruvengalappan :—In conjunction with Śiṟu-Tirumalayyaṅgār, his son Tiruvēṅkaṭayyan also paid in Śaka 1469, Plavaṅga, Simha (=17-8-1547 A.C.), 41 *rēkhai* into the *Śrī-Bhaṇḍāram* as capital for offerings for Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān on the 5th day, on the 8th day on the car, and on the 9th day at the *Saṅkīrtana-Bhaṇḍāram* during the *Āni-tirunāḷ* of Eṟṟa-Timmarāja, as also on the day of the *Uri-aḍi* arranged by Śiṟu-Tirumalayyaṅgār in the west street at Tirumala (No. 354—G. T.). This Tiruvēṅkaṭayyan is called Tiruvēṅgaḷappan in No. 419—G.T. Along with the services of his younger paternal uncle Tiruvēṅkaṭanāthar or Tiruvēṇādar, he provided, in Śaka 1475, Pramādīcha, Kumbha (=19-2-1554 A.C.), for additional offerings for Śrī Gōvindarāja during His *Poṇḍili-tirunāḷ* at the *Lakshmīdēvi-maṇṭapam* and other occasions, and for daily offerings for Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān, through the grant by him of twenty shares in Tūppil-agrahāram and of the full village Ambattūr in the Nagari-śīrmai with an annual income of 400 *rēkhai*. He engaged two *Nāgasvarams* (pipers) in the temple on a remuneration of 36 *rēkhai* per year for each of them. In the name of his mother Pedda-Maṅgamman was constructed a *pedda-chimukku* wherein he installed an image of Periyāḷvār and arranged for his *Tiruvadhyayana-paḍi*. This Tiruvēṅgaḷappar granted the village Vallattāñjēri Pērīchchambākkam to the temple of Aruḷāḷapperumāḷ at Little Conjeevaram in Śaka 1475, Pramādīcha, Ṛishabha (i.e., in the first week of May 1553 A.C.), and with its income provided for offerings for that deity (No. 495 of 1919). Tiruvēṅgaḷappa, son of China-Tirumalayyaṅgār, wrote a commentary in Telugu called "Bālaprabōdhikā" on Amarasiṁha's "Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana" or "Amara" as it is generally known. In the preface[1] to it he states that he composed it after consulting the commentaries of Dīkshita, i.e., Bommagaṇṭi Appaya-Dīkshita who flourished at the court of Rēcharla Siṅgabhūpāla, and others. Therein he traces his descent from Tāḷḷapāka Annamāchārya who was the recipient of the grace of God Vēṅkaṭēśa and whose fame extended from Sētu (Rāmēśvaram) to the Nīhāragiri (Himālayas), through the latter's son Tirumala-guru whose learning equalled that of Guru (Bṛihaspati) and who was the moon to the milky ocean of the

NOTE 1 :—I am obliged to Mr. M. Ramakrishnakavi, M.A., for the extracts from "Bālaprabōdhikā" and "Kāvyaprakāśa-Vyākhyā" and for the identification of Dīkshita and Gōpāla mentioned in them.

Bhāradyājānvaya (i.e., he belonged to the Bhāradvāja-gōtra), to the latter's son China-Timmā-Dīkshita who was the brilliant central gem in the excellent jewelled necklace, viz., the Nandavara family, and who was previleged to hold two parasols of pearls; and then refers to himself, the son of China-Timma-Dīkshita, as the foremost of the learned men, as the swan swinging in the lotus-tank of Ṛigvēda and as the swan again swaying among the red lotuses of friends. Tiruvēṅgaḷappa also wrote a brief commentary denominated "Sudhānidhi" on "Kāvyaprakāśa" of Mammaṭa, based on the commentary of Lauhitya Bhaṭṭa Gōpāla called "Sāhitya-Chūḍāmaṇi" compiled about 1350 A.C., and those of other commentators. In the preface to this work Tiruvēṅgaḷappa furnishes the geneology of the family from Annamāchārya down to himself in the very same verses prefixed to "Bāḷaprabōdhikā."

Kandadai Appan :—With the services of the father and the son recorded in No. 354—G.T. are included those of Appan, son of Kandāḍai Appaṇan of Vādhūla-gōtra, Āpastamba-sūtra and Yajuś-śākha, who granted half the village of Puṇyam in the Nagari-śīrmai with an annual income of 60 *rākhai-pon* with which offerings were provided for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara daily and for the processional images on the car during the Puraṭṭāśi, Kārtikai, Tai, Paṅguṇi and the two Āni festivals instituted by Tirumalayyaṅgār and Eṟṟa-Timmarāja; as well as for Śrī Gōvindarāja during the Vaikāśi, Āni and Māśi festivals, for Śūḍikkuḍutta-Nāchchiyār, Uḍaiyavar and Tiruvāḷi-āḷvān installed at the entrance *gōpuram*. Tiruvāḷi-āḷvān was propitiated on the day of Mūla in the month of Chittirai which was the *tirunakshatram* of the donor's father Kandāḍai Appaṇṇan. This birth-asterism of the father Appūvaṇṇan, viz., Mūla, as well as that of the son Appan being Pūram or Pūrva-Phalguni in the month of Āvaṇi, was also commemorated in the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara through offerings arranged on the two days by his kinsman Kandāḍai Śrīraṅgāchārya, son of Bhāvanā-chārya, in Śaka 1467, Viśvāvasu, Karkaṭaka (=5-7-1545 A.C.) (No. 655—T.T.). This father Appaṇṇan must be the *Paramāchārya*, i.e., the preceptor of the father, of Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha, the fourth son of Peda-Tirumalayyaṅgār and the author of "Aṣṭamahishī-Kalyāṇamu" which records this relationship. From the date of the record it appears possible that the son Kandāḍai Appan was identical with Āḷavandāru Kandāḷa Appagāru whom Tenāli Rāmakṛishṇakavi mentions in his *Telugu-Kāvya* "Pāṇḍuraṅga-Māhātmyamu" as the *guru* of Virūri Vēdādrimantri, the patron of the poet. Herein Kandāḷa Appa is stated to have been the son of Aṇṇa of Vādhūla-gōtra, the *biruda* elephant of the court of Śrīraṅgapati, the establisher of the path of the Vēdas, the scholar who

knows the meaning of the six *Śāstras* (*Shaḍ-darśanas*) and who can interpret the *Rāmānuja-Bkāshya*, the author of many *Purāṇas* and *Itihāsas*, the constant reader of the *Divya-Prabandhas* and the performer of the *Pañchasaṁskāras* to the people. This same Kandāḷa Appa must also have been the *guru* of the poet Sāraṅgu Tammaya, author of the Telugu work "Vaijayantī-Vilāsamu" otherwise known as "Vipranārāyaṇa-Charitramu", who was the *Karaṇamu* (accountant) of Gōlakoṇḍa during the reign of Mahammadu-Śāhi (Muhammad Shah), its Nawab, between 1581 and 1611 A.C., and of Mādana and Nārana, the father and the elder father of Inmulapalli Peddanāmātya, to whom was dedicated the Telugu "Chitra-Bhāratamu" by its author Charigoṇḍa Dharmanna (Viresalingam Pantulu's "Lives of Telugu Poets", pages 268 and 280).

Peda-Tirumalayyangar's son Tiruvenkatanathar alias Chinnanna :— An younger son of Periya-Tirumalayyaṅgār, viz., Tiruvēṅkaṭanāthar, appears in No. 669—T.T. which records his grant in Śaka 1468, Parābhava, Karkaṭaka (=17-7-1546 A.C.), of the village Mallavaram situated in Koṇḍavīṭṭu-śīrmai, yielding an annual income of 120 *rēkhai-gaṭṭi-varāhan*. This income was to be utilised towards the expenses of the *Vaivāhikōtsavam* started by him for celebration for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara for five days from the day of the star Arūrādha to that of Uttarāshāḍha in the month of Paṅguni each year, with certain rites and functions, processions, offerings and remuneration to the temple-servants. Among the charges were also included offerings and processions for different deities on various occasions. Accordingly Gñānappirān (Varāhasvāmi) was to be propitiated on the day of His *āṭṭai-tirunakshatram* being Tiruvēṇam (Śravaṇam) in the month of Arpaśi, and Periya-Perumāḷ (the presiding deity Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara as distinct from the processional image) on the occasions of the *āṭṭai-tirunakshatram* of Periya-Tirumalayyaṅgār, viz., Mṛigaśīrsha in the month of Chittirai, the *tirunakshatram* of Tūppilpiḷḷai being *Tirukkārtikai* day, and that of Annamayyaṅgār being Viśākham in the month of Vaikāśi, as well as on the days of *āṭṭai-divasam* (annual ceremony) of the donor's mother Tirumalamman on the 13th lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month of Arpaśi; that of the donor's elder brother Tiruvēṅkaṭappan on the 4th lunar day in the bright fortnight of Āni; and that of his elder father Narasayyaṅgār on the 4th lunar day of the bright fortnight of Māśi.

From the Ongole inscription No. 21 of the "Nellore Inscriptions," we find that this village Mallavaram situated in the Addaṅki-sīma of the Koṇḍavīḍu-rājya was granted by king Sadāśivarāya Mahārāja to Chinna-Tiruveṅgaḷanātha, son of Tāḷapāka Tirumalayyaṅgār, in Śaka 1467, Viśvāvasu-

Āshāḍha (=21-6-1546 A.C.), and in the very next year, i.e., in Śaka 1468, Parābhava, Karkaṭaka (=17-7-1546 A.C.), it was given over to the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara by Tiruvēṅkaṭanāthar, son of Tirumalayyaṅgār. Consequently, this Tiruvēṅkaṭanāthar of our record No. 669—T.T. must be identical with Chinna-Tiruveṅgaḷanātha of the "Nellore Inscriptions." It is this Chinna-Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha that was the author of the two *Telugu Dvipada-Kāvyas* "Paramayōgi-Vilāsamu" dedicated to Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara and his consort Alamēlmaṅga together and "Aṣṭamahishī-Kalyāṇamu" dedicated to Alamēlmaṅga alone under the name Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha commonly called Chinnanna. Chinna-Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha was also the author of "Ushā-Kalyāṇamu," another *Dvipada-Kāvya* in Telugu, wherein he refers to himself as the son of Tirumala and grandson of Annayāchārya of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra and Āśvalāyana-śākha. From No. 419 of 1915 from Gorijavolu in the modern Guntur district we learn that this "Śrī Vaishṇava teacher Tiruvēṅgaḷanāthayyaṅgāru" received from king Sadāśivarāya "the gift of the village Gorañjavrōlu in Koṇḍavīṭi-sīma..... at *Svāmipushkariṇi* tank, in the presence of Tiruveṅgaḷanātha (i.e., the God Veṅkaṭēśa at Tirupati," in Śaka 1468, Parābhava, Śrāvaṇa (=August 1546 A.C.). He was also the owner of the *agrahāra* Guṇḍavaram (which is said to be now deserted) in the modern Guntur district (No. 182 of 1917), having probably acquired it through a grant from the same king or from one of his provincial chiefs. The gift "in the presence of Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha" mentioned in No. 419 of 1915 suggests an earlier visit of Sadāśivarāya to the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara in August 1546 A.C. From the genealogy of the members of the Tāḷḷapākam family furnished by him in his "Aṣṭamahishī-Kalyāṇamu", we find that he was the fourth son of Peda-Tirumalāchārya and that he had an elder father Narasiṁha and three elder brothers Tirumala or Chinna-Timmanna, i.e., Chinna-Tirumalayyaṅgār, Annaya and Tiruvēṅgaḷa or Peda-Tiruvēṅgaḷa and an younger brother Kōnēṭi-Vēṅkaṭanātha. This Annaya was the recipient of "the village Minnikallu in Vinukoṇḍa-sīma belonging to Koṇḍavīṭi-durga" under the name Annamayyaṅgāru, probably from king Sadāśivarāya, in Śaka 1468, Parābhava. Jyēshṭha (=May 1546 A.C. (No. 314 of 1915). The elder brother Tiruvēṅkaṭappan and the elder father Narasayyaṅgār whose death must have occurred prior to Śaka 1468 and whose annual ceremonies were therefore commemorated in the temple along with that of his mother Tirumalamma by Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha through the propitiation of Periya-Perumāḷ with special offerings on those days, were therefore Tiruvēṅgaḷa or Peda-Tiruvēṅgaḷa, the third son of Peda-Tirumalayyaṅgār, who was entitled

Saṅgīta-Sāhitya-nidhi, and Narasiṁha, the son of Annamayya by his first wife Timmāmba and hence the elder step-brother of Peda-Tirumalāchārya who was the second son of Annamayyaṅgār by his second wife Akkāmba. It is mentioned in the "Ashṭamahishī-Kalyāṇamu" that this Narasiṁha was proficient in *Saṅgīta* and *Sāhitya*, besides being an invincible counter-disputant. The younger brother Kōnēṭi-Vēṅkaṭanātha is known from the "Nellore Inscriptions" to have been the recipient of the two villages Volaparli and Boilāpalli both situated in the Addaṅki-sīma of the Koṇḍavīṭi-rājya, granted by king Sadāśivadēva Mahārāya respectively in Śaka 1466, Krōdhi, Āśvayuja (=Sunday, 28-9-1544 A.C.), and Śaka 1467, Viśvāvasu, Āshāḍha (=Sunday, 5-7-1545 A.C.), under the name Kōnēṭi-Tiruvēṅgaḷanāthayyaṅgāru, son of Tāḷḷapāka Tirumalayyaṅgāru, entitled *Śrīmad-Vēdamārga-pratishṭhāchārya* and *Śrīmad-Ubhaya-Vēdānta-pratishṭhāpanāchārya* (Ongole Nos. 141 and 15). This Kōnēti-Tiruvēṅgaḷanāthayya also made a gift of land to the temple of Channarāya at Pushpagiri in the Cuddapah district in Śaka 1481, Siddhārthi (=1559 A.C.) (No. 315 of 1905).

The village Mallavaram whose annual income was originally taken at 120 *rēkhai-gaṭṭi-varāhan* is found appraised at 140 *rēkhai-pon* in No. 419—G.T., which must be equal to the 120 *gaṭṭi-varāhan* apparently, and stated to have failed in its income to the temple between Śaka 1468 and Śaka 1475. Hence the donor Tiruvēṇādayar was obliged to make a fresh grant, in lieu of it, of the village Dēvarāyapalli in the Vinukoṇḍa-śīrmai of the Koṇḍavīḍu-rājya with an annual income of 470 *rēkhai-pon* to the temple in Śaka 1475, Pramādīcha, Kumbha (=19-2-1554 A.C.). Deducting the 140 *rēkhai* for which expenditure was already incurred in Śaka 1468 in connection with the *Vaivāhikōtsavam* or *Peṇḍili-tirunāḷ* for Śri Vēṅkaṭēśvara, the excess of 330 *rēkhai* in the present case was utilised for daily offerings for Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān and for His propitiation during the above *Peṇḍili-tirunāḷ* and the eleven *Tirukkoḍi-tirunāḷ* celebrated at Tirumala as well as on some auspicious days observed in the temple. This epigraph No. 419—G.T. calls the donor Tiruvēṇādayar, Tiruvēṇādar and Tiruvēṅgaḷanāthan, and states that he was the son of Periya-Tirumalayyaṅgār. In the record mention is also made of Nārapparāja in whose name were provided certain offerings for Śrī Gōvindarāja, and the offered *prasādam* was required to be delivered to Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha along with that belonging to himself. This Nārapparāja must be the Nandyāla chief Nārapparāja, son of Nandyāla Nārasiṅgarāja (page 253 *ante*); and probably Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha or Tiruvēṇādayar was his *protege*.

Once again in Śaka 1479, Piṅgaḷa, Makara (=13-1-1558 A.C.), Tiruvēṇādar provided for additional offerings for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara during this same *Peṇḍili-tirunāḷ* (No. 422—G.T.). It is mentioned that the Garuḍa flag was during this marriage-festival hoisted over the flag-staff (which was a special feature of the *Tirukkoḍi-tirunāḷ* alone) and one *dōśai-paḍi* was offered to the *Tirukkoḍi-āḻvān* at the time. On the *āṭṭai-tirunakshatram* day of his father Periya-Tirumalayyaṅgār, viz., on the day of Mṛigaśīrsha star in the month of Chittirai, provision was also made for the ablutions and oblations of Malainiṉa-Perumāḷ (processional image of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara) and Nāchchimār (His consorts) at his *maṇṭapam*, besides propitiation of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara Himself as previously arranged. Betel-nuts and leaves were required to be presented to the processional images on each of the twenty days of the *Kōḍai-tirunāḷ* at Tirumala at the time of the singing of the *Saṅkīrtanas*. Offerings were also provided for Śrī Gōvindarāja in Tirupati on some days during His Vaikāśi, Āni and Māśi festivals, the Mārgaḷi festival of Śūḍikkuḍutta-Nāchchiyār and the *Peṇḍili-tirunāḷ* started by the donor's eldest brother Śiṟu-Tirumalayyaṅgār in Śaka 1469 (=1547 A.C.) and certain other special occasions. As at Tirumala, Śrī Gōvindarāja was presented with betel-leaves and nuts during His *Kōḍai-tirunāḷ* at the time of the singing of the *Saṅkīrtanas*. Tiruvēṇādar installed an image of Tiruvāḻi-āḻvān in a shrine built by him on the western side of the Gōvinda-pushkariṇi and arranged for its offerings thrice a day together with oil for the lamp, as well as special offerings and bath on Saturdays and the days of the star Kārtikai (Kṛittika) and other auspicious occasions, at a total cost of 252 *rēkhai* 3 *paṇam* annually. The aggregate cost of the several services of the donor in the present case came to 280 *rēkhai* for which he granted to the temple the village Kōṭṭūr in the Pērambākka-rājyam in the Terkumāgāṇai with an annual income of 280 *rēkhai-pon*. It is possible that these members of the Tāḷḷapākam family were *Sudarśana-upāsakas*, as may be seen from the composition of "Sudarśana-Ragaḷa" by Pedda-Tirumalāchārya, the installation of Sudarsana images by Chinna-Tirumalayyaṅgār (No. 354—G. T. above) and Tiruvēṇādar or Chinna-Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha (No. 422—G. T.), and their provision generally for special offerings for Tiruvāḻiāḻvān installed at the *gōpuram* of Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple.

Tallapakam Poets' Learning and Devotion:—Within a short time after the publication of their respective works by the Tāḷḷapākam poets, the literary excellences thereof were recognised, as may be gauged from the small Telugu stanza of their contemporary poet Tenāli Rāmakṛishṇakavi that

refers to three of the members of the Tāḷḷapākam family. It credits Chinnanna or Chinna-Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha who composed his three works in the *Dvipada* metre with being an adept in the writing of *Kāvyas* in this *Dvipada* style, his father Peda-Tirumalayya or Tirumalayyaṅgār in *Padamu* (four line verse) and the latter's elder half-brother Narasiṅganna in *Padya* and *Gadya* (both verse and prose). Though this stanza indicates the composition of some *Padya-Gadya-Kāvyas* by Narasiṅganna, it is not known what those works exactly were. Another poet Tiruvēṅkaḷayappa alias Tiruvēṅgaḷa-Dīkshita translated the *Saṁskṛita-Śṛiṅgāra-Kāvya* "Amaruśataka" into Telugu verse with explanation in prose for the stanzas. He was the son of Vēṅkaṭēśa-Dīkshita and consequently different from the members of the family noticed above. "Ashṭamahishī-Kalyāṇamu" ascribes to Peda-Tirumalāchārya a profound knowledge in *Vēdānta* as well as in *Saṅgīta* and *Sāhitya* with the authorship of "Āndhra-Vēdāntamu" in *Dvipada* metre, "Harivaṁśamu", "Chakravāḷa-Maṅjari" and "Rēphaṇakāramulu" in Telugu. Of these four works, only the last two are found transcribed on copper-plates in our temple along with others, while the first two are not otherwise known at all. Speaking of himself Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha alias Chinnanna declares in the same Telugu work that he was so proficient in Poetry as to compose in a single day one thousand *Dvipadas* with proper rhetorical flourishes, that he was entitled "Kavi-śirahkampayōgya-pratidvipada-navabirudāṅka", and that he was presented with an extraordinary pair of *Makarakuṇḍalas* by the peerless deity Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa[1] to whom he dedicated his *Kāvya*. It is also known that this Chinna-

Note 1 :—The proper names in the expressions in the poem referring to this gift of *Makarakuṇḍalas*, viz., *anupama Śrī Vēṅkaṭādrīśa-datta Makarakuṇḍala-yugma maṇḍita-karṇa* and *enalēni Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśu meppiñchi.....Makarakuṇḍalamul-immani-gonnavāḍa*, has been taken in the "Lives of Telugu Poets" (page 260) to apply to Vēṅkaṭādri, the younger brother of king Tirumala, or the latter's fourth son Vēṅkaṭa I. Apparently based on this interpretation, it was suggested in the Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911-12 (foot-note 2 on page 179) that Vēṅkaṭādri, the brother of Tirumala, was called "Bhōja", "perhaps with reference to the patronage offered by him to Tāḷḷapāka Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha, the author of *Paramayōgivilāsamu*." The interpretation is incorrect, as the names "Śrī Vēṅkaṭādrīśa" and "Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa" definitely connote God Vēṅkaṭēśa of Tirupati, addressed as "Śēshāchalarājapati" half a dozen lines earlier in the same work. This is substantiated by the statement of Rēvuṇūri Vēṅkaṭakavi to the effort that it was God Vēṅkaṭaramaṇa that presented the poet, along with his brothers, with the *Makarakuṇḍalas* and other insignia of honour. Both Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha and Vēṅkaṭādri lived in the reign of Sadāśivarāya from whom the former obtained grants of villages, but it is not known if the poet was patronised by the minister.

Tiruvēṅgaḷa wrote a *ṭīkā* called "Sudhānidhi" "on Kāvyaprakāśa," a work on *Alaṅkāra* (Rhetoric) in Saṁskṛit by Mammaṭa and a *ṭīkā* again on "Amara" called "Bālaprabōdhikā." The presentation of *Makarakuṇḍalas* to Chinnanna as well as to his four brothers is also mentioned by Rēvuṇūri Vēṅkaṭārya, who was the grandson of Saṅkīrtanāchārya Annamayyaṅgār through his daughter, and son of Tirumala Koṇḍayārya and who too dedicated his "Śakuntalāpariṇayamu" to Vēṅkaṭēśa. In his "Śakuntalā-pariṇayamu" Vēṅkaṭakavi relates that God Vēṅkaṭaramaṇa (i.e. Vēṅkaṭēśa), being pleased to consider himself the son-in-law of the poet's grandfather Annayāchārya, promised not to hear the *Saṅkīrtanas* composed by others with His ears that were satiated with the *Saṅkīrtanas* of Annamayya; that He assured his son Pedda-Tirumalāchārya of His manifestation (*pratyakshamu*) to three generations of his family and the grant of eternal bliss (*mōkshamu*) to seven generations from himself downwards; that He presented the five grandsons of Annayārya, viz., China-Tirumala-Dīkshita, Annayāchārya, Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha, Kōnēṭi-Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha and Veṅgaḷārya, with nicely worked *Ātapatra* (umbrellas) bearing pearls, *Makarakuṇḍala* (ear-rings of the form of the crocodile) set with gems, *Karadīpikā* (torches), *Prapādukā* (long flowing gowns) and other things as marks of honour; that He was moved to dance to the singing of the *Saṅkīrtanas* by Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha, the third brother, and that He protected in these ways these great men, the five brothers, just as Śrī Kṛishṇa had supported the Pāṇḍavas. This statement of Vēṅkaṭa-kavi fully establishes the constant devotion of the Tāḷḷapākam poets to God Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha to whose grace they firmly believed to have owed their life and their acquisitions. Possibly it was with the intention of fructifying the belief referred to by Rēvuṇūri Vēṅkaṭakavi, viz., that Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa was considered the son-in-law and, as such, His consort Alamēlumaṅga the daughter of Annamayyaṅgār, i.e., that She was born in the Tāḷḷapākam family, that Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha alias Chinna-Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha alias Chinnanna instituted the *Vaivāhikōtsavam* or marriage-festival for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa in Śaka 1468 (=1546 A.C.), and his eldest brother Chinna-Tirumalayyaṅgār started a similar marriage-festival for Śrī Gōvindarāja in Śaka 1469 (1547 A.C.). It may be noted that Rēvuṇūri Vēṅkaṭakavi alters the order of the last two of the five brothers and indicates that Kōnēṭi-Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha was also an elder brother of Veṅgaḷārya who is evidently the author of the three *Dvipada-Kāvyas* "Ashṭamahishī-Kalyāṇamu," "Paramayōgi-Vilāsamu" and "Ushā-Kalyāṇamu." As noted above, the third brother Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha, i.e., Peda-Tiru[illegible], was

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proficient both in *Saṅgīta* and *Sāhitya* and the dancing of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara to his singing goes to prove this poet's musical talents. In the Telugu country the Tāḷḷapākam poets have come to be considered as scholarly but popular authors and this recognition is attested by the proverbial saying "partly one's own composition and partly that of the Tāḷḷapākamvāru"; and among them Chinnanna or Chinna-Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha, the *Dvipada* writer, has been accorded eminence as the most devoted poet of the family to God Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha.

Udayagiri Devaraya-Bhattar :—Dēvaraya-Bhaṭṭar or Dēvaṇa-Bhaṭṭar was the son of Udayagiri Nārasiṅga-Bhaṭṭar of Vāśishṭha-gōtra, Āśvalāyana-sūtra and Ṛik-śākha and was a *vāśāl-kāryappēr* of Chinna-Timmayadēva Mahārāja, the fourth son of Poṭlapāṭi Timmarāja (No. 347—G.T.) (page 262 *ante*). No. 352—G.T. brings to notice Dēvaṇa-Bhaṭṭar's son Śrīnivāsa-Bhaṭṭar, the commentator of Kāḷidāsa's "Śākuntala-Nāṭaka", as the recipient of a portion of the donor's share of the offered *prasādam* granted by Bayakāra Rāmappayya in Śaka 1466, Krōdhi (=1544 A. C.) (page 235 *ante*). During the succeeding years we find Dēvappayyar himself receiving the donor's share of the *prasādam* belonging to Śrīraṅgarāja, son of Manumapōli Ōbuḷarāja (No. 403—T.T.); Hanumayyan, son of Pālini Koppu-Nāyakkar residing in Reḍḍibhūmi, a disciple of Kumāra-Tātayyaṅgār (No. 417—T.T.); Padaṇḍayar, son of Timmarasa-Padaṇḍayar (No. 561—T.T.); and a portion of the *prasādam* of Gaṅgu-Reḍḍi, son of Ōgamapāḍi Tappada-Basava-Reḍḍi (No. 665—T.T.).

Dēvaraya-Bhaṭṭar's first act of charity related to the opening of a *taṇṇīr-pandal* (water-shed) at his maṇṭapam raised to the west of that of Vyāsa-Uḍaiyar (Vyāsatīrtha) in the north street adjoining Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple. The items of expenditure comprised the *jīvitam* (living, salary) of 4 *rēkhai* 8 *paṇam* annually for the permanent waterman at the rate of 4 *paṇam* per month, the wages of 3 *rēkhai* 5 *paṇam* for the temporary men engaged for extra supply of water to the water-shed during the *Puraṭṭāśi-tirunāḷ* (the original annual festival *Brahmōtsavam* instituted by Kāḍavan-Perundēvi, queen of Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, in the name of Adi-Brahma, as stated in No. 662—T.T. registering the charities of Rāyasam Vēṅkaṭādri), and a payment of 6 *paṇam* per annum to the potters for their supply of pots, making a total expenditure of 8 *rēkhai* 9 *paṇam*. In addition to his monthly salary, the permanent waterman was given one and a half *prasādams* daily out of two and a half *prasādams* granted to Dēvaraya-Bhaṭṭar by the *Sthānattār* from their share in the temple of Śrī Gōvindarāja. Another *taṇṇīr-pandal* was at the same time established

by him at the foot of the hill near the village Maṅgalam situated about three miles to the east of Tirupati past the lime-kilns adjoining it, and the yearly charges for it were limited to 6 *rēkhai* 1 *paṇam*. A superintendent (*Śālaivāśal-adhikāri*) was also engaged to supervise the distribution of water at the two water-sheds on a remuneration of one *rēkhai* yearly. Thus the aggregate annual charges for the two water-sheds came to 16 *rēkhai* which sum was expected to be derived as interest on the capital of 1600 *naṟpaṇam* paid to the temple by Dēvaraya-Bhaṭṭar in Śaka 1467, Viśvāvasu, Makara (=8-1-1546 A.C.) (No. 399—G.T.). The interest of 16 *rēkhai* or 160 *naṟpaṇam* for the capital of 1600 *naṟpaṇam* would give a rate of 10 per cent per annum, the usual rate at that time. The tract of land lying to the nort-east of Tirupati contains sites of the lime quarries which are still being worked.

Dēvaraya-Bhaṭṭar's next service consisted of the installation of an image of Viṭṭhalēśvaraperumāḷ in Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple and the provision for its propitiation daily and on auspicious occasions. Towards this expenditure for offerings, he granted to the temple in Śaka 1467, Viśvāvasu, Mīna (=25-3-1546 A.C.), *Viṭṭhalēśvaran-kālvāy* excavated by him in Tiruchchukanūr surnamed Varadarājapuram, *Chennappuḍaiyān-ēri* with the land below it purchased from the *Tiruvēṭṭuvanāyakapāḍigaḷ* in the Puduppaṭṭu village and the village Viṭṭhalēśvarapuram founded in the above land, and the four shares in the half *agrahāra-grāmam* Neḍunāḍu-Kuḷattūr excluding the half *tiruviḍai-yātta-grāmam* given to him by Bayakkāra Rāmappayyan, together with the 30 *rēkhai* donated with the accompaniment of a gift-deed by the several residents of Tirupati, viz., 10 *rēkhai* promised annually by the *Kōmaṭis* (merchant class) of Tirupati, 10 *rēkhai-pon* by the *Vyāpāris* (*Bēri-Śeṭṭis*) of Tirupati and 10 *rēkhai-pon* by the *Vyāpāris* residing in Kottappāḷaiyam, a suburb of Tirupati (No. 347—G.T.). Some income seems to have been secured for Śrī Viṭṭhalēśvara's temple through *kāṇikkai* tendered by the votaries of this diety, and it was stipulated that the entire offerings should be devoted to the repairs of that temple itself (No. 348—G.T.).

Just as Dēvaraya-Bhaṭṭar had educed the annual contribution of 30 *rēkhai* from the *palapaṭṭaḍaiyār* of Tirupati towards the propitiation of Viṭṭhalēśvara installed by him in Śaka 1467, so had he raised further donation in the following year, i.e., in Śaka 1468, Parābhava, Mīna (=6-3-1547 A.C.), from the public on a large scale, obtained gift-deeds for the same and remitted them into the temple-treasury, apportioning sums towards charges for supplies and services to Viṭṭhalēśvara (No. 363—G.T.). The supplies consisted of ghee,

oil, firewood, flowers, silk-thread, old clothes, curds, milk, mud-pots, and brass vessels. The follwing payments were provided for, viz., the pounding of paddy, the salary of the men conveying necessary articles to Tirumala, measuring grain, the *Kaikkōḷar* of Kottappāḷaiyam, temple-servants, *Talaiyāris* (watchmen), *Tiruppaṇippiḷḷai*, *Rāmānujakūṭam*, elephant-drivers, *Nōṭṭakkārar* (tester of coins), watchmen at the entrance to Viṭṭhalēśvara's shrine, gardeners, accountants, bearers of procession vehicles, supplies of ariticles and water for *tirumañjanam*, distributers of *prasādam*, garland-makers and reciters of *Vēda* and *Sahasranāma*. Within the next two months, i.e., on the 15th day of Vaikāśi (=12-5-1547 A.C.), Dēvaraya-Bhaṭṭar arranged for the celebration of the *Kōḍai-tirunāḷ* of Śrī Gōvindarāja on the 5th day in the premises of Viṭṭhalēśvara's temple, the charges for which amounting to 104½ *paṇam* were required to be paid from the temple-treasury year after year (No. 364—G.T.).

Dēvaraya-Bhaṭṭar once again secured further donations for Viṭṭhalēśvara's temple to the extent of 52 *rēkhai* and added it to the balance of 70 *rēkhai* outstanding from his previous payments (No. 367—G.T.). Out of this amount of 122 *rēkhai*, he utilised, on the 15th day of Kārtikai in the cyclic year Plavaṅga (=14-11-1547 A.C.), only 77 *rēkhai* 7 *paṇam* for the propitiation of Viṭṭhalēśvara and allowed the balance of 44 *rēkhai* 3 *paṇam* to stand to his credit in the temple-treasury. The present contribution comprised 30 *rēkhai* paid as *makamai* by the shop-keepers for their use of the premises of the *aṅkaṇams* constructed by Poṭlapāṭi Timmarājayya in the *Periya-Rājavīdhi*, 10 *rēkhai* granted in addition to their previous gift by the pearl-merchants and 12 *rēkhai* paid by stall-keepers opening their stalls during the *Puraṭṭāśi-tirunāḷ* in the plot of land belonging to Viṭṭhalēśvara, making up a total annual income of 52 *rēkhai*.

