

513



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Please Vide pp. 202 to 204 for an Account of his
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SRI PARVATA IN THE PRE-IKSHVAKU PERIOD

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No systematic attempt has yet been made to trace the history of some of the main Buddhist Viharas at the Sriparvata-Nāgarjunakonda, the most famous site of this religion in the Āndhra country from the very early centuries of the Christian era. It has been assumed by scholars that the main patronage to the religion came through the Ikshvākus who succeeded the Stavahanas to power in about the 3rd century A. D. A closer examination of the Prakrit inscriptions however seems to bring to light a few Buddhist structures, definitely earlier to the Ikshvāku and that period might therefore be termed the Pre-Ikshvaku or the later Sātavahana period, that is to say, about the second half of the 2nd century A. D. The history of this period could however be conveniently taken up, after first surveying the known history of the site. From the inscriptions of the Ikshvākus at site and elsewhere, it would be clear that the total duration of the suzerainty of this royal dynasty was roughly for a period of fifty years.

The Ikshvāku Period

Judging from the antiquity of the site, which contains a Mahāstūpa, enshrining the corporal relic of Lord Buddha, it could be assumed that it was built in about the period of Asōka, the great Mauryan emperor, by one of the pious missionaries, deputed by him throughout the length and breadth of the country, including the Andhra for propagation of the creed.

The history of the site, till the rise to power, of the Ikshvākus, is obscure. Of this dynasty, we know from inscriptions only three figures

though the Puranas mention seven of them. The three rulers of the dynasty were (I) Śrī Çāntamūla who bore the titles of Mahārāja and Vasistiputra. He was a powerful monarch. There is however nothing to indicate that he patronised Buddhism though it has to be inferred from the inscriptions that it was tolerated by him. He was essentially a follower of the Vedic faith. He was succeeded by śrī Virapurashadatta. His period marked a glorious epoch in the rise of Buddhism, largely due to the patronage of the royal consorts. The main activities of his period may be classified as (I) the Royal and (2) the one conducted by a lay Upasika named Bōdhisri. The former mainly consisted of (I) the erection of the Āyaka pillars and the Āyaka Vedikas, to the Mahā Stūpa in the 6th regnal year., (2) the construction of Chatusālā in the 15th and a S'ēla-Mandapa in the 18th regnal years.

The construction of the Mahāchaitya and the pillars, it is stated in the lithic records at site, was completed by the Reverend Anandā. in the 6th regnal year for the benefit of the Aparamahāvinaśēliyas¹. It should be, however, understood that the Mahāchaitya under reference, is the Mahāstupa and that it was only renovated during this period with the additional constructions such as the Vedikas on all the four sides and the Āyaka pillars. Most of the Āyaka pillars were erected by the royal consorts. In the same year thus, Mahādevi Bāpīsrinika erected a stone pillar for the benefit of the Aparamahāvinaśēliyas². Others of the dynasty, who erected Āyaka pillars in the same year at the Mahāchaitya were Çāntisri, the paternal aunt of Sri-Virapurashadatta³, Adavi-Chatisri⁴, the daughter of Sri-Çāntamūla, Chula-Çāntisrinika⁵, Mahādevi-Rudradhāra Bhatṭarika⁶, Chatī-Sri⁷, the daughter of Hammasri and Mehā-Khamḍasri⁸ of the family of the Pukivas. Of all these royal women, the most noted seems to be Çāntisri, and the inscriptions mentioning her refer to her deep compassion for the Sramanas, Brahmanas and those that were miserable, poor and destitute and state that she was bestowing matchless and ceaseless flow of valuable gifts. Almost all the royal women were specially attached to the Buddhist Aparamahāvinaśēliya sect, and thanks to their pious zeal, the renovation of the Mahāchaitya was completed by the reverend Ananda.

The next important activity in this direction, was towards the construction of a Chatusālā and S'ēla-Mandapa at the chaitya-ghāra, opposite the Mahastupa for the benefit of the same sect. This was the work of Çāntisri. The inscriptions at the stone-pillared Mandapa, opposite the great chaitya and the floor inscription of the *chaitya ghara*, dated in the 15th and 18th regnal years of Śrī Virapurushadatta.

1 C 2 E I XX No 1 pp 19.20 2 C2 E I XX pp 19.20 3 C3 I bid 4 B2 Ibid
5 and 6 B5 Ibid 7 C4 Ibid 8 C5 I bid

make mention of their construction. In the one dated in the 15th⁹, it is stated, a Chatusala was built, while another from the site attributes its construction to the royal queen cāmtisri, for the benefit of the Apāramahāvīnaśēliyas¹⁰. Numerous other inscriptions at the Maṇḍapa site also make mention of the construction of the chatusala in the 15th regnal year. That a stone Maṇḍapa was built, opposite the Mahāchaitya, is borne out in the chaityaghara inscription on floor dated in the 18th regnal year¹¹.

The above account finishes our survey of the royal period of constructional activity during the reign of Mahārāja Sri Virapurashadatta. The next land-mark in the history of Buddhism at site, is marked by the activities of the lay Upāsika named Bōdhisri. It is significant that in between the 7th and 14th regnal years of Sri Virapurashadatta, there was absolutely no activity in this regard on the part of the royal queens. It may be further noted that so far no inscription mentioning the royal queen or consorts, in this interval had come to light. Their fame seems to have been completely eclipsed by the advent of the above mentioned lay upśika into the field of activity. She seems to have played a dominant role in the construction of a large number of viharas. Her inscription, citing the 14th regnal year of Sri Virapurashadatta,¹² mentions that she caused the erection of a chaitya-ghāra and a chaitya to the Vihāra on Chūla-Dharmagiri at the 'Sripārvata.' This was built for the benefit of the monks from Tāmraparni (Ceylon) who finally seem to have settled there after finishing their proselytising activities at Kāshmir, Gāndhāra, China, Chīlata, Tosali, Aparānta, Vanga, Vanavāsi, Yavana, Dāmila, and Palūra(?). The same inscription credits her with the construction of a Chaitya hall at the Kulaha-Vihāra, a shrine for the Bodhi tree at the Sihala Vihāra, one cell at the Great Dharmagiri, a Maṇḍapa pillar at the 'MAHĀVIHĀRA', a hall for religious practices at Dēvagiri, a tank, veranda, and Maṇḍapa at Pūrvasāila, a stone Maṇḍapa at the eastern gate of the great chaitya at Kanṭakasāila, three cells at Hirumuthuva, several cells at Papila, a stone Maṇḍapa at Pushpagiri. This work was caused to be made by the three Superintendents of works, the Thera chandamukha the Thera Dhammanandi and the Thera Nāga. The stone mason Vīdhika was also at work¹³. None of the lithic records so far discovered at site have credited any royal queen with such wide spread activities. There can be therefore no doubt that the lay upāsika Bodhisri exercised a dominating influence in the field of Buddhist activity.

9 M4 p 21 E, I, XXI 10 M3 Ibid 11 E, Eloor Inscription. E, I, XXI. Additional Prakrit inscriptions, Nagrjunakonda. 12 F, Floor Inscription of Bodhi-ri. Ibid 13 Ibid

The last known ruler of the Ikshvāku dynasty was E h u v u l a çāntāmula. His period was not of much importance in this regard. An inscription dated in the 2nd regnal year however mentions that a Vihāra, and pillar were erected for the benefit of the Buddhist sect known as the Mahisāsaka.¹⁴ Another pious activity of the same year, was the construction of a Vihāra for the Buddhist sect known as the Bahusrutya.¹⁴ (a) The various constructions of the Ikshvāku period, whether by royal or other patronage may now be chronologically mentioned as (1) the erection of the Āyaka pillars and the completion (renovation) of the Mahāchaitya in the 6th regnal year of Śrī Virapurushadatta, (2) the additions to the Chūla Dharmagiri Vihāra by way of providing a chaitya hall and a chaitya to the monks from Ceylon, (3) the construction of a chatusāla and Sēla Mandapa in the 15th and 18th regnal years respectively, and lastly (4) the erection of a few pillars and Viharas for the benefit of the Mahisāsaka and the Bahusrutiya sects during the period of the rule of Sri Ehuvala Chmtamula.

It is however strange that no sculptural Wealth, worth mentioning has emerged from anyone of the Viharas or other structures mentioned above. Even the Mahachaitya, with all the renovation it underwent continued to be a plain unornate structure and the pillars erected to it by the royal consorts, bore no figures or carvings. But the real importance of the site consisted in its having produced one of the best specimens of Buddhist art and this emerged from the largest vihāra at site which in its extent or vastness surpassed any other monastery at S'ripārvata. It lay to the east of the place at the foot of the Phirangulakonda hill as it is called locally. None of the above mentioned figurines had taken credit to its construction. If any of the Ikshvāku consorts had constructed it at least one of their numerous inscriptions recording even lesser pious acts would have certainly mentioned it. Nor do inscriptions of a later date refer to this. The period of this Vihāra has to now taken up for detailed consideration.

II

The Ikshvaku inscriptions do indeed mention a number of such Vihāras and place-names whose history could be traced to a period long before their advent to power.

These are (1) the huge vihāra to be presently identified as the Mahāvihāra of the inscriptions (2) the Chūla Dharmagiri Vihāra and the

¹⁴ Inscription No H. E. I. XX Nagarjunakonda Inscriptions.

¹⁴ a. Ibid.

Sihala Vihāra (3) S'ri-Parvata and (4) Vijaya puri. The two latter have not been properly identified yet. When the identity of the viharas and places above-mentioned is established, it will be possible to establish also the close connection of the celebrated sage Nagarjuna with the site. In seriatum these four will be considered.

(1) *The Mahāvihāra*

By Mahāvihāra is meant the great Vihāra. Its mention in the lithic records of the Ikshvākus must evidently have been to the largest Vihāra that existed there at the time of their advent. The first known reference to it, in an inscription occurs in the one of Rudradhara Bhattarika dated in the 6th regnal year of Sri Virapurushadatta.¹⁵ It mentions a MAHĀVIHĀRASA MAHĀCHĒTIYA' for which the S'ēla-kambha viz, the stone-pillar was erected. Mahāvihārasa Mahāchētiya' evidently means the Mahāchaitya which lay in the Mahāvihāra. We now know for certain that till the 15th and the 18th regnal years of Virapurushadatta, the Chatusala and S'ēla-Maṇḍapa were not built at the Mahāchaitya. Prior to this period it must be assumed that there was no other structure built immediately opposite the Mahā Chaitya. It is possible that the Mahāvihāra under reference was certainly the huge vihara, on the east and lying at the foot of the Phirangulakonda hill. Since neither the Ikshvākus nor later rulers had ever taken credit to its construction it must have been built long before the advent of the Ikshvakus. The inscription of Bodhisri¹⁶ also dated in the 14th regnal year, mentions among others the installation of a pillar to the Maṇḍapa at the Mahāvihāra, — (*Mahāvihāre maṇḍapa kumbho'*). From this inscription it is evident that the Mahāvihāra was already in existence and that the pillar to the Maṇḍapa was definitely a later act. The inscription of Čāmtisri¹⁷ recording the construction of the chatusāla opposite the Mahāchaitya, and dated in the 15th regnal year of Virapurushadatta reads thus:— Mahāvihāre — Mahāchētiya — pādānule etc.....sa chatusāla.....(pa) tithāpita (m) ti' which evidently means the Chatusala erected opposite the Mahā-chaitya of the Mahā-Vihāra. Čāmtisri thus took credit to the construction of a Chatusāla and not to the construction of the Mahāvihāra itself. The latter was of an earlier period while the improvements to the Mahāchaitya of the Mahāvihāra were of the period of Sri Virapurushadatta and hence much later. It would appear that this Mahāvihāra was certainly the huge Vihara on the east and it had to be inferred that till the rise of the Ikshvakus it was the only

Dr. C. Narayana Rao Memorial Volume

Vihāra that lay opposite the Mahachaitya though situated at a distance from the latter. Most of the embellishment to the Buddhist structures in general took place only during the royal period i.e., about 150 A. D. when a beautiful Prakara to the Mahachaitya at Dhanyakāṭaka (Amaravati) was constructed in the reign of the Sātavāhana Vāsiṣṭiputra Śrī Pulumāvi. It is not unreasonable therefore to assign the date of the Maha vihāra to the same period, as the Prākāra of the Amarāvati Stupa or to a period immediately later. At this stage it will be useful to note the descriptions of the two famous Chinese pilgrims Fāhien in the 5th century A. D. and Hiuen-Tsiang in the 7th century A. D. The former thus refers to a place known as 'POLUYU' identified as *Parvata* on an isolated rock and mentions it as a five-storeyed structure with the figures of an animal and with 1500 cells in all. It had excellent arrangements with regard to supply of water and windows were cut in the rock to let in air and light. Hiuen-Tsiang who visited Dhānyakāṭaka later in the 7th century A. D. also refers to a place called Po Lo Mo Lo Kili identified by scholars with the same place as Poluyu mentioned by Fāhien that is, the Parvata. HIUEN-TSIANG states that a king by name *Sādavāha* tunnelled the rock and built a Samghārāma at Po Lo Mo Lo Kili. The Samghārāma was a five-storeyed structure each with four halls with a number of Viharās enclosed. In each Vihāra was a statue of Buddha, cast in gold of the life size, wrought with consummate art and singularly adorned. In the topmost hall, it is stated one Nāgārjuna deposited the scriptures of Sākyamuni Buddha and the writings of the Pūṣas. In the lowest hall were the laymen attached to the monastery and stores and the three immediate halls were meant to serve as lodgings of the brethren.