It is quite possible that Dēvaraya-Bhaṭṭar's ancestors had migrated to Tirupati from Udayagiri in the Nellore district abouf half a century previously during the time of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha, when the temple of Śrī Kōdaṇḍa-Rāma was constructed, and officiated as priests therein. It is still an Udayagiri family of *Vaikhānasas* that render worship in the temple of Śrī Rāma in Tirupati. Dēvaraya-Bhaṭṭar's son Śrīnivāsa-Bhaṭṭar was a learned scholar who commented on Kāḷidāsa's "Śākuntala-Nāṭaka".

Iyunni Appayan :—The devotees that started festivals in the temples desired their commencement in an auspicious hour on the particular day of their celebration, and the temple authorities gave heed to such a desire. The *Tirukkoḍi-tirunāḷ* or *Brahmōtsavam*, the *Peṇḍili-tirunāḷ* or *Vaivāhikōtsavam*

and *Pallavōtsavam* were among such festivals, as required to be begun under favourable auspices. This work of fixing the *muhūrtam* was discharged by an individual who might be expected to have an intimate knowledge of astrology, and, during the festival, along with the other functionaries of the temple, he was also remunerated for his service. In the 16th century we find this service rendered in the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara by one Īyuṇṇi Appa, a Śrīvaishṇava-Brāhmaṇa, who was paid one *paṇam* generally for each of the festivals. In the "Lakshmīdēvi-Mahōtsavam" instituted by king Achyutarāya in Śaka 1457, Manmatha, Dhanus (=26-12-1535 A.C.), provision was made for the payment of one *paṇam* to Yīyuṇṇi Appa, along with that for *āchārya*, *ṛitvik*, and reciters of *Śrīsūktam*, *Kalpamantram*, *Vēda*, *Lakshmī-sahasranāma*, *Lakshmī-gāyatri*, etc. (No. 544—T.T.). During the time of Sadāśivarāya, Tāḷḷapāka Periya-Tirumalayyaṅgār arranged in Śaka 1466, Krōdhi, Mīna (=19-3-1545 A.C.), for a *tiruvōlakkam* or *āsthānam* for Nammāḻvār installed near Kapila-tīrtham, on the day of the *Śāttumuṟai* being the 10th day of his *Tiruvadhyayanam*; and among the items of expenditure we find the payment of one *paṇam* to Yīyuṇṇi Appan for fixing the *muhūrtam* (No. 393—G.T.). In Śaka 1467, Viśvāvasu, Karkaṭaka (=5-7-1545 A.C.), Viṭṭhalēśvara Mahārāja, son of Āravīṭi Bukkarāja-Rāmarāja-Timmarājayya, started the *Pallavōtsava-tirunāḷ* for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara to be celebrated for five days ending with the day of Rōhiṇi in the month of Vaikāśi, and the expenses of the festival included a remuneration of one *paṇam* to Yīyuṇṇi Appan who fixed the *muhūrtam*, along with that for Anantan-Vēṅkaṭattuṟaivār who read the "Tiruvēṅkaṭa-Māhātmyam", that for the *Vēda-pārāyaṇam*, *Tiruvāymoḻi*, etc. (No. 561—T.T.). Similar provision for the payment of one *paṇam* in each case was made by Tiruvēṅkaṭanāthar, son of Tāḷḷapāka Periya-Tirumalayyaṅgār, who instituted in Śaka 1468 the *Vaivāhikōtsava-tirunāḷ* for Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān (No. 669—T. T.), and by Tāḷḷapāka Śiṟu-Tirumalayyaṅgār who started the *Peṇḍili-tirunāḷ* for Śrī Gōvindapperumāḷ in Tirupati (No. 354—G.T.). On the lines of the *Pallavōtsavam* conducted for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara at Tirumala, Śrīnivāsayyaṅgār, son of Śoṭṭai Ēṭṭūr Tirumalainambi Kumāra-Tātayyaṅgār, arranged in Śaka 1469, for a similar festival for Śrī Gōvindarāja in Tirupati, and he provided for the payment of two *paṇam* to Yīyuṇṇi Appayan for fixing the *muhūrtam* (No. 415—G.T.). The remuneration of one *paṇam* to Yīyuṇṇi Appayan for the same purpose is one of the items of the charges in the *Sahasranāma-Mahōtsava-tirunāḷ* instituted for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara in Śaka 1473 by Sūrappa-Nāyakkar, son of Pōttappa-Nāyakkar (No. 666—T. T.), and in the *Rathasaptami* festival.

started in Śaka 1485, Rudhirōdgāri, Makara (=26-1-1564 A. C.), for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara in the month of Tai by Appalaiyar, son of Karaṇikka Kāmarasappayan (No. 376—G.T.).

Anantayyan Venkatatturaivar :—The reading of the "Tiruvēṅkaṭa-Māhātmyam" or "Śrī Vēṅkaṭāchala-Māhātmyam" was another service indented upon by donors during their festivals in the temples and remunerated by them. In the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara at Tirumala this service appears to have been discharged by one Vēṅkaṭattuṟaivār, son of Vaḍamāmalaiyan, during the year Śaka 1466-67 (=1544-45 A.C.), and in the temple of Śrī Gōvindarāja by another Vēṅkaṭattuṟaivār, son of Anantayyaṅgār and grandson of Uruppuṭṭūr Karuppu-Tiruvēṅkaṭayyan. For the former is mentioned in No. 48—G.T. of Śaka 1466, Krōdhi, Makara (=January 1545 A.C.), to have been engaged to render this service in the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara for the merit of Sadāśivarāya Mahārāya and Aḷiya-Rāmarājadēva Mahārāja by Poṭlapāṭi Timmarāja on a monthly salary of 6 *paṇam* and that similarly the latter was engaged in the temple of Śrī Gōvindarāja in Tirupati. Again No. 360—G.T. or Śaka 1467, which registers the charities and services of Poṭlapāṭi Timmarāja both at Tirumala and Tirupati, merely refers to the reading of the "Tiruvēṅkaṭa-Māhātmyam" daily before Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara at the time of the *Aḷagappirānār-tirumañjanam* as arranged by himself, but names Anantayyaṅgār, son of Uruppuṭṭūr Tiruvēṅkaṭayyan, as the recipient at Tirupati of 4 *rēkkai* 8 *paṇam* yearly for his service in Achyutapperumāḷ's temple during His daily *tirumañjanam* and of 6 *rēkkai* for his service in Varadarājapperumāḷ's temple during His *tirumañjanam*. Both Uruppuṭṭūr Karuppu-Tiruvēṅkaṭayyan-Anantayyaṅgār and Vaḍamāmalaiyan-Vēṅkaṭattuṟaivār are found to be given a share of the offered *prasādam*, along with Kumāra-Tātayyaṅgār, in No. 514—T.T. of Śaka 1466, Krōdhi, Karkaṭaka (=July 1544 A.C.). Herein Vēṅkaṭattuṟaivār is mentioned as the reader of "Tiruvēṅkaṭa-Māhātmyam." But this Vēṅkaṭattuṟaivār, son of Vaḍamāmalaiyan, does not come to notice after Śaka 1467, while the later records mention only the other Vēṅkaṭattuṟaivār, son of Anantayyaṅgār, as being remunerated for his reading the "Tiruvēṅkaṭa-Māhātmyam" both in the temples at Tirumala and Tirupati. Just as the payment for fixing the *muhūrtam* was provided for, so was the payment of one *paṇam* to Anantan-Vēṅkaṭattuṟaivār authorised by Āravīṭi Viṭṭhalēśvara Mahārāja during his *Pallavōtsava-tirunāḷ* (No. 561—T.T.); by Tāḷḷapāka Tiruvēṅkaṭanathar during his *Vaivāhikōtsava-tirunāḷ* (No. 669—T.T.), and by Śoṭṭai Ēṭṭūr Śrīnivāsayyaṅgār of two *paṇam* during his *Pallavōtsavam*

for Śrī Gōvindarāja (No. 415—G.T.). It is this "Tiruvēṅkaṭa-Māhātmyam" that is referred to as "Śrīnivāsa-Purāṇam", for the reader of which Kāḷatti-Śeṭṭi, son of Peṅgāṇḍai- Śeṭṭi-Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān, stipulated for a monthly remuneration in Śaka 1465, Śōbhakṛit, Makara (31-12-1543 A.C.) (No. 466—T.T.).

Temple-Accountants :—Some of the accountants of the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara are also seen to have made endowments to the temple for the propitiation of the deities. Tiruvanantāḻvar-Kuppayyan of Kuḍipparambūr, one of the accountants of the Tirumala temple (*Tirumalaiyil Kōyilkaṇakku Tiruninṟaiyāruḍaiyār* by which designation they were usually known), installed images of Gōvinda-Kṛishṇa and Nāchchimār in the shrine built by him on a piece of land purchased from the *Tiruppaṇippiḷḷai* of Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple and provided for their daily offerings from the temple of Gōvindarāja, out of the interest on the capital of 1500 *naṟpaṇam* paid by him into the temple-treasury in Śaka 1464, Śubhakṛit, Kumbha (=16-2-1543 A.C.) (No. 377—G.T.). This installation is said to have been effected by Kuppayyan for the merit of the accountants of the Tirumala temple. The *Tiruppaṇippiḷḷai* was one of the functionaries of the temple whose duty among others consisted in sounding the *ḍamakkam* (*ḍamaru*, a rattle) during the procession (No. 669—T.T.), and clearing the path-way and putting up *pandals* at particular *maṇṭapams* for which he was paid (No. 415—G.T.). For this deity Gōvinda-Kṛishṇa another temple-accountant Dēvarvaṇaṅgavaruvār-Kuppā-Vēṅkaṭattaraśu arranged for offerings in the same month on 5-2-1543 A.C. during the 30 days of the *Tiruppaḷḷi-eḻuchchi*, together with the daily offerings for Alarmēlmaṅgai-Nāchchiyār resting on the chest (*tirumārpu*) of Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān, i.e., *Vakshasthala-Lakshmi*, and occasional offerings for Gnānappirān (Varāhasvāmi) (No. 510—T.T.). In Śaka 1468, Parābhava, Tula (=25-10-1546 A. C.), another accountant Periya-Śōḻaiyan provided both for daily and occasional offerings. together with an evening lamp, for Tiruvēṅkaṭa-Gōpālakṛishṇa installed in a *maṇṭapam* at the east end of *Śrī-Bhāshyakārar-tiruvīdhi*, i.e., the present North Mada Street adjoining Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple (No.370—G.T.).

Nagarattar :—Of the *Nagarattār* of Tirupati, Kāḷatti-Śeṭṭi son of Peṅgāṇḍai-Śeṭṭi-Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān of Peṇṇakka-gōtra, paid in Śaka 1465, Śōbhakṛit, Makara (=31-12-1543 A. C.), a sum of 1085 *naṟpaṇam* as capital into the *Śrī-Bhaṇḍāram* from the interest on which certain offerings for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara and Śrī Varāhasvāmi were required to be made and the monthly salary of the Brāhmaṇa reading the "Śrīnivāsa-Purāṇam" disbursed (No. 466—T.T.). Vaṅgāpuram Nārāyaṇa-Śeṭṭi, son of Periya-Nāgu-Śeṭṭi of Neḍuṅkumāra-

gōtra, endowed the temple in Śaka 1466, Krōdhi, Tula (=19-10-1544 A.C.), with a capital of 48,900 *naṟpaṇam* on behalf of all the members of his family for offerings both for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa and Śrī Gōvindarāja (No. 396—G.T.). Through an additional gift of 2860 *naṟpaṇam* he arranged for a *vanabhōjanam* in Tirupati on the day of Śravaṇam in the month of Kārtikai at which the offered *prasādams* were distributed among the temple-servants, prominent individuals and certain communities, viz., the *Vyāpāris* of Tirupati and *Pāṭaiyam, Pañchāḷattār, Kavarai, Kaikkōḷar*, etc. (No. 397—G.T.) Tāḷilpākkam Tirumalaiyaṅgār, Kumāra Tātayyaṅgār, Kandāḍai Appaiyaṅgār and Doḍḍayyaṅgār Appai figure among the individual recipients of the *prasādams*. This *Kaikkōḷar* or weaver class not only supplied men-servants to the temple but also furnished the temple-damsels (*emperumānaḍiyār*) as indicated in No. 395—T.T. of Śaka 1465 Śōbhakṟit, Vṛiśchika (=21-11-1543 A.C.), registering the provision made by a damsel named Śelli who was the daughter of a *Kaikkōḷar* of Tirupati. The donor Nārāyaṇa-Śeṭṭi is stated to have built a *Kōmaṭi-maṇṭapam* at which also Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa was propitiated. The designation of the *maṇṭapam* shows that the donor belonged to the *Kōmaṭi* community with which the term *Nagarattār* has to be equated. He also provided for the *Kōyilāḻvār-tirumañjanam* in Tirumala temple, i.e., the cleaning of the premises of the inner shrine and washing the walls thereof with sandal-paste mixed with camphor and saffron as a disinfectant, a process now generally employed in the same temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara before the celebration of the annual festival *Brahmōtsavam* in the month of Puraṭṭāśi (September-October). From No. 583 of 1919 from Little Conjeevaram, this Nārāyaṇa-Śeṭṭi is seen to have given "530 gold coins to the god, the interest from which was ordered to be utilised for sacred offerings on certain festival days" in the temple at Conjeevaram.

Some Temple-Servants :—The temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara standing in the small village of Tirumala situated in the midst of a forest over the hill needed to be guarded day and night, and for this purpose the temple employed a number of watchmen and posted them at the entrance gate beneath the first *Gōpuram* of the temple and other important places within it. The set of guards stationed at the *Periya-gōpura-vāśal* gave expression to their piety and devotion to God Vēṅkaṭēśa by providing for His propitiation through the deposit of 570 *paṇam* in the temple-treasury in Śaka 1468, Parābhava, Mithuna (=20-6-1546 A.C.) (No. 535—T.T.).

As at the present day, numerous pilgrims from different parts of India were assembling at the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa during the festivals, and particularly the Puraṭṭāśi festival or the original *Brahmōtsavam* and offering their *kānukas* to the deity in the past also. The different coins and gold and silver thus received in the temple required to be tested and valued before being brought to account in the temple and this testing and valuation appears to have been done by experts engaged on permanent service in the temple. One such expert, Nōṭṭakkāra Veṅgaḷu-Śeṭṭi, comes to notice in No. 409—G.T. He was the son of Guṇḍulūr Timmayan and belonged to the Pārichārya-Ṛishi-vaṁśa, Traivarṇika-kula and Pannukar-Tulāṇpaḍachchiva-gōtra. He provided for the offering of one *appa-paḍi* to Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa in Śaka 1468, Parābhava, Kumbha (=6-2-1547 A.C.).

THE ARAVIDU LINE.

TIRUMALARAJA :—The ruling line of the Āravīḍu family commenced with Tirumala, who, acquiring power as the chief minister of Sadāśivarāya in 1565 A.C. after the death of his elder brother Aḷiya-Rāmarāya in the battle of Tāḷikōṭa, ascended the Vijayanagara throne ten years later in about 1575 A.C. (page 257 *ante*), having at the same time changed his capital to Penugoṇḍa. His was a brief reign lasting for two or three years during which his second son Śrīraṅgarāya or Raṅga II ruled as a co-regent with him. His *Uñjal-maṇṭapam*, generally called the *Tirumalarāya-maṇṭapam*, with its exquisitely sculptured high pillars bearing the figures of a warrior riding a horse standing erect over an elephant with another elephant higher up stands in tact to this day as a memorial of his service in the temple and forms the seat of the *āsthānam* of the processional image of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara during the annual *Brahmōtsavams* in the temple.

SRIRANGADEVA MAHARAYA II :—The next reign, that is, that of Śrīraṅgadēva Mahārāya, is represented by half a dozen inscriptions ranging in date between Śaka 1501 (1579 A.C.) and Śaka 1508 (1586 A.C.).

Rayasam Tirumalayya :—In two of them dated on the same day in Śaka 1504, Chitrabhānu, Makara (=16-1-1583 A.C.), is mentioned Rāyasam Tirumalaiyar, son of Mādarasappan of the Kāśyapa-gōtra, Kātyāyana-sūtra and Śukla-Yajuś-śākha, one of the Brāhmaṇas residing in Kundanāḷugrāmam in the

Uruvakkoṇḍai-śīrmai, in whose name the donors, Appāla Chinnappan, son of Tākkappāṭi Śevvāṭṭi, one of the Kīḻaippiḻḻai class inhabiting Kiḻichchakkai in Kuṉṟavardhanakōṭṭam (No. 49—G.T.), and Tillappa-Nāyakkar, son of Kavunaḍi Suṅkara Tammu-Nāyakkar of Vijayanagara (No. 100—G.T.), provided for certain offerings for Śrī Gōvindarāja. From these epigraphs we learn that paddy was priced at the time at 4 *paṇam* per *vaṭṭi* or *puṭṭi* as measured with the measure known as *Kaḍamaikkāl*, and the cost of the different *paṇyārams* offered for the deities was estimated at the following rates:—52 *vaḍais* prepared out of one measure of pulse, i.e., one *vaḍai-paḍi*, at eight *paṇam*, one *iḍḍali-paḍi* at five *paṇam*, one *sugiyan-paḍi* at five *paṇam*, one *dōśai-paḍi* at three *paṇam*, one *tēntalai-paḍi* at one *rēkhai* or ten *paṇam*, one *kuṇukku-paḍi* at five *paṇam*, one *atirasa-paḍi* at one *rēkhai*, one *gōdi-paḍi* at six *paṇam* and one *appa-paḍi* at one *rēkhai*.

Kumara-Tatacharya:—One of the prominent Śrīvaishṇava teachers of the time, viz., Ēṭṭūr Tirumalai Kumāra-Tātāchāryarayyan, entitled *Śrīmad-Vēdamārga-Pratishṭhāpanāchārya* and *Ubhaya-Vēdāntāchārya*, appears in No. 671-T.T. He was the son of Aiyāvayyaṅgār and the grandson of Tōḻappāchārya of Śaṭhamarshaṇa-gōtra, Āpastamba-sūtra, and Yajuś-śākha. In Śaka 1505, Subhānu, Kanya (=25-9-1583 A.C.), he granted four villages to the temple yielding an aggregate annual income of *720 rēkhai*, viz., Ayyanpākkam with 330 *rēkhai*, Piśāṭṭūr with 210 *rēkhai* and Pulivāyi with 30 *rēkhai* situated in the Pālavēṭṭuchchīrmai in the Terkumāgāṇai, and Mullaivāyi in Tuḷaiparivāyi-śīrmai with 150 *rēkhai*. The expenditure for this amount of *720 rēkhai* consisted of daily and occasional offerings for Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān. The value of each *poṅgal-tiruppōnakam* is stated to have been 2 *paṇam*, that of two *palams* of *chandanam* 3/16 *paṇam* and that of 100 betel-nuts and 200 leaves one *paṇam*.

Kumāra-Tātāchārya belonged to the family of "Śrīśailanātha, better known by his familiar name Periya Tirumalai-nambi" who "was the maternal uncle of the great Śrīvaishṇava *āchārya* Rāmānuja, and also one of the five disciples of Yāmunārya, who was the immediate *guru* of Rāmānuja" (Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, page 162). He was the son of Aiyāvayyaṅgār as mentioned in our inscription No. 671-T.T. and in Nos. 30,31 and 32 of 1921 (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1921, para 53). The father "Ayyāvayyaṅgār is called Ēṭṭūr Tirumalai Kumbakōṇam Tātāchāriyar Ayyāvayyaṅgār" in No. 31 of 1921. The inscriptions of our Collection furnish us with the ancestry of Kumāra-Tātāchārya for three generations extending to the time of Mallikārjuna of the

First Dynasty of Vijayanagara. As noted above, Kumāra-Tātāchārya was the son of Aiyāvayyaṅgār and the grandson of Tōḻappāchārya; and this Tōḻappāchārya or Tōḻappar-Ayyaṅgār is represented as the son of Śeṭṭai Tirumalainambi Tiruvēṅkaṭa-Tātayyaṅgār and as one of the *āchāryapurushas* inhabiting the Tirupati-agaram, in No. 98—G.T. dated in Śaka 1385, Subhānu, Mīna (=7-3-1464 A.C.), falling into the reign of Mallikārjuna. Nos. 347 and 574—T.T. dated in Śaka 1397, Manmatha, Kanya (=24-9-1475 A.C.), bring to notice another son of Śeṭṭai Tiruvēṅkaṭa-Tātayyaṅgār, viz., Kumāra-Tātayyaṅgār, who was perhaps younger than Tōḻappāchārya, and who was the *āchārya* of Śrīman Nṛisiṁha-Prabhu entitled "Gāyigōvāḻa", the conqueror of the Pāṇḍya king and the establisher of the Kākatīya kingdom, and of his brother Kēsaya-Nāyaka entitled "Tribhuvanarāja" (page 139 *ante*). Kumāra-Tātayyaṅgār is again mentioned in No. 142—G.T. of Śaka 1410, Kīlaka, Siṁha (=12-8-1488 A.C.), which registers a provision for offerings for Śrī Gōvindarāja on the day of his birth-star Pūram (Pubba) occurring each month, and in No. 307—T.T. of Śaka 1415, Pramādīcha, Tula (=17-10-1493 A.C.), recording a similar provision for offerings for both Śri Vēṅkaṭēśa and Śrī Gōvindarāja in his own name and in that of his disciple Kumāra-Kulaśēkhara-Mādinirāvu Timmā-Nāyakkar (page 149 *ante*). This Kumāra-Tātayyaṅgār's son was Tirumalai-Tātayyaṅgār who is stated in No. 421—T.T. dated in Śaka 1463, Plava, Kumbha (=10-2-1542 A.C.), during the reign of Achyutarāya, to have been the *guru* of Siṅgarāja, son of Salakayyadēva Mahārāja (page 222 *ante*). We thus obtain a glimpse of four generations of the junior line from the same Tiruvēṅkaṭa-Tātayyaṅgār to Tirumalai-Tātayyaṅgār.

From the Conjeevaram inscriptions we find that Kumāra-Tātāchārya's dates range between Śaka 1496, Bhāva, (1574-75 A.C.) (No. 383 of 1919), falling into the reign of Śrīraṅga II, and the cyclic year Pramōdūta (Śaka 1552=1630 A.C.) (No. 354 of 1919), which "records the construction of a Vimāna by Tātāchāryaḷat Phaṇipatigiri (i.e., Tirupati)." It is unquestionably this Kumāra-Tātāchārya that "repaired and regilt the Puṇyakōṭivimāna which was originally erected by Kṛishṇarāya and which had become dilapidated..... ...and also erected the Kalyāṇakōṭi-vimāna and had it also gilt with gold", in Śaka 1536, Ānanda, Mēsha (=2-4-1614 A.C.), as reported in Nos. 649 and 650 of 1919. Having "basked in the sun of royal favour of king Veṅkaṭapati, to whom he was the spiritual *Guru* who officiated at his coronation, and who in his excess of admiration for his *āchārya* is said to have offered the whole kingdom to him", he "lived in kingly splendour at Conjeevaram at the latter

part of his life". The inscriptions of Conjeevaram mention him "as the manager-general of the temple affairs (*Śrī-kārya-dhurandhara*) with a staff of subordinates under him", and he supervised other Vaishṇava temples in the Chingleput district. He is reported "In No. 363 of 1919 to have weighed himself separately against gold and silver and to have used all that wealth in the service of Varadarāja in erecting the Kalyāṇakōṭi-*vimāna* in gold for the goddess Lakshmī in the same temple. In the Sanskrit verses contained in No. 475 of 1919, his gifts of all the necessary *vāhanas* (vehicles) in gold and silver, of the elephant, the horse, the snake, the Garuḍa, Hanuman, the palanquin, the swan and the lion and of certain other costly jewels and ornaments to the god, his founding of beautiful *agrahāras* for Brahmins and the digging of a tank called Tātasamudram are mentionted in glowing terms" (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1920, para 51). This same Kumāra-Tātāchārya or Tirumala-Tātāchārya is also mentioned to have performed the coronation of Peda-Vēṅkaṭapati or Vēṅkaṭa II, the elder son of Raṅga IV who was a son of Aḷiya-Rāmarāja.

As noted above, the period of Kumāra-Tātāchārya's activities extends from 1574–75 A. C. to 1630 A. C., i.e., over 55 years, as gleaned from lithic records; and, as remarked in the Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911—12, page 191, footnote 2, "it is not impossible that the Vaishṇava teacher Tirumala Tātāchārya, who performed the coronation of Veṅkaṭa I, should have lived to the time of Veṅkaṭa II." We have seen that Kumāra-Tātāchārya's grandfather Tōḷappāchārya lived during the reign of Mallikārjuna and the maximum interving period between the time of Tōḷappāchārya and Tātāchārya is 168 years from Śaka 1385 to Śaka 1552, while the minimum period is 112 years upto Śaka 1496, the date of Kumāra-Tātāchārya's earliest record No. 383 of 1919. Out of these 168 years we observed Kumāra-Tātāchārya carrying on his activities for a third of that period, i.e., for 55 years, and the remaining 112 years might have been thus lived by his grandfather and father, Tōḷappāchārya from the reign of Mallikārjuna to about the middle of Kṛishṇarāya's time until about 1520 A.C., and Aiyāvayyaṅgār from 1520 to 1570 A.C. into the early years of Śrīraṅga's reign. It is thus possible that each member of this senior line lived on for five to six decades, exclusive of the overlapping time during which both the father and the son in each case might have lived together. And inclusive of this overlapping period each individual's full age would have lasted from eighty to ninety years, just as Tāḷḷapāka Annamayyaṅgār had lived for ninety-six years. And it is reasonable to believe that Kōṭikanyādānam

Lakshmīkumāra Tātāchārya alone regilt the *Ānandanilaya-vimāna* of the central shrine of Vēṅkaṭapati (Vēṅkaṭēśa) abiding on the Phaṇipatigiri (Śēshādri, the hill which in form looks like a coiled serpent), in the cyclic year Pramōdūta corresponding to Śaka 1552 (=1630 A.C.), which is possibly the first year of the reign of king Veṅkaṭa II whom the *āchārya* crowned during that year and whose presents on the occasion he probably utilised for the gilding of the *Ānandanilaya-vimāna* of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara, just as he used the gold and silver against which he weighed himself "in erecting the Kalyāṇakōṭi-vimāna in gold for the goddess Lakshmī" at Conjeevaram and in regilding the Puṇyakōṭi-vimāna of Varadarājasvāmi, in Śaka 1536, Ānanda, Mēsha (=2–4–1614 A.C.) (Nos. 650, 649 and 363 of 1919). For a successor of this Kumāra-Tātāchārya, viz., Ēṭṭūr *Immaḍi* Tirumalai Kumāra-Tātāchārya, appears four years later in Śaka 1556, Yuva, Simha (=30–8–1635 A. C.), falling into the reign of Vēṅkaṭapatirāya II (No. 201 of 1922).

Tradition regarding the ancestry of the family of Tātāchārya extracted from "Prapannāmṛita" is quoted in Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, page 162, wherein it is mentioned that two earlier members of the family, viz., the brothers Narasiṁhāchārya and Raṅgāchārya, obtained the favour of king Virūpāksha II of Vijayanagara, the successor of Mallikārjuna on the throne, and lived at his court; that "the ninth in descent from this Narasiṁhāchārya was Tātārya", and that "Lakshmīkumāra Tātāchārya, who was more familiarly known as *Kōṭi-kanyakā-dānam* Tātāchārya was the son of *Pañcha-mata-bhañjanam* Tātāchārya". We have seen above that only three generations of the family lived between the reigns of Mallikārjuna, the predecessor of Virūpāksha II, and Veṅkaṭa I, and hence Narasiṁhāchārya, the ninth ancestor of Tātāchārya, must have been far more remote, perhaps far beyond the time of inception of the Vijayanagara kingdom itself. As for the parentage of Kumāra-Tātāchārya, No. 671—T.T. of our Collection and Nos. 30, 31, and 32 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. for 1921 are quite explicit in stating that he was the son of Aiyāvayyaṅgār or Ēṭṭūr Tirumalai Kumbakōṇam Tātāchāriyār Ayyāvayyaṅgār. And so this *Pañcha-mata-bhañjanam* Tātāchārya must be taken to be identical with Tātāchāriyār Ayyāvayyaṅgār of the above records, who, according to our calculation of his dates, had not lived into the reign of Vēṅkaṭapatidēvarāya I, as suggested in the volume of *Epigraphia Indica* under reference. Consequently it looks more probable that both *Pañcha-mata-Bhañjanam* Tātāchārya and *Kōṭi-kanyakā-dānam* Tātāchārya were one and the same individual Kumāra-Tātāchārya who was the son of Aiyāvayyaṅgār and whose influence extended

to Tirumalai, Kumbakōṇam and Tirumāliruñjōlai, according to Nos. 531 and 588 of 1919.

Venkamarasa-Reddi:—A Veḷḷāḷa by name Veṅkamarasa-Reḍḍi, son of Śellappa-Reḍḍi of Avulālai, a village situated in the *Tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam-Uḷ-maṇḍalam*, i.e., the inner division of such gift villages, provided in Śaka 1506, Tāraṇa, Tula (=18-10-1584 A.C.), for offerings estimated to cost 32 *pon* to the temple, and set off this sum against the enhanced yield of 80 *vaṭṭis* of grain secured for the temple from the lands in the same village Avilāla irrigated by the new channel excavated by him at his own cost. As in the two previous records, the value of grain is stated to be 4 *paṇam* per *vaṭṭi*, while the 32 *pon* taken as the value of the 80 *vaṭṭis* also gives the same rate of 4 *paṇam* per *vaṭṭi*.

Avasaram Chennappar:—A certain Avasaram Chennappar, son of Naśilukkūr Narasayyar of Kauṇḍinya-gōtra, Āpastamba-sūtra and Yajuś-śākha, comes to notice in No. 150—T.T. which registers his donation to the temple in Śaka 1508, Vyaya, Mēsha (=22-4-1586 A.C.). As his designation indicates, he must have been an *Avasaram* officer (royal messenger) of king Śrīraṅga-rāya, just as Tirumalaiyar was the royal secretary (*Rāyasam*).

VENKATAPATIDEVA MAHARAYA I:—Vēṅkaṭapatirāya, generally known as Vēṅkaṭa I, is represented in our Collection by about a dozen inscriptions extending in date from Śaka 1514 (1592 A.C.) to Śaka 1538 (1616 A.C.). He was the fourth son of Tirumala and the youngest brother of Śrīraṅga II. From a record from Markapur in the Kurnool district, he is seen to have been a subordinate of Sadāśivarāya in Śaka 1489 (1567 A.C.). In two epigraphs from the Salem and North Arcot districts he is stated to be referred by his title alone, viz., "Vīravasantarāya" (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911-12, page 187). During the reign of his father Tirumala and his elder brother Śrīraṅga II, he governed the Chandragiri-rājya as its viceroy, as indicated in the *Telugu-kāvya* "Vasucharitramu" (Canto 1, Introduction, verse 81) and in No. 185 of 1922 dated in Śaka 1494, Āṅgīrasa, Āshāḍha (=9-7-1572 A.C.), during the reign of Śrīraṅga, and next held "charge of the Udayagiri, Koṇḍavīḍu and other outlying hill fortresses". He had married five queens out of whom Kṛishṇamāmba or Kṛishṇājiamman mentioned in No. 97—T.T. was one. During his reign, Raṅga III surnamed "Chikkarāya", the son of his elder brother Rāma III, was co-regent with him, as also Rāma IV, the son of Raṅga III. His minister was Pemmasāni Pedda-Timmarāja, the great-grandson of Pemmasāni Rāmaliṅgarajā who served as the general of Kṛishṇadēvarāya and

bore the brunt of the fight in the battle waged against the Muhammadan Sultans on the southern bank of the Kṛishṇā early in 1514 A.C. This minister's younger brother Chinna-Timmarāja, represented in No. 687—T.T., was the ruler of the Gaṇḍikōṭa-sīma at the time.