The descriptions of the Chinese pilgrims, though not to be taken literally yet serve to establish that they in fact refer to a huge vihāra at Parvata. The huge Vihara at the foot of the Phirangulakonda hill at Nāgārjunakonda is by far the largest unearthed so far. It had numerous cells. It had dining and kitchen sections. It was provided with open court yards. It was also provided with under ground drainage. From this vihāra almost all the sculptural wealth had emerged. The Sādavaha of Hiuen-Tsiang could be identified as the Sātavāhana, that is Vāsiṣṭiputa Śrī Pulumavi, of whom Nāgārjuna, the founder of the Mahayana creed of Buddhism in the Andhra was a contemporary and to whose period the construction of the Prakara to the Mahastupa at Amaravati was attributed due largely to the powerful influence exercised on him by the Sage. The Parvata of the accounts of Fāhien and Hiuen-tsiang was undoubtedly a reference to the

Sri Parvata of Bodhisri's inscription noted above, and to be presently identified as S i Parvata of Nagarjunakonḍa itself.

(2) *The Wharf.*

Another structure which enables to strengthen the truth of the statement that the Mahavihara was of the Pre-Ikshvaku period is the so-called Wharf to the north-west of the Buddhist valley (Nāgārjunakonḍa) on the banks of the river Krishna. It was built at a height of about 6 feet from the river bank and the recent excavation brought to light a stone-paved flooring as well. It has a number of pillars erected in three rows, the total length of the wharf measuring about 250 feet. None of the Ikshvāku inscriptions nor those of a later date make mention of it at all. Evidently, it must have been built much long before. Judged from the nature of the white lime marble pillars, it could conveniently be assigned to the period of Buddhist art in general. In this connection it has to be noted that the sculptures that adorned the Mahāvihāra were of the same style and the material, on which the reliefs were carved, was also of the same type as at Dhanyakataka and since we have fixed the date of the Mahāvihāra to the Pre-Ikshvāku period or the one immediately following the construction of the rail to the Amaravati Mahāchaitya (that is about 150 A. D.) it must be considered that the wharf in question was also built in the same period as the Mahāvihāra, to facilitate the sculptural and commercial contact of Sri Parvata with the Sātavahana capital itself.

A few other Viharas which could be assigned to the Pre-Ikshvaku period may now be considered.

3. *The Chūla-Dharmagiri and the Sihala-Vihāra*

Neither the Chūla Dharmagiri vihara at 'Sripavata', nor the Sihala Vihara both of which are mentioned in the inscription of Bōdhisri, was constructed by her. Her inscription only states, that she caused the construction of a chaityagriha and a chaitya for the benefit of the monks of Tāmraparṇi (Prakrit, Tambapanni), at Chūla-Dharmagiri, of Sripavata which lay to the east of Vijayapuri, and a 'Bodhirūka-pāsādo' that is, a shrine for the Bōdhi tree, at the Sihala Vihara. There can be no doubt that the Chūla Dharmagiri and the Sihala (Ceylonese) viharas, as could be gleaned from this inscription, were two different structures. One could find at the place of Bōdhisri's inscription, on the so-called Nallarallabodu (west of the Archaeological rest-house) a chaityagriha, a chaitya as well as a vihāra. Evidently this is the Chula Dharmagiri vihara mentioned in her inscription. The chaityagriha and the chaitya

Dr. C. Narayana Rao Memorial Volume.

might therefore be referred to as additional constructions built in the 14th regnal year of Mahārāja Virapurushadatta by Bodhi Sri, while the Vihāra under reference was an earlier structure, its antiquity perhaps dating back either to the period of the construction of the Mahachaitiyas by the pious missionaries deputed by the Mauryan emperor Asoka, or to the period of Nāgārjuna who was a contemporary of Vasistiputra ŚrīPuluvāvi, the 23rd ruler of the Sātavāhana dynasty.

It is not known which was the Sihala Vihara at which a shrine for the Bodhi tree as noted above was built. But however it is possible to state that the chūla¹⁸Dharmagiri vihāra could not be the same as the Sihala Vihara, though both of them were essentially meant for the Ceylonese monks. If they were identical, the same inscription would not have mentioned them individually by different names. Judged from the fact that Bōdhisri only caused the construction of a shrine to the Sihala-Vihara, it can be safely asserted that the latter was definitely a much earlier structure to which she made an addition later. Since it is known that there existed contacts between this part of India and Ceylon, since the period of Asoka himself, it may not be improbable that the Ceylonese monks began to settle in the Āndhra. At least one thing seems to be possible namely that Śrīparvata was closely in touch with Ceylon and became one of the important colonies of the Ceylonese monks long before the advent of the Ikshvakus to power. In short, Śrī Parvata, as a Buddhist centre attracted monks from Ceylon from a very early period and if that be so it may perhaps serve to explain why Nāgārjuna, also chose to spend the later part of his life thither.

3 *Śrī-Parvata*

At this stage it becomes necessary to identify Śrī Parvata of Bodhi Sri's inscription. Dr. Vogel commenting on this¹⁸ observes that there is a tradition preserved in Tibet that the celebrated sage Nāgārjuna spent the later part of his life in a monastery of that name in Southern India. There is no monastery of that name anywhere in the huge valley, and no Ikshvāku inscriptions make mention of such a monastery. Dr. Vogel further associates the Chūla-Dharmagiri vihara as the monastery in which Nāgārjuna would appear to have spent his later years. Line I of the Inscription of Bodhisri reads thus.- '*Siri pavate vijayapuriya pīva diśa bhage vihare chula Dharmagiriya*' etc which can be translated as 'the Vihāra on the chūla-Dharmagiri at Śrīparvata, to the east of Vijaya.

¹⁸ Commentary on Nagarjunakonda Ins.

-puri. Dr. Vogel himself has translated the above lines as 'S'ripurvata, on the east side of Vijayapuri, at the convent on the lesser Dharmagiri.' Dr. Vogel's own reading of the inscription thus clearly shows that the reference therein is definitely, to a vihāra on the chūla-Dharmagiri, hence known as the chula-Dharmagiri vihara, and not to the Vihāra on-S'ripurvata. The former was purely meant for the Ceylonese monks from the start. It is clear from the inscription that S'ripurvata and chūla-Dharmagiri were two different places, and based on the evidence of the same, one could state that (1) S'ripurvata was in general the name of a place lying to the east of Vijayapuri. and (2) that Chūla-Dharmagiri was a part of, and not itself, Sripurvata. If the abode of Nāgārjuna at Nagarjunakonda should be sought for, it is not definitely at the Chuladharmagiri vihara but at Mahāvihāra, to the east of the valley. But there is no inscription that mentions that the Mahāvihāra was situated in Sripurvata. But from Bodhisri's inscription recording the erection of a mantapa pillar at the 'Mahavihara' besides other constructions on the chula-Dharmagiri at Sripurvata, it is not unreasonable to assume that the Mahāvihara of her inscription is positively a reference to the one at the east of the valley and so situated at the S'ripurvata of her own inscription. The original name of the Buddhist part of the valley can thus be identified as S'ripurvata. When once such an identification is possible there is nothing improbable in the tradition preserved in Tibet that the sage Nāgārjuna spent his later life at this S'ripurvata, and that the monastery mentioned in the Tibetan tradition is the identical one, viz, the Mahavihara of Bodhisri's inscription itself, originally known as Sripurvata, during the early centuries of the Christian era. The Buddhist valley seems to have been subsequently called Nāgārjunakonda (the hill of Nāgārjuna) to perpetuate, as it were, the name of the celebrity himself. Even the mediaeval fort on the hillock to the north of the valley is mentioned in an inscription of the 11th century as Nāgārjunakoṭa (koṭa meaning a fortress) which was evidently built in about this period by the Kākatiya general Gangaya Sāhini¹⁹. But the name Sripurvata was never mentioned there. That the fort on this hillock had nothing to do with Nāgārjuna or Buddhism of the valley, is evident from the fact that there is no trace of any Buddhist vihara or structure over it. It now remains to us to identify the town of Vijayapuri mentioned in Bodhisri's lythic record.

19. Ins. from Durgi, Palnad taluk, Guntur.

4. Vijayapuri

In only one inscription, mentioned above, does the name of Vijayapuri occur. It states that Śrīparvata lay to the east of Vijayapuri. It does not however state the special importance attaching to Vijayapuri, though it has been assumed by Scholars without warrant that it was the capital of the Ikshvaku monarchs in about the 3rd century A. D. No inscription at site or else where, mentions Vijayapuri as the capital of this dynasty. Nor does the very inscription of Bodhisri, making mention of it, state it as such. Its name again is never mentioned in any of the inscriptions of the royal consorts, though several of them have come to light. The so-called palace-site from where not even one inscription was found, and which lay to the west, does not seem to have been the seat of royal dynasty, as assumed by scholars. It is probably one of the pillared and somewhat ornamented Mandapas even as the other Mandapas scattered there. The capital of the royal dynasty has still to be ascertained. It cannot however be located at Śrīparvata at all, nor anywhere nearby. So far no traces of human habitation worthy of royal capital have been locally discovered. Nor is it likely that one such could ever be found there. Śrīparvata might have been situated east of Vijayapuri as stated in the inscription, but that cannot be taken to mean that, that part of the valley which was to its immediate west was Vijayapuri. It is interesting to note that a Vijayapura is mentioned in one of the Prakrit inscriptions of Amarāvati. It reads thus:— 'Sidham namō bhagavato Vijayapuravathavaśa ṣaḍa.....vaniyiniya sidhiya... sa paṭithapita,—' evidently meaning that (this coping stone) was erected by the merchant's wife (Vaniyini) sidhi.....of ṣaḍa (chandra) residing at Vijayapura. It is not *unlikely* Vijayapura of this undated record is identical with Vijayapura of Bodhisri's inscription, but beyond this, these two inscriptions in no way help us to fix either the capital of the Ikshvakus or the place which was so-called. But it however seems possible to state that the merchant in question was at Dhanyakataka at a time when the Vēdika and the rail to the Mahacheitya there were still under construction by Nāgārjuna in about 150 A. D. . If this be so it is likely that Vijayapura of Amarāvati inscription, identified with Vijayapuri of Bodhisri's inscription, existed as a town long before the advent of Ikshvaku monarchs themselves to power. In other words Vijayapura (Vijayapuri) maintained cultural contact with Dhanyakataka during the period of the later Sātavahanas. The history of Vijayapuri, could thus be traced back to the Pre-Ikshvaku period.

III

From the foregoing account, it is clear that some of the most important Buddhist viharas and places existed before the rise of the Ikshvākus, and that the most embellished and beautiful of them was a work definitely of the later Sātavāhana period. Judging from the Tibetan tradition, which states that Nāgārjuna spent the later part of his life at Śrīparvata and the account of Taranath, much later, which states that the sage constructed the outer Prakāra to the Mahāstupa at Amarāvati, it is possible to establish that Nāgārjuna of the later Sātavāhana period was responsible for the construction of the Mahāvihāra at Śrīparvata, during the period of his stay there and that he probably attended to the same, after first finishing his work at Amarāvati. It is significant to note in this connection that there is no other structure at site, which could justly claim Nāgārjuna as its builder, except the Mahāvihāra. It is unfortunate indeed that there is as yet no epigraphical evidence crediting Nāgārjuna with any of the events ascribed to him in tradition. But all the same the very fact that Śrīparvata came to be subsequently known after him strengthens the truth of our statement that the Mahāvihāra of the Pre-Ikshvaku or the later Sātavāhana period was engineered by him. It was the most solid and monumental work that stood to his credit and there could be no doubt that even the Chinese pilgrim Hsüen-Tsiang certainly referred to him and had in view only this Vihāra and not the Ikshvaku or their work, in his description of the Śrīparvata. Of Ikshvākus, it could, at best, be said that Buddhism was tolerated because the royal consorts were followers of that faith. But as it was, it had been clearly established that they had not constructed a structure as magnificent or ornamented as the Mahāvihāra. They did no more than attend to some pious renovation work here or to the construction of a very minor vihāra there, in their religious zeal. Again, if, as pointed out by a few scholars, the numerous Lead coins discovered at site were of Sātavāhanas, it still further strengthens the truth of our assumption that Śrīparvata was essentially of Sātavāhana and not of Ikshvāku importance. The sculptural similarities between the Dhanyakataka (Amarāvati) and the Śrīparvata (Nagarjunakonda) schools which will be taken up later, still further show that the latter was either contemporaneous with or slightly or even negligibly later in period to the former. The golden age of the Śrīparvata Art could in short be fixed at 150 A. D. or immediately later, allowing a slight margin of time for completion of Nāgārjuna's work at Dhanyakataka (Amarāvati) first, before he proceeded to Śrīparvata later.

LAND-GRANTS IN MEDIAEVAL ANDHRA.

BY

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In the mediaeval economical system, the boundaries of lands in the villages were clearly fixed and offenders who sought to encroach upon them, punished by the state. Strangely however, among the numerous donative grants of lands by the local chieftains recorded in inscriptions of this period, some alone specify the boundaries, while others do not make mention of them at all. In several cases again, as revealed from the imperative verses contained in inscriptions, the wrong-doers in these matters were considered as having committed the gravest of religious sins. But surely a religious curse would not have been so effective a weapon of checking law-breakers, as the secular punishments. The latter were certainly imposed though inscriptions in most cases make no mention of them at all.

An Inscription from Nādiṇḍa mentioning Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara Kuṭṭhūṅga Rājendra-chōḍa thus records a grant by one Kommi Seṭṭi belonging to Teliki 1,000 of Bezawada to God Somisvara Mahādēva of Nādiṇḍa, of land near the tank. The boundaries of the land are not stated. The Inscription however states that in the event of the death of the donee, viz. a woman in this instance, the property so assigned, should go to the husband and not to the relations of the deceased. In case the ruling was dishonoured the wrong-doer would be considered as having committed the gravest of sins (Mahāpātaka).¹ Similarly, another inscription dated 1178 A. D.² records grants of land at the rate of 1 kha and 10 Na to each of a number of persons but no mention is made of the fixing of the individual boundaries, with regard thereto. This should not however be taken to mean that no attention was paid to this, by the state. It is therefore worth-while considering whether there were separate Government records which furnish information regarding such details. A few inscriptions which give the necessary particulars may now be examined. An Inscription from Drākshārāma dated 1150 A. D.³ recording grant of land for providing the outside ascetics (Paradēsi Tapasvins) arriving on pilgrimage to the famous Bhīmēsvara shrine, and residing in the choultry specially built for them states that

1. "Bezawada Sasanulaina Teliki vēvuru sēsina Samayamu yalu chachina ā yaikin galatti pati tadavu maganida Kane Yalivaru penangirēni Mahapatakamu sēsinaru (812-iv. SII from Nādiṇḍa) 2. 658.1920 ARE. dt. 1178 A. D. 3. 1104-IV. South Indian Inscriptions; dt 1150 A. D., the Inscription states: "Chatusimamul tomguḍa Sarvakarapariharamuga . . . Nichiaisri."

its boundaries were also fixed. It does not however mention what they exactly were. It further states that the land was rendered tax-free. (Sarvakara parihārai). How important the Grant was, is revealed from the fact that it was directly, one made by the Mahāmandalēsvara Satyarāju, a Kona chief, who having arrived on the banks of the river Godāvāri, on the tenth day of the dark fortnight of (month missing) the S'āka year, 1072 i.e. 1150 A. D, in the 17th regnal year, of Kulōthunga-chōdadēva offered the same. The order was signed by the ministers 1. Nairisiyana 2. Chōdaya 3. Daṇḍa Nāyaka Chōdaya and 4. Adhyaksha Chōdaya,⁴ while it also mentions the engraver as Surapāchāri. Another edict⁵ dated in the 4th regnal year of Rājarāja in 1150 A. D. records the date of the Kōna chieftain (?) who having arrived at the altar of the temple (Dēvatārchanakūṭa) offered grant of land as Dēvabhōga (land cultivated for enjoyment by Gods), to the choultry, the signatories to which were 1. Risivana Peggada 2. Kēsama Peggada 3. Daṇḍanāyaka Maṇḍa, the engraver being Peddanāchāri. The Inscription does not proceed to enumerate the boundaries, nor record the fact that they were fixed. The occurrence of the term "Vrālu" at the end of the names of the officers above mentioned in both the records conclusively establishes the fact that details of official grants were recorded in separate government records, with their signatures also affixed. In this connection, it will be interesting to refer to an Eastern Ganga record of the 1230 A. D.⁶ which particularly makes mention of the 'S'āsanas" that were consulted by an Assembly consisting of the officials and other prominent members, convened to settle a dispute regarding the boundary, between Bontalakōta and Ponnaḍiya, the two villages being under the lordship of the Eastern Ganga Anantavarman. The 'S'āsanas" referred to in this ythic record must evidently be a reference to the existing government records that contained the various details of all the lands within the state. At the end of this inscription, the reference to 'Maṇḍala Nāyakula Vrālu'⁷ is further significant on account of the fact that the signatures of the several Maṇḍalēsaras were taken after they had settled the boundary dispute in question.

It will be evident therefore that in the mediaeval Andhra, the procedure of having the various details concerning lands, recorded in separate government records, was adopted and that the signatures of the

4. Ibid mentioning NAIRISIYANA VRĀLU, CHŌDAYA VRĀLU, DAṆḌANĀYAKA CHŌDAYA VRĀLU ADHYAKSHA CHŌDAYA VRĀLU, LIKIMTA SURAPĀCHĀRYA"

5, 1102-IV S I I dt 1150 A D 6 1290-V S I I dt 1230 A D 7 Ibid line 21

Dr. C. Narayana Rao Memorial Volume

responsible officials affixed whenever grants of lands were made, or their boundaries revised, or any particular detail was mentioned in that regard. What we very often observe in later period, is only a continuation of the procedure obtaining in mediaeval times. 'The measurement of lands and several details pertaining to it,' observes Dr. N Venkataramanaiyya in his 'Studies in the History of the Third dynasty of Vijayanagara'⁸ 'were entered in the palmleaf registers called Kavilas. Each village had a Kavila of its own, which was maintained by the karanam or the village accountant. In this register were recorded the Guḍi or the Āyakut of the village, the extent of the lands given to the Gods and the Brahmans, the names of the donors, the S'āka and the Cyclic years in which the donations were made, the extent of land cultivated by each ryot, the tax he had to pay thereon to the Government, the boundaries of the villages, and several other particulars of the kind. The village boundaries were jealously guarded by the villagers, against the encroachments of the rights of the neighbouring villages. With regard to donations of lands, a highly democratic method was also adopted during the mediaeval period. The manner in which land grants were made, establishes the absolute truth of the above statement. An inscription from Appikāṭla,⁹ dated 1172 A. D., mentioning the grant of Penṭapolamu in Appikāṭla of Kammanāḍu viṣaya by Kulōttunga-Rajendra Choḍaya, states that the order conferring the grant, was proclaimed before the 'Rāṣṭrakūṭa' Pramukhas ie chief men of the realm, who were the Mantri and Purōhita besides several others (Mantri Purōhita Prādhanaḍi Janaśamaksha middhamājñāpayati). The limits to the field thus granted, were also clearly stated:—On the East, the stream flowing towards CHIMTALA CHERUVU and CHĀKULADĀMANI KUNṬA was the limit; on the South-east lay the stream flowing towards Nellikuduru on the South yōlipuṭṭalu was the limit; on the South-west was the Nāvulakunṭa, lying opposite the Dēvi-guḍi (temple); on the West, were the Prakāras of the Mahādēva temple; and the local fort (ūrikōṭa); on the North-west lay the stream, while on the North was the lane of KARUVU SAMDU and CHAMCHAMĀLANI PUṬṬALU; the North-East limit was the Kuruvu Puṭṭalu. Thus, all the boundaries were specified.

A similar procedure of granting land in the presence of the 'Rāṣṭrakūṭa Pramukhas'¹⁰ is recorded in the same Inscription, mentioning the offer of PANNASA KSHĒTRA in Omgērumārga-viṣaya to Visvēśvara—

⁸ P 197 Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara 9 124.VI S II
¹⁰ 1bid

Mahādēva, resident of the region south of the river Tungabhadra, free of all taxes and the boundaries clearly defined. Another inscription¹¹ recording grant of land by Nanni-chōḍa, the Telugu-chōḍa chieftain of Kammanāḍu to a Seṭṭi of Penugonḍa-paṭṭana mentions that it was made in a full assembly composed of the following 1. The Mantri 2. Purōhita 3. Senāpati 4. Yuvarāja 5. Dauvārika etc. who constituted the Rāṣṭrakūṭa pramukhas. A royal grant of land was thus proclaimed by the chief in the presence of his highest officials and other elders assembled. In some cases, the grant was made in the presence of a large number of local land-lords, the 'Raṭṭaḍlu' as they were called. An Inscription dated 1085 A. D.¹² recording grant of land by Gomkarāja thus mentions that it was offered in the presence of the following persons, each styled 'Raṭṭaḍi' viz. 1. Karepana Viṭṭapa Raṭṭaḍi 2. Boni Raṭṭaḍi 3. Āṇḍāpuri Aytama Raṭṭaḍi 4. SŪrapa Raṭṭaḍi 5. Nārāyaṇa Raṭṭaḍi 6. Bendapūḍi; Kāmi Raṭṭaḍi, besides several others all represented as witnesses (Sākshis)¹³ The grant of two puṭṭi's of land by one Kanama Nāyaka¹⁴, who constructed the Rājarāja Jinālaya in Bhōgāpura, in 1178 A. D, during the period of the rule of the Eastern Ganga Ananta Varman, was again made with the full consent of Dēsi-Raṭṭaḍlu. It would thus be noted that the act of offering land-grants whether made by official or private persons, was done in the presence of the powerful or the most influential men of the locality.

At this stage, it will be highly interesting to note the part played by the democratic Assemblies in settling disputes regarding land boundaries. Disputes did arise and the State sought to settle the same and prescribe the punishments on wrong-doers. The imprecations and the curses, to which the relevant Inscriptions in this connection refer could not have been so weighty as indeed the secular punishments imposed on law breakers. An interesting boundary dispute is thus recorded in an inscription from Duggirāla¹⁵ which states that a dispute arose between Duggampūḍi and Marrampūḍi and that it was settled by Mallaparāju, and Rudraparāju deputed by Kākatiya-Gaṇapati. It further states that it was adjudicated by them with the help of the Mahājanas. A highly democratic procedure was thus adopted by arbitrators, who sought to settle disputes regarding landed property. A much more interesting dispute is recorded in another inscription dated 1230 A. D.¹⁶ which makes mention of the trouble that arose between Ponnaḍiya and Bontalakōṭa, two villages, during the period of the rule of Anantavarmadēva, the

11. 651.VI S I I 12. 1174-IV S I I 13. Ibid L 8 of the Inscription 14. 363.1905 M E R 15 717.1921 M E R from Duggirala 16 1290.V S I I

Dr. C. Narayana Rao Memorial Volume.

Eastern Ganga king of Kalinga. The dispute, which has already been referred to above, was settled by first referring to the original boundaries recorded in the S'āsanas i.e. the old records. They were examined before the Elders assembled.— the priests of S'ri-Kūrmam, Tirupati Vaiṣnavas, attending on God Narasimhadēva, the Dēsādhikaris, i.e. the Chief officials and the Heads of all the Maṇḍalas of Kalinga (Maṇḍala-Nāyakulu). Besides these, the Dēsi-Raṭṭadis of Bhōgāpura, the Mahājanas of Tādī-torti and the Nāyakas of Ponnaḍiya were summoned. In the presence of the Elders so assembled, the dispute was amicably settled in favour of Ponnaḍiya. What was important was that it was clearly laid down that if any one of the Citizens of Bontalakōṭa ever sought to encroach upon the revised boundaries or attempted to act contrary to the legal award or revive the quarrel in utter disregard of the same; the person committing such an act, would be punished with confiscation of his entire property (Sarvasaharaṇamu), banishment from territory (Dēsa-tyāgamu) and depriving of the right to pursue his profession (Vritti) and exclusion from participating in any affair of the state. Orders to these effects were passed by Aniyamka-Bhima Rāutadēva and Jagannathadēva and the signatures of the Lords of the Maṇḍala were also affixed on the orders (Maṇḍala Nāyakula Vraṇu)

From what has been said above, it will be clear that in the mediaeval Aṇḍhra, there were S'āsanas for government records (evidently palmyra leaf-registers, which might have perished due to efflux of time) which contained every detail regarding lands under the local chieftains, and that with regard to matters concerning the same, such for instance as revision of the prescribed boundaries, grants of land etc. from time to time by officials, they gave the orders under their full authority and signatures after due consultations with the local representative institutions such as the Assembly of the Mahājanas, the Priests of the temple and other influential citizens of the realm.



RAMA - PATTABHISHEKA BRONZE FROM KANUKOLLU

B. Ch. Chhabra, Epigraphist for Govt. of India, Ootacamund.

The composite bronze of modest dimensions, described below, was obtained by me in November 1938 at Kānukollu, an important village in the Guḍivāḍa taluk of the Kṛishṇa District, situated on the bank of the Polram canal. There is an old ruined fort, mostly made of mud, at this place. The cultivators here are in the habit of removing earth (pāṭi-mannu) from the ruined fort for fertilising their fields. While doing so, they often come across antiquities of various descriptions, including coins and copper-charters. Some of the sculptures discovered here are housed in a sort of Shrine by the side of the ruined fort. I saw there an image of Vēṇugōpala, playing on his flute, of dark green granite stone. The present bronze was evidently discovered among the ruins at this village, but the exact circumstances of its discovery are not known.

Considering that some of the neighbouring villages, like Madinapalle and Alinagara (possibly after Alikhān), bear peculiarly Muslim names, the name of the village Kānukollu, it was suggested to me, might originally have been *Khankollanu*, possibly after a tank dug by or associated with a *khan*, may be Alikhān. This point calls for investigation.

The bronze piece which forms the subject of this paper is of mediocre workmanship, though the profusion of details within the limited space, as may be clearly seen from the accompanying photographic reproduction, is admirable indeed. Stylistically, the piece may be placed in the fifteenth or sixteenth century A. C.