His coronation was performed by Ēṭṭūr Tirumalai Kumāra-Tātāchārya, represented in No. 671—T. T. of Śaka 1505, falling into the reign of Śrīraṅga II, who was his family priest. On his accession to the Karṇāṭa throne, he transferred the seat of his government from Penugoṇḍa to Chandragiri. Having been initiated by his *guru* Kumāra-Tātāchārya, he became an ardent Vaishṇava and encouraged the propagation of Vaishṇavism. He was a staunch devotee of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara. As a memorial of his *bhakti*, a copper statue of his with folded hands and clasped palms in a prayerful aspect is found placed on the south side within the inner front *maṇṭapam* adjoining the entrance *gōpuram* of the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara at Tirumala with the name "Vēṅkaṭapatirāyalu" incised in Telugu characters on its right shoulder. The figure appears to be muscular in form and of ordinary stature, but the warrior in the king is not prominent as in the statue of Kṛishṇarāya placed in a group with his two queens on the north side of the same *maṇṭapam*. A group of two statues made of stone representing a king and his queen are also placed near that of Vēṅkaṭapatirāya and it is believed that "they may represent the parents of Vēṅkaṭa, viz., the first Karṇāṭa king Tirumala and his queen Veṅgaḷāmbā" (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911-12, page 189, foot-note 3).

Nottakkara Venkatayyan:—No. 686—T.T. brings to notice Nōṭṭakkāra Vēṅkaṭayyan, son of Nōṭṭakkāra Kōnappayan, a Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra, Āśvalāyana-sūtra and Ṛik-śākha and a native of Daṇāya-Achyutāpuram, who presented to the temple a silver *Śēsha-vāhanam* and a silver *Simha-vāhanam* and arranged for processions on these vehicles and for offerings at certain *maṇṭapams* during the eleven *Brahmōtsavams* held at Tirumala at the time. On behalf of his wife he also provided for the celebration of the *Paṭṭābhishēka-tirunāḷ* for Śrī Rāma on the day of Pūśam following the *Śrī Rāma-navami* day, at which Malaikiniyaniṉa-Perumāḷ, Nāchchimār, Chakravarti-tirumakanār (Śrī Rāma), Sītaippirāṭṭiyār, Iḷaiya-Perumāḷ (Lakshmaṇa), Sēnaimudaliyār, Emperumānār (Rāmānuja), Śiṟuttiruvaḍi (Hanumān), Sugrīvan and Aṅgadan were required to be given ablutions being seated on the *siṅgāsanam* in front of the central shrine and propitiated with offerings. "Vāyu-Purāṇam" was read on the occasion by Purāṇa-Bhaṭṭar who was presented with a *pachcha-vaḍam* costing four *paṇam*. The total charges for the different services came

to 200 *pon*. In lieu of this he granted to the temple in Śaka 1536, Ānanda, Vṛiśchika (=4-11-1614 A.C.), the two irrigation channels excavated by him in the villages Nāyakan-kālvāy and Nariyanūr situated in Kuḍavūr-nāḍu within the *Tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam-Uḷ-maṇḍalam*, and also made over to the temple the additional return from lands irrigated by these two channels. Vēṅkaṭappayyar's wife Vēṅkaṭamman was the daughter of Vēṅkaṭayyan, a native of Chinna-Hōttūr near Vijayanagara, who was of Gautama-gōtra, Kātyāyana-sūtra and Śukla-Yajuś-śākha and belonged to the class of *Ikkuma-Brāhmaṇas*. It is mentioned that Aṇṇan-Rāmānuja-Jīyar, the *Tirumalai-Tirupati-Periya-Kōyil-kēḷvi*, constructed in the *Rāmānujan-tiruvīdhi* the *Periya-Timmakkan-Vasanta-maṇḍapam* at which offerings were provided for the processional images on the tenth day of the *Chittirai-Tirukkoḍi-tirunāḷ*. This Aṇṇan-Rāmānuja-Jīyar is the donor in No. 413—G.T. which registers his grant of the village Dēvarāyappalli to the temple in Śaka 1515, Vijaya, Makara (=17-1-1594 A.C.), the income from which was utilised for offerings arranged in the name of himself and in that of Māḍapūśai Tiruvappaṅgār-Aṇṇāvin-Appaṅgār of Kāśyapa-gōtra, Āśvalāyana-sūtra, and Ṛik-śākha. No. 413—G.T. informs us that Periyamudali-Gōvindappan, Akkāra Vēṅkaṭarāyar, Tiruvēṅkaṭayyan and Kailāsanātha Periya-Śeṭṭi, natives of Tiruchchukanūr, were among the members of the body of the *Sthānattār* of the Tirumala temple.

Hanumayyar Annangar :—A military officer of Vēṅkaṭapatirāya, viz., Hanumayyar Aṇṇaṅgār, appears in No. 97—T. T. dated in Śaka 1528, Parābhava, Vṛiśchika (=28-11-1606 A.C.). He was the son of Lakkappa-Nāyakkar and belonged to the military contingents stationed at the Mālyavanta hill near Vijayanagara. For the merit of king Vēṅkaṭapati Mahārāya and queen Kṛishṇājiamman, he provided for daily offerings for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa amounting to 365 *rēkhai* per year which was recompensed by the grant of the three-quarters of the village Āṇṇaṅgārpāḷaiyam established by him within the limits of Ālippuram-Kōṭṭāḷam in the *Tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam-Uḷ-maṇḍalam*, together with three irrigation channels excavated by himself. He is stated to have also constructed a tank named *Vēṅkaṭarāya-samudram*.

Bokkasam Narasayyan :—Narasayyan, son of Bokkasam Kṛishṇayyan, was another royal officer (No. 366-G.T.). He was a resident of Vijayanagara. He seems to have served Tirumalarāya, i.e., the father of king Vēṅkaṭapatirāya, in some capacity, and probably held an office in the *Bokkasam* (treasury) of the king. In Śaka 1528, Parābhava, Mēsha, (=31-3-1606 A.C.), he arranged for offerings in his own name and in the names of Gōvindarājayyan, grandson

of Ellamarasayan, a Brāhmaṇa belonging to the Ātrēya-gōtra, Kātyāyana-sūtra and Śukla-Yajuś-śākha, and residing in Vaḍaguṇḍigrāmam in the Vijayanagara-śīrmai, and of a certain person of Paurṇaśa-gōtra belonging to the *Āśārattār* community (smiths) of Tirupati. After the destruction of the old capital city of the Hindu empire, viz., Vijayanagara, and the transference of the seat of Government of the Karṇāṭa kingdom to Penugoṇḍa during the reign of Tirumala, the father of Vēṅkaṭa I, Vijayanagara town appears to have become the head-quarters of a *sīma*, a sub-division resembling a taluk, as mentioned in the epigraph under notice.

Chinna-Timmarajayya :—A certain Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Chinna-Timmarājayya comes to notice in No. 687—T.T. dated in Śaka 1538, Naḷa, Vṛiśchika (=4-11-1616 A.C.). He was the son of Śrīgirirāja and grandson of Bhōgaḷarāja and belonged to the Kāśyapa-gōtra, Āpastamba-sūtra and Yajuś-śākha. He purchased 12 *prasādams* forming the share of the temple in the *avasaram* offerred each day in the name of Rāmarāja, i.e., Aḷiya-Rāmarāja, for Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān and made it over to the *Rāmānujakūṭam* for the feeding of Śrīvaishṇavas, along with other *prasādams*, and also provided for the propitiation of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa daily and of Śrī Gōvindarāja during his four festivals held in Vaikāśi, Āni, Āvaṇi, and Māśi and arranged for the payment of the monthly salary of Tirunārāyaṇapuram Gaṭṭu Tiruvēṅkaṭayyan who supplied flower-garlands to the temple. The gift of an irrigation channel dug up by him, together with the increased yield of grain derived from its irrigation, answered for the above charges.

This Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Chinna-Timmarāja probably belonged to the Pemmasāni family, an earlier member of which Rāmaliṅgaṇṛipāla helped Kṛishṇarāya in the great battle fought by him against the Sultans of the Muhammadan States on the southern bank of the Kṛishṇā before proceeding to the capture of Udayagiri in 1514 A.C. (Note 2 on page 183 and Note 1 on page 158 *ante*). If so, he must be indentical with the Chinna-Timmarāja who was the patron of the poet Chitrakavi Anantakavi, the author of "Indumatī-Pariṇayamu," and commentator of "Hariśchandra-Nalōpākhyānamu", and who was the younger brother of Pemmasāni Pedda-Timmarāja, the "Viceroy of Koṇḍavīḍu under Aḷiya Rāma Rāya" ("Sources," page 112 and foot-note 2 on page 241) and the minister under Vēṅkaṭa I (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911-12, page 188). From the "Lives of Telugu Poets" (page 294) we learn that Chinna-Timmarāja was the governor of Gaṇḍikōṭa in the

Cuddapah district during this period. These two Timmarājas must have been great-grandsons of Kṛishṇarāya's general Pemmasāni Rāmaliṅgarāja.

Minor Officers :—Timmappa-Nāyakkar, Siṅga-Nāyakkar and Nārāyaṇa-Dāsari-Nāyakkar were other officers of Vēṅkaṭapatirāya observed in Nos. 412—G.T., 324—T.T. and 427—G.T. respectively. Timmappa-Nāyakkar is stated to belong to the *Kavarai* class residing in Vijayanagara and to own the Chaturtha-gōtra. In the body of the inscription his name appears as Meykkoṭṭi Timmappa-Nāyakkar; and Meykoṭṭi Poṭṭaṇa-Nāyakkar referred to in it must be closely related to him. He had a garden in Tirupati in which he built a *maṇṭapam* where the processional images were required to be propitiated. He arranged for the reading of the "Tulasī-Māhātmya-Purāṇam." For the conduct of the offerings provided by him, he granted Pūndamalli-agaram yielding 320 *rēkhai* annually, in Śaka 1514, Nandana, Karkaṭaka (=14-7-1592 A. C.) (No. 412—G. T.). Pūndamalli-agaram (agrahāram), the modern Poonamalli near Madras, is said to have been situated in the Pāḷaiyachchīrmai in the Terkumāgāṇi. He made over the donor's share of the offered *prasādam* belonging to himself to Periyaperumāḷ Jīyar.

Siṅga-Nāyakkar was the son of Sinnaya-Nāyakkar and was a native of some place in Jayaṅkoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam. It is stated that the stone record was executed by the *Sthānattār* of the temple in the presence of Vēṅkaṭapatidēva Mahārāya in Śaka 1535, Pramādīcha, Vṛiśchika (=8-11-1613 A.C.) (No. 324—T.T.); and this indicates a visit of the king to the temple on this date.

Nārāyaṇa-Dāsari-Nāyakkar's services[1] consisted of the construction of a *maṇṭapam* and the installation of an image of Paṭṭābhi-Vēṅkaṭēśvara-Perumāḷ in Śaka 1528, Parābhava (=1606 A.C.), and arranged for its propitiation daily and on certain festive occasions such as that of *Muchikunda-mōksham* celebrated for Śrī Gōvindarāja. He provided offerings in the names of Gōvindappar-Kṛishṇayyan and Nōṭṭakkāra Vēṅkaṭayyan. He had an accountant to write up his accounts by name Vēṅkaṭaṇṇan and, as such, appears to have been an officer of some standing.

Other Donors :—Nārāyaṇar, appearing in No. 398—G.T. dated in Śaka 1515, Vijaya, Mīna (=13-3-1594 A. C.), was the son of Dharaṇi Kōnāri-Reḍḍi of the Chaturtha-gōtra and belonged to the *Śiṟupiḷḷai* class.

Śilambiḍaiyār-Śeṭṭi, son of Tambi-Śeṭṭi, belonged to the *Vyāpāri* class among the *Nagarattār* (the merchant community) residing in Rāmāpuram. He installed Varadarāja, Nāchchimār and Tirukkachchinambi in a *maṇṭapam*

in the *Vyāpāri* street and provided for their daily propitiation, for which he granted to the temple in Śaka 1518, Durmukhi, Mēsha (=19-4-1596 A.C.), the *Kaḷakkālvāy* in Rāmāpuram valued at 140 *rākhai* (No. 359—G.T.). The only temple in Tirupati which enshrines Tirukkachchinambi stands in the *Bēri Street* and it is held in high regard by the merchant class known as the *Bēri-Śeṭṭis* as being the temple of the Vaishṇava saint belonging to their own community. The *Vyāpāri-teruvu* wherein Tirukkachchinambi is stated to have been installed must be the present *Bēri-vīdhi* inhabited almost exclusively by the *Bēri-Śeṭṭi* class, and hence the *Vyāpāris* must be identical with the *Bēri-Śeṭṭis* who deal in precious stones and metals and jewels and are expert professional shroffs.

RAMARAYADEVA MAHARAYA IV :—Rāmarāya, generally known as Rāma IV, was the son of Raṅga III who was the son of Rāma III, the elder brother of Vēṅkaṭa I. During the reign of Vēṅkaṭa I, Rāma IV served as his co-regent and ascended the throne in Śaka 1536-37, Ānanda (=1614 A.C.) (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911-12, page 190). Only one inscription of our Collection, No. 329—G.T. dated in Śaka 1549, Prabhava, Ṛishabha (=25-5-1627 A.C.), mentions him as the reigning king.

Nottakkara Narayanayyan :—The donor of the record No. 329—G.T. is Nōṭṭakkāra Nārāyaṇayyan, son of Vēṅkaṭayyan and grandson of Nōṭṭakkāra Kōnappaiyan of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra, Āśvalāyana-sūtra and Ṛik-śākha. Nōṭṭakkāra Vēṅkaṭayyan was seen to have served Vēṅkaṭapatirāya (I) as his *Nōṭṭakkāra*, i.e., estimator of jewels and other valuables. This Brāhmaṇa family acquired expert knowledge in the testing and valuation of precious metals, stones and jewels, and served the state for three generations as its *Nōṭṭam* officers. While the father Vēṅkaṭayyan resided at Daṇāya-Achyutā-puram established by Vēṅkaṭapatirāya, the son Nārāyaṇayyan is stated to be residing at Daṇṇāyakkamaṅgalam, another village founded by the same king Vēṅkaṭapatirāyadēva Mahārāya. On the above date the son supplemented the the provision for offerings made by his father in Śaka 1536 (1614 A.C.), on the third days of the eleven *Tirukkoḍi-tirunāḷ* and other occasions at Tirumala, the total charges therefor coming to 440 *rēkhai* and a quarter *paṇam*, and as the capital for it he transferred to the temple the irrigation channels excavated by him in some of the *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* villages in the Kuḍavūr-nāḍu comprised within *Uḷ-maṇḍalam*, forming the group of villages granted to Tiruvēṅkaṭamuḍaiyān. From two of the channels was obtained

a quantity of 100 *vaṭṭis* of paddy valued at 60 *rēkhai* at the rate of 6 *paṇam* per *vaṭṭi*. Within a dozen years between Śaka 1536 (1614 A.C.) and Śaka 1549 (1627 A.C.) we observe that the value of grain increased by 50 per cent., owing probably to the political disturbances of the period caused by the rebellion of Jaggarāya on the death of Vēṅkaṭa I. The *Kaḍamaikkāl* is still seen to have been the standard grain measure in this reign as in the previous reigns.

Matla Kumara-Anantaraja :—During this period appears the Maṭla chief Kumāra-Anantarāja, son of Maṭla Tiruvēṅgaḷanātharāja and Chennamāmba of the Dēva-Chōḍa family belonging to the *Bhānuvaṁśa* (Solar race). Maṭli, a village in the Royachoti taluk of the Cuddapah district, lent itself as the family name of these chiefs of the *Dēva-Chōḍa* lineage. Their rule over the eastern half of the Cuddapah district comprising parts of Badvel, Siddhavattam, Cuddapah, Pullampet or Rajampet taluks, with Anantarājapuram or Anantarājapēṭa near Rajampet as their capital, bestowed on the tract of the country forming part of the Rajampet taluk the name *Maṭlavāri-sīma*, as being the home territory to which was confined the authority of the later members of the family. Maṭla or Maṭli Kumāra-Anantarāja was the grandson of the elder Anantarāja, the author of "Kakutstha-Vijayamu", through the latter's son Tiruvēṅgaḷanātharāja (Mad. Ep. Rep. for 1916, para 75).

Kumāra-Anantarāja's services were directed to the construction of the big outer *gōpuram* of Śrī Gōvindarāja's temple (No. 281—G.T.), the second *gōpuram* at the foot of the hill which is generally called the *Kotta-gōpuram* (new tower) and through which runs the pathway to Tirumala (Nos. 279 and 280—G.T.) and the one on the top of the front hill known as the *Gāli-gōpuram* (Nos. 269 and 270—G.T.). The first two towers contain inscriptions on their inner side stating that they were constructed by Maṭla Kumāra-Anantarājayya, son of Tiruvēṅgaḷanātharājayya-Dēva-Chōḍa Mahārājulayya. In No. 281 from the big *gōpuram*, Anantarāja is seen to assume the *biruda Śrīman-Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*. Above No. 281 engraved on the inner side of its south base are carved the figures of a king and three queens possibly representing Kumāra-Ananta and his three queens and on the opposite inner side of the north base are chiselled the figures of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara and a king and a queen with an inscription below them naming them Maṭla Tiruvēṅgaḷanātharāja and his wife Channamma (No. 282—G.T.). Similarly two figures representing Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha and Channamma are found carved with folded hands beside figures of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara and a king on the inner side of the east base of the

Kotta-gōpuram at the foot of the hill with names above them (Nos. 277 and 278—G.T.). And above the unnamed king standing with folded hands to the south of the deity are engraved the two inscriptions in Telugu and Tamil recording the construction of the *gōpuram* (Nos. 279 and 280—G.T.). And naturally the single figure must represent Maṭla Kumāra-Aanantarāja, the builder of the *gōpuram*. An old ruined tower still stands at the foot of the hill, just a few yards to the south of the *Kotta-gōpuram* of Kumāra-Ananta and the damage to this is said to have been caused by a thunder-bolt falling on it and rending it into two pieces from top to bottom which however still continue to stand together. The popular appellation of "Kotta-gōpuram" for Anantarāja's tower, together with the winding pathway laid with a stone pavement round the ruined tower, would indicate a much greater antiquity for this ruined tower the passage through which is now barred.

Besides these towers, Anantarāja constructed in Śaka 1550 (1628 A.C.) a *maṇṭapam* adjoining this ruined tower to its south which contains on its east and west walls on the inner side two copies of a long *Śīsamālika* stanza, one written in Telugu and another in Grantha characters (Nos. 269 and 270—G.T.). They recount the deeds of valour and acts of charity of Anantarāja of the Dēva-Chōḍa family who was the moon to the ocean of the Solar race and who exercised authority over the tract of country lying between the Vēṅkaṭa and Ahōbala hills. Like Kapardi (Śiva), he fought out fiercely the battles at Pālagiri, Animela, Pīlēru, Chappali and Vēmupalli; destroyed the armies of the enemies at Koṭṭigala, Palakaḍa, Guṇḍlūru and Mushṭūru; and also at Kumāḷḷakālva. From God Udayāchalādhīśvara (Śri Raṅganāyaka of Udayagiri) he received a *ḍamāyi* (drum) and a *sāmaṇjadhvaja* (elephant banner), and constructed for that deity an *ākhēṭa* (sport)-*maṇṭapa* and an *udyāna* (garden); he built for Śrī Vīrarāghava of Tiruvaḷūru a *vasanta-maṇṭapa*; for Vēṅkaṭāchalapati he presented a *svarṇāśva* (golden horse-vehicle), a *sindhura* (elephant-vehicle) and a *samarabhūpāla-vāhana* (war-chariot), a *padma-pīṭha* (lotus-shaped seat), a *ratnāḍhya-makuṭa* (gem-set crown) and a *naivēdya-bhājana* (plate for offerings) and constructed an *unnata*-(*high*)-*kēḷī*-(*sport*)-*maṇṭapa*, a *sōpāna-mārga* (pathway with a flight of steps), an *agra-gōpura* (the tower on the top of the front hill called the *Gāli-gōpuram* or the front tower probably denoting the *Kotta-gōpuram* mentioned above), and other structures; for Śrī Gōvindarāja of Tirupati he offered a *gaja* (elephant-vehicle) and a *turaṅgama-vāhana* (horse-vehicle); and for the blue necked Kāḷahastīśvara of Kāḷahasti a *kanaka-*

mayūra (golden peacock-vehicle) and a *Mōhana-vāhana* (syren or demon-vehicle). He also installed an image of Vēṅkaṭādhīśvara on the pathway over the hill to Tirumala from Tirupati. For the God at Nelandalūru (Nandalur in the Cuddapah district) he constructed the four *gōpuras* on the four sides of the temple and *sarasī-maṇṭapa* (*nīrāḻi-maṇṭapam*) and laid a flower-garden also. For Raghunātha of Oṇṭimiṭṭa (Vontimitta in the Cuddapah district) he constructed the outer *maṇṭapas* adjoining the *prākāra* walls and the two huge *gōpuras* on the north and south and laid the inner court-yard of the temple and arranged for the *nityōpachāra* (daily worship). He established the two *agrahāras* of Chennamāmbāpura and Chennamāmbāsamudra. He installed God Chennakēśava at Śiddhavaṭa (near Cuddapah), constructed the *prākāra* and the *gōpura* of the temple and presented ornaments to the deity; and for God Śiddhavaṭēśvara of the same place he presented a *hāṭaka-vṛishabha-vāhana* (golden bull-vehicle). For Kapardi (Śiva) at Sōmaśila (Chandragiri) he built a *gōpuram*; for Prasavāchalēśvara (of Pushpagiri) he constructed the *prākāra* and the *gōpura* of the temple and arranged for the celebration of the annual festival therein; for Ramāvibhu (Vēṅkaṭēśvara of Kaḍapa (Dēvuni-Cuddapah) he built the *prākāra* wall together with the *gōpura*; and for Vīrabhadra of Rāchaviḍu (Royachoti in the Cuddapah district) he painted the two *gōpuras* of the temple. He established *anna-satra* (free feeding-houses) at Āḻvāritīrtha (Kapila-tirtha at Tirupati), *Śēshāchala-kuruva* (pathway over the Tirupati hill), Śiddhavaṭa, Oṇṭimiṭṭa, Pushpagiri, Ōramupāḍu, Duvvūru, Guṇḍlūru, Pōrmāmiḻḻa, Nelavanūru, Urmiḻḻa and Anantarājapura, for the satisfaction of travellers performing their pilgrimage on foot (*pathika*) between Sētu (Rāmēśvaram) and Śītāchala (Badari) over the Himālayas. He performed the *rajata-dāna* (gift of silver), *suvarṇa-dāna* (gift of gold), *tulā-dāna* (weighing himself in scales against precious metals and stones), *mahi-dāna* (gift of land), *gō-dāna* (gift of cows), many thousand *kanyakā-dāna* (marriages for girls) to the Brāhmaṇas whom he enabled through these *dānas* to perform *adhvara* (*yāga*, sacrifices) and other *dāna-dharma*. He was lord of Anantarājapura with its *gōpura* built by him, ruling the surrounding tract of country, being entitled *Kaṭakapurī-chūrakāra* and purified by the bath in the water of the Ganges brought every year. He constructed a huge tank at the hill-path near Chennūru (near Cuddapah). He was the son of Maṭla Tirvēṅgaḷarāja and Chennamāmba. Beside the lovely and spacious Śēsha hill he constructed the *Śrīpāda-maṇṭapa* adored by Brahma, Īśvara, Sanaka and other Dēvas and Maunis, so as to stand as long as the moon and the stars endure.

Kolal Tammayan:—Nos. 267 and 268—G.T., copies in Tamil and Telugu, register the eternal obeisance (*sadāsēva*) at the feet of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara and Alamēlumaṅga of one Tammayan, son of Kōḷāl Koṇḍayan. The Telugu copy contains the date, Śaka 1545, Rudhirōdgāri (=1623 A.C.), and the record must pertain to the reign of Rāmarāya, though the king is not mentioned in it. These two epigraphs are engraved on either side of a prostrate male figure chiselled on a stone slab paved into the floor at Alipiri between the two rows of stone *maṇṭapams*. This figure is generally believed to represent a devotee of God Vēṅkaṭēśvara from one of the untouchable classes and its position at Alipiri as the limit upto which members of these classes can approach the sacred hill Tirumala and beyond which they cannot proceed.

KUMARA-VENKATAPATIRAYA II:—Kumāra-Vēṅkaṭapatirāyadēva Mahārāya is represented by two records Nos. 328 and 63—G. T. dated respectively in Śaka 1553 (=1631 A.C.) and Śaka 1557 (=1636 A.C.). This Kumāra-Vēṅkaṭa, also known as Peda-Vēṅkaṭa II, was the son of Raṅga IV who was a son of Aḷiya-Rāmarāja. He was chosen crown-prince along with his successor Raṅga VI by Rāma IV in Śaka 1544 (=1622 A.C.). He is stated to have been crowned king in Śaka 1552 (=1630 A.C.) by Tirumala Tātāchārya.

No. 328—G.T. registers the provision made by a certain Rāmachandrayya for offerings for Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa and Śrī Gōvindarāja in Śaka 1553, Prajōtpatti, Kanya (=29-9-1631 A.C.), and the construction of a *maṇṭapam* by him to the west of the *Maṭham* of the *Iḷaṅ-Kāḷvi-Jīyar* on the south side of the street adjoining the *Sannidhi-vīdhi* to the south. He excavated afresh the irrigation channel in Varadarājapuram which was at the time in disrepair. No. 63—G.T. also refers to the excavation of an old damaged irrigation channel in the *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* village Avilāli by Aḷagarayyaṅgār Aṇṇaṅgarāchāryar, son of Prativādibhayaṅkaram Vēṅgaṇāchāryar of Śrīvatsa-gōtra, Āpastamba-sūtra and Yajuś-śākha, and his gift of some lands therein. The measuring rod of 32 feet is mentioned in it.

SRIRANGADEVA MAHARAYA VI:—Śrīraṅgadēva Mahārāya, generally known as Raṅga VI, was the son of Pina-Vēṅkaṭa III, the younger brother of king Vēṅkaṭa II. He was crown-prince during the reigns of both Rāma IV and Vēṅkaṭa II and ascended the Karṇāṭa throne on 29th October 1642 A.C. His reign lasted for a period of about 23 years upto Śaka 1587 (1665 A.C.). During his reign, the Sultans of Golconda and Bijapur invaded the Karṇāṭa

kingdom and conquered it and "the able general Mir Zumla finally became its Nawab. King Raṅga fled southwards and found refuge with one of his subordinates, a chief of Keladi" (Ar. Sur. Rep. for 1911-12, page 193).

Śrīraṅgarāya is represented in our Collection by two epigraphs of which only one is dated, viz., in Śaka 1560, Bahudhānya, Mithuna (=15-6-1638 A.C.). On this date a certain Brāhmaṇa of the Kāśyapa-gōtra and Āpastamba-sūtra, born under the ascendancy of the star Mūla, provided for offerings costing 95 *rākhai* for which he made over to the temple two irrigation channels, from one of which was derived 160 *paṭṭi* of paddy, as measured with the *Kaḍamaikkāl* (No. 5—G.T.). The other channel is said to have been situated in Maṇiyakkōnpaṭṭu, one of the villages comprised in the *Tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam-Uḷ-maṇḍalam*. The second inscription No. 436—T.T. merely records the eternal obeisance of a certain Rāmuḍu of Tirupati, a servant of Śrīraṅgarāja, at the feet of Raghunātha.

VENKATAPATIRAYA IV:—Two later inscriptions, one dated in the cyclic year Rudhirōdgāri (1683 A.C.) and another in the Śaka year 1606, Raktākshi (1684 A.C.), do not mention the reigning king, but they are referable to the reign of Vēṅkaṭa IV, the successor of Raṅga VI (Ep. Ind., Vol. XVI, page 91). It is significant that these two epigraphs, together with a third No. 290—G.T., are written in Telugu. It therefore appears that by this time the Telugu language had supplanted Tamil in this and the surrounding places and has come to stay as the main local language. No. 291—G.T. dated in Rudhirōdgāri, Vaiśākha (Śaka 1605=16-5-1683 A.C.), registers the *ubhayam* (service) of a certain Timma, son of Tūvarāni Koṇḍā Paṇḍita and the obeisance of his younger brother, while No. 290—G.T. merely registers, as an extract, the *ubhayam* of Rājaśrī Śiddalūri Rāmāji-Mādarsu-Pantuluṅgāru. No. 263—T.T. of Śaka 1606, Raktākshi, Chaitra (=20-3-1684 A.C.), records the gift of a *kaṇṭhe* (a necklace) of pure gold valued at 575 *Śrīraṅgarāya-varahās* as the capital for offerings for Tiruvēṅgaḷanathasvāmi and Varāhasvāmi, following those of Mahārājaśrī Shudābānuja-Pantulu, by Rājaśrī Śivarāja-Rāmachandra-Yētamātarāvu-Ḍabirusāyi of Śrīvatsa-gōtra, Āśvalāyana-sūtra and Ṛik-śākha, and Timmaṇayyaṅgāru. The value of rice required for offerings was taken at eight *sōlalu* per *varahā* as measured with the temple-measure. The *sōla* must be a measure of sixteen times the capacity of our present grain measure, i.e., one *varahā* must have purchased 128 measures of rice in Śaka 1606. The necklace of pure gold is stated to have been five *ettulu* and,

for the total value of 575 pagodas, one *ettu* of pure gold must have cost 115 pagodas. The *ettu* must therefore represent the weight of a *seer* of 24 *tolas*. Three temple functionaries are mentioned, viz., *Jiyyaṅgāru, Chinna-Jiyyaṅgāru* and *Uttara-Pārupatyam*. The first two are respectively the *Periya-Kōyil-kēḷvi-Jīyar*, and the *Iḷaiya-Kōyil-kēḷvi-Jīyar*, while the *Uttara-Pārupatyam* is an officer of the temple deputed now-a-days to announce to the pilgrims who pay for certain services in the temple of the hours when the particular rites take place.

THE MAHANTS OF TIRUPATI.

Between Śaka 1606 of No. 263—T.T. noticed above and Śaka 1771 of No. 350—T.T. there is a dearth of inscriptions in the temple and consequently the history of the temple from lithic records is a blank space during this period. When the British had established themselves in South India, they took up the management of the temples within their territorial jurisdiction in 1801 A.C. and credited the income of these temples under the general revenues of the state. Ultimately on their decision to relinquish their connection with the religious institutions in the country, they conferred the administration of the temple of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara, together with those in Tirupati and Tiruchānūr, on the then Mahant ŚRĪ SĒVĀDĀSUJI of *Śrī Hāthīrāmji Maṭha* in Tirupati in 1843, through a *sanad* from the Collector of the North Arcot district.

When the management of these temples thus passed into the hands of the *Mahants* of *Śrī Hāthīrāmji-Maṭha*, they as *Vichāraṇakartas* thereof undertook the renovation of the temples and other ancient structures and added to them from time to time. No. 350—T.T. records such a renovation of the *Svāmi-Pushkariṇi*, stated to contain nine *tīrthas* in it, by Mahārāja-rāja-Śrī ŚĒVĀDĀSU, *Śrī Mahant of Hāthīramji Maṭha*, in Śaka 1771, Saumya, Bhādrapada (=31-8-1849 A.C.), and his renewing the *Jalakēḷi-maṇṭapōtsava*. Another uncopied inscription in Telugu engraved in mortar over the *Mukha-maṇṭapam* Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's temple mentions the repairs effected to certain portions of the temple by the same Mahant SĒVĀDĀSUJI. No. 283—G.T. is a tablet put upon the *bṛindāvanam* raised over the remains of this *Mahant* who is stated to have been the *śishya* of Śrī ANABHIHĀNANDA, by his own

disciple and successor Śrī Mahant DHARMADĀSUJI in the cyclic year Raktākshi, Māgha (=2-2-1865 A.C.). This same Mahant DHARMADĀSUJI is reported in No. 209—G.T. to have renovated the *Pushkariṇi* known as *Kapila-tirtham* and its surrounding *maṇṭapams* in the same month Māgha (=10-2-1865 A.C.), and to have constructed the outer *gōpura* of the temple at Tirumala called the *Paḍikāvali-gōpuram*, as also certain other *maṇṭapams* so as to please Śeshagirīśa (Vēṅkaṭēśa abiding on the serpent-like hill), in Bahudhānya, Bhādrapada (=11-9-1878 A.C.) (No. 382—T.T.). The latest record in the Collection No. 242—T.T. registers the fixing of the *kanaka-kalaśa* (golden vase) over the *vimāna* of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's central shrine by Rāmalakshmaṇadāsa, a brother-disciple of Śrī Mahanta PRAYĀGADĀSA, the present *Vichāraṇakarta* of these *Dēvasthānams* in Kīlaka, Āśvayuja (=30-9-1908 A.C.).

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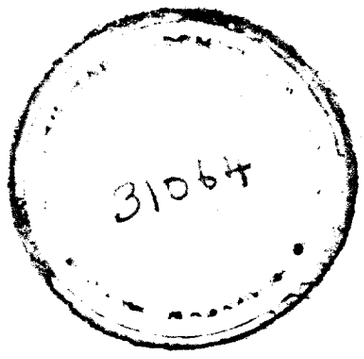
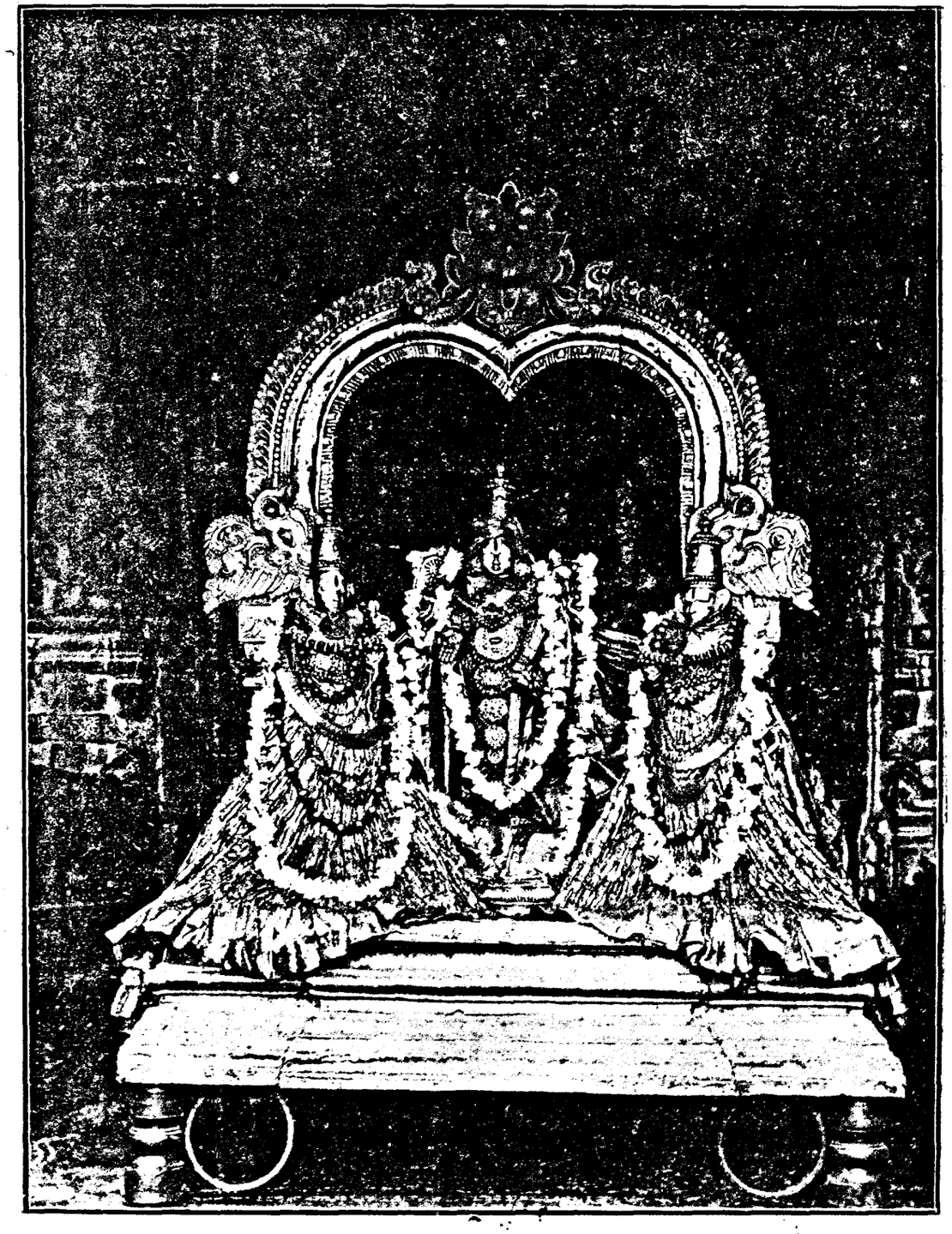
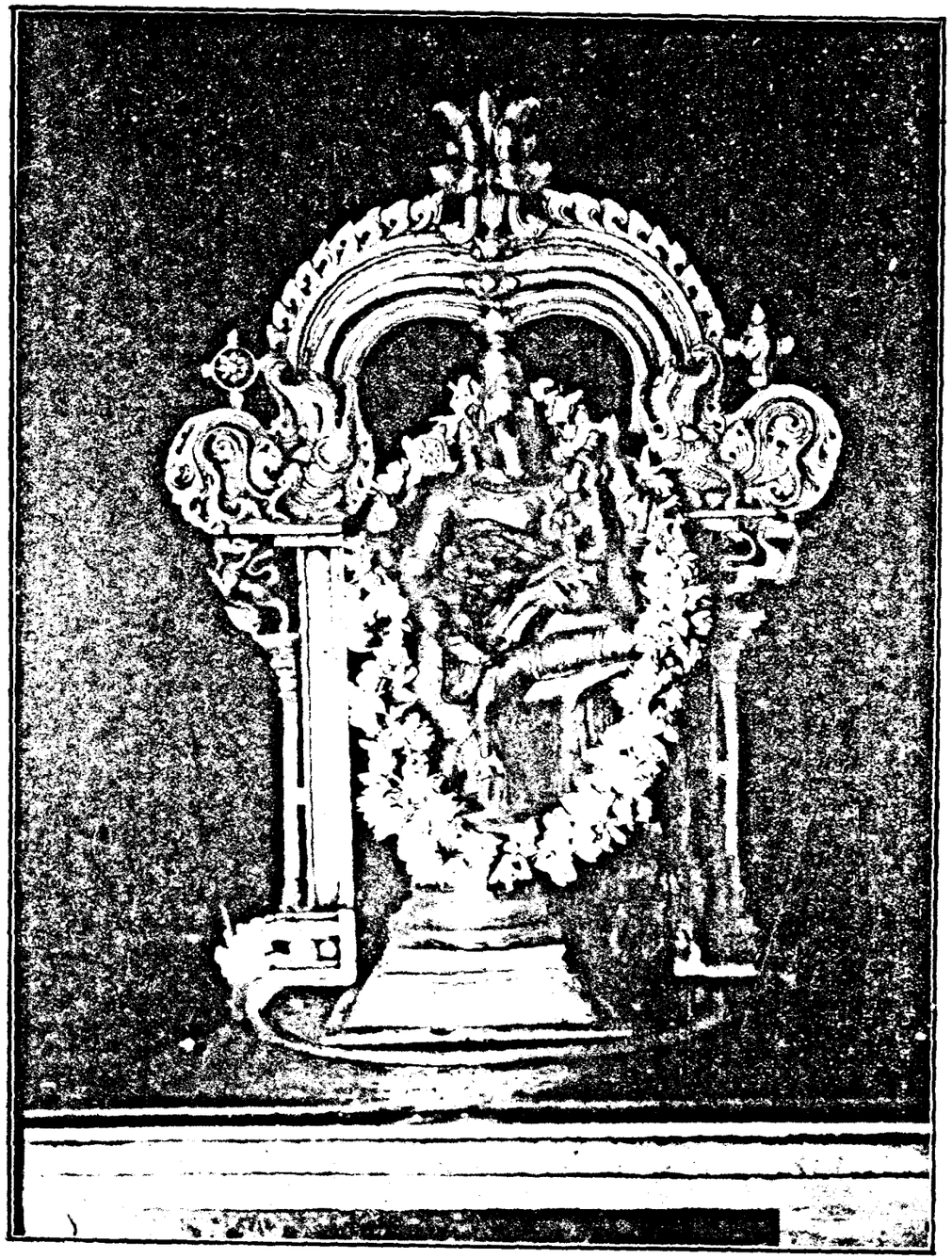
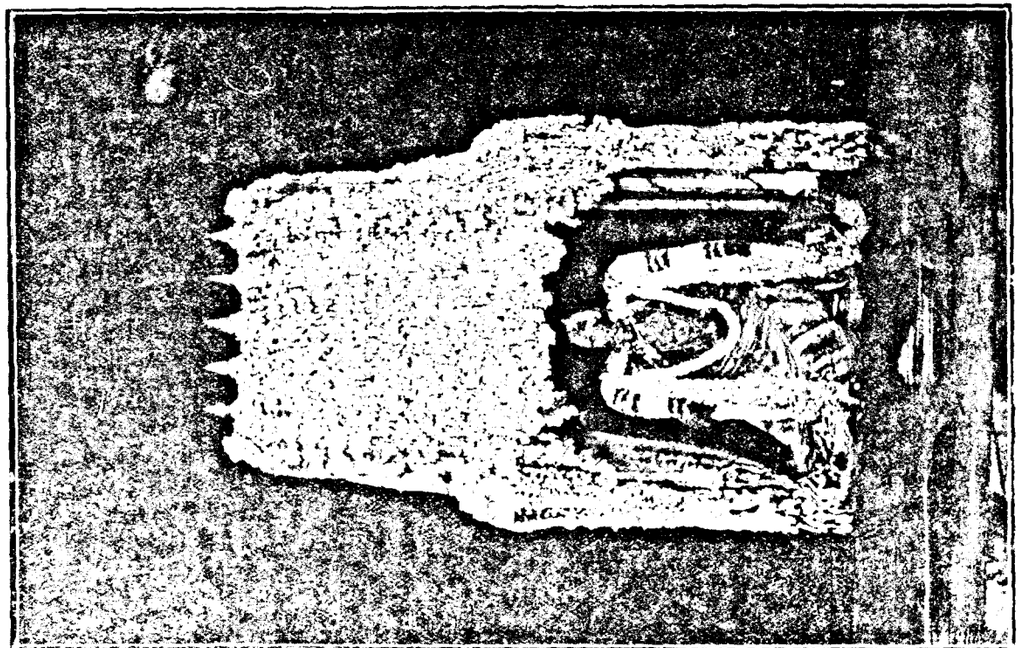




3. Śrī Malayappasvāmi with Śrīdēvi and Bhūdēvi (Processional Images at Tirumala).
Vide Pages 6, 27, 28, 56, 152, 266, 299.



4. Śrī Varāhasvāmi with Bhūdēvi. Vide Pages 55—56.



6. Sarvabhūpāla Vāhanam. Vide Pages 6, 256, 321.

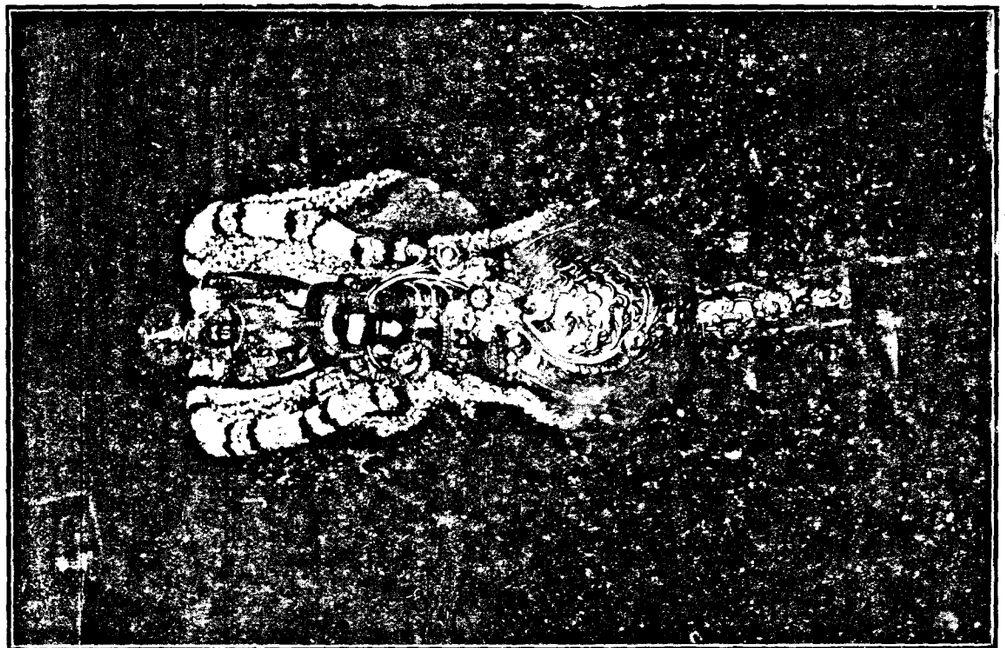
5. Muttu-Pandal Vāhanam. Vide Page 30.

7. Tiruchchi Vāhanam. Vide Page 30.

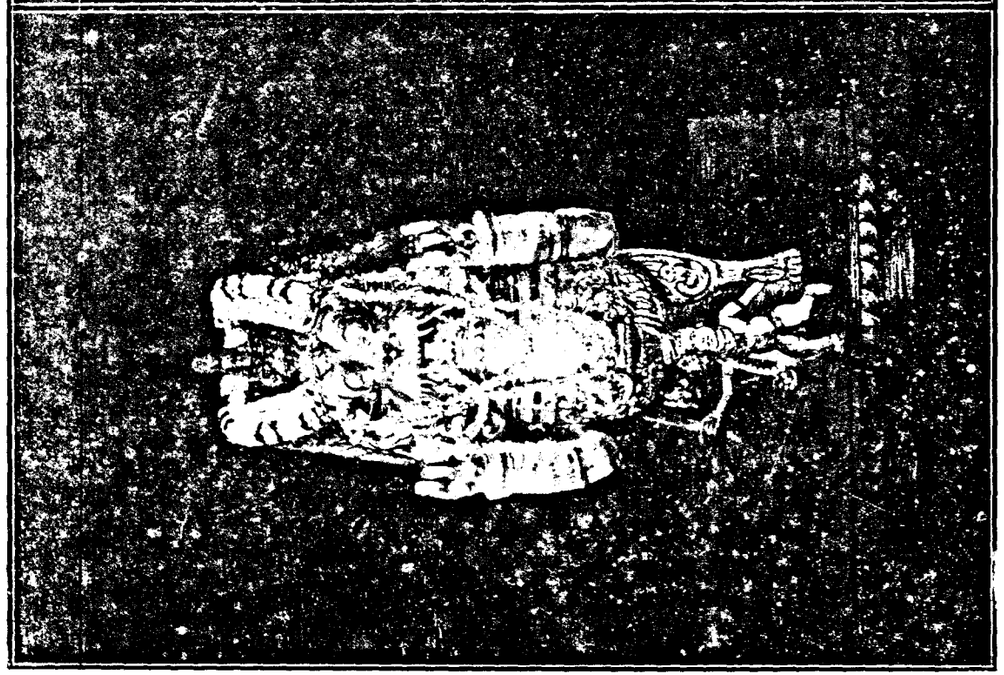
8. Kalpavṛiksha Vāhanam.

9. Śēsha Vāhanam. Vide Pages 30, 66, 208, 256, 315.

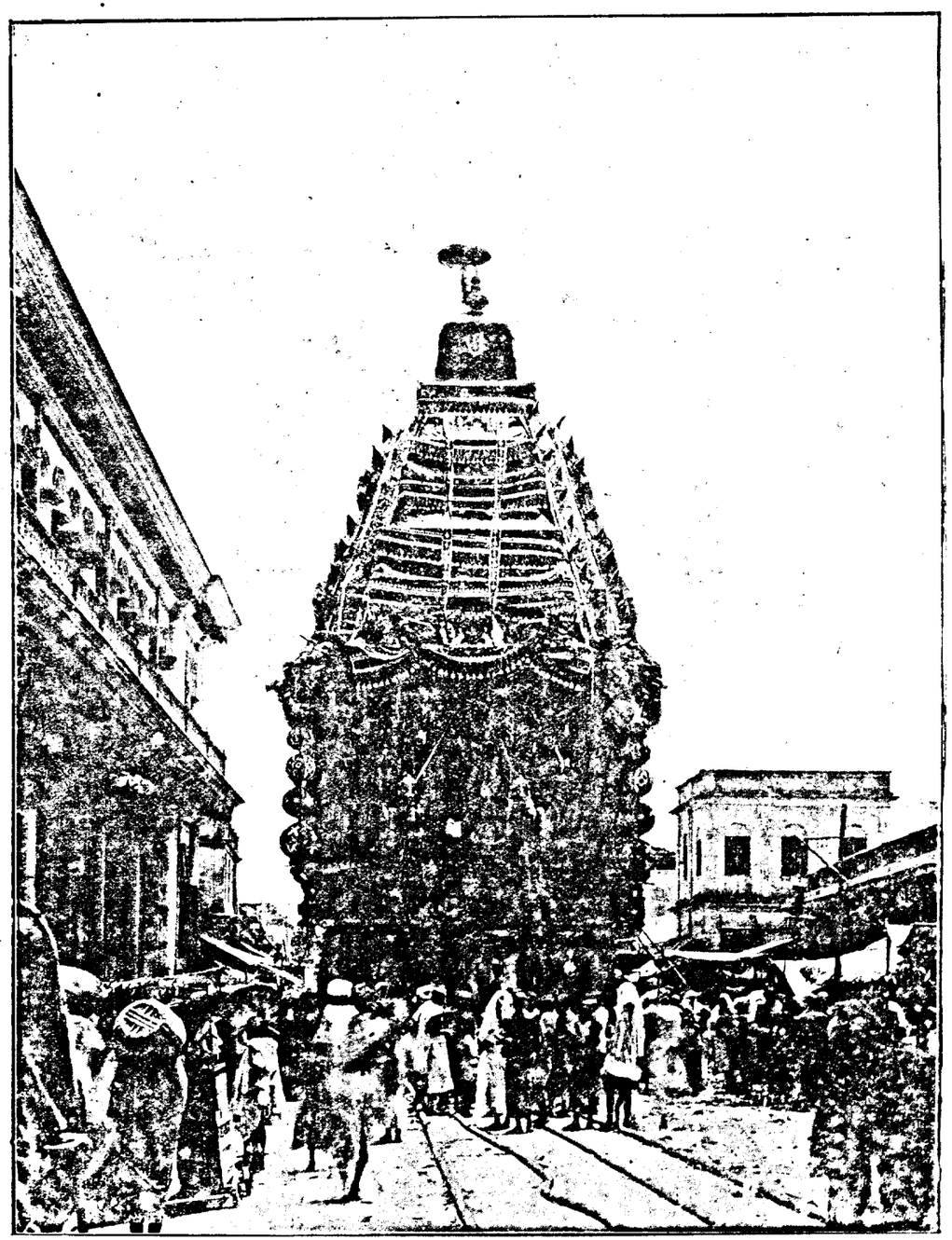
10. Hanumanta Vāhanam. Vide Pages 62, 65.



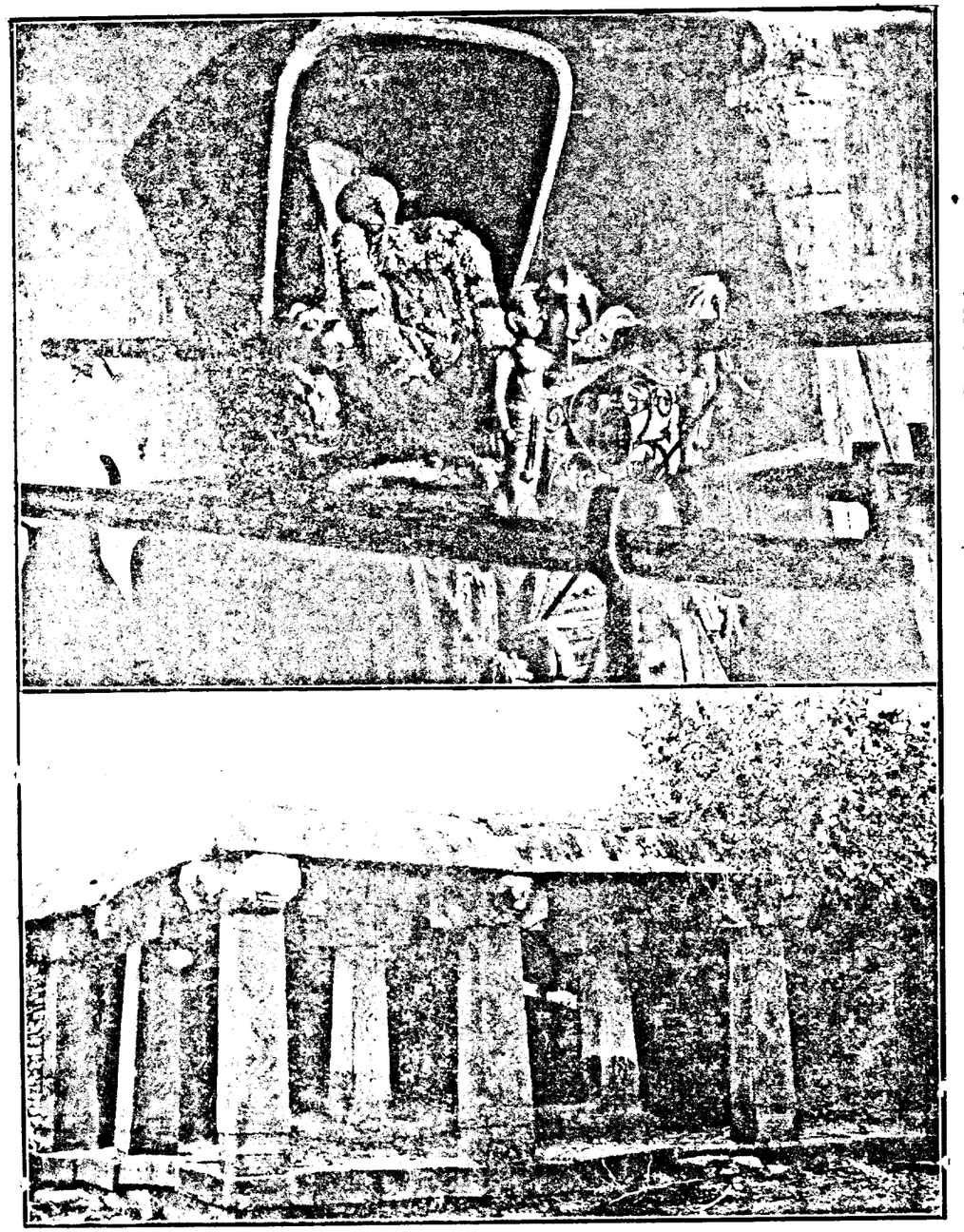
12. Haṁsa Vāhanam. Vide Pages 30, 256.



11 Siṁha Vāhanam. Vide Page 315.

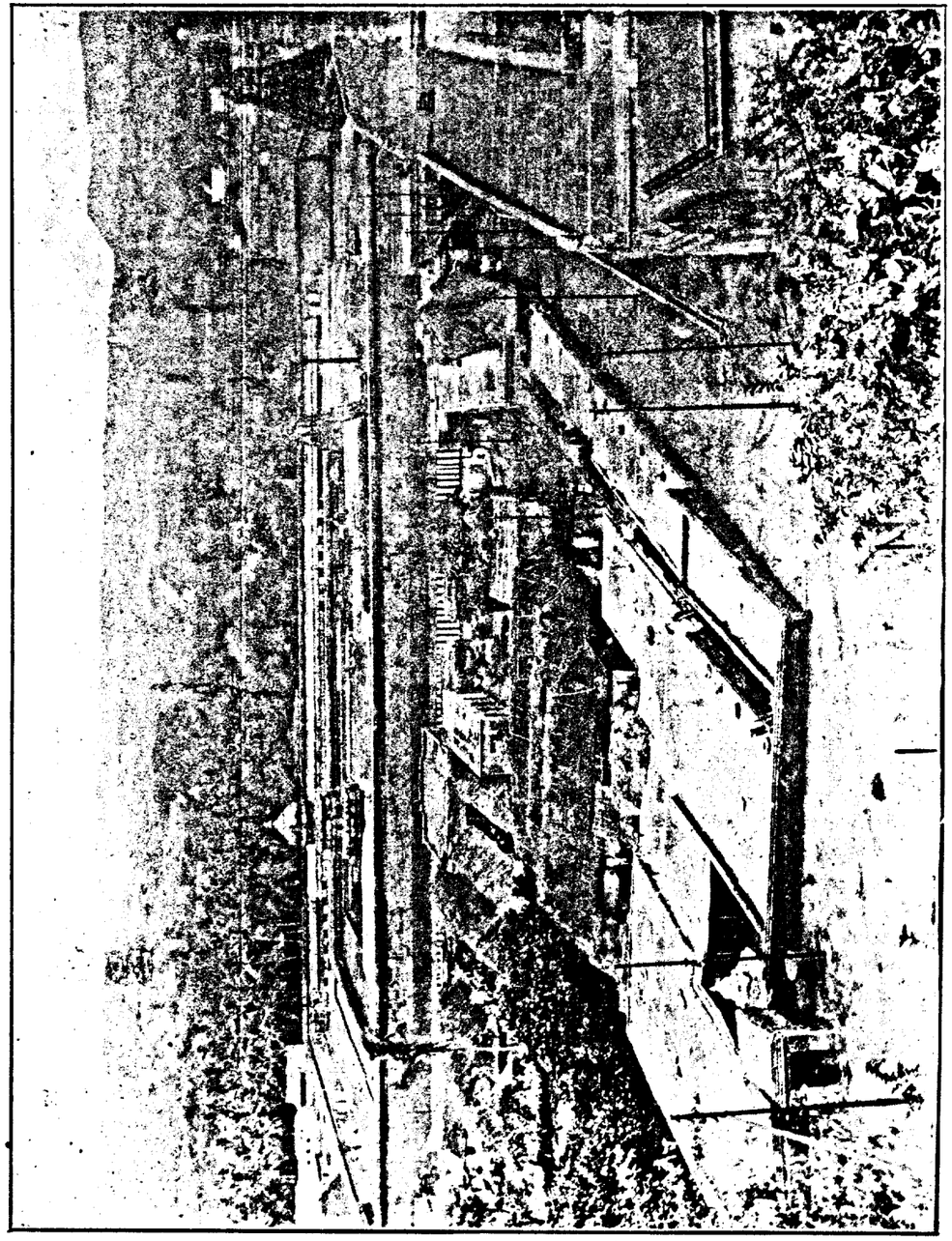


13. Car Procession. Vide Pages 30, 63..

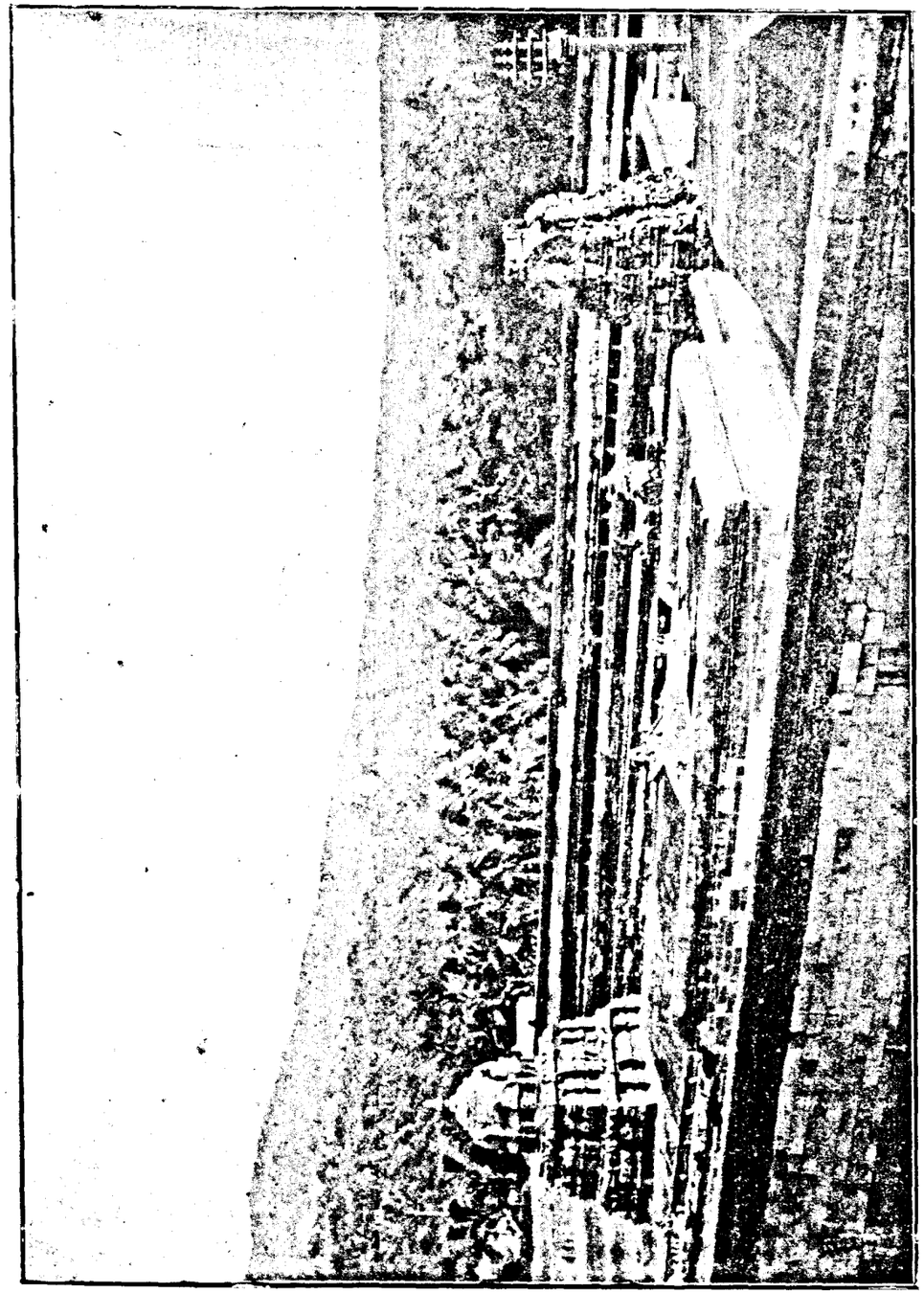


14. Tamja Vahanam.

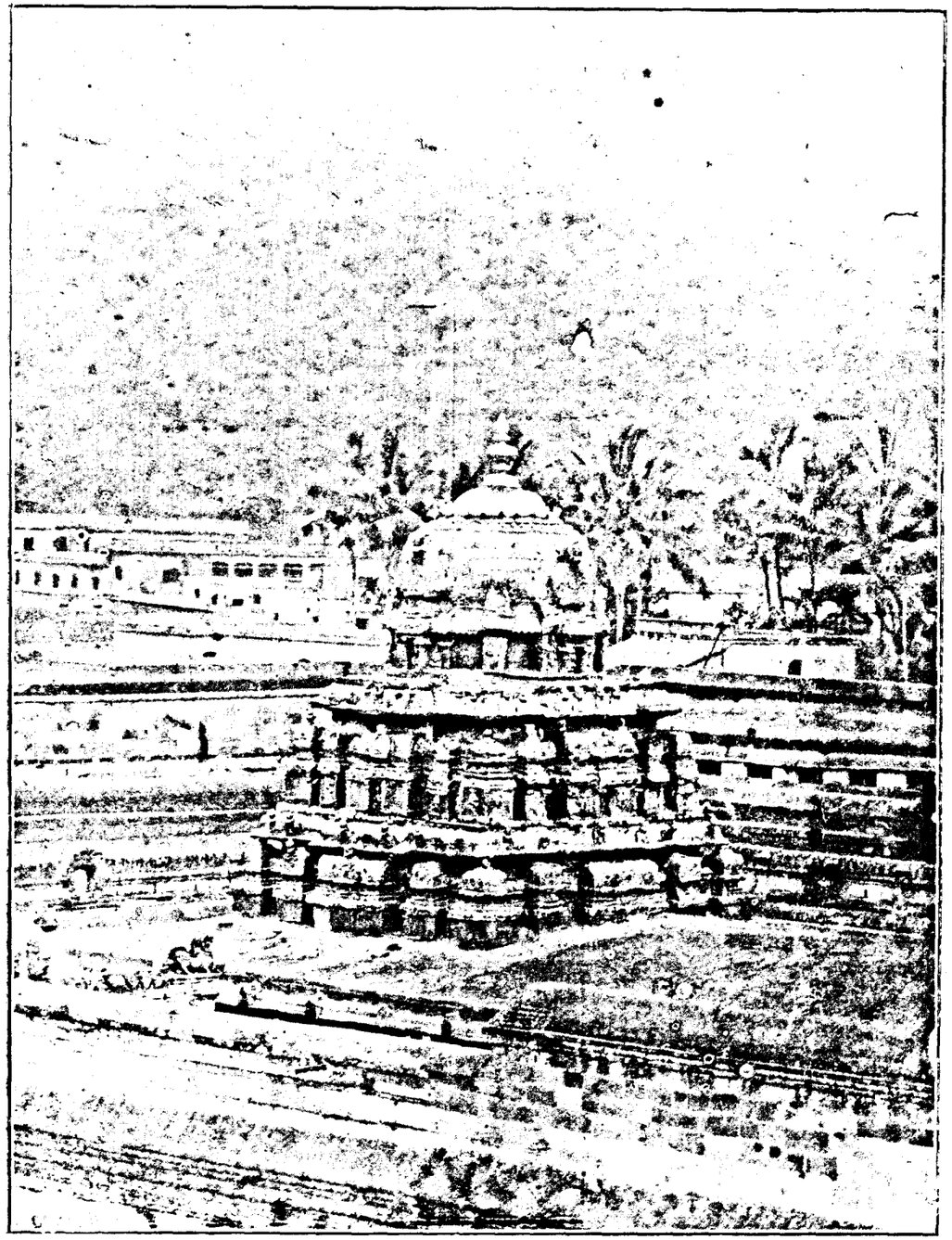
15. Pāḍiyavēṭṭai-Maṇṭapam at Tirumala lying about two miles north-east of the Temple, to which Malayappa proceeds on the Kanuvu day for Pāḍiyavēṭṭai (Hunting).