The bronze measures 2. 9" high, 2. 4" at its widest, and 1. 8" deep. The group of figurines is placed against a serrated arch with a trifoliated top. Altogether there are ten figures, arranged in three sections. The iconographical details agree with those given in the *Silpa Śāstras*. The foreground shows Hanumant on the extreme left and Garuḍa on the extreme-right, both standing facing each other, with their hands folded in *añjali* pose.¹ The presence of Garuḍa in the present piece is noteworthy. It indicates that Rāma is identical with Viṣṇu who has Garuḍa as his vehicle, as Sitā, with a lotus in hand, is identical with Lakshmi, his consort. Garuḍa has his wings spread out, and Hanumant has his tail curled up, its tip rising above his head. Hanumant wears heavy armlets (*kēyūrās*) on his upper arms, while Garuḍa wears a diadem on his head. Beyond the figures of Hanumant and Garuḍa, are three figures, standing under a rayed and beaded arch. These represent Rāma in the centre,

1, Compare T. A. Gopinatha Rao's "Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. 1. Part I, p. 194.

Dr. C. Narayana Rao Memorial Volume.

Sitā on Rāmā's right,² and Lakshmaṇa on Rāmā's left. The pose of Rāmā as well as of Lakshmaṇa is as if he is holding the bow in the left hand and an arrow in the right hand. The quiver full of arrows is clearly visible behind the right shoulder of Rāmā. Sitā is holding a blue-lotus bud in her left hand, while her right hand is hanging down free by her right side. All the three figures are shown crowned as well as heavily adorned and draped. Above this group, in the background, is shown the Rāma-Paṭṭābhisheka scene: Rāmā seated in the centre, Sitā seated on his left and Lakshmaṇa standing on his right, Bharata on the extreme left and S'atrughna on the extreme right. The last two stand each on a ledge, slightly lower than the dais occupied by the other three figures. Rāmā's right leg rests on a footstool, while his left leg is crossed over his right leg. His right hand is held up in the *abhaya mudrā*, while his left hand is placed at ease, palm downwards, on the knee of his left leg. Sitā holds a blue-lotus bud in her right hand, while her left hand, with palm open, points downwards. Her right leg is folded up and rests on the *pīṭha* or throne, while her left leg, hanging down, rests on a footstool. Lakshmaṇa is shown in the *añjali* pose, though he carries a bow, strung on his right shoulder, and a quiver full of arrows behind that. Bharata is shown in the attitude of holding a bow in the left hand and an arrow in the right hand.⁴ S'atrughna is holding a flywhisk (*chamari*) in his right hand, while his left hand is hanging free by his left side. All the figures appear crowned, ornamented and well-clad. Sitā, unlike her figure in the lower group, has a band across her breasts. The arrangement in the group corresponds to that visualised in the well-known *dhyāna-sloka* given below except that it has none of the four attendants, Sugrīva, Vibhishana, Aṅgada and Jāmbavan, each occupying one of the four cardinal points of compass.

Vāmē Bhūmisutā puras = cha Hanumān

paschāt Sumitrāsutaḥ

Satrughnō Bharatas = cha pārsva-dalayōr:

vāyva-ādi-koṇeshu cha |

Sugrīvas = cha Vibhishanas = cha yuvarāt

Tārāsuto Jāmbavān

madhye nila-sarōja-kōmala-ruchinī

Ramam bhajē syāmalam |⁵

2. IBID., p. 189 3. IBID., p. 190. 4. IBID., p. 191. 5. I am thankful to Mr. G. S. Ramanathan, B. A., of my office, for having kindly drawn my attention to this DHYANASLŌKA.



J A H R S
Rama Pattabhisheka Bronze from Kanukollu



To face page 18

DATE OF THE PONDURU COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF VAJRAHASTA OF E. GANGA LINE.

Sri N. Ramesan, M. A., I. A. S.

Sub. Collector and Jt. Magistrate, Parvatipuram.

The above grant was first edited by Sri M. Narasimham in the J. A. H. R. S. Volume IX Part 3, and was re-edited by Sri G. Ramadas, B. A., in the J. A. H. R. S. (Volume XI, Parts 1 and 2). I was able to secure the original plates from the owners and it is being sent to the Museum of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry for safe custody.

Sri G. Ramadas identifies the owner with Vajrahasta the III, the father of Raja Raja mainly because the language of the grant indicates that there was a long time between the death of the father Kamarnavadeva and the succession of the son. But I am afraid this contention is not quite sustainable. The words used are "Tadanantarēṇa." This simply means "afterwards" and it does not indicate that any appreciable length of time must have elapsed between the father and the son. Even accepting it, it is not correct to say as is contended by Sri G. Ramadas, that Vajrahasta II alias Aniyankabhima 'immediately' succeeded his father. According to the now fairly well-accepted genealogy of these later Gangas, one Vijayāditya ruled for three years in between Kamarnava and Vajrahasta II. So, either way, the Donor of the grant has to be identified only as Vajrahasta II, as originally suggested by Sri M. Narasimham.

Further, Vajrahasta III invariably gives in 'Saka years' the date of his coronation. Refer for example to the Ganjam C.P. of Vajrahasta III edited by Prof. R. C. Majumdar in *Epigraphica India*. The successors of this Vajrahasta III like Raja Raja and Anantavarma choda Ganga employ the identical phraseology and their coronation dates are invariably given in Saka year. The 'prasasti' of the C. P. grants of the kings from Vajrahasta III onwards, also differs from those of the earlier Kings and is a lengthy composition of many verses in highly ornate style. It is therefore inconceivable that this particular grant which does not contain those details could be that of Vajrahasta III. Further, this grant does not give any lengthy genealogy but mentions only the father of the grantor. It is therefore clear that the habit of giving a long genealogy

Dr. C. Narayana Rao Memorial Volume

tracing the Line from Gunamaharṇava, and giving a long 'prasasti' in highly ornate poetry, and giving the exact time of their coronation in Saka year started from Vajrahasta III who was crowned in Saka 960 and the present grant, by the absence of any such should be deemed to be that of Vajrahasta II only.

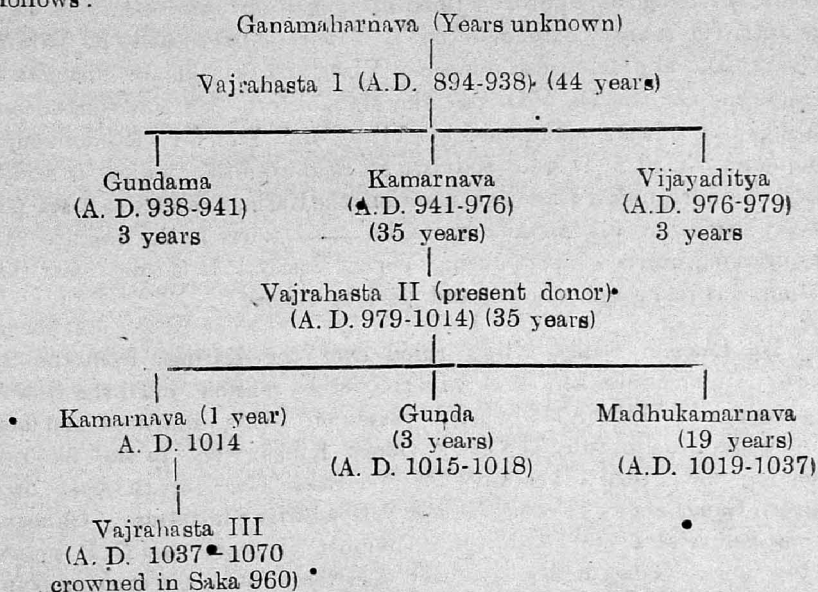
Secondly, Sri Ramadas reads the last part of line 5 and first half of line 6 as "Sha-da māsa dina 5 āditya vārē" and calculates it as Sunday Suddha Panchami of Bhadrapada month, i. e., sixth month beginning from 'Chaitra.' I have carefully perused the original grant. It is true that before 'Shada' the letter 'Ā' is not distinct. But after the words 'Ankēnāpi' there is enough blank space for a letter to exist. In fact, the length of the blank space is such that a letter must exist. Further, the months generally are not referred to as the 6th month, 5th month etc., beginning from Chaitra, but usually the 'name' of the month like 'Srāvana', 'Mārgasira' is given. So, by this practice, we can deduce that the word should be 'Āshada' only. Otherwise the blank space before 'Shada' cannot be explained. Next after 'Ashada Māsa dina', a numeral occurs. This numeral has been read by Sri Ramadas as '5'. But a careful perusal of the original shows it is '1' and it is also identical with the numeral '1' in the year of the grant '100'. The correct reading is therefore Sunday, Āshadā, 1st day as has been fixed by Sri M. Narasimham.

Sri G. Ramadas also reads the year of the grant as '700' by assuming that the scribe must have by mistake omitted to write the qualifying word before 'Sātē'. The above assumption does not seem quite sound. There is no reason why a mistake should be assumed to fit in a particular theory. The numeral also can be read as '100'. On a fair and impartial reading, the year can only mean 'Sātē 100 ankenāpi' as suggested by Sri M. Narasimham.

Sri M. Narasimham however could not reconcile the date of Vajrahasta on the basis that G. Era started in A. D. 496 in which case the present grant would fall in A. D. 596, whereas Vajrahasta II is known to have ruled from A. D. 979-1014, by other evidence. The confusion arises from the fact that the author counted the years 100 from 496 A. D. Even though 496 A. D. is the starting of the Ganga Era, there is a distinct difference between the earlier Eastern Gangas and the later Eastern Gangas. The earlier Eastern Gangas ended with Devendra-varma of 397th year and the later Eastern Gangas can be said to start

DATE OF THE PONDURU COPPER-PLATE GRANT 21 OF VAJRAHASTA OF E. GANGA LINE

with Gunamaharṇava, whose number of years of reign. if at all, is unknown, and to start their genealogy of reigning kings with Vajrahasta I. This later line of E. Gangas, whose genealogy starts from Vajrahasta I, is clearly given in the many C. P. grants of Vajrahasta III/, his son Raja Raja and grandson Anantavarma Choda Ganga and is as follows :—



This genealogy of later Ganga Kings is distinct from the Earlier Ganga Kings. It is therefore clear that the 100 year should be calculated from the time of Vajrahasta I of this later Ganga line. Calculating 100 from A. D. 894, we arrive at A. D. 994, Āshāda I and this falls in the 15th regnal year of Vajrahasta II, the donor.

Incidentally, by astronomical calculations, it is seen that Ashada first of A. D. 994 corresponds to 11th June and the day of the week is also seen by calculation to be Sunday and tallies with 'Adivara (Sunday) mentioned in the grant. The granter therefore is Vajrahasta II and the date of the grant is Sunday, the 11th June of A. D. 994.

DISCOVERY OF INDRAVARMA'S C. P. GRANTS

New light on Kalinga (Ganga) Era

Sri N. Ramesan, M. A., I. A. S.

Kalinga, the seat of Asoka's greatest renunciation, had the unique honour of having an unbroken line of kings from 5th century A. D. to the 15th. The country extended from R. 'Vaitarani' in Orissa to R. 'Varaha' in Vizag Dt. and included the modern Vizag and Srikakulam districts of Madras and Ganjam Dt. of Orissa. The Mahabharata contains reference to Kalinga and it is also mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy. Samudragupta^a conquered it (350 A. D.) and Kalidasa's 'Raghuvamsa', which is said to recall Samudragupta's Digvijaya, mentions the Kalinga capital as a sea-port town. Dandi in his 'Dasakumaracharita' also refers to the capture of a Kalinga king near a sea port during Vernal festival. It is thus clear that Kalinga has had a very ancient and glorious history.

The Eastern Ganga Kings ruled over the Kalinga from the 5th century in an unbroken line till the 15th century until the time of Bhānudeva IV (1434 A. D.) when it passed on to his ministers and later came under Muslim rule. The early Ganga Kings were in the habit of referring their regnal years not to the 'Saka' era, but to their own Eastern Ganga era as "Pravarthamāna Vijaya Rājya Samvatsara" "Gāngeya Vamsa Samvatsara" etc. Although a number of Stone and C. P. grants of the various Ganga Kings have been discovered, still, the starting point of 'Ganga Era' in A. D. years has been a moot point of history and it has been attributed to widely differing dates by different scholars. Thus Dr. Sewell placed its initial date in the 9th century A. D., agreeing generally with Dr. Burnell. Dr. Fleet fixed its extreme dates as 481 A. D. and 634 A. D. Mr. G Ramdas pushed it as far back as 4th century A. D. and R. D. Banerji fixed it in the 8th century A. D. The latest theory, which commands universal respect now is that of Prof. R. Subba Rao who fixed it at 494 A. D. This has probably been accepted by Dr R. C. Majumdar who gives it as 496 A. D. in his latest book 'Ancient India'.

I propose to approach the problem mainly from the astronomical data supplied by the internal evidence of the C. P. Grants themselves. Many of the C. P. grants refer to eclipses during which the kings made grants to Brahmins etc. but the astronomical data given was considered hitherto as insufficient to fix any particular year. However, the present

vide his Book "History of Eclipses of Kalinga"

C. P. grant of King Indravarma, in conjunction with an earlier grant of the same king, gives us enough data to fix with certainty the Ganga Era.

The present C. P. grant was discovered along with three more under a ruined temple in 'Andhavaram' Village of Srikakulam Dt and was acquired by the diligence of Sri N. Bhagawandas, Collector, Srikakulam. It is now with Dr. Chabra of Ooty and I have deciphered it from an excellent Estampage supplied. A copy of it is also published here with an English transcription'.