16. General View of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's Temple at Tirumala. Vide Pages 51-53, 308, 326.

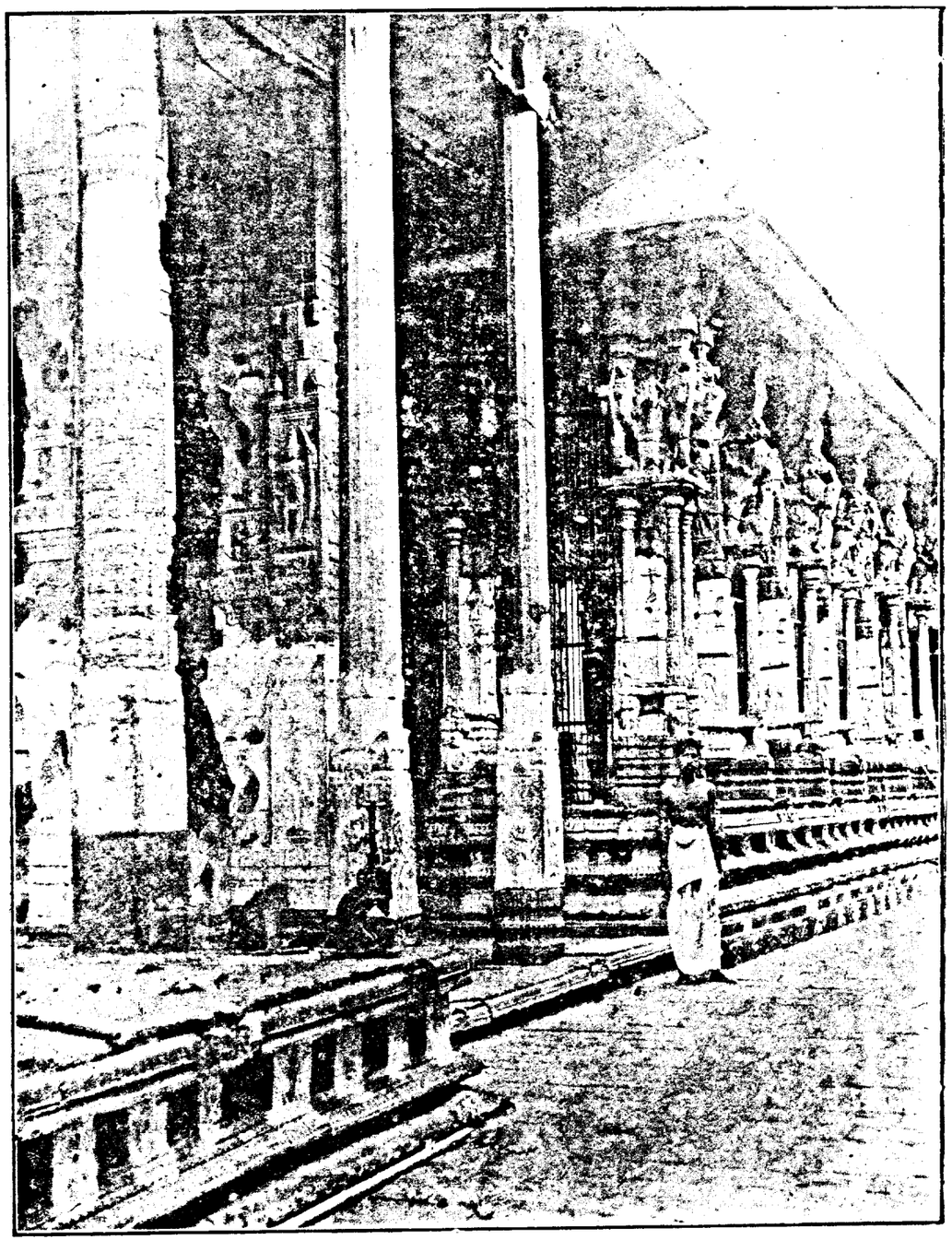


17. Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's Temple with Double Prākārams, one enclosing the other. Vide Pages 54, 256.

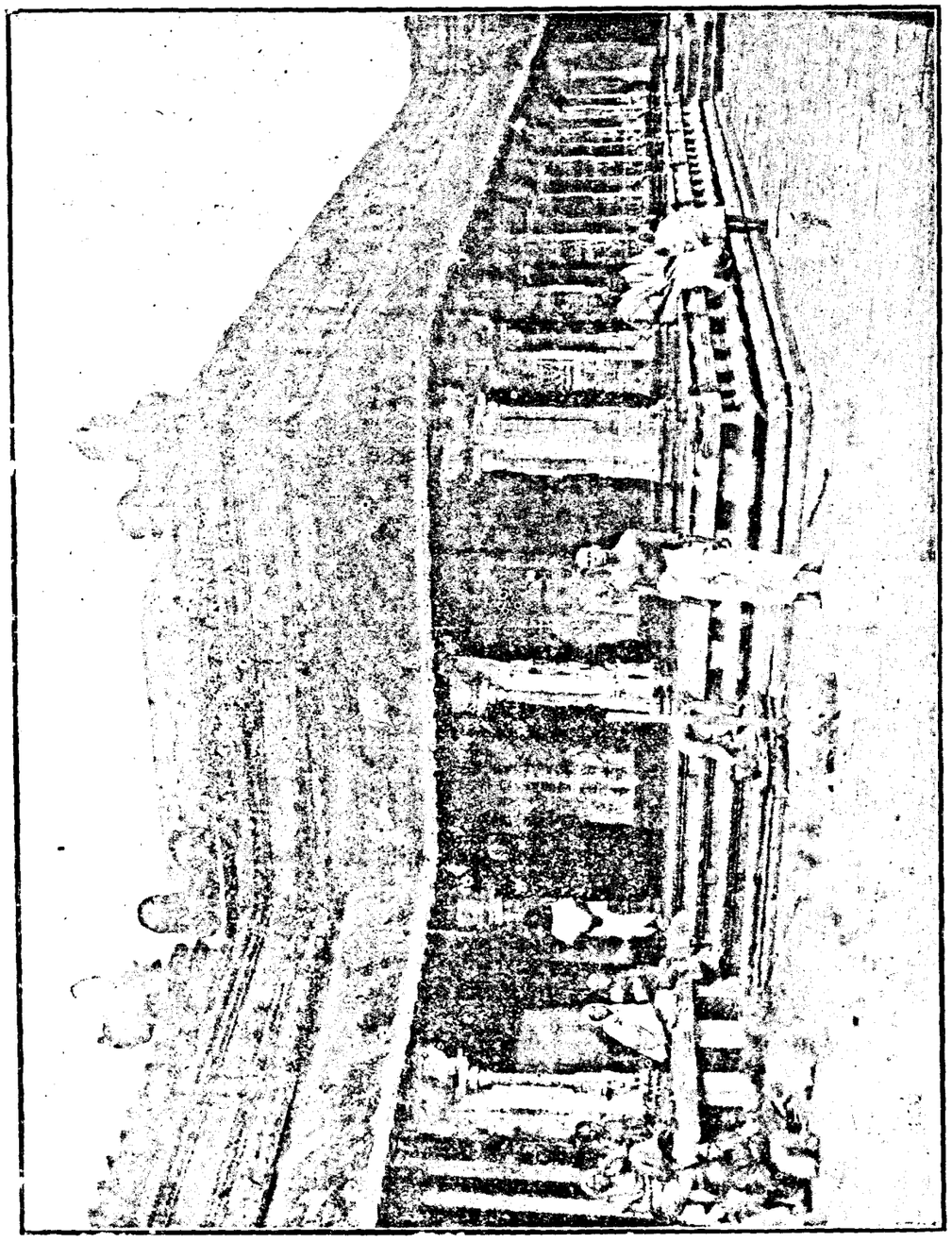


18. Vimānam over the Central Shrine of Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's Temple with a Single Golden Kalaśam. Vide Pages 2, 5, 54, 118, 130, 135, 164, 165, 210, 311, 313, 326.

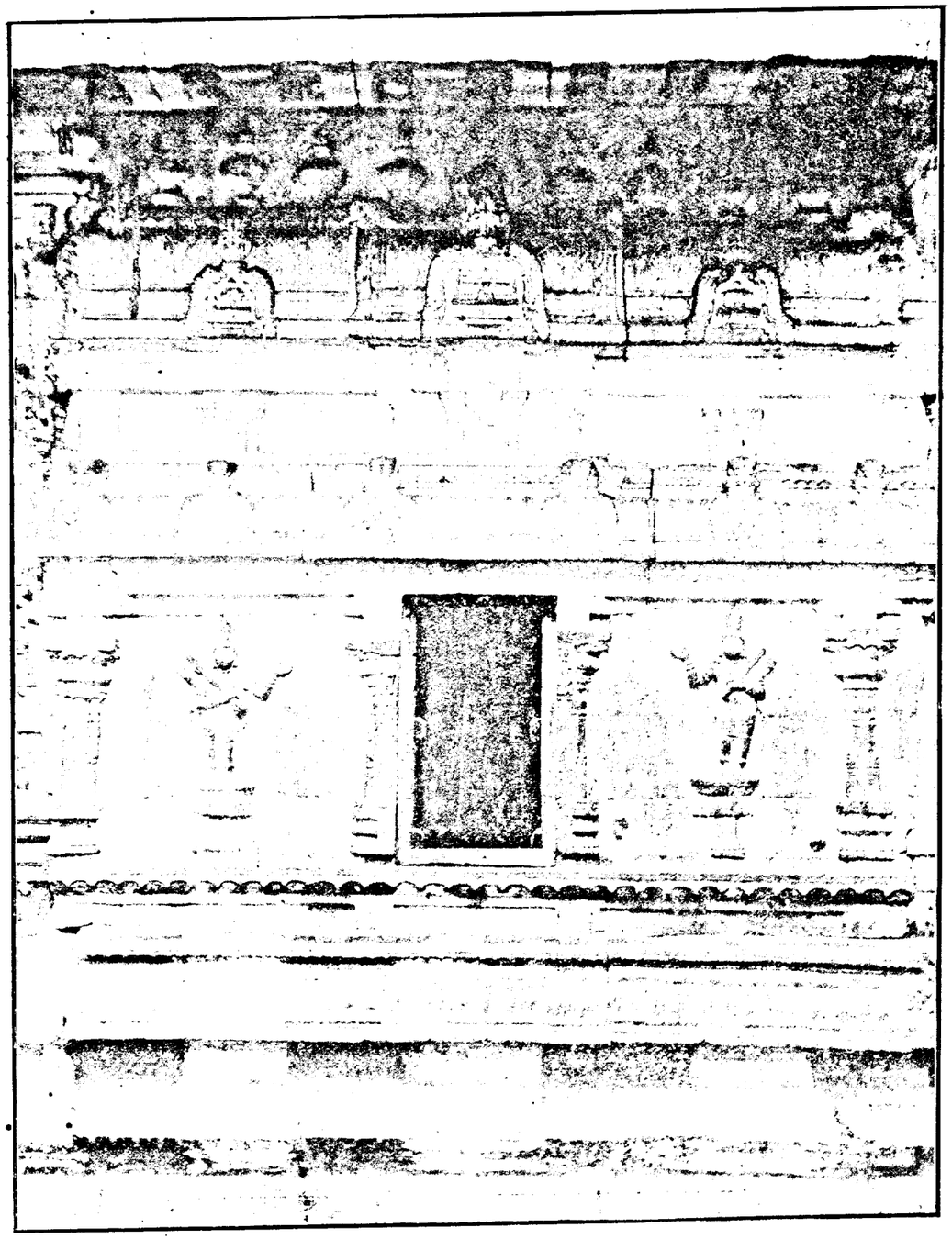
19. Tirumalarāya-Maṇṭapam (Front or North View) in Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's Temple.
Vide Pages 256, 309.



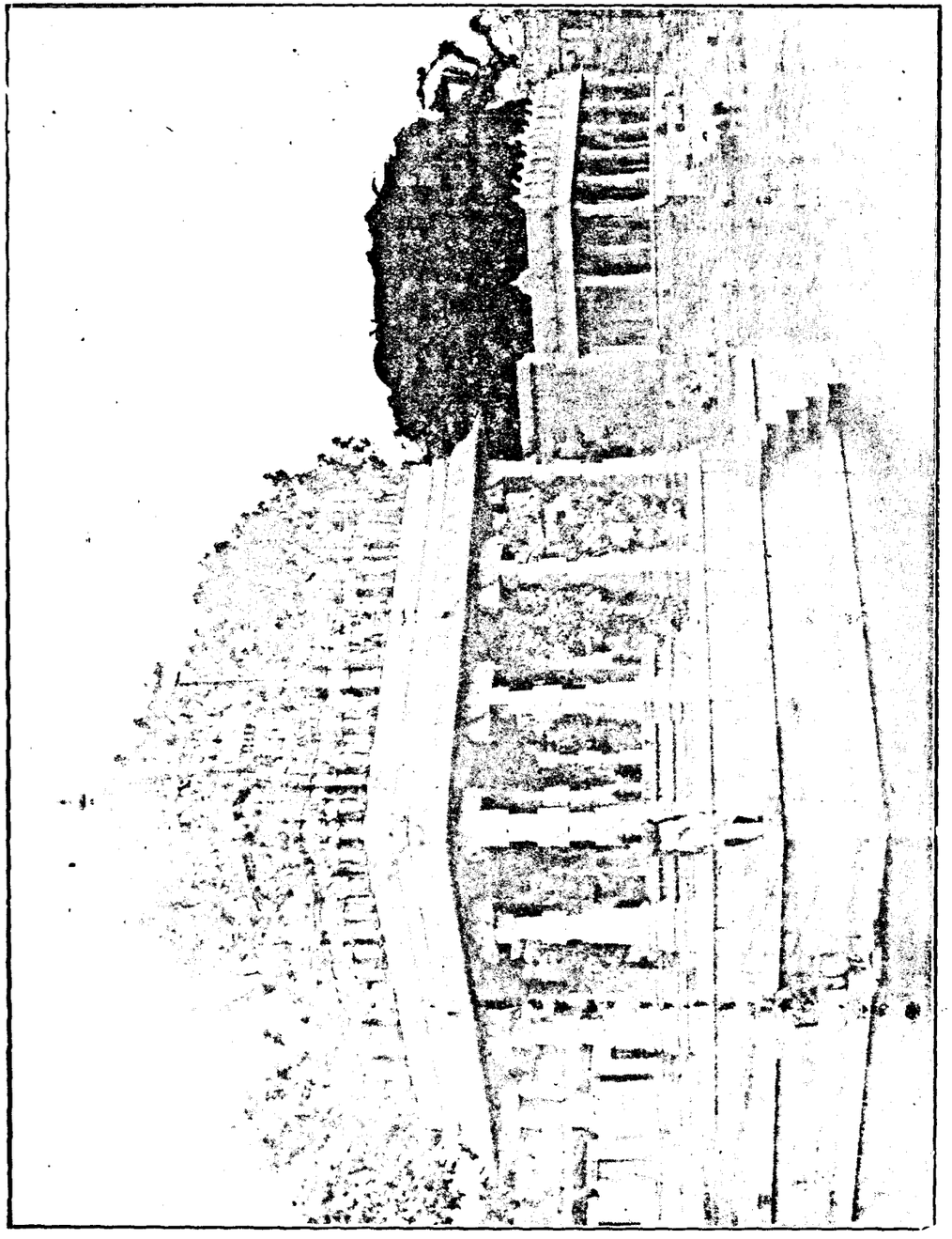
20. Tirumalarāya-Maṇṭapam (West View) in Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's Temple.
Vide Pages 256, 309.



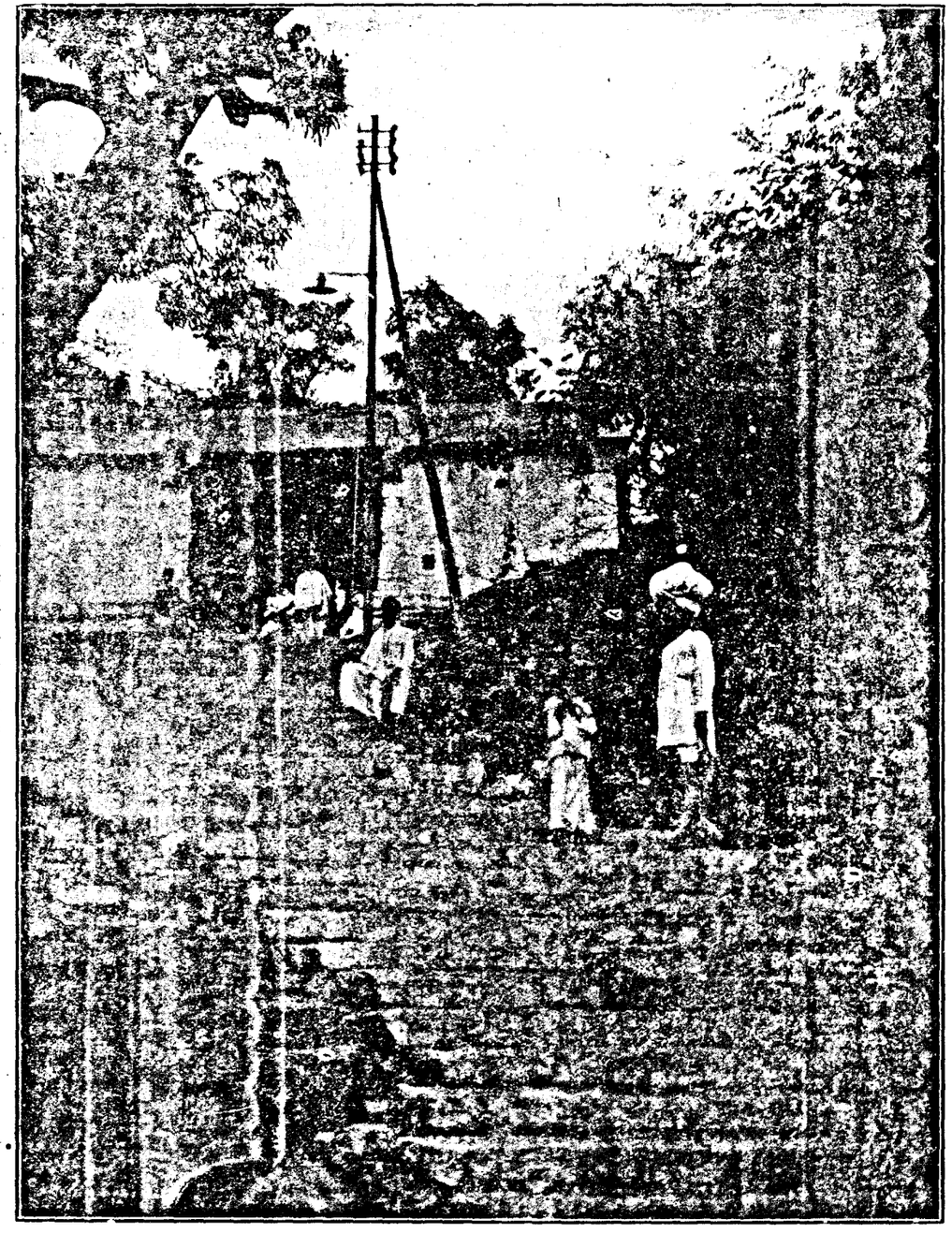
21. Kalyāṇa-Maṇṭapam in Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's Temple. Vide Page 54.



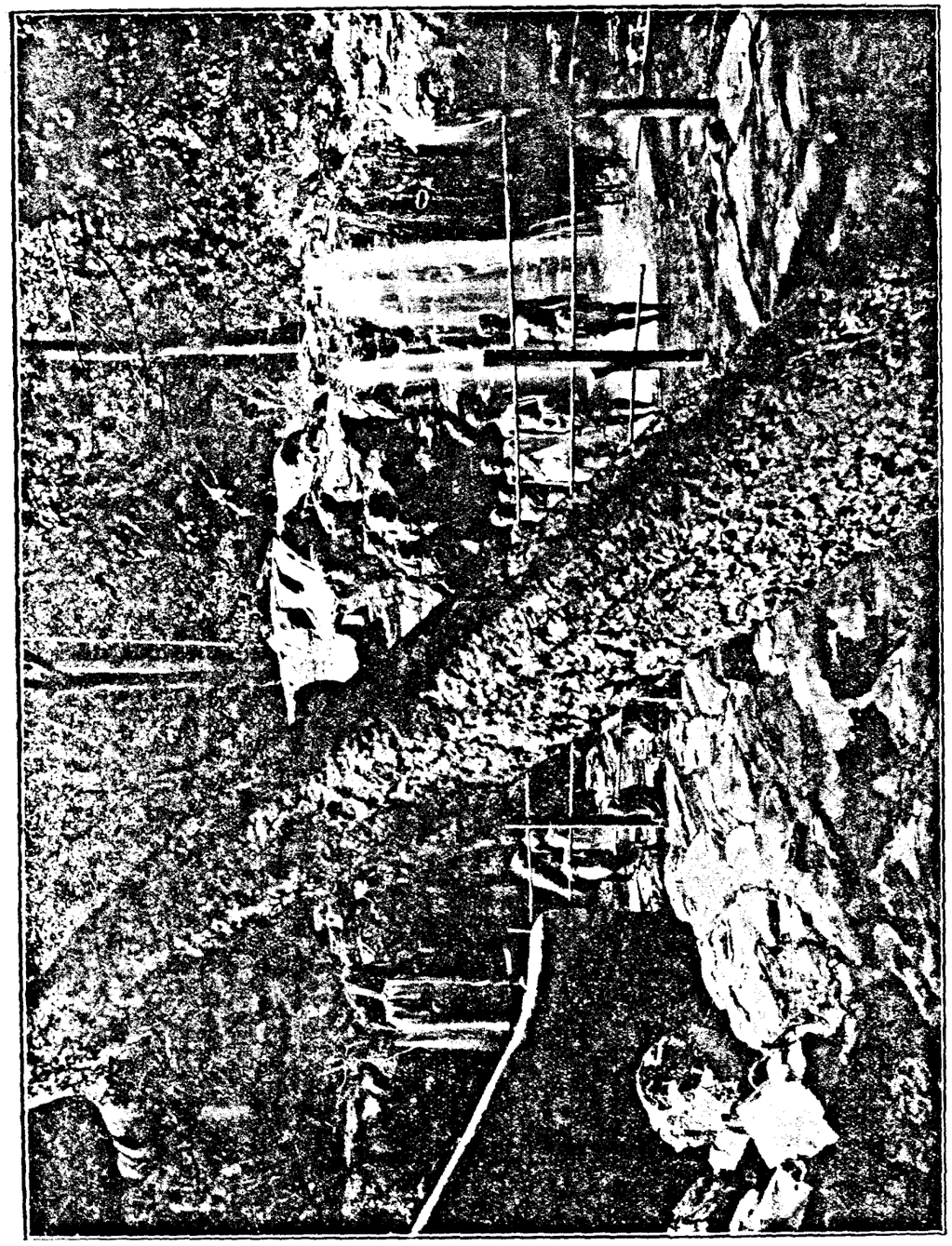
22. Tāḷḷapākam Poets'-Saṅkīrtana-Bhaṇḍāram, a stone cell in Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's Temple wherein have been preserved the Tāḷḷapākam Copper-Plates. Vide Pages 285, 288, 291, 294.



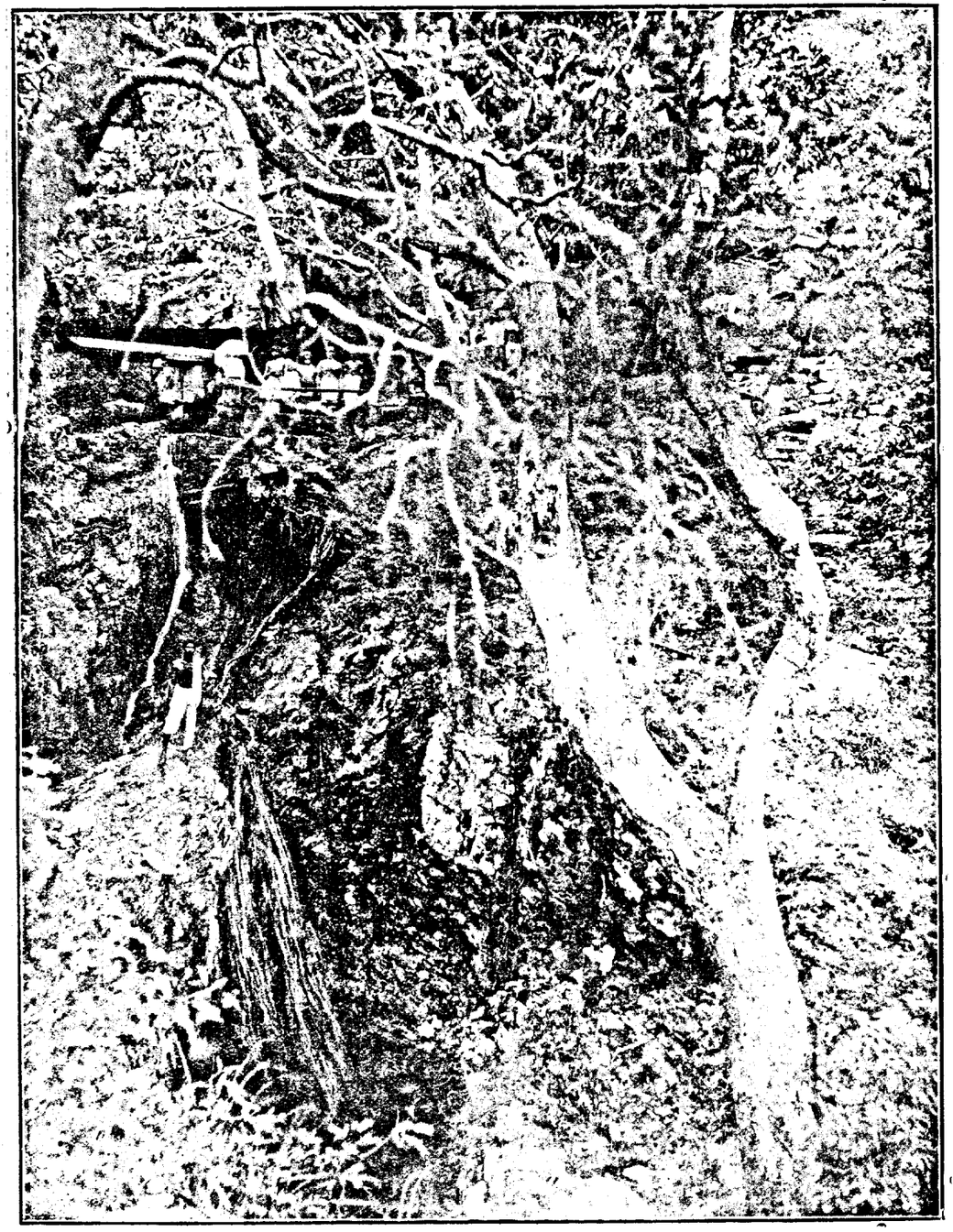
23. *Nirāḷi-Maṇṭapam* in Svāmi-Pushkariṇi (Tank) at Tirumala, with a view of Śrī Varāhasvāmi's Temple at the north-west corner. Vide Pages 58, 286, 287, 325.



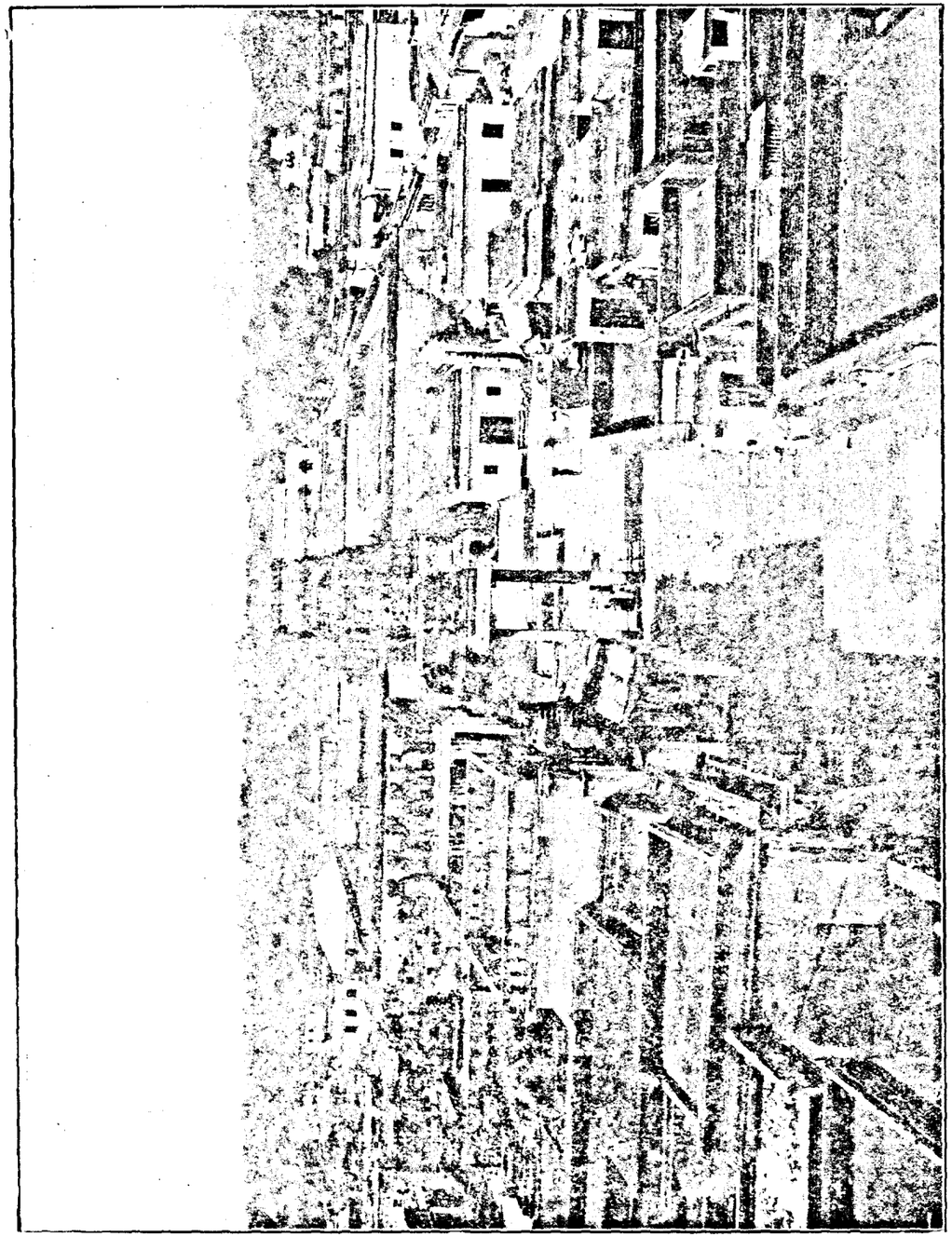
24. Mōkāli-Meṭlu and Maṇṭapam on the Pathway to Tirumala. Vide Pages 43, 44, 51.



25. Pāpavināśa-Tīrtham, a sacred Waterfall on Tirumala about Three miles north of the Temple.

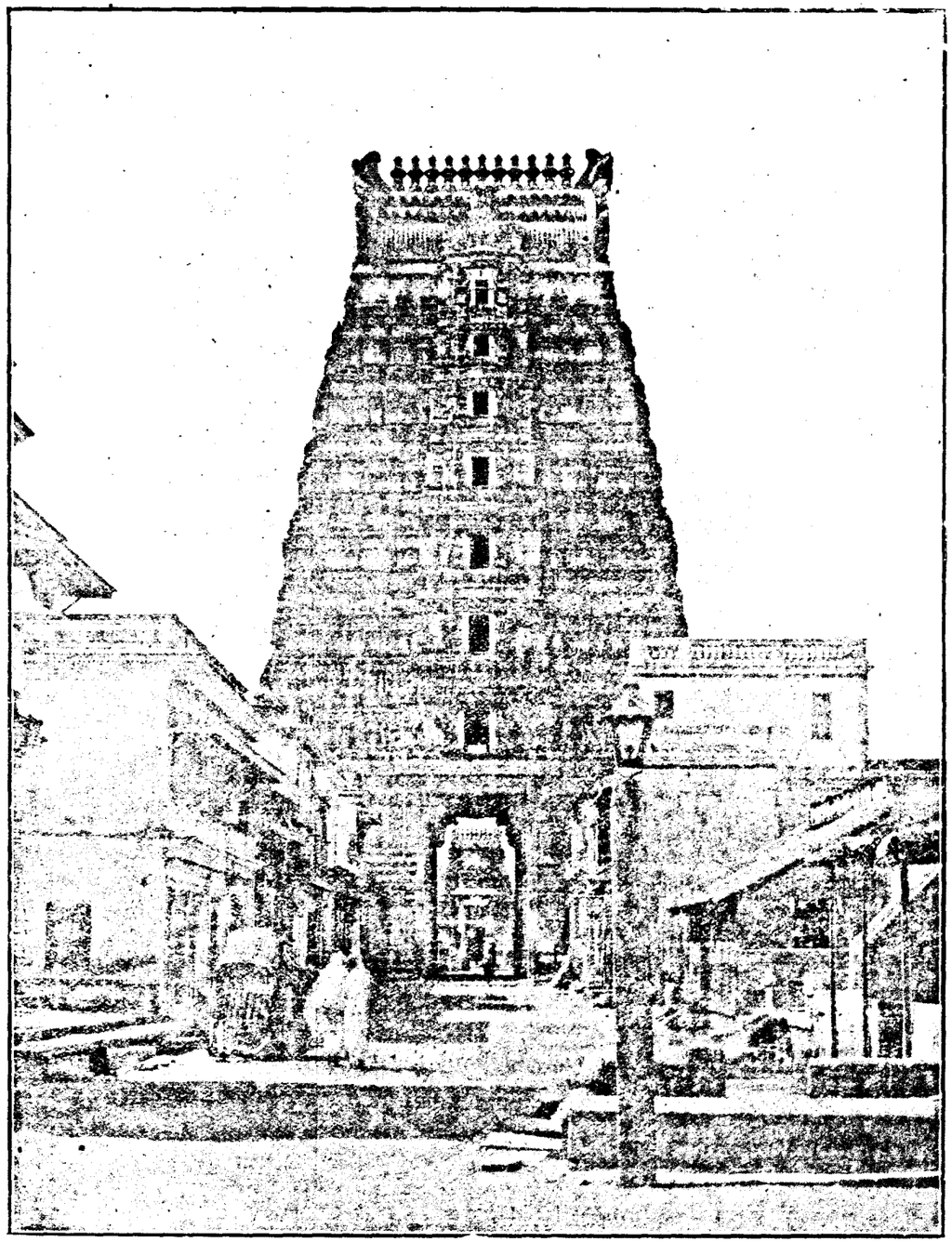


26. Ākāśagaṅga-Tīrtham, a sacred Waterfall on Tirumala about Two miles north of the Temple.

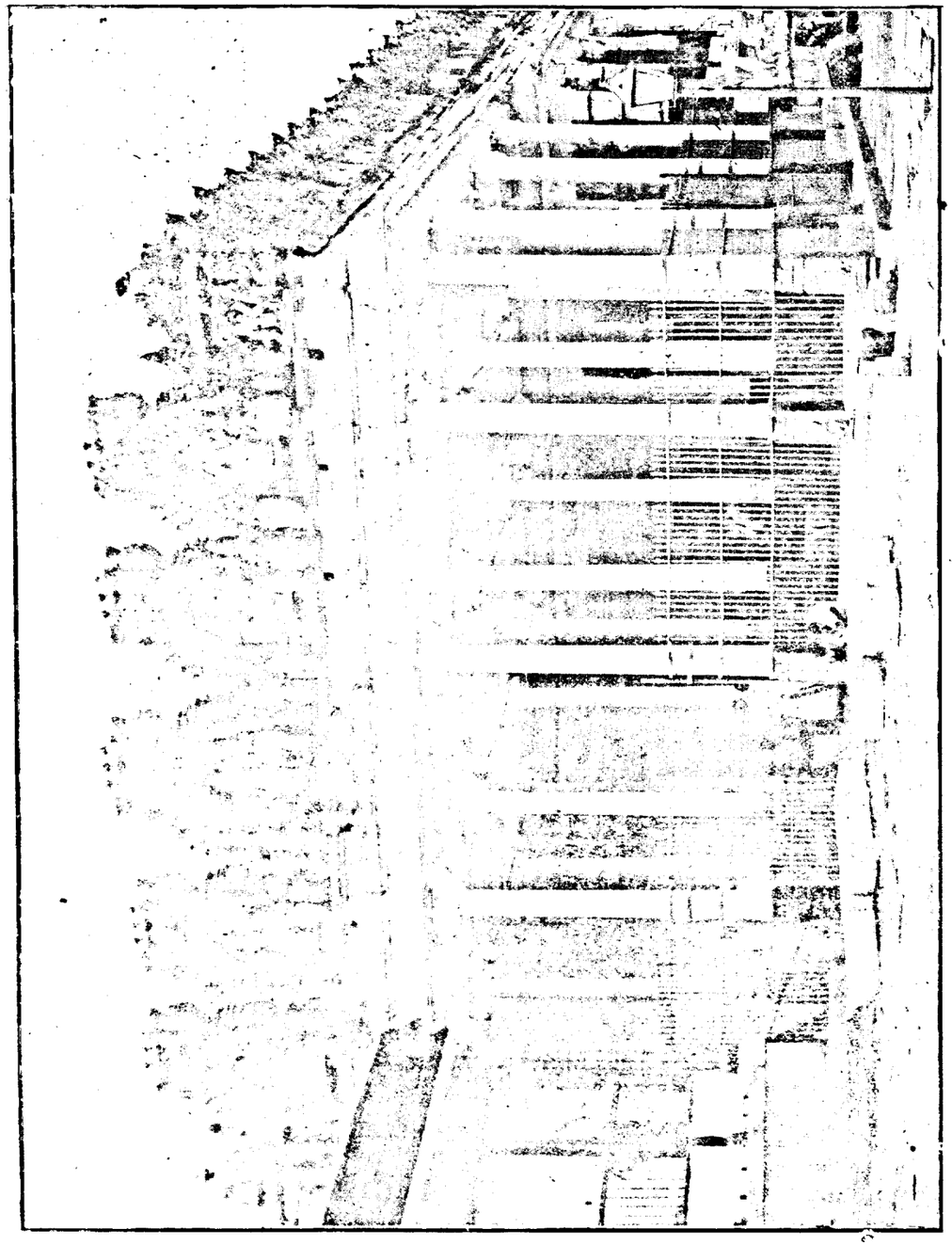


27. General View of Śrī Gōvindarāja's Temple. Vide Page 54.

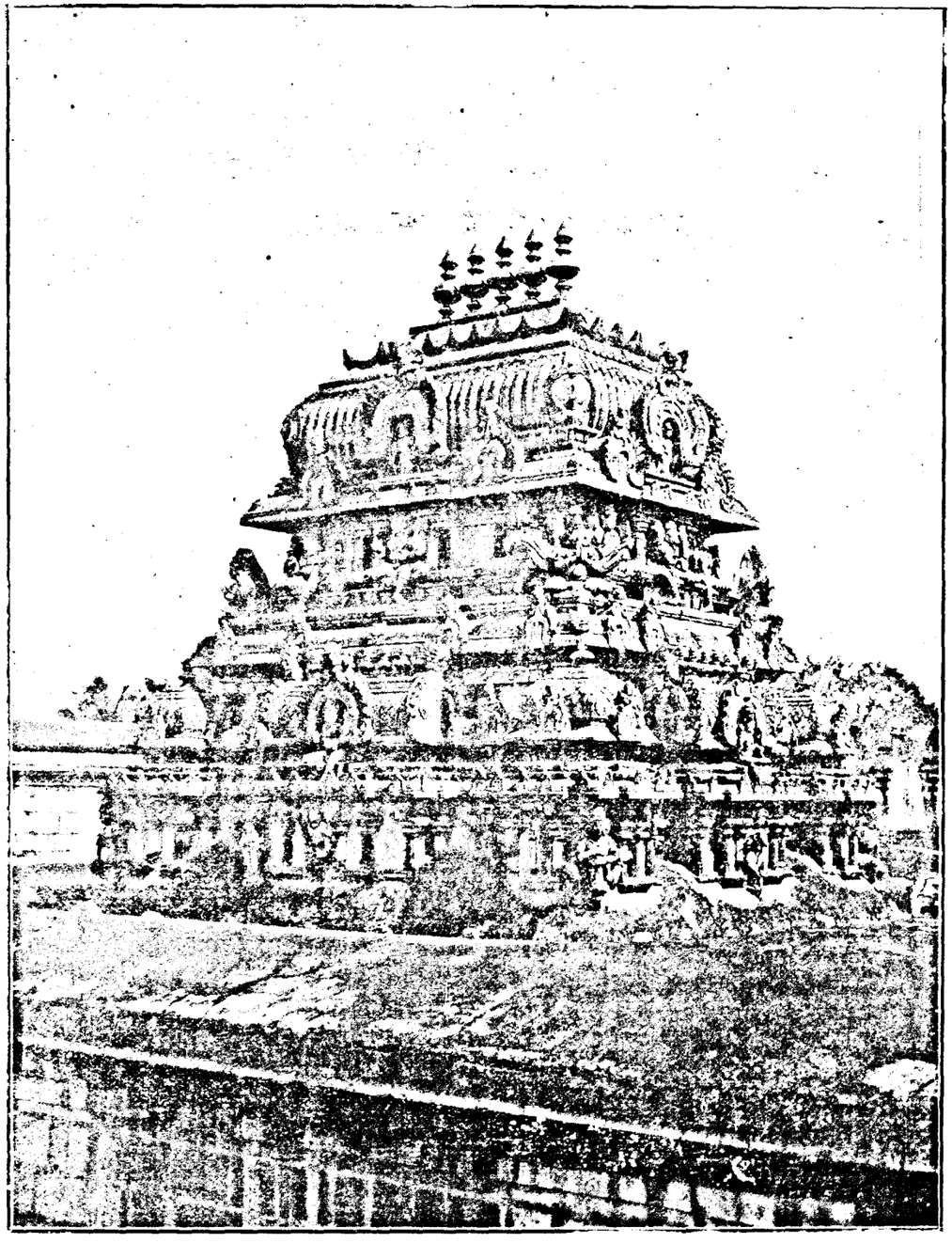
TIRUPATI DEVASTHANAM EPIGRAPHICAL REPORT



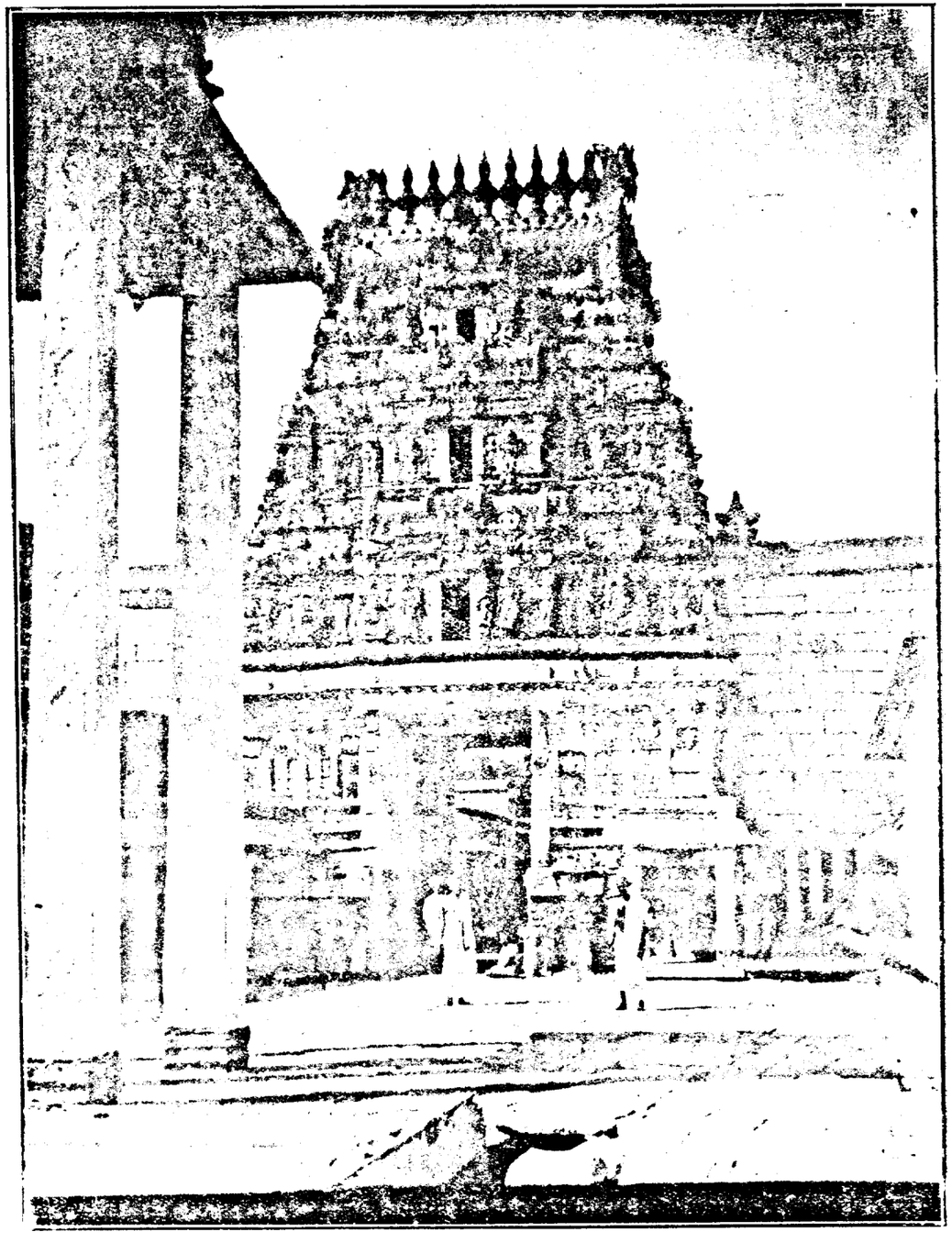
28. Big Cuter Maṭia Gōpuram of the Temple of Śrī Gōvindarāja with its Seven Storeys. Vide Pages 55, 320.



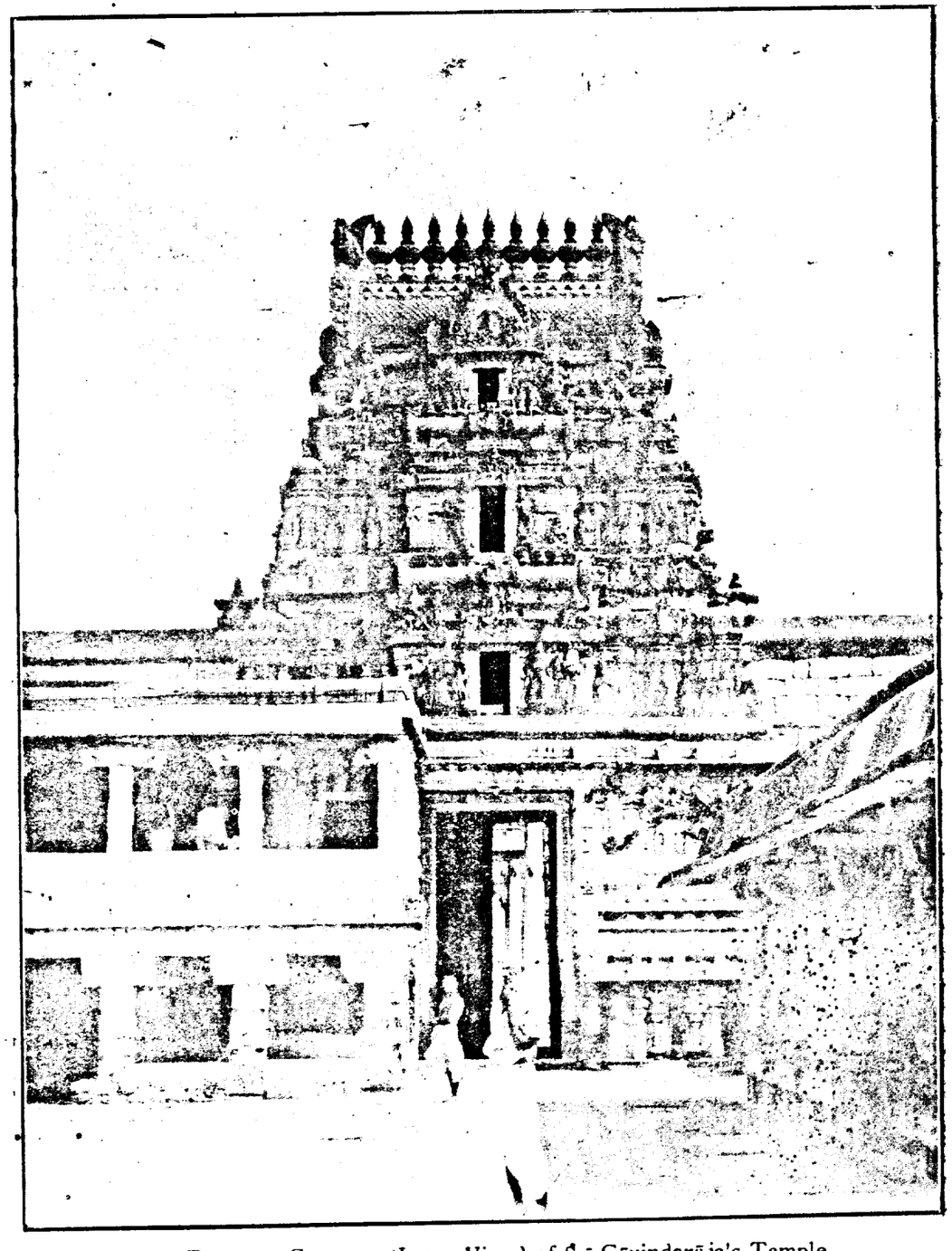
29. Lakshmīdēvi-Maṇṭapam in front of Śrī Gōvindarāja's Temple. Vide Pages 54, 294.



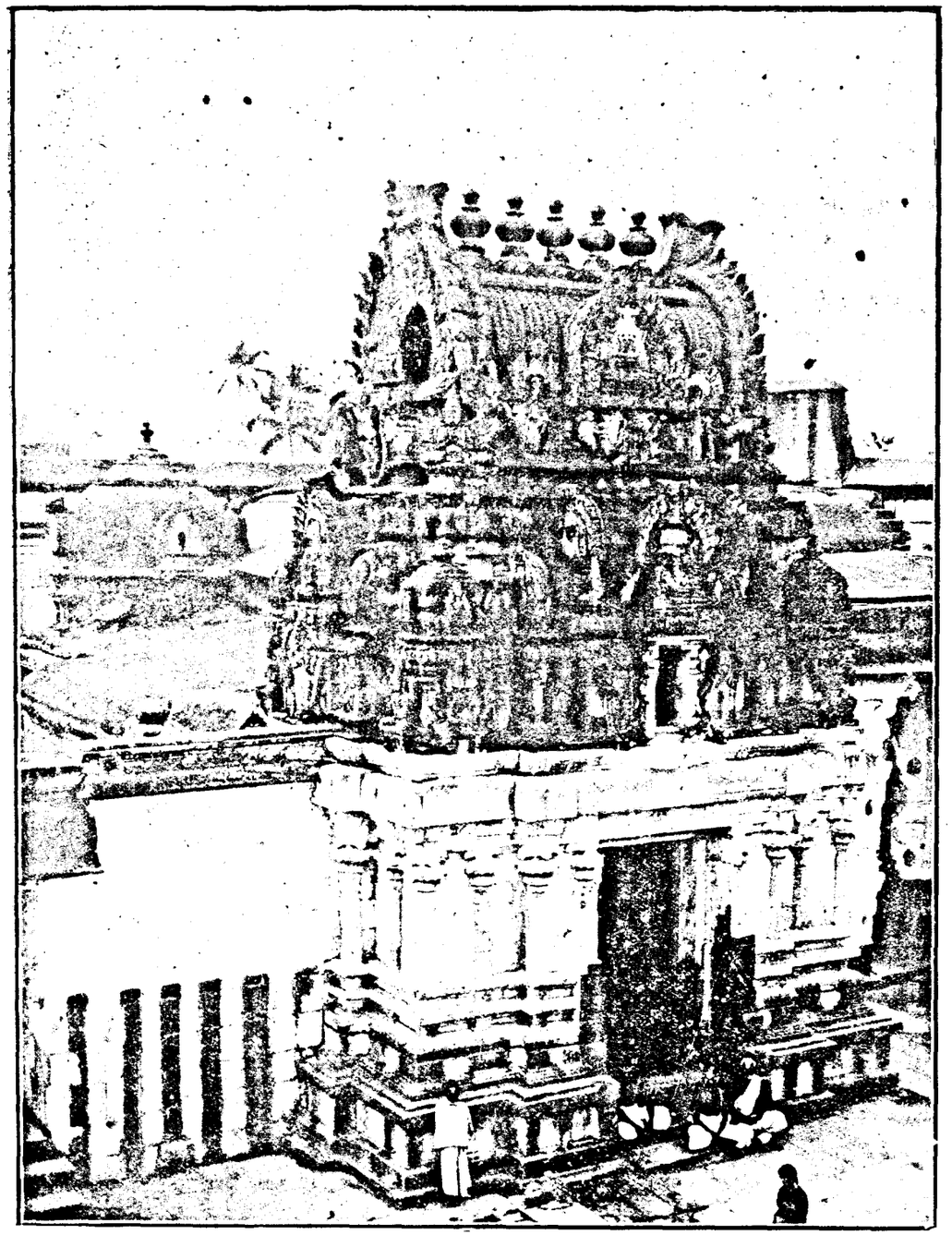
30. Vimānam over the Central Shrine of Śrī Gōvindarāja's Temple with Five Golden Kalaśams.



31. Entrance Gōpuram (Front View) of Śrī Gōvindarāja's Temple. Vide Pages 54, 55.

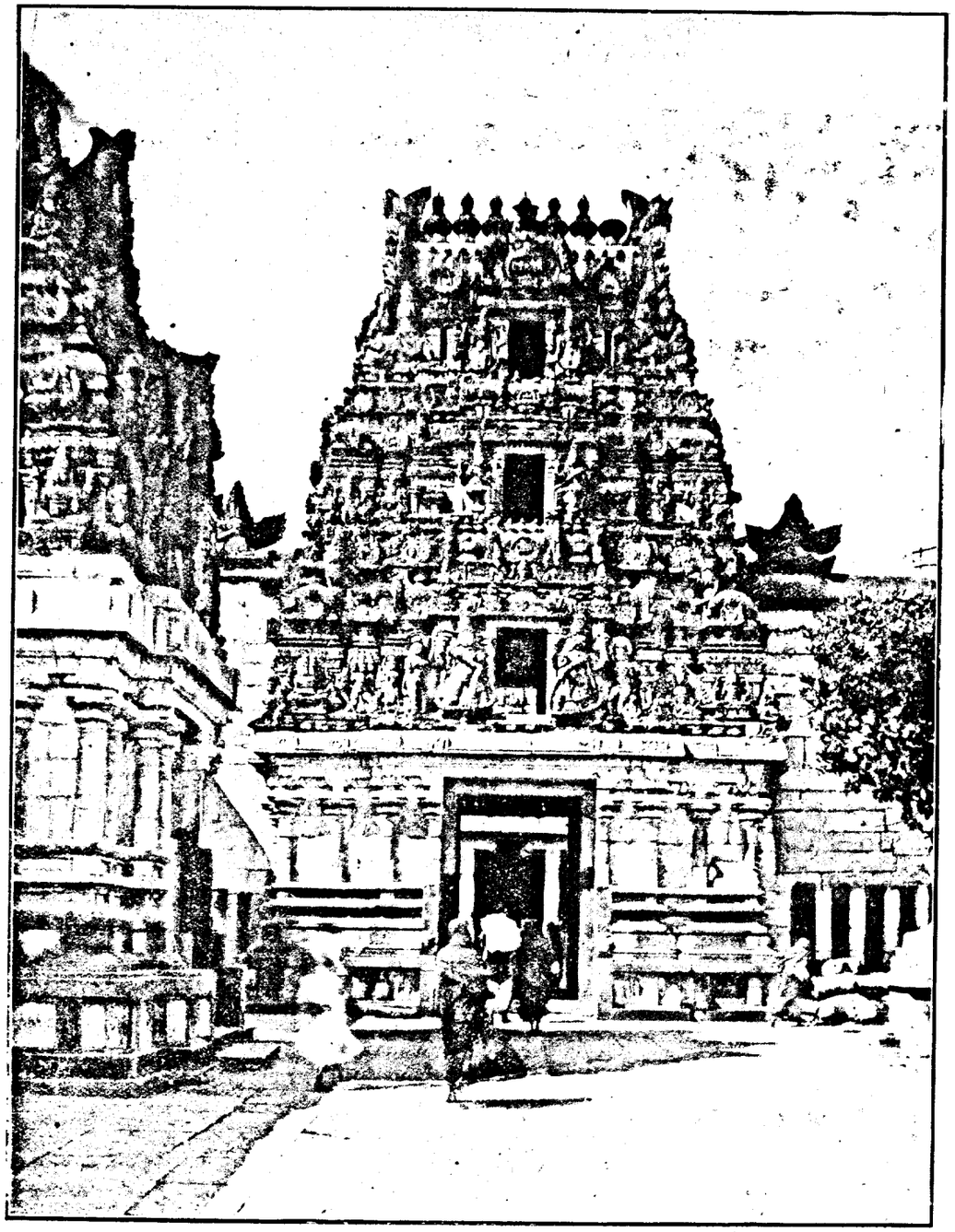


32. Entrance Gōpuram (Inner View) of Śrī Gōvindarāja's Temple.
Vide Pages 54, 59, 292, 295.

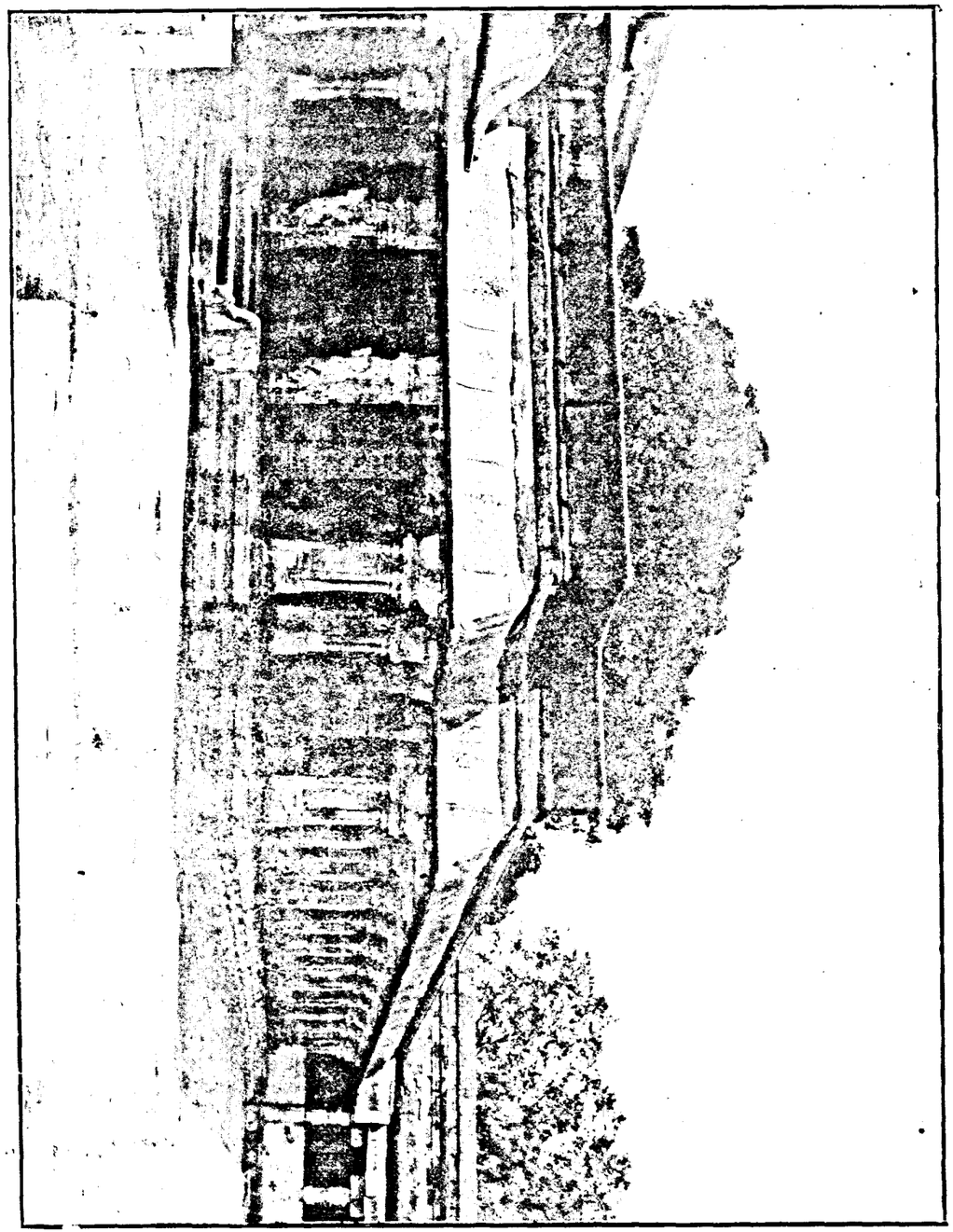


33. Rāmānuja's Shrine at the Inner Gōpuram in Śrī Gōvindarāja's Temple.
Vide Pages 66, 80.

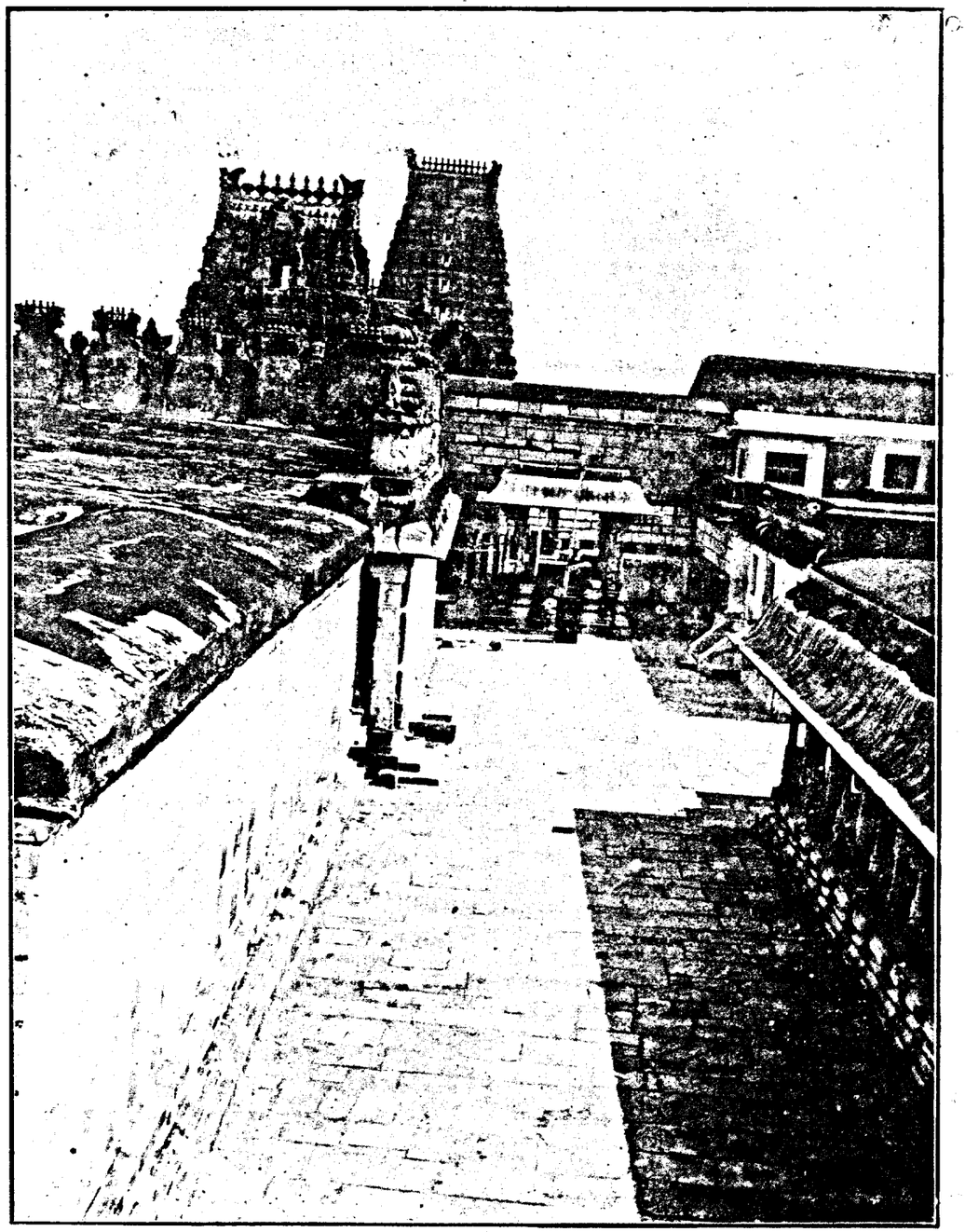
TIRUPATI DEVASTHANAM EPIGRAPHICAL REPORT