There is nothing particular about the paleography of the grant. It is the usual script of the times and the language is Sanskrit. It is the grant of the village "THŌTAVATAKA" (which I identify with Thotavada of modern Palakonda Taluk) to the Brahmacharis of the village of "ANDHŌRAK" (which I identify with Andhavaram where it was discovered in the "Kroshtuka Vartani" (which comprises parts of modern Srikakulam. and Palkonda Taluks), on the occasion of a *Solār eclipse on the Sravānā Amāvāsyā day in the 133 year of the Gāngā erā* by King Indravarma. The 'prasasti' is the same, common to these kings and the Vyasa Gita quotation is also the same. The scribe is 'Sreshta Prabhākara'.

Though Srāvana Amāvāsyā solar eclipse by itself is insufficient to fix the years, still if it is read in conjunction with the grant of the same king in the 128th year of his reign (item 156, at page 22 of Dr. Sewell's 'List of Antiquities') it gives conclusive evidence to fix both. The latter grant is written in the 15th. of Chaitra Masa of 128th year of the king and refers to the grant of a village on the lunar eclipse of Mārgasira month. Since the lunar year starts with 'Chaitra', the Mārgasira lunar eclipse should be in the previous year i. e., 127th year. Thus if we can locate two years in one of which Margasira lunar eclipse occurred (127 G. E.) and exactly six years later Sravana solar eclipse occurred (133 G. E.) we have solved the problem. It is in this collateral evidentiary value that the present grant gives to the previous grant, that its extreme importance lies.

In the first place, I have deciphered the year of the present grant as 133 G. E. It is given both in words and in numerals in line two, plate 3. The numerals are undecipherable to me but certainly the last number does not look like 'O'. The words used are 'Sainvatsarānām' 'Sātē Trimsad-thrayādhikē'. The letter for 'Thya' and 'Thrya' are almost identical and I have adopted 'Sātē Trimsad-trayādhikē' meaning 133. If we adopt 'Trimsad-Tyadhikē' it would mean 130. Apart for the last number (in numerals), not being zero, if we adopt the year as 130, we

have a Mārgasira lunar eclipse (127) followed in three years (130), by a Sravana Solar eclipse. Astronomically, this is a physical impossibility because during Margasira month, the Purnami Nakshatra is either Mrigasira or Arudra and the Rasi is Vrishabha end or Mithuna and because of the eclipse, the moon's node should be in this rasi. The opposite node (at 180°) should therefore be at Dhanus. For a Sravana solar eclipse, the moon's node should be at Simharasi (as also the sun) and so the moon's node must have travelled from Dhanus to Simham. Since the nodes travel in the retrograde direction at the rate of about 18 months for a rasi, this transit of moon's node from Dhanus to Simham (with 3 rasis in between) must be greater than $4\frac{1}{2}$ years (the minimum) and less than $7\frac{1}{2}$ years (maximum) and hence two such eclipses cannot occur at an interval of 3 years and might occur only at an interval of 5 and 6 years. I therefore accept 133 as the year of the present grant.

It is well-known that for an eclipse to occur the distance of the luminary from the nodes (i. e., the points where the moon's orbit crosses the ecliptic) should be less than 15° if solar and 12° if lunar. It will be in opposition if the eclipse is lunar and in conjunction if it is solar. So I have calculated (with Vizianagara latitude) with the table of perpetual ephemeris, the date of commencement of the solar year for all years (from 300 A. D. to 800 A. D.), added to it the days of first new moon in the year and also the days upto Margasira Purnima and Sravana Amavasa, (making allowances for Adhika and Kshaya masas as per lunar months and making allowances for the anomaly of the moon and giving the necessary corrections for one full lunation calculated the distance of the luminary from the node and decided if the eclipse occurred or not. By this method I found that Sravana solar eclipses occurred in A. D. (502, 512, 529, 531, 548, 567, 576, 605, 660, 661, 670, 679, 688, 707). The earlier dates, I omit, as they are too early. Out of these, Margasira lunar eclipses occurred only in 496, 523, 542, and 561. It is a highly significant fact to note, that after 567 A. D. (Sravana eclipse years), in none of the later dates did a Margasira lunar eclipse occur 6 years earlier. The optimum date (for 133 G. E.) is therefore 567 A. D. and it cannot be later than that. I omit from account 502 and 529 as those dates minus 133 will carry us to 4th century and can be discounted as too early and also on further astronomical grounds given below. Therefore the only two dates are 548 and 567 A. D. and subtracting 133, we get 415 A. D. or 434 A. D. as the starting point of the era. However in regnal year 51 G. E. (see item 158, page 22 of Dr. Sewells' Indian Antiquities), a solar

eclipse has occurred. Corresponding to 415 A. D. this will be 466 A. D. In 466 A. D. I find by calculation that *in none of the 12 months*, did any solar eclipse at all occur, whereas corresponding to 434 A. D. in 485 A. D. (434+51) a solar eclipse occurred in Pausa Māsa. Hence 434 A. D. is the exact starting point of the Ganga Era. I may add that out of the 30 or 35 Ganga grants, upto now discovered, the following only record eclipses:— (51 G. E. of Devendravarma, 127, 133 and 154 G. E. of Indravarma, 221 G. E. of Nandavarma, 306 G. E. of Devendravarma (Shalantri), and 397 G. E. of Devendravarma). If 434 A. D. is accepted as the starting of era, eclipses must have occurred in 485 A. D. 561 A. D. (lunar), 567 A. D., 588 A. D., 655 A. D., 740 A. D., and 831 A. D. The first three have been noted. I have also found by calculation that in the rest of the years eclipses of the sun did occur in Ashada of 588 A. D., Vaisakha of 655, Vaisakha of 740, and Jyestha of 831. All the earlier dates of 4th century A. D. which I already discounted as too early fail to show eclipses in all these years and hence are incorrect. 434 A. D. is the *only* year from 300 A. D. to 800 A. D. which satisfies all these recorded eclipses.

I may add that this year 434 A. D. suggested by me is quite in conformity with the historical views of Drs. Kielhorn and Dubreuil, who suggested that Indravarma of 87 and 91 G. E. should be considered as having fought with Indrabhattāraka of the Vishnukundin line. Since the latter ruled from 500 to 530 A. D., 87 and 91 G. E. should correspond to this and the G. Era would fall between 413 A. D. and 443 A. D. and my year 434 A. D. falls exactly in between and is confirmed by it.

The only snag if at all, for this year is the C. P. grant of Madhukamarnava who gave it in 526 G. E. and whose date is fixed by other grants at 1019 A. D. in which case the G. Era would fall at 493 A. D. However one point must be remembered. These *Later Gangas* are distinct from the Early Gangas and their known dates are from King Vajrabasta of 894 A. D. On the other hand, the last known King of the early Ganga line is Devendravarma of 397 G. E. According to my theory of 434 A. D. this would be 831 A. D. The interregnum from 831 A. D. to 894 A. D. has not been filled up and quite possibly the early Gangas came to a close round about 831 A. D. and the Later Gangas started in 894 A. D. This is supported by the fact that all known C. P. grants of Later Gangas speak of Vajrabasta, son of Gunamahārnavā (i. e., 894 A. D.) and trace the genealogy therefrom only. So, if we allow the interregnum of 63 years between the early and later Gangas, it is just possible that Madhukamarnava might have mentioned 526 as the 526th year of *actual years of rule* of Gangas

Dr. C. Narayana Rao Memorial Volume.

in which case, we must deduct 63 years more, to arrive at the starting point, thus taking us to 434 A. D. roughly.

One should think twice before differing from such a renowned Scholar of Kalinga as Prof. R. Subba Rao who has fixed the Era at 494 A. D. But with such positive astronomical proof in its favour and with my explanation of Madhukamarnava's C. P. grant, there is nothing that can be said against 434 A. D. On the other hand, the greatest weakness of all other theories lies in the fact that they totally and completely ignore the ample astronomical data. In fact, accepting the other dates suggested, and working up, I find that the eclipses do not occur in the years and months stated in Grants. For example, in $494 + 127 = 621$ A. D. there was no Margāsira lunar eclipse at all and neither a Sravana solar eclipse in 627 A. D. or even allowing five years this side or that side. My date 434 A.D. not only satisfies these, but is also the *only year* that satisfies all astronomical data and it is also supported as stated already by historical evidence by adopting the views of Drs. Kielhorn and Dubreuil and equating Indravarma of 89 G. E. as having defeated Indrabhattāraka. Without being dogmatic about it, I therefore offer 434 A. D. as the starting year of the Ganga Era as a new view point, for historical research scholars to think over. The importance of the present C. P. discovery lies in the fact, that it gives definiteness to astronomical data, which was considered hitherto meagre and hence insufficient to point unerringly to any particular date.

[I was helped in my astronomical calculations for check-up by my friends Sri N. Patanjali Sastry, advocate, Parvatipuram and Sri T. V. Suryanarayana, astronomer of M. R. Nagaram].





TEXT OF THE GRANT. (From the Estampages of the Plates)

1st plate (2nd side)

- (1) Ōm'. Svasti Suvvarutu-Sukha-Ramañiyad-VIJAYAKALIṆGA
NAGARĀT, sakala- bhuvana-nirmmā
- (2) űaika-Sūtradhārasya, Bhagavatō-Gōkarñña-svāminas'-charaṇa-
kamalayugala pranāmā
- (3) dapagata-KaliKalañkō-vinaya naya sampadāmādhārah-svāsi-dhārā
parispanda-
- (4) dhigata-Sakala- KALIṆGADHIRAJYAS'- chatur udadhi- taraṅga-
mekhalā vanitala-Pravi
- (5) tatāmala yasāh-aneka samara- Samkshōbha- Janita- Jaya-
Sabdō-GĀṆGĀMALA KU
- (6) LA-pratishṭha- pratāpātisāyānāmita- samasta- sāmanta- chūḍā
maṇi-Prabbā-maṇja

IInd plate (1st side)

- (7) ri-puñja-rañjita-charaṇō-mātā-pitru-pādānuddhyāta- param
Mmāhes'-varah-S'RĪ MAHĀ
- (8) RĀJĒNDRAVARMMA KRōSHṬUKA varṭtanyām- TOTAVĀ
TAKA grāmē-Sarvvasamavetān-Kutumbina
- (9) Ssamājñāpayatiḥ viditamastu vōyadhā-yam gramēsmābhi-sSarv-
karaiḥ pari
- (10) hruty-Ā chandrārka prathiṣṭham-agrahāram Krutvā-mātā
pitrōr ātmanas'-cha-Puṇyāyu
- (11) ryyasasām-abhivruddhayē- ANDōRAK Āgrahāra vastavyēbhyām-
Nānāgōtra-jāhnavā chara-
- (12) űa, Brahmachāribhyah S'RĀVAṆA, MĀSA, AMĀVĀSYĀ
MĀDITYA GRAHĀPARĀGĒ.

II plate (2nd side)

- (13) Udakapūrva ndattam stadvidhityāyadhōditi bhāga bhāga mupala-
yanta ssavi
- (14) Prativasadhiti Bhavishyad-rājabbis'chāyandāna-dharmmōnu pāla-
nīyas-Tathā cha Vyā

Dr. C. Narayana Rao Memorial Volume.

- (15) sa Gītāh S'lokā Bhavanti|| Bahubhi rivasudhā dattā Bahu-
bhischānupālītā |
- (16) Yasya yasya yadā bhūmi stasya tasya tadhā phalam|| Svadattām
paradattām vā
- (17) Yatnā draksha yudhiṣṭhira! Māhīm Mahimathām s'rēshṭha
dānā Chehrēyōnupālā||
- (18) nam Shaṣṭhim varsha-sahasrāṇi mōdati-divi Bhūmidah! Āksheptā
chānumanthā cha

III plate (1st side)

- (19) Tānyēva narakē vasamditī|| S'RĪ pravarddhamāna Tumvuruvamsa
rājya-samvatsarā
- (20) ṇām-S'ATĒ TRIMS'ATYADHIKĒ² SAMVATSARĀH, ७ ३ ३³
srāvaṇa-masa Amāvāsyā di
- (21) nānicha-Nipnānthām-Bhartru-GŌ-Vipra-Bāla-yōshi-dvipas'chita-
yāmgati sā Bha-
- (22) vēd-Bhūmiharata s'āsanājñikānām,⁴ Yadhāpsu patitā Sakra-
thaila viddurvisarppati
- (23) Ēvam-Bhūmikritamdanā - sasyē sasyē visarppati - S'ri Lōkāṇām
Va dēvasya
- (24) Vijitānēka vidvisham Ajñayā - likhitham-S'reshṭham Prabhākārēna
S'āsanam.⁵

1. Represented by a symbol 2. The Author read it as Trimsatrayadhike
3. Numerals 100, 90 and 3 are given clearly. 4. The transcription sent by
the Author contained several mistakes and they are all corrected.
5. There is a symbol here, —Editor.

The Place of Kautilya's Arthasastra in the Hindu Legal History.

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The Arthas' āstra of Kauṭilya:

After the earliest Dharma-Sūtras, the work that deserves the greatest attention is the famous Arthasāstra of Kautilya. After the epoch-making discovery of this work, various competent authors have expressed themselves from various stand-points regarding the time, authorship and the character of the work. The references on this subject are too numerous for enumeration. There cannot be any doubt that Kautilya or Cāṇakya, the famous minister of Chandragupta Maurya was the author of this book which must have been composed about 300 B. C. Kautilya had a wonderful personality and genius. He was believed to have been responsible for the over-throw and the destruction of the Nanda kings. Though the maker of an empire and an emperor, Cāṇakya had a calm and philosophic indifference towards worldly pleasure and plenty. This, his philosophy, could be well-nigh epitomised by the following famous couplet:

*"Asīmahi vayam bhikṣām āśvāso vaśīmahi
Sayīmahi mahipriṣṭhe kurvīmahi kimśvaraiḥ?"* .

Regarding the nature of the work it must be said that quite a new path was chalked out by him. His subject matter was Arthasāstra. Of course Cāṇakya himself refers to many foregoing authors of Arthasāstra; but no such work has ever come down to us upto the present time. As it is, the Arthasāstra of Kautilya must be contrasted with the Dharmaśūtras (and also the Dharmaśāstras) which were clearly works on Dharma where the term Dharma was used in the most comprehensive sense to include the different branches of the sciences necessary for the regulations of human life from the standpoints of the different stages and the castes. But the Arthasāstra dealt exclusively with the rights and duties of the king from the standpoint of actual

Dr. C. Narayana Rao Memorial Volume.

administration involving the creation and regulation of the different departments of the government including the most important organ of the state viz. the judiciary. Thus viewed, the Arthasāstra is only a part of Dharmaśāstra. This is also corroborated by the view of Viṣṇaneśvara (on Yājñavalkya ii, 21) according to whom "Dharmaśāstrāntargatameva rājanīti lakṣyārthaśāstramidam vivakṣitam. Hence the precise relation between the Dharmaśāstras (also the Dharmaśāstras) on the one hand and the Arthasāstra on the other is that the former briefly deals with more or less all aspects of the society and also the state whereas the latter fully deals with the functions and the organisations of the different organs of the state exclusively. For this consideration, law being one of the aspects of both social and the administrative machinery has been treated by both the types of literature—the only distinction, however, in the treatment being that the Dharmaśāstras did not systematically and exclusively deal with law whereas the Arthasāstra deals with political administration in general devoting exclusive chapters to the treatment of law. This exclusive and systematic treatment of law was a distinct achievement of the Arthasāstra as contrasted with the foregoing Dharmaśāstras. This tendency was accentuated even in the early Dharmaśāstras of Manu and Yājñavalkya awaiting culmination at the hands of Nārada and Brihaspati. If Manu and Yājñavalkya devoted separate chapters to vyavahāra or law, in their works, Nārada and Brihaspati devoted their entire works to the treatment of law alone. Kautilya's Arthasāstra had some marked characteristics: it was mainly secular and as such virtually divorced from all sorts of religious and sacerdotal elements. Of course there are occasional references to sacrifices (by way of illustrations), the other priestly duties of the Brahmins and the propitiation of the God Varuna in cases of crimes and transgressions. But these references are very few and far between. The rules enunciated in the Arthasāstra were based on the actual administration of the state and there was hardly any supernatural question at any stage or in any matter.

THE PLACE OF KAUTILYA'S ARTHASĀSTRA IN 31 THE HINDU LEGAL HISTORY.

In his Arthasāstra, Kautilya devotes two Books to law to wit, Dharmasthiya and Kantakasodhanam. The former is supposed to deal with civil law and the latter with Criminal law. But this generalisation is not quite tenable in as much as in the Book on Dharmasthiya there are many topics which are really to be included in the Book on criminal law and in the latter again there are many topics which deal more or less with the administration rather than the judiciary and with the prevention of certain crimes rather than with the punishment or otherwise of crimes when committed. There are no doubt certain topics dealing with criminal law in the Book on Kantakasodhanam. In style, however, the Arthasāstra is more akin to the Dharmasūtras both being mainly written in prose. Some verses are to be found of course in both the types of the works.

It need not be supposed, however, that the origin of Hindu positive law (or vyavahāra) must be sought in the Arthasāstra of Kautilya and its precursors. As a matter of fact, we do not know of any other works on Arthasāstra except in name. Necessarily the exact nature of their contents also is not known to us, if they existed at all. Above all, law has been treated in the Arthasāstra of Kautilya not in an exclusive fashion. Law has been treated there only as a fraction of the whole content. Hence there is no sufficient warrant for Jayasval's theory (Tagore Law Lectures, 1917, on Manu and Yājñavalkya, Calcutta University, Lecture, 1) that the origin of civil law of latter Hindu epochs must be sought in the Arthasāstra rather than the Dharmasūtras. The truth seems to be that the Dharmasūtras were the earliest original treatises on Hindu law and that the Arthasāstra played its part only by having intervened in the religiouso-legal literature of the Dharmasūtras. The observations of Kane' are also very instructive in this connection. The rest of the discussion will be chiefly confined to Kantakasodhanam.

Kantakasodhanam :

In Book IV of his Arthasāstra, Kautilya deals with kantakasodhanam which is wrongly supposed to deal with criminal

law exclusively. The word 'kaṇṭaka' means artisans according to the Tamil and Malayalam commentaries. There is hardly any discussion of substantive criminal law proper in Book IV. Whatever criminal law has been dealt with therein is merely concerned with police functions or preventive measures along with some means employed for detecting crimes and some methods of punishment. Almost all the usual topics of criminal law had already been discussed in the last four chapters of Book III. An examination of the contents of Book IV, will at once show the truth of the above observations. The use of the word kaṇṭaka is very significant. The different kaṇṭakas (thorns) are the potential sources of certain illegal and criminal acts, which if not checked or prevented, will surely stand in the way of the smooth working of the society and the administration of law as a whole. The last verse at the end of chapter 1 of Book IV will explain the real character of the different kaṇṭakas or sources of mischief to the society. The traders, artisans, musicians, beggars, buffoons and other idlers¹ are thieves in effect though in name and as such they must be restrained from perpetrating oppressions on the society.

There is hardly anything of criminal law in Chapter 1 except that for selling, mortgaging, or 'letting out for hire the clothes of others, washermen shall be fined 12 Panas, and that physicians shall be guilty of negligence and carelessness when the patients die or the diseases aggravate by their mistake or ignorance. To prevent the merchants from practising deception, the weights and measures shall be examined and scrutinised. This is also more preventive than punitive. In chapter III, there is a discussion about the different kinds of national calamities only rather than any topic of law except that in cases where people are being carried away by floods, persons neglecting rescue with the exception of those who have no boats shall be fined 12 Panas. These measures also are more administrative than judicial. The national calamities might appear in the

(1) The list of artisans is simply enumerative rather than exhaustive. Taking advantage of their occupations, the artisans could not be allowed to practise fraud or any other offence.

THE PLACE OF KAUTILYA'S ARTHASĀSTRA IN 33 THE HINDU LEGAL HISTORY.

shape of fire, flood, pestilences, famines, rats, snakes, tigers and demons to disturb the people and the tranquility of the society. Chapters IV to VI deal with suppression of the wicked living by foul means, detection of youths of criminal tendency by ascetic spies and the arrest of criminals on suspicion or in the very act of committing the crimes. These are the different duties which have been ascribed by Kauṭilya to the Collector-General or the Pradeśtā who is an administrative officer without any judicial function at all. In the verse at the end of Chapter IV, Kauṭilya refers to 13 kinds of criminals who secretly attempt to live by foul means and thereby destroy the peace of the society. These disturbing elements should be either banished or compelled to pay an adequate compensation or to furnish a sufficient security. The Collector-General shall employ spies in the guise of ascetics, bards, astrologers, prophets etc. who by various traps shall find out the different culprits such as false witnesses, manufacturers of counter-fiet coins etc. According to the verse at the end of Chapter V, the Collector-General shall exhibit in public the arrested criminals and thus proclaim the omniscience of the king and the neverfailing vigilance of the king's officers among the people. The commissioner, also with his retinue of Gopas and Stanikas shall take adequate measures for arresting external as well as internal thieves.

Chapter VII deals with the examination of accidental or unnatural death. Kauṭilya gives several hints for ascertaining the real cause of death or murder; but this chapter does not contain any element of law, civil or criminal. On the contrary, towards the close of the chapter Cāṇakya refers to certain verses according to which directions have been given for the disposal of the dead body and the religious rites that have to be performed on occasions like these. No crematorial rites or obsequies by relations could be performed in cases of murders or suicides. Chapter VIII deals with the different methods of trial and tortures for eliciting confession. Torture could be resorted to only when there was strong and sufficient ground of suspicion and reasonable belief that the suspected person has actually committed the crime in question. Persons charging innocent men with theft

or any other crime shall be punished as having committed the same offence. Women were to be subjected to half or no torture at all. In their cases cross-examination could be resorted to as a weapon for discovering the truth. There could not be any torture for the Brahmins also. Chapter IX deals with penal measures which could protect people from being oppressed at the hands of the public servants under the colour of their authority and office appertaining to the different departments of the administration. As a matter of fact, very stringent rules were provided for the punishment of the government servants in cases of crimes wilfully committed by them. In this sense, the government servants, on account of their very office, were subjected to additional liability to be more careful and considerate in dealing with the people at large. The reasons for this high standard of honesty and integrity on the parts of the government servants have been very lucidly given in the verse at the end of the chapter. Thus, the royal officers and their subordinates should be tested first as, it is through them that the criminals were to be punished. If they were themselves dishonest, no true and honest work could be expected of them for the benefit of the public.

Chapter X provides for alternative fines in lieu of mutilation of limbs. When specially the government servants were guilty of offences, such as violation of sacred institutions or pick-pocketing, for the fourth time, they were to be put to death. Upto the commission of the offences for the third time, fines could be paid instead of mutilation of limbs. For the offences of theft of various articles, adultery and abetment of these offences, the hands, feet, nose, or ears could be cut off according to the gravity of the offence. But the persons committing theft regarding images of God, men, goldcoins, precious stones etc. were to be beheaded or forced to pay the highest amercement. Any person selling human flesh was to be put to death. In the concluding verse at the end of the chapter, Canakya makes a very comprehensive provision for inflicting different kinds of punishments taking into consideration all the relevant facts and circumstances of the case including the social status, the antecedents, the family, the occasion and the time and place of the offence.

Chapter XI deals with certain offences which must be punished with death with or without torture. In the concluding

THE PLACE OF KAUTILYA'S ARTHASĀSTRA IN 35 THE HINDU LEGAL HISTORY.

verse of this chapter, Kautilya refers to the views of the sages who have provided for capital punishment; but at the same time it has been added that no torture should be resorted to where there was no cruelty involved in the offence in question. Simple death would be sufficient for offences without any cruelty. The different methods of inflicting capital punishment were by hanging, by burning, by drowning, by shooting, and by tearing with the help of bulls. Sometimes, mutilations of limbs and the punishment of the highest amercement could be imposed according to the gravity of the offences. Different kinds of capital punishments were provided for different kinds of murder.

Chapter XII deals with the sexual offences in general and such offences against immature girls in particular. The crimes concerning sexual offences ought to have been discussed along with the other usual kinds of crimes such as robbery, assault, theft etc. in Book III. The general provisions of Chapter XII are that no man shall have sexual intercourse with a woman against her will; that women also yielding themselves for the offence are to be punished equally with the principal offenders. There were also at the same time some special provisions in cases where a man of the same caste could be criminally intimate with a maiden who might remain un-married for three years after the attainment of her puberty. It was not an offence even in case of a man of different caste when the maiden had no jewellery on her person. Again, a man rescuing a woman from enemy; forestry, flood etc. could enjoy her with her consent if agreed upon.

The last chapter of Book IV deals with different kinds of punishments for violating justice. The term justice has been used in a comprehensive sense including "varṇa-dharma", trespass, nuisance, assault, witchcraft, compensation to be paid to the merchants by the king's officers or villagers in cases where any merchandise is stolen from the merchants in course of their journeys, the injuries resulting from the different kinds of tamed animals and lastly some sort of penances to be performed by the king to get rid of the sin resulting from the unjust imposition of punishment specially on the innocent. According to this provision, the king is to dedicate some money to the God Varuṇa by throwing the same into the water.

A BONDO CHILD'S CREMATION

By

• Asutosh Bhattacharyya

In December, 1947, while I, along with Dr Verrier Elwin was camping at a Bondo village known as Badapada, about, 3,000 ft above sea-level, in the southern extremity of the Koraput district in Orissa, I had an opportunity of assisting in a Bondo child's cremation which I describe below in some detail.

A Bondo male child which was ten day's old died at about 4 o'clock on a December afternoon. The father of the child was hardly above 18 years of age and the deceased was his first issue. The mother of the deceased was 3 or 4 years' older than the father. The family belonged to the Kisan clan of the Bondos. As soon as the death took place the father of the deceased with his younger brother, who was aged about 14 years and was also married, left for the cremation ground in order to build the pyre there leaving the corpse where it lay at the time of its death. The death took place within the main room of the strawhut where all the women members of the family assembled. They were lamenting the death at the top of their voice sitting together beside the bed of the deceased child. The lamentation was of conventional nature in which the mother, grandmother and aunt (father's brother's wife) of the deceased took equal parts. The cremation ground was within quarter of a mile of the house of the deceased and was situated on the sloping hillside covered by dense forest.