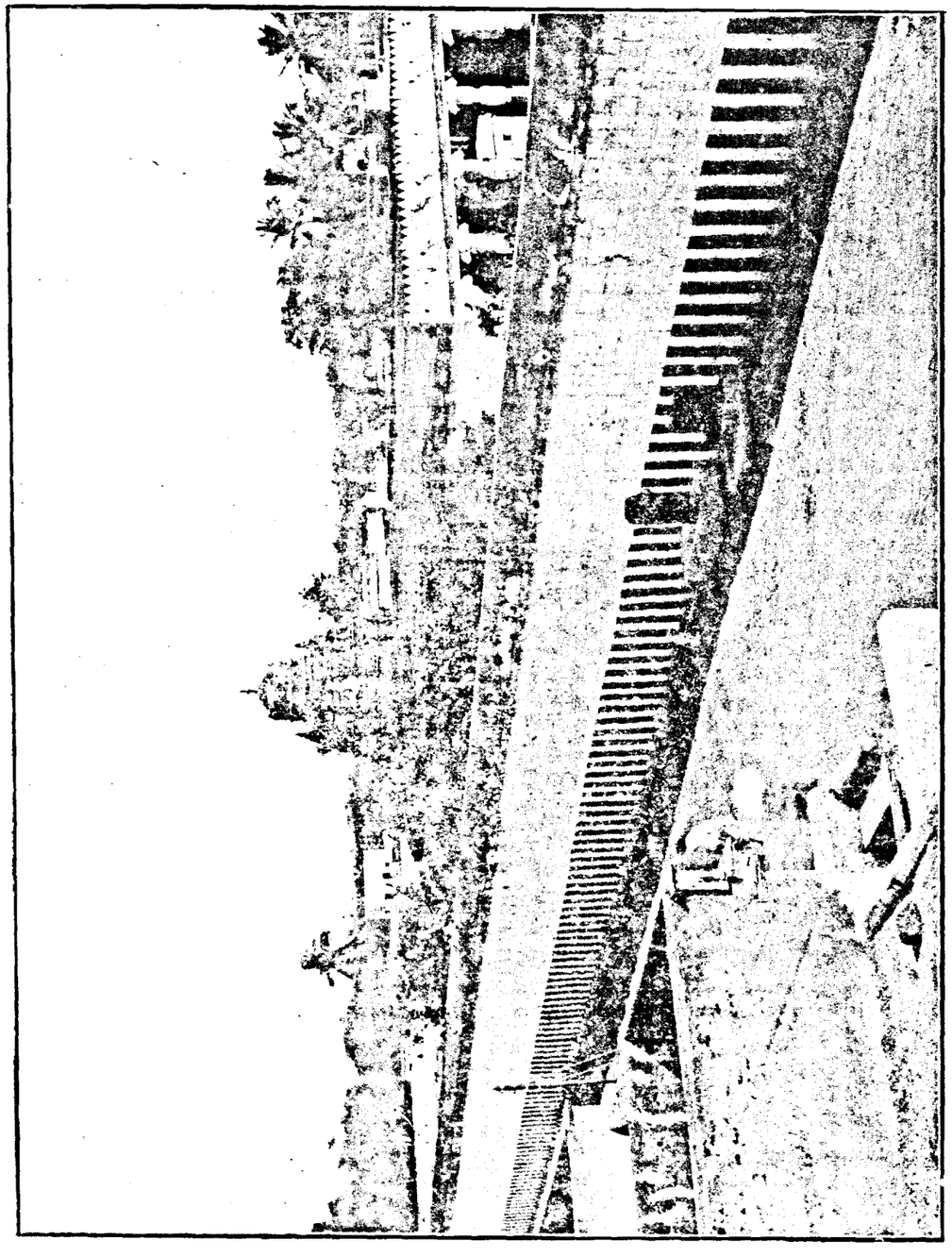
34. Inner Gōpuram of Śrī Gōvindarāja's Temple.



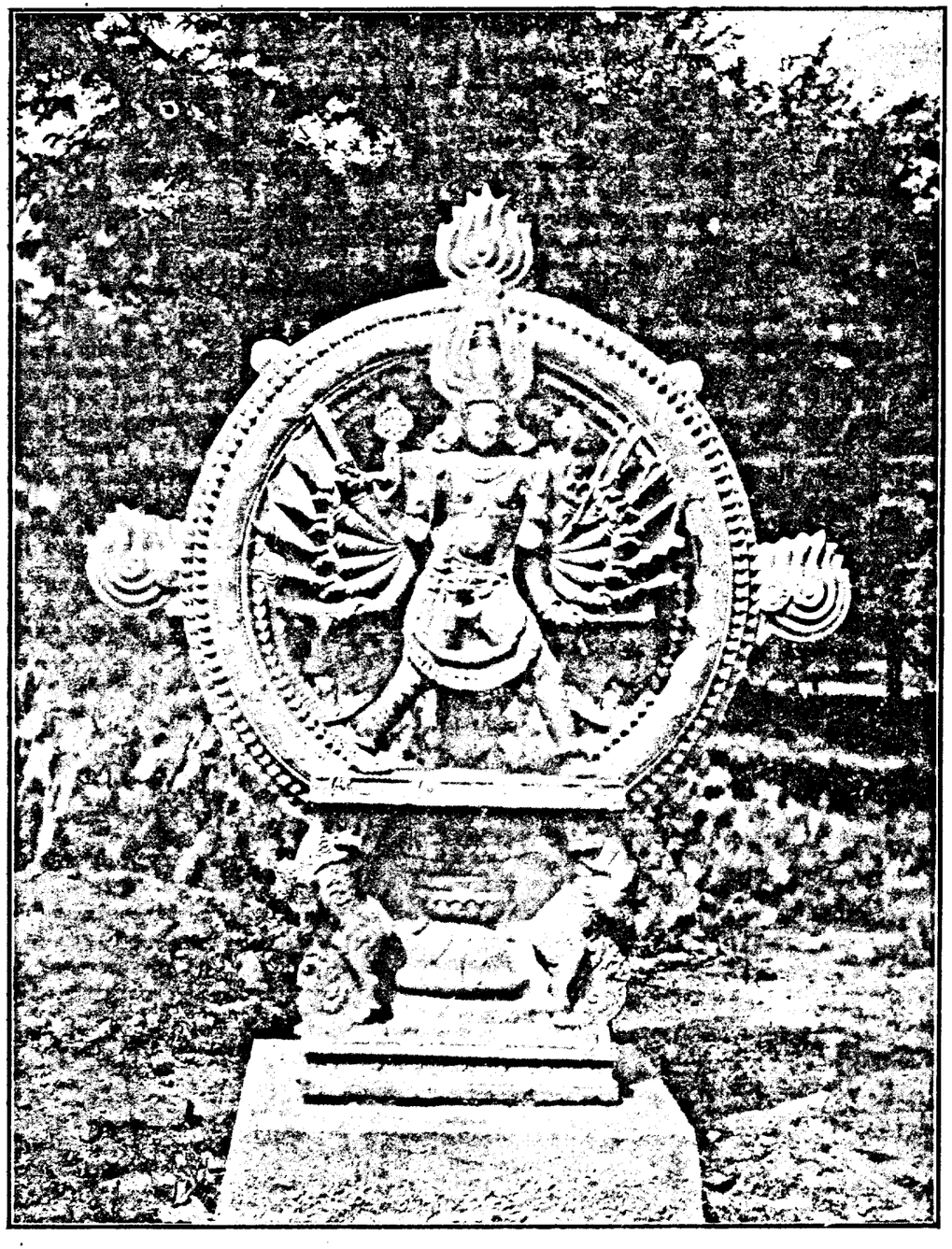
35. Kalyāṇa-Maṇṭapam in Śrī Gōvindarāja's Temple.



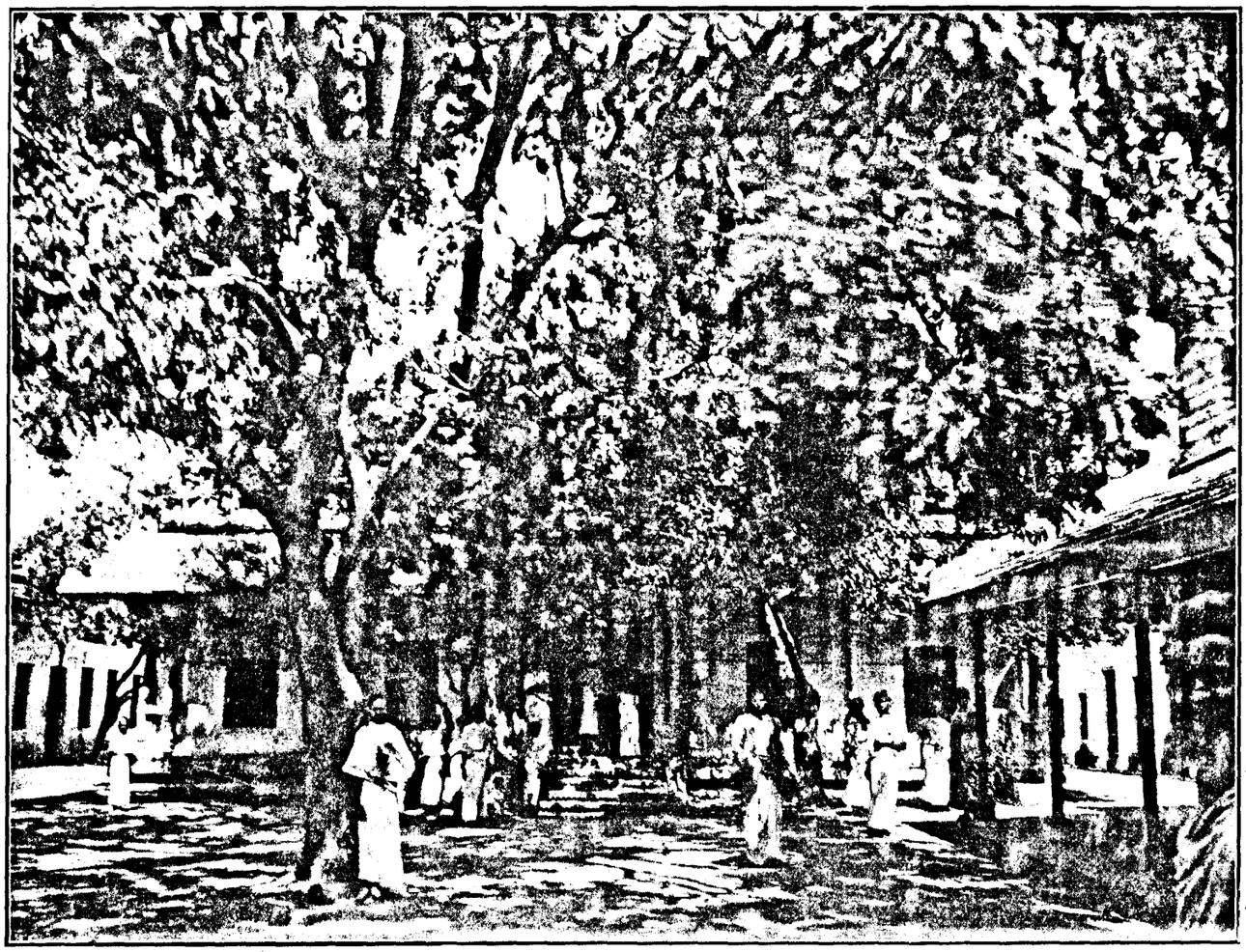
36. View of Inner Courtyard and Towers in Śrī Gōvindarāja's Temple. Vide Page 54.



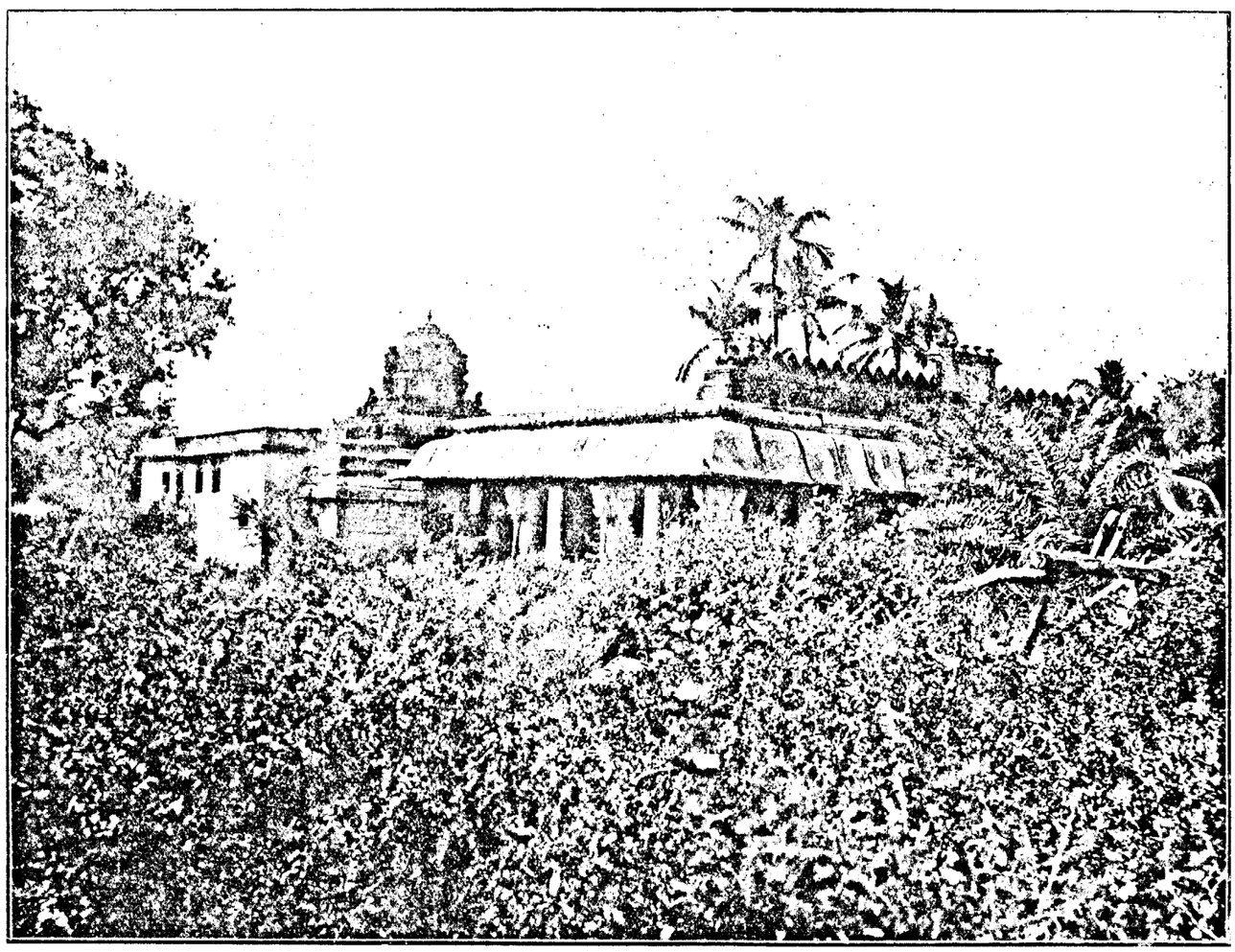
37. General View of Śrī Rāma's Temple in Tirupati. Vide Pages 61–67, 220, 230.



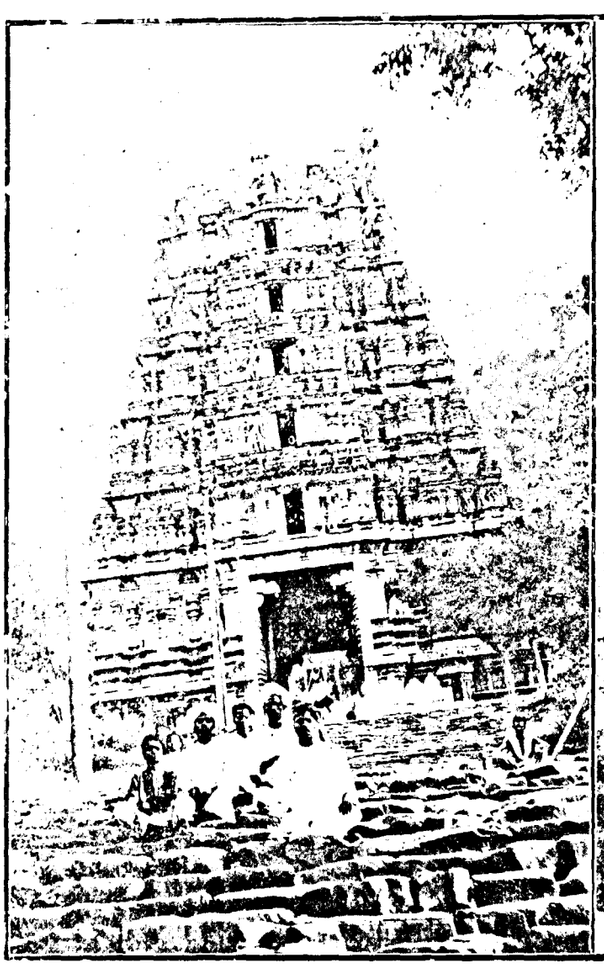
38. Stone Image of Sudarśana (kept on the bund of the freṣh-water tank Narasiṁha-Tīrtham in Tirupati). Vide Pages 59, 60, 283, 292, 299.



39. Nammāḻvār Shrine in Gōvindarāja North Māḍa Street (wherein the Dēvasthānam Saṁskṛit Çollege is located). Vide Pages 77, 79, 263.

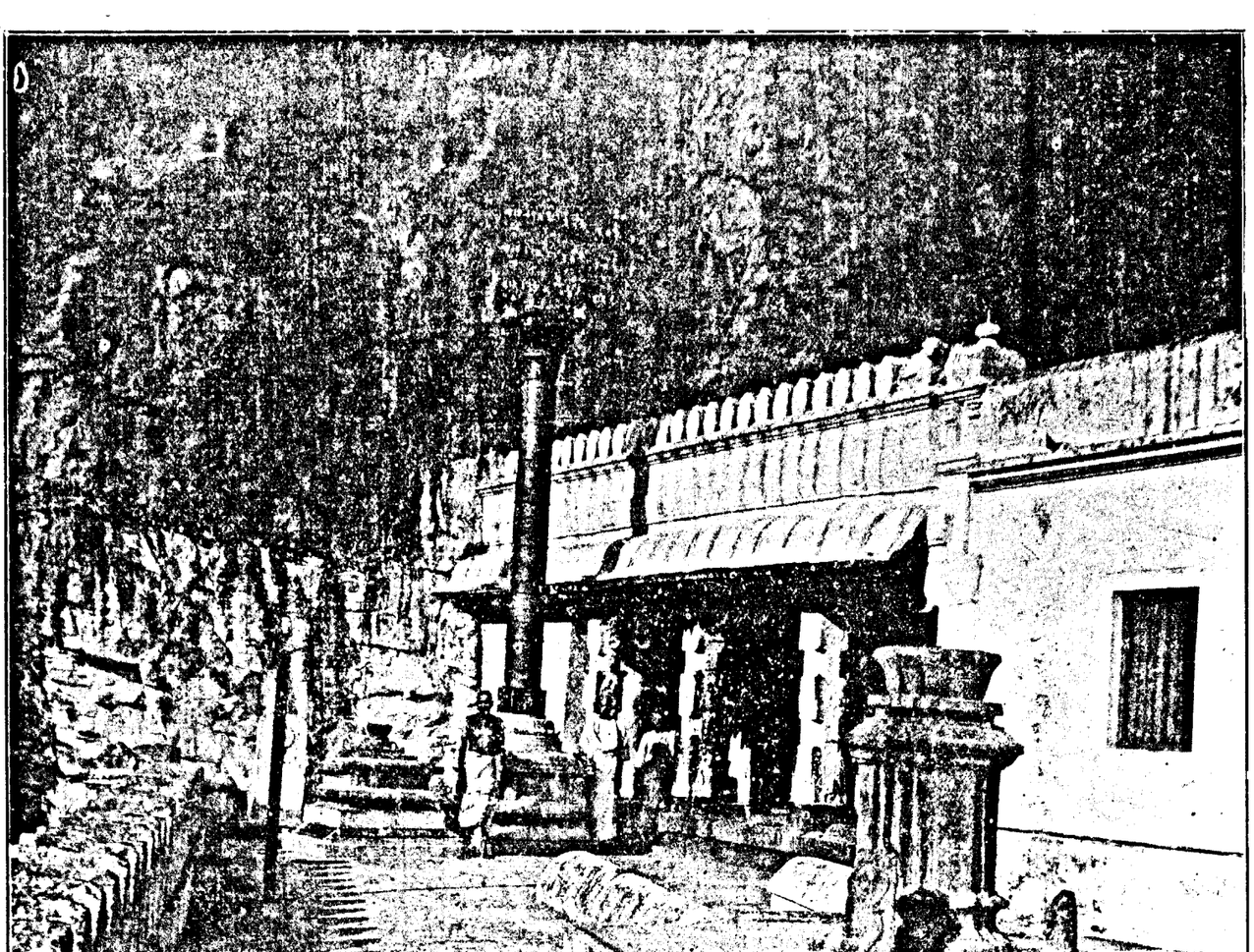


40. Ḷakshmī-Nārāyaṇa-Perumāḷ Shrine in Gōvindarāja South Māḍa Street. Vide Page 68.

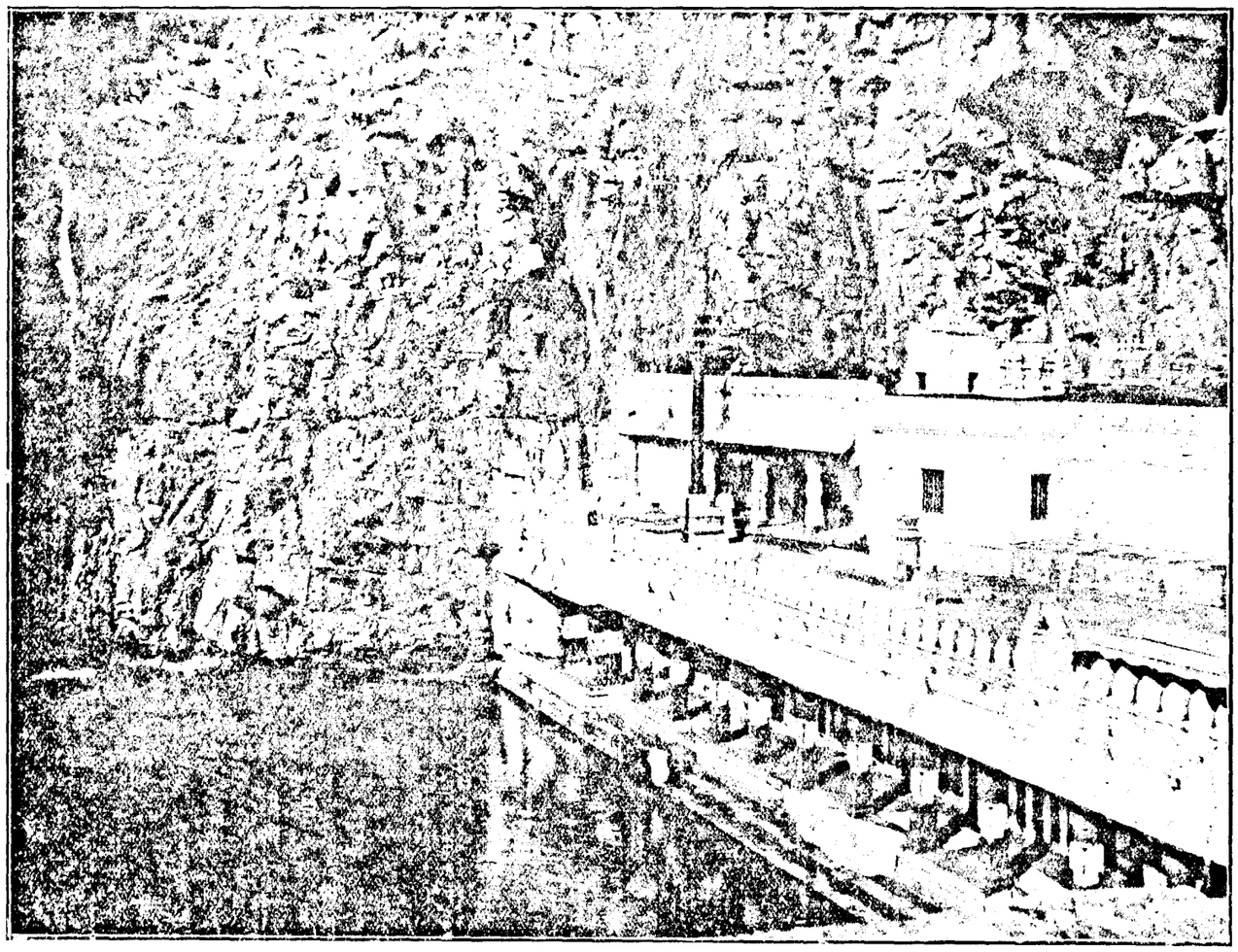


41. Maṭla Kotta-Gōpuram at Alipiri constructed by Maṭla Kumāra-Anantarāja.
Vide Pages 43, 55, 320.

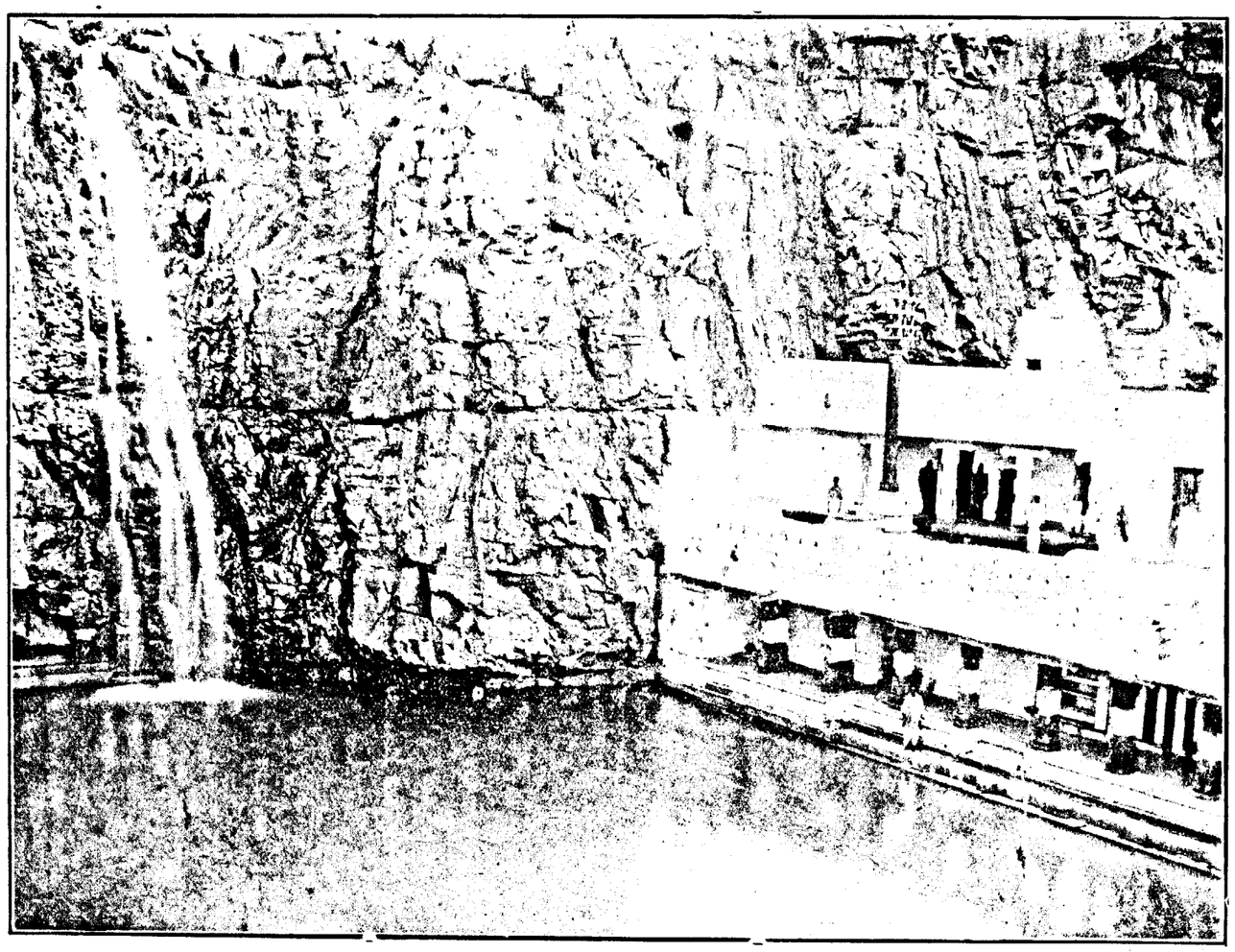
42. Ruined Gōpuram at Alipiri (probably built by Sāḷuva Narasiṁha, fallen during rains in December 1930), with terrace and eaves of Śrīpāda-Maṇṭapam in front.
Vide Pages 150, 321, 322.



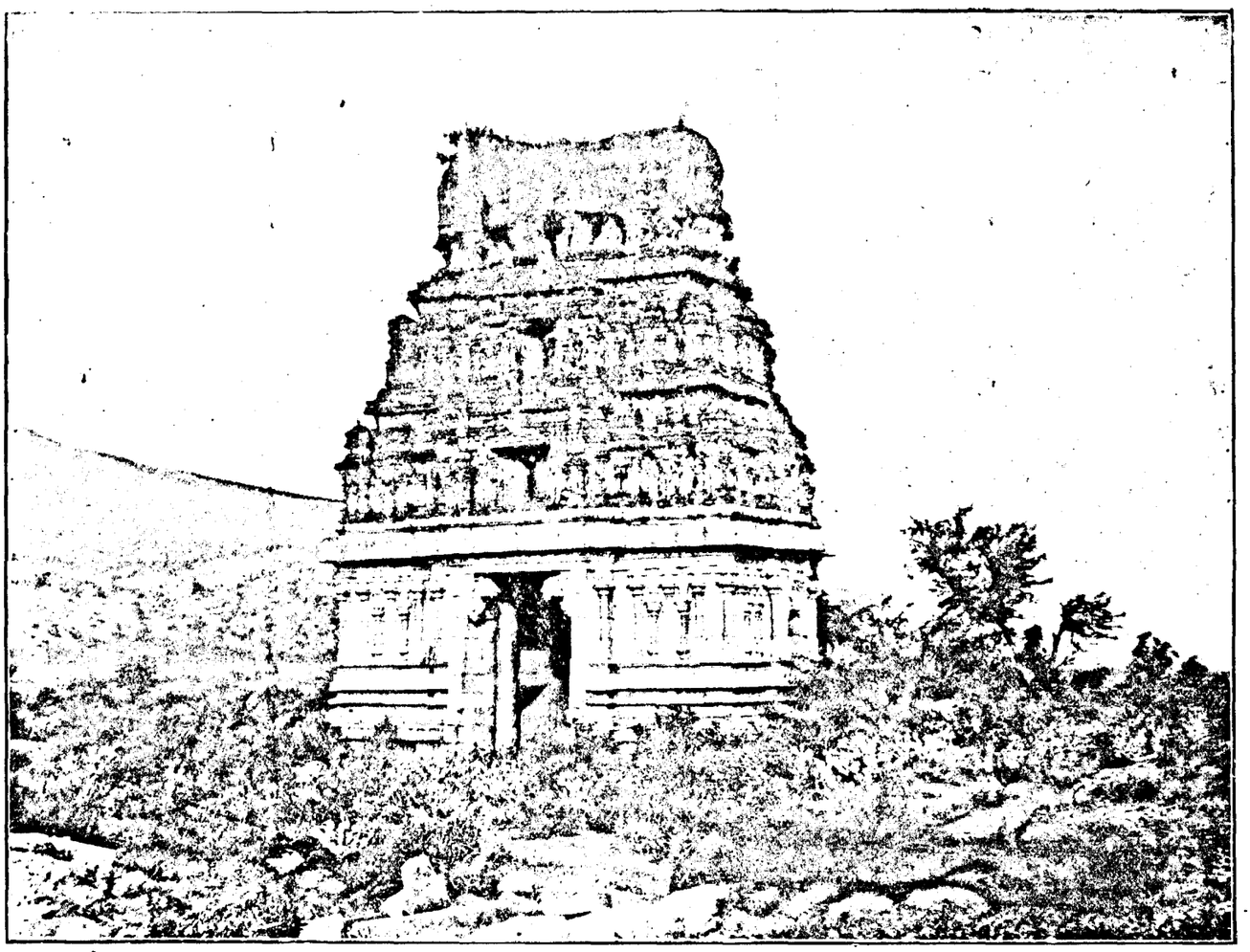
43. Śrī Kapilēśvara's Temple beside the Hill at Tirupati. Vide Pages 70-73, 109, 275.