After half completing the pyre by means of wood collected on the spot the party came back home in order to carry the corpse there. About an hour passed between the time of death and the time of the corpse's being carried to the cremation ground. The father of the deceased approached the group of lamenting women and his younger brother took out some straw from the low roof of the hut. The latter also took some burning charcoal and some quantity of husk of rice in a leaf-cup. The father of the deceased lifted the body of the dead child

which resembled an undeveloped foetus only, from its bed which was surrounded by the wailing womanfolk. He came out of the hut taking the corpse on the palm of his hands totally covering it from view by a dirty piece of cloth. The women in tears followed him, their wailing becoming louder this time. The grandmother of the deceased, the eldest of the mourners, was striking her hand against her forehead as she was following her son carrying the corpse. The father of the deceased now being joined by his younger brother proceeded towards the cremation ground with long strides. The womenfolk, however did not follow the party beyond the small area of the courtyard. I was afterwards informed that it was not necessary for the father to carry the corpse of his son. It was generally the duty of the eldest member of the family, and in this case the father was the eldest member. Therefore he was carrying it.

It was getting dark. The party was advancing towards its destination very fast. On the way it was joined by two more male members of the same age. One of them belonged to the clan known as Sisa and the other to another clan known as Badnayak. None else joined the small party though apparently there were many persons still left in the village inspite of its being a *hat* (market) day. The party reached the cremation ground silently. Signs of a cremation were visible all round the place. The party which reached the spot already made ready for the cremation. A shallow hole was dug beside the pyre by one of the other members of the party and for a moment the corpse was laid into it by the father of the deceased. But at the very moment it was raised again and placed direct on the pyre by him. It lay on its back still wrapped in cloth with its head towards the north and the legs towards the south. The father of the deceased tore off a portion of the cloth covering the body which for a moment only was exposed to view. Standing beside the head of the corpse and facing the north, the father uttered something in prayer at the end of which he sprinkled something over the covered body of the deceased. All of them then began to pile more woods over the body. The tiny body was almost smashed under their pressure. After the pyre was completed, two logs of wood, not less than 5ft each in height, were placed erect on either side of the huge pyre. The tops of the logs, however, met forming an angle. This being done the father and the uncle of the deceased stood aloof from any physical contact of the pyre with some green leaves torn from a tree in their hands. The other two members of the party kindled the fire with the straw by the burning charcoal brought from home as mentioned above. Both of them now circum-am-

bulated the pyre only once from opposite directions with the burning straw in their hands and then set fire to the pyre without any loss of time. The father and the uncle of the deceased too now joined them in setting the fire right. After the pyre caught fire from all sides, the members of the party picked up their axes and spades and left the place with nobody to attend the burning pyre. It was already dark. After leaving the cremation ground the party walked some distance and finding on its way an exposed root of a mango tree each of the members took in their hands some pieces of bark out of it by means of their axes. I was informed later on by my interpreter that the pieces of bark of a mango tree were meant as protection against any possible attack of the spirit of the deceased. The party then moved towards the streamlet below the hills to take the purificatory dip defying the chillness of the December evening. The following morning the party with some additional members of both the sexes again visited the cremation ground in order to examine the bones and to ascertain the cause of death thereby. On return, it declared that the child died of an attack of 'Gurang Pui' or the ghost of a woman who died during childbirth or pregnancy.

The practice of cremating a 10 day's old child is not met with either among the Indian aborigines or among the Hindus. The general practice prevalent among all sections of the Indians, aborigines, semi-aborigines and the Hindus, is to bury the body of a child instead of to cremate it. Therefore the above practice has some special importance in the account of funeral rites in India. But from a close perusal of the practice described above it also seems that a token burial was also given to the body of the Bondo child before it was placed on the pyre for cremation. Therefore, it seems that burial in such cases has been substituted by cremation. It seems to be a rare example of burial being replaced by cremation among the Indian aborigines though its opposite practice or a cremation being replaced by a burial is a more common feature among them due to its economic advantage. But burial is not unknown to the Bondos. They bury the women dying during pregnancy or at childbirth and also every person dying of cholera or smallpox.

INDIAN ERAS

By

Sri Kota Venkatachalam, Governorpeta, Bezwada.



We are all aware that "*Kali Saka*" is our current Bhārata Era, which is in existence for over five thousand years, in the daily concerns of the life of the Indians, such as in the *Samkalpa* for all the sacred Vedic rites, and in their daily prayers, and it is also *accepted as an authority by all the astronomers*, in the calculation of annual Calenders. This Kali Saka began from the initiation of *Kaliyuga* (3102 B. C , Feb., 20th at hours 2—27m—30s and is continued to the present time, without break. There were some *Sakas* (Eras) prior to Kali Saka. Since they were in existence time out of mind, and beyond the ken of mortal comprehension, we remember them only in name. But the modern historians neglected the Kali Saka, which is mentioned in our calenders, inscriptions and books and even in our daily routine domestic ceremonies, and which began with "*Kali Yuga*," the twenty-eighth of the Mahā-yugas. To write a correct Indian History, it is essential to consider the anterior Kali Sakas, the beginning of Kali Saka, and the posterior Kali Sakas. So, we give them here.

The Bharatiya calculation of time is praise-worthy, and has no parallel in the annals of any other nation. All the Bharatiya Sakas were based on the movements of the Planets and they commenced with their Synchronisation. All these were classifications of the period of "*Brahma*". So, all these form the links in the chain of *Time* and represent the various periodical divisions. The method of calculation adopted by the Sages of India in the measurement of endless Time was till now unknown anywhere in the world.

Calculation of Time.

Six Prānas of Period:	...	One Vighādiya. (24 Seconds)
Sixty Vighādiyas.	...	One Ghādiya. (24 minutes)
Sixty Ghādiyas.	...	One Day Human (24 Hours)
Fifteen Days.	...	One Fortnight. (Paksham)
Two Fortnights-	...	One Month. (Māsam)

Man's one month or thirty days (night and day) is one day for the dead (Pitrus or Manes). Our Lunar-fortnight is day-time to

the departed Souls. The dark fortnight is night-time to the Dead. Twelve of our months will be a day and night to Devas; that is, our Uttarāyana or the first six months will be their Day and our Dakshināyana or the Second six months (latter half of the year) will be their Night. Thirty human years will be a month to Devas and three hundred and sixty human years will be one year to Devas.

4800 Deva years or 17,28,000 human years is Krutayuga.
(with junction and junction parts, or with

Sandhi and Sandhyāmsa.)

3600 Deva years or 12,96,000 human years is Trētayuga.
(with Sandhi and Sandhyāmsa.)

2400 Deva years or 8,64,000 human years is Dvāparayuga.
(with Sandhi and Sandhyāmsa.)

1200 Deva years or 4,32,000 human years is Kaliyuga.
(with Sandhi and Sandhyāmsa.)

The aggregate of the four Yugas with junctures and juncture parts is twelve thousand Deva years or 43,20,000 human years. This is termed one Divya yuga or Mahāyuga. Such one thousand Divya yugas or 432 Crores of human years will be a day-time to "Brahma". This is named "Udaya Kalpa". Similarly, 432 Crores of human years will be a night-time to "Brahma." This is called "Kshaya Kalpa." Both the Udaya Kalpa and Kshaya Kalpa combined will be two thousand Mahā-yugas (Divya Yugas) or 864 Crores of human years and are styled Brahma's day and night or Mahā Kalpa. Such thirty days and nights or Mahākalpas will be one month to "Brahma". Such twelve months will be one year to Brahma. Such one hundred years will be '*Brahma māna*'. Many such periods of Brahma elapsed. Fifty years expired in the present calculated Brahma period. In the 51st Brahma Māna year of the first day, during day-time, thirteen Ghadiyas and forty-two Vighadiyas were spent up to the present time. In other words, 195,58,85,05 human years elapsed. (up to 1950 A. D.). The day time of one Brahma or 432 Crores of human years is classified into fourteen Manu periods. The duration of one Manu will be Seventy-one Mahāyugas or (71X43,20,000) 30,67,20,000

or thirty Crores, sixty seven lakhs, twenty thousand human years.

In the present calculated Brahma Period, Six Manu durations have been spent. In the present seventh Manu time, twelve crores, five lakhs, thirty-three thousand, fifty one years (12,05,33,051 years) have elapsed. That is, twenty-Seven Mahā, yugas have expired; in the twenty-eighth Mahāyuga, Krita, Treta, Dvapara Yugas have gone and in the twenty-eight Kali-yuga, five thousand fifty one years (5051) were spent.

In the seventh Manu's time 18,61,86,949 years have still to elapse. (The calculation is shown till 5051 Kali or 1950 A.D.) In this manner, *Bharatiya Sakas form sub-divisions in the Brahma Mana in the chain of the Eternity of time.* From this chain, we take the prominent Sakas and compute time. To measure the extent of endless time is beyond human-intellect. So, having accepted Time, as infinite, by the reach of our intellect, we begin with an important Era and commence Calculation of time. We mention below the main Sakas. (Eras)

SAKAS (ERAS)

1. Present Brahma Saka. 195,58,85,051 years expired.
 2. In Brahma Mana in 18,001 Kalpa, Time expired. 195,58,85,051 years.
 3. Vaivasvata •Manu Saka (Seventh Manu) • Time expired. 12,05,33,051 years.
 4. In Vaivasvata Manu 28th Mahayuga Time expired. 38,93,051 years.
- [These are the Sakas beyond our Computation.]

The following are Sakas within our calculation.

Sakas.	Beginning of Kali.	Beginning of Christian Era.
1. Before Kali 36 years the date of Bharata War-Yudhistira Saka Began.	Before Kali 36.	3138 B. C.
2. Kali Era began with Krishna's Demise.	36 years after the Mahabharata War or 5051 years back.	3102 B. C.
3. Jayabhyudaya Yudhistira Saka.	1 Kali	3101 B. C.

4. Yudhistira Kāla Saka or Loka-Kāla or Laukika Abda or Saptarshi Saka.	26	Kali	3076 B. C.
5. Mālava Gaṇa Saka.	2377	„	725 B. C.
6. Cyrus Saka, or Sakanrupa kāla	2552	„	550 B. C.
7. Sri Harsha Saka	2645	„	457 B. C.
8. Gupta Saka.	2775	„	327 B. C.
9. Vikrama Saka.	3044	„	57 B. C.
10. Salivahana Saka	3179	„	78 A. D.
11. Christian Era	3102	„	Beginning A. D.

The above eleven Eras were mentioned and used in ancient and modern histories and inscriptions. So, we shall try to find out the authentic details of those Sakas.

1. Yudhistira Saka. Before Kali 36 years or 3138 B. C.

The Great Bhārata Battle took place 36 years before Kali and came to a close in 18 days. The Victor in the War, Dharma Raja, during the same year was crowned Emperor of Bharat, at Hastināpura. In the same year, Parikshit was born to (late) Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna, brother of Dharma Raja. As Abhimanyu died in the Bharata fight, Parikshit became heir-apparent to the Hastinapura Empire. The five brothers, Dharma Raja and others, crowned Parikshit as Emperor of Bharat, and all set out on Pilgrimage. This Yudhistira Saka began with Dharma Raja's commencement of reign, 36 years before Kali or 3138 B. C. and came into use from that time. Dharma Raja ruled for 36 years (*Bhārata, Mousala Parva* 1-1) and then, occurred the demise of Lord Sri Krishna. On the same day happened the combination of Planets which portended the beginning of Kali yuga which is current even to our own times. So, Yudhistira Saka is calculated from 36 years before Kali. (Our present day Calender writers amalgamated Yudhistira Saka with Kali Saka and calculated from 3102 B. C.)

Age of Mahābhārata War through Indian Sources.

The Puranas and Hindu astronomical works state that Kali Era began 36 years after the Mahābhārata war. Kali Era 3102 B. C. plus 36 = 3138 B. C. is the date of the Mahabharata war.

I, Vide *Mahābhārata*, Stri Parva. XXV Ch. 39-45.

Mousala Parva. I. 1, 13, II. 19-21, III. 25-41, IV. 12-24

- II. 23, VII. 10-12, and VIII. 26-21.
 Mahāprastānika Parva I. 45.
 II. *Vishnu Purāṇam*.
 4th Amsa XX, 38-40, XXIV. 105-115.
 5th Amsa XXXVII, 18-20, XXXVIII, 8-9.
- III. *Devi Bhāgavatam*.
 11th Skandha, 6th Ch. 23-26. 12th Skandha 2nd Ch.
- IV. *Brahma Purāṇam*:- Ch. CC. XII 9-10.
- V. *Garuda puranam*:- C I.
- VI. *Harivamsam*:- III 47-48.
- VII. *Mahā Bhāgavatam* :- 10th Skandha Ch. III, 1-8.
 11th Skandha Ch. VI. 23-26, 12th Skandha Ch. II, 28-34,
- VIII. *Sūrya Sidhantam*:- Ch. I.
- IX. *Kha-Moṇikya Jyotisha Grandham*.
- X. Miss C. Mabel Duff's *Chronology of India* P. 4.
- XI. *Rājatarāṅgini*, Intro. Ch. I. etc. By M. Stien; Durga-
 prasad, M. Troyer and also By Buhler,
 Ind Ant. Vol. VI, 1877 P. 264 ff.
- XII. Age of Sankara, Part I. B. By T S. Narayana Sastry,
 Appendix I, P. P. 7, 8, Edition 1917, and part I. C. Appendix.
 The Puranas enumerate all the kings of the Royal Dyna-
 sties of Bhārata such as 1. Hastinapura 2. Ayōdhya 3. Magadha
 4. Kashmir 5. Nepal etc., from the time of the Mahabharata
 War 3138 B. C. So, it is proved that the time of the Maha-
 bharata war or the beginning of Yudhistira Era is 3138 B. C.
 The Beginning of Kali Era is 3102 B. C.

Age of Mahābharata War through Persian Sources.

"The date of the over-throw of Astyages and the taking of Ecbatana is, according to Babylonian Tablet, the sixth year and as it is in the highest degree possible that the years in this memorial are those of Babylonian king Nabunaid (Nabonidus) we must place those events in the year 550 B. C." (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 9th Edition, Vol. XVIII Page 565.)

Now, this date-550 B. C.- which marks the *beginning* of the Persian Empire and the *end* of the Median monarchy, must, certainly, have been a most memorable event in the annals of the ancient history of the world; and we are distinctly

told by Herodotus that Cyrus the Great who came to the throne of the Perso-Median Empire on the overthrow of the Median Kings, Astyages and his son Cyaxares, numbered his years from this particular point of time, and all the nations of the world acknowledged this never-to-be-forgotten date as the commencement of a special Era. It is but natural that the Hindus of that time and the Indian kings, who assisted Cyrus the Great in the very first campaign which he had undertaken against the Babylonians, even during the lifetime of his maternal uncle, Cyaxares, with "men and money", and who were also, to a great extent instrumental in enabling him to found this grand Persian Empire (Śaka Sāmrajyam) should have gladly acknowledged this Era as one of the chief Eras of their day. And, as a matter of fact, the *Saka-Kāla* or the *Saka-Nrupati-Kāla*, which is frequently referred to by Kalhana in his *Rājatarangini*, the chronology of the kings of Kashmir—and by astronomers like Garga and Varāhamihira in their famous astronomical treatises, refers, in our opinion, distinctly to this date—550 B.C. and the historians and astronomers of the *mediaeval* India, made free use of this Era, the Śaka Kāla, in their calculations of historical and astronomical dates.

Let the readers bear in mind the conclusions drawn, from a careful study of the *Mahā-Bhārata* by Muir in his "Sanskrit Texts" and they will have no doubt whatever that the ancient Hindu Kings played a great part, from time immemorial, in moulding the civilisation, and in shaping the government, of the whole of the ancient civilised world, including the whole of Western Asia, and the countries bordering on the Mediterranean as far as the Atlantic Ocean. It may be conclusively proved, on the authority of the *Mahābhārata* and the chief Purāṇas and Smritis, that the overflowing population of the Aryan Kshatriyas in India navigated, ever since the time of Sagara and Yayāti, more than 30,000 years ago, the open seas of the regions of Arctic Ocean in the North, the Atlantic Ocean in the West, the Indian Ocean in the South and the Pacific Ocean in the East; and that most of the nations of Europe, Asia and Africa, like the Greeks and Romans, the Chinese and the Assyrians, the

Chaldeans and Babylonians, the Egyptians and Phoenicians, were originally Aryan settlers from India, and that they held constant communications with their Mother country and the descendants of their original ancestors in India; and that just a short time before the Great War of the Mahā Bharata which took place in 3139 B.C., the Pandava Brothers had acquired universal dominion over these various races and taught them the sacrificial mysteries. (See Mahabharata, Book XIV)

With such proofs of international communication and commerce between these various nations of the world, and more than proved relationship between the Indian Aryans on the one hand, and Egyptians, Phoenicians, Chaldeans, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks and other literate peoples on the other, who acknowledged the supremacy of the Indian Sovereigns ever since the time of the Mahabharata war, and who always courted the assistance and mediation of these Indian Kings to settle their international affairs in their various quarrels and disputes concerning the claims of their supremacy among themselves, and who invariably honoured these Indian Kings with all decorum and courtesy due to a paramount and suzerain power, it is no wonder, that Cyrus who is universally acknowledged to be an ideal king and a great hero, who practically followed the Vedic religion and the traditional customs and institutions of the Hindus in all his social and political affairs, should have also sought and obtained the assistance and advice of the Indian Kings.

As a matter of fact, in the very first war between the Babylonians under their king Neriglissor on the one hand, and the Persians and Medes under the young prince Cyrus, and Cyaxares, son of Astyages, on the other, in the year 550 B.C., We find both the parties sending ambassadors to the king of India seeking his help and mediation in the matter. For Xenophon distinctly says in his Cyropaedia (1. i. p. 22) "Cyaxares was no sooner on the throne, than he was engaged in a terrible war. He was informed that the King of the Babylonians (Neriglissor) was preparing a powerful army against him, and that he had already engaged several powerful princes on his side, and amongst others, Croesus, king of Lydia; and that he had likewise sent ambassadors to the king of India, to give him bad

impressions of the Medes and Persians, by representing to him how dangerous a closer alliance and union between the two nations already so powerful might be, since they could in the end subdue all the nations around them, if a vigorous opposition was not made to the progress of their power."

"In response to this embassy, the 'King of India', by which term the 'King of Sindhudesa' or the whole tract of the country situated to the east of Indus was only meant to be understood in all probability, sends his ambassadors to the Median king; and after ascertaining that the Babylonians were the aggressors, and that the cause of Cyaxares and Cyrus was just and righteous, declares himself as an ally of the Medes and Persians, against the Babylonians." Writing upon this subject M. Rollin says:— (III. Page 129)

"One day as Cyrus was reviewing his army, a messenger came to him from Cyaxares, to acquaint him, that some ambassadors having arrived from the king of the Indies, he desired his presence immediately. "For that purpose", says he "I have brought you a rich garment; for the king desires you would appear magnificently dressed before Indians, *to do the nation honour*." Cyrus lost not a moment's time, but instantly set out with his troops to wait upon the king; though without changing his dress, which was very plain, after the Persian, fashion and not (as the Greek text has it) polluted or spoiled with any foreign ornament. Cyaxares seemed at first a little displeased at it; "If I had dressed myself in purple "says Cyrus "and loaded myself with bracelets and chains of gold and with all that had been longer in coming, should I have done you more honour than I do now by my expedition, and the sweat of my face and by letting all the world see with what promptitude and despatch your orders are obeyed?"

"Cyaxares, satisfied with this answer, ordered the Indian ambassadors to be introduced. The purport of their speech was that they were sent by the king, their master to learn the cause of the war between the Medes and the Babylonians, and that they had orders, as soon as they had heard what the Medes should say to proceed to the court of Babylon, to know what

motive, they had to allege on their part: to the end that the king, their master, after having examined the reasons on both sides, might take part with those *who had right and justice on their side*. This is making a noble and glorious use of great power: to be influenced only by justice, to seek no advantage from the division of neighbours, but declare openly against the unjust aggressor, in favour of the injured party. Cyaxares and Cyrus answered, that they had given the Babylonians no subject of complaint, and that *they willingly* accepted the mediation of the king of India. It appears in the sequel that he declared for the Medes."

In this great war between the Medes and the Babylonians, in which the Indian soldiers have taken part on the side of the Median king, the Babylonians are defeated, Croesus king of Lydia is made captive, and Sardis his capital is taken. Cyaxares, son of the old Median king, becomes elated with his success; and finding that Cyrus who had been chiefly instrumental in achieving this victory, was gaining influence everyday over the Medes, grows jealous of him, suspects him to be his own sister's son Agradates whom his father had ordered to be put to death even while he was only a babe; and fearing that he will put an end to the Median monarchy as already predicted, plots against the life of Cyrus himself, in consultation with his old father Astyages, who had allowed him to rule the kingdom in his stead during his old age. Cyrus, however, as narrated by Nicolas of Damascus, escapes by a stratagem, and evades the pursuit of Medes. He leads the Persians into revolt, and attempts to stem the attack of the Median monarch. The Persians are defeated in four successive battles, and in one of which Atradates as Cambyzes I, the father of Cyrus was originally called is slain and Pasargadae (Persian "Paisiyau Vada, Sanskrit (Prasaega Vata' the valley of Springs") the Persian capital is besieged. Cyrus then, sends an embassy through the Chaldeans who had frequent intercourse and communication with the Indians desiring some succor in money from the king of India, as he wanted it for the levying of troops in Persia against the attacks of Median king: and he solemnly promises that, if the Gods crowned his designs with success, the king of India should have

no reason to repent of having assisted him. The king of India in response to this request, readily and willingly offers his generous help to Cyrus both by way of men and money, with which Cyrus is enabled in a very short time to strengthen his arms. Here the tide of fortune turns, the insignia of royalty falls into the hands of Cyrus; Astyages and Cyaxares are overtaken and captured during their flight, and the whole of Media at once submits to the conqueror.

Now about this timely assistance rendered to Cyrus by the king of India, which enabled the great prince in overthrowing the Median monarchy and in establishing himself at the head of the Persian empire, M. Rollin, with his usual candidness says:— (III Page 136)

“In this interval, ambassadors arrived from the king of India, with a large sum of money for Cyrus, from the king their master, who had also ordered them to assure him, that he was very glad he had acquainted him with what he wanted; and that he was willing to be his friend and ally; and if he still wanted more money, he had ordered his ambassadors to pay him the same absolute obedience as to himself. Cyrus received these obliging offers with all possible dignity and gratitude. He treated the ambassadors with the utmost regard and made them noble presents.”

Let us now examine, if this ever-memorable year 550 B.C., the Era of the establishment of the Persian Empire (Saka-samrajya-kāla) is mentioned and remembered anywhere in the Literature of the Hindus, who, according to both Herodotus and Xenophon, had taken no small part in assisting the great Saka king Kuru-Cyrus, the great, of the Greek writers in the establishment of his grand empire, which at one stroke put an end to the three great ancient empires of Western Asia which were then contending against each other for supremacy. The Hindus who had liberally assisted this great Saka king with “men and money” must naturally have been proud of associating themselves with the Era established by Cyrus the Great in 550 B. C. and as the Hindus were known to be great astronomers from the most ancient times, it is but proper to expect them to have used the

Era of this most illustrious Persian king-S'aka-Nrupati, in the calculation of their astronomical and historical dates. We are not disappointed in our expectation, and we actually find this S' a ka - k ā la h (శకకాలః) or "S'akanrupati-kālah" ("శకస్వపకాలః"), mentioned in a number of ancient inscriptions, Hindu works on astronomy and history. We have already seen Kalhana, the author of Rājatarāṅgani, quoting the following famous verse of Vriddha Garga, as cited by the great astronomer Varāhamihira in his *Brihatsamhita* (Ch. XIII, Verse 3) for the purpose of determining the date of the Kuru-Pandavas and Gonanda I.

In the very first 'Taraṅga', Kalhana says:-"On this point a decision is furnished by the words of the authors of the Garga Samhita and Brihat Samhita, who, with reference to the fact that the Great Bear moves from one Nakshatra to the other in a hundred years, have thus indicated its course" and I take their decision here as my authority"(1-55)Kalhana then introduces the following Stanza:-

• "అసన్ మఘాసుమునయః శాసతి పృథ్వీం యుధిష్ఠిరే నృపతౌ
షడ్విక్రపంచద్వి, యతశ్శకకాలస్తస్య రాజ్జశ్చ॥"

(Rājatarāṅgini I 56

Āsan maghāsūmunayah. Sāsati pruthvim Yudhishtīrē nrupatau
Shāddvikapamchadviyuta ssaka kālastasya Rājñascha:

The Stanza literally means: "When King Yudhishtira ruled the earth, the Munis (the Great Bear) stood in the (Nakshatra) Maghas; 2526 years had elapsed from the time (of the death) of that king up to the (commencement) S'aka-Kāla."

What is this S'aka-kāla that is referred to in this verse? and what is the particular year by which its initial date is denoted? In discussing the Saptharshi or the Loukika Era we have already fully demonstrated that Yudhishtira died in the year 3077-3076 B. C., the date of the commencement of the Laukika Era, which, according to all authorities, including Kalhana himself, commenced 26 years after Kali yuga. So, by subtracting 2526 years according to this verse, from 3076 B. C., the date of the death of Yudhishtira, we shall arrive at the year 550. B. C. as the date of the commencement of the

Dr. C. Narayana Rao Memorial Volume.

Saka-kāla, which exactly corresponds to the date of the establishment of the Persian Empire by Cyrus the Great. So, then, taking the Saka-Kāla as identical with the Era of the establishment of the Persian Empire by overthrowing the Median monarchy, which event is placed by all the historians classical as well as modern, beyond all doubt, in the ever memorable year 550 B. C. we are in a definite position, acting upon this "Persian Synchronism" to arrive at the dates of the various ancient Hindu Eras—such as the Yudhishtira Saka, the Kaliyugābda, and Laukikābda. We have only to apply a very simple process, which is merely the reverse of what we have already adopted in arriving at the date of the Saka-kāla, and now by adding 2526 years to this Era of the establishment of the Persian empire in 550 B. C. we shall arrive at the year 3076 B. C. as the most approximate date of the death of Yudhistira, (according to the calculation of Vruddha Garga and Varāhamihira) which is the same as the date of the commencement of the Laukikabda, which was established in commemoration of the Svargārōhana of that great and righteous monarch. As this Laukikabda