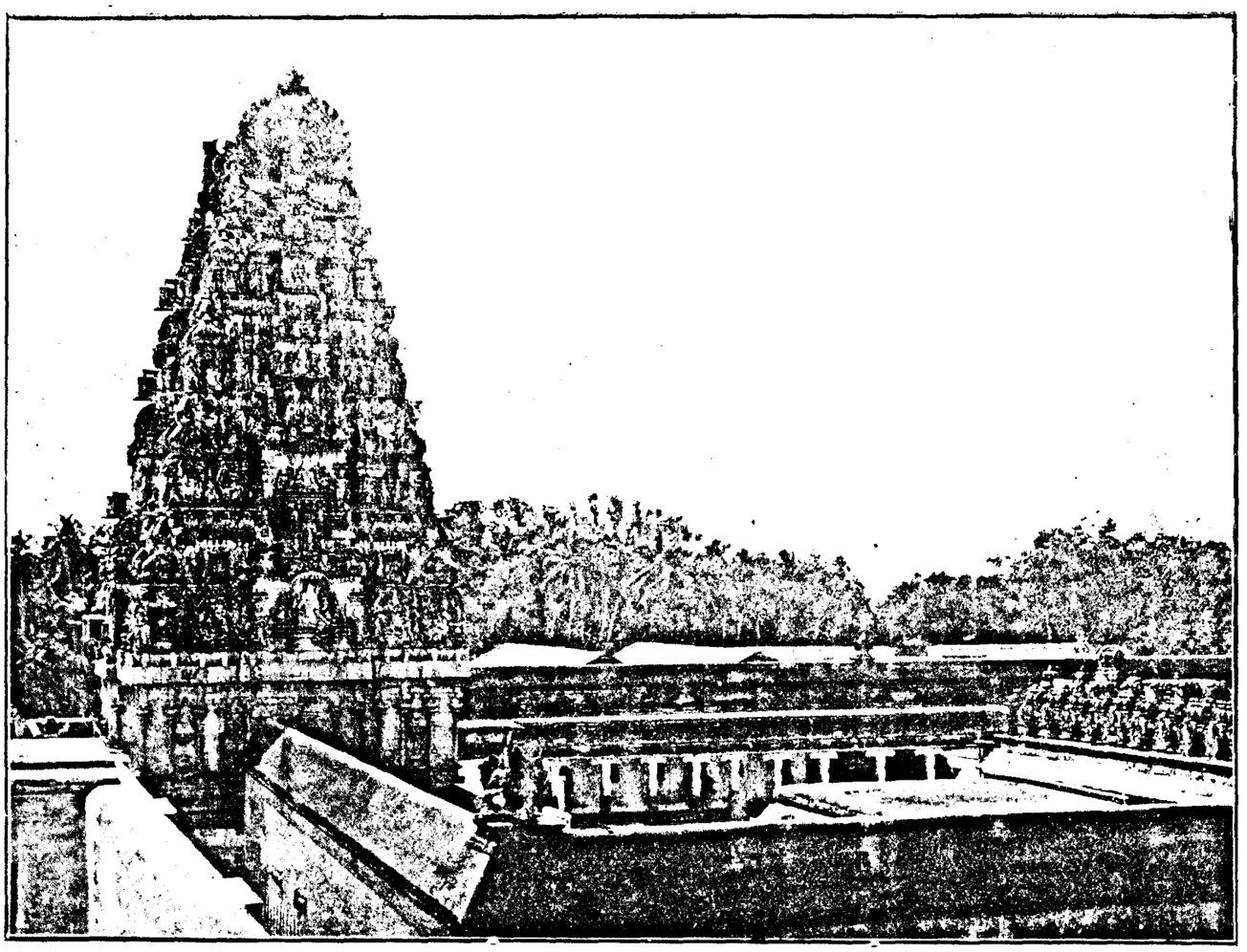
44. Eastern Stone (Sandhyāvandana) Maṇṭapam of Kapila-Tīrtham below Śrī Kapilēśvara's Temple. Vide Pages 70, 72, 224, 326.



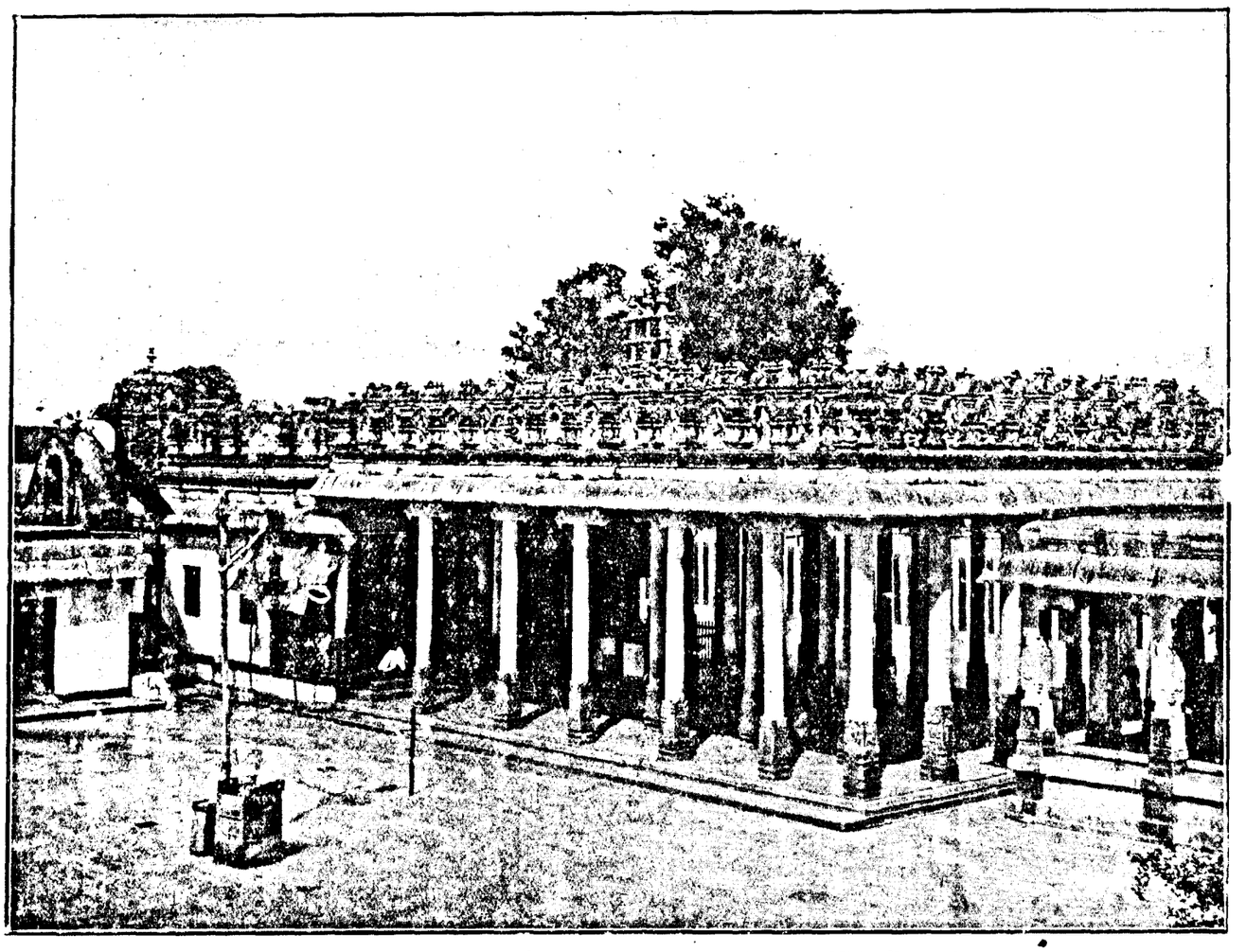
45. Kapila-Tīrtham with Waterfall and Eastern Sandhyāvandana-Maṇṭapam. Vide Pages 51, 70, 72, 224, 326.



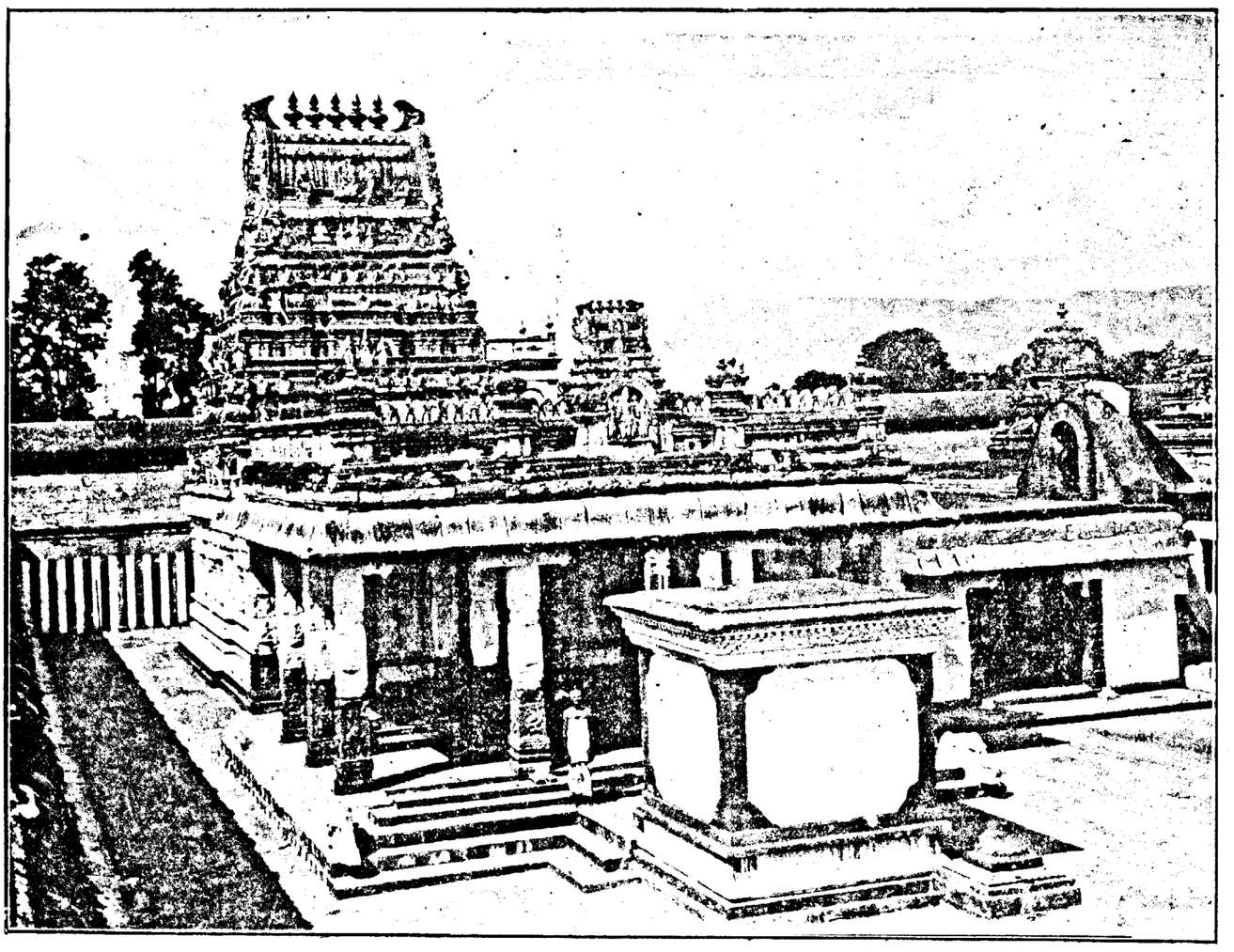
46. Ruined Gōpuram beside Kapila-Tīrtham Road (which once formed part of Achyutaperumāḷ Temple). Vide Pages 69, 224.



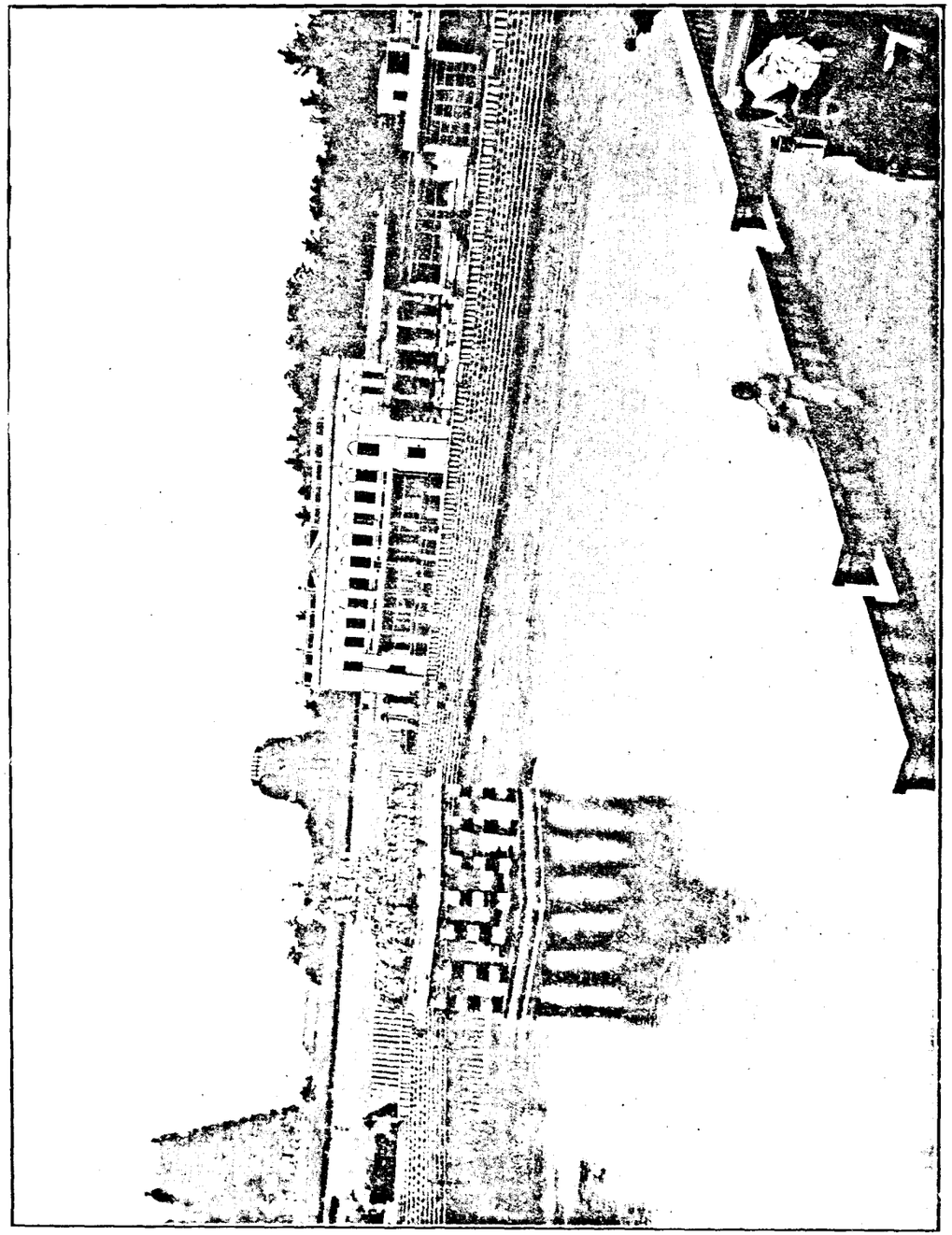
47. Śrī Alamēlumaṅga's (Padmāvati) Temple (North View) in Tiruchānūr. Vide Page 69.



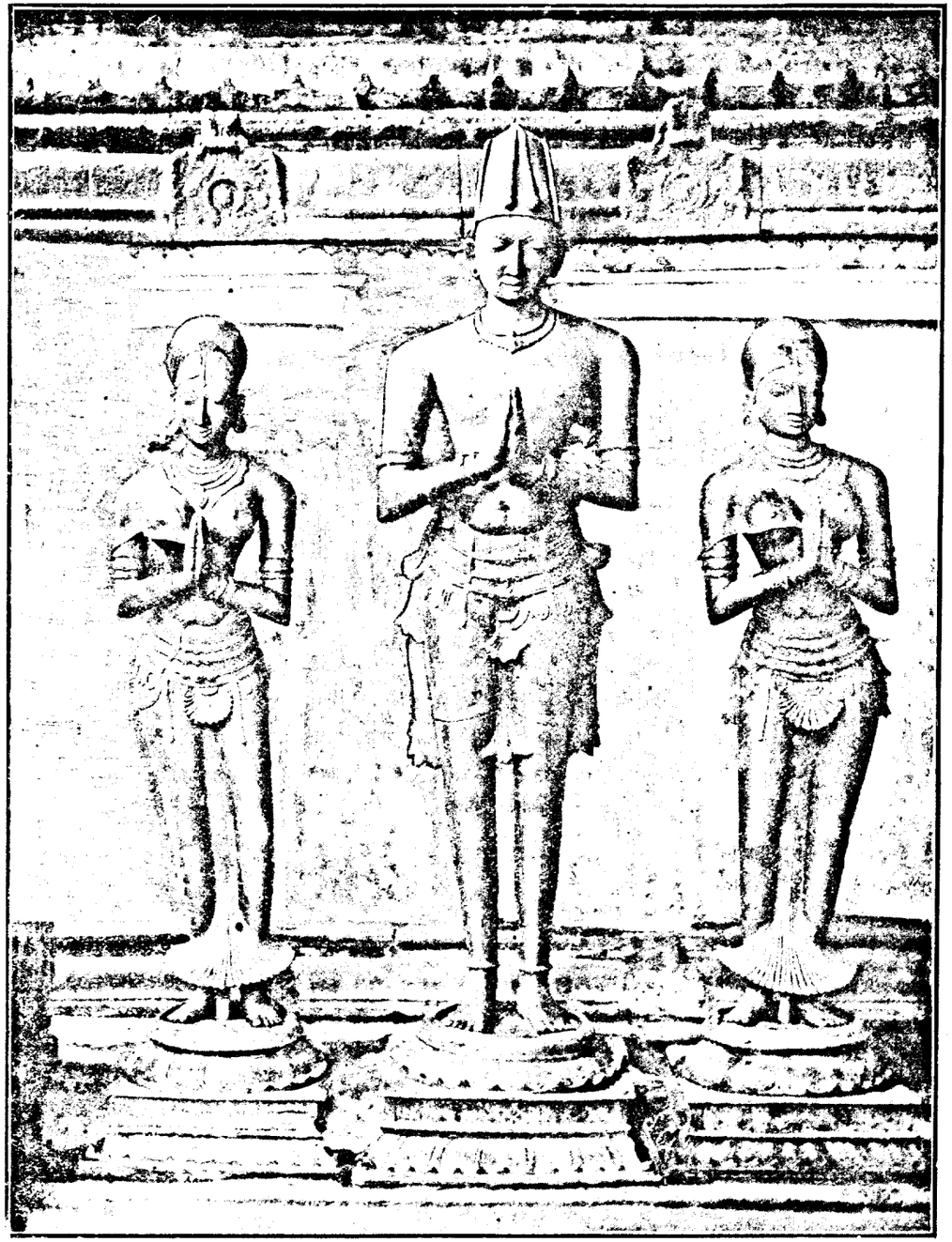
48. Mukha-Maṇṭapam of Śrī Alamēlumaṅga's Shrine. • Vide Page 69.



49. Śrī Sundararājasvāmi's (Aḷagiya-Perumāḷ) Shrine with in Śrī Alamēlumaṅga's Temple, with Śrī Kṛishṇasvāmi's Shrine to the North. Vide Page 111.



50, Nirāḷi-Maṇṭapam in Padmasaras (Tank) behind the Temple in Tiruchānūr. Vide Page 69.



51. Copper Statues of King Kṛishṇarāya and His Queens Chinnādēvi on his right and Tirumaladēvi on his left, stationed in Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's Temple. Vide Page 186.

52. Copper Statue of King Vēṅkaṭapatirāya, stationed in Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's Temple. Vide Page 315.

53. Stone Statues of a Vijayanagara King and Queen, stationed in Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśvara's Temple—Probably representing Tirumalarāya and Vēṅgaḷāmba. Vide Page 315.

54. Statues of Lālā Khēmarām (Tōḍaramalla) and His Family with names incised on their shoulders—stationed near Dhvajastambham in Śrī Veṅkaṭēśvara's Temple—the first two in brass plate fixed on wooden block and the third in cast brass.

ಲಾಲಾಖೇಮರಾಮ
लालाखेमराम
(on right shoulder)
(Lālā Khēmarām)

ಪೀತಾಬೀಬಿಜೀ
पीताबीबिजी
(on right shoulder)
(Pīṭā-Bībi)

ಪಿಠ್ಠಾಬಿಬಿಜಿ
पिठ्ठाबिबिजि
(on left shoulder)
(Pīṭā-Bībi, wife of Tōḍaramalla)

ಮಾತಾಮೋಹನದೇ
मातामोहनदे
(on right shoulder)
(Mātā Mōhanadē)

55. Figures of Maṭla Family from Kotta-Gōpuram at Alipiri. Vide Pages 42, 320.

56. Vijayanagara Emblem of Double Boar and Sword. Vide Page 152.

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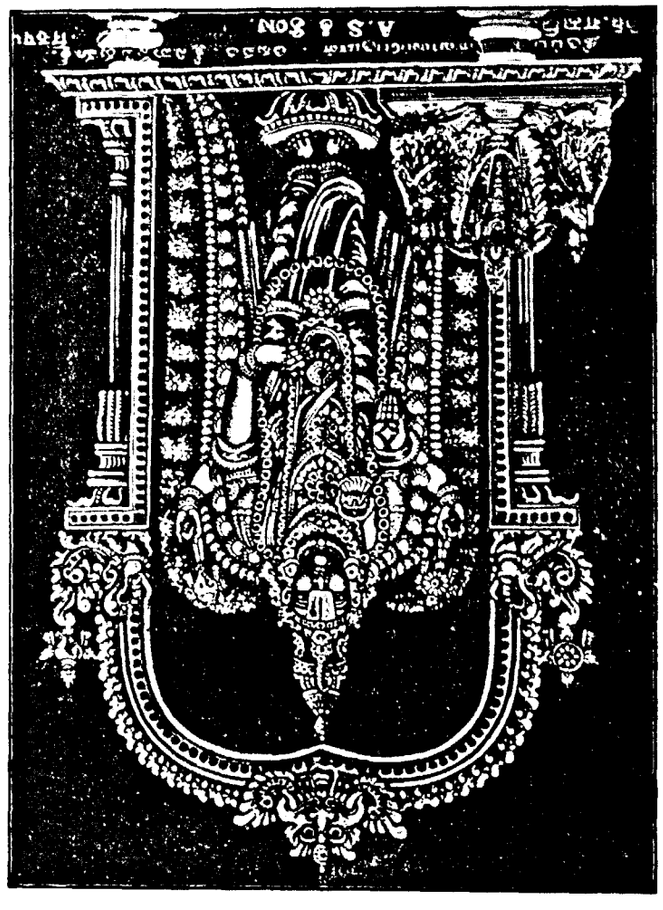
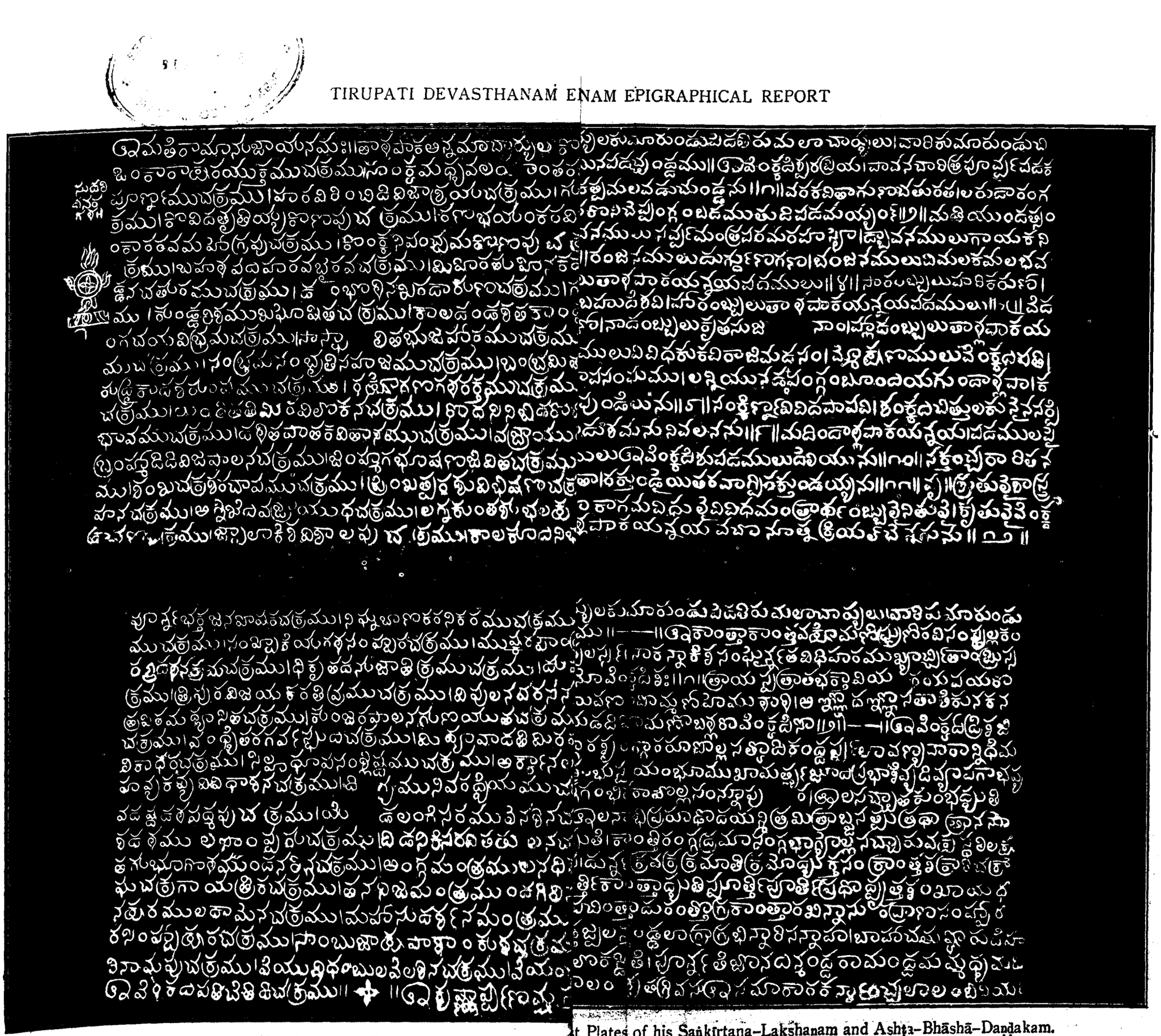
V24T:72 N22
N30

ŚRĪ PADMĀVATĪ-AMMA



ŚRĪ VĒṄKAṬĒŚVARASVĀMI



58. Sudarśana-Ragaḷa of Tāḷḷapāka Peda-

t Plates of his Saṅkīrtana-Lakshaṇam and Aṣhṭa-Bhāshā-Daṇḍakam.
s 2, 281, 284, 285.

COPIED FROM THE REVENUE ATLAS MAP No 57 ⅌ CHITTOOR DIST.

MAP SHOWING THE THEERTHAMS, ON, THIRUMALA (HILLS).

SCALE 1 PER MILE.

PULLAM PET TALUQ (CUDDAPAH DISTRICT)

PASUPU THIRTHAM

PAPANASANAM THEERTHAM

SRI HARI PADA SAMADHI

SESHAMMA THEERTHAM

SESHATHEERTHAM

JABALI THIRTHAM

CHAKRATHEERTHAM

TIRUMALAI.

VAIKUNTATEERTHAM

CHAKRA THEERTHAM

KUMARADHARA

PAPAVINASANAM

GOGARBHAM

MUGUDURU

GALIGOPURAM

KAPILA THEERTHAM

AKASA GANGA

PANCHAYANOLA THEERTHAM

SRIPADHRIMARU

SITHARAMANTAPAM

CHENNAYAGUNTA

TIRUPATI

NAGARATLA

R. ORIMA

CHANDRAGIRI Rly. STATION

M&S.M. RAILWAY (KADIRI BRANCH METRE GUAGE LINE)

MITTAPALEM

PERLOPALLE

PERURU

CHENDRAGIRI

TONDAVADA

THIRUCHANUR

SWARNAMUKHI RIVER

T I R U M A L A I (H I L L S)

REFERENCE

- VILLAGE OR TOWN.
- RAILWAY LINE.
- DISTRICT BOUNDARY.
- THIRUMALA FOREST
- HILL TRACKS & FOOT PATH
- CIVIL METALLED ROAD.
- RIVER / CHANNEL
- HILL & THEERTHAMS
- SHRINE OR TEMPLES.

(TRUE COPY)

S. Subrahmanyam 15/2/24

ARCHAEOLOGIST.

DEVASTHANAM ENGINEER.

COPIED FROM THE 1" PERIMETER ATLAS MAP NO 57 % 6 CHITTOOR DIST.

MAP SHOWING THE THEERTHAMS, ON, THIRUMALA (HILLS).

SCALE 1 PER MILE.

PULLAM PET TALUQ (CUDDAPAH DISTRICT)

THUMBURU THEERTHAM

THARIGONDA VENGAMMA DEVI

RAMAKRISHNA THEERTHAM

KUMARADHARA THEERTHAM

PASUPU THIRTHAM

BRAHMASARANGANA THEERTHAM.

PAPANASANA THEERTHAM

AKASA GANGA THEERTHAM

PUTHTA MANTAPAM.

SRI RAMA PADA (TOMB) SAMADHI.

SESHAMMA THEERTHAM

SESHA THEERTHAM.

JABALI THIRTHAM

CHAKRATHEERTHAM

GOGARBHA THEERTHAM

MUTHYALAYUDU CHERUVU

TIRUMALAI.

ALWAR CHULTRY

VAIKUNTA THEERTHAM

NARAYANAGIRI

ANJANADRI

BHAVAKAR'S SHRINE

MOKALIMETTU

AVALACHARI KONA

RAMA CHANDRA BHAVAKAR SHRINE

MUGUBAVU

ELEPHANT'S PATH

PANA MANAKURUMITTA

CHITRAKUDU

KAPILA THEERTHAM

GALIGOPURAM

DHIMA THIRTHAM

ALWAR THEERTHAM

ALAYANDLA THEERTHAM

NARAYANAGIRI

SRIPATHIMARI METTU

CHENNAYAGUNTA

TIRUPATI

RIVER KALYANI

NAGARATLA

R. BRIMA

M & S.M. RAILWAY (GOOTY BRANCH METRE GUAGE LINE)

CHANDRAGIRI Rly. STATION

KOM

MITTAPALEM

PUNGANUR

PERLOPALLE

PERURU

THIRUCHANUR

SWARNAMUKHI RIVER

TONDAVA.

CHENDRAGIRI

T I R U M A L A I (H I L L S)

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(TRUE COPY)

S. Subrahmanyam 15/7

ARCHAEOLOGIST.

Devasthanam Engineer 15/7

Cur 15/7/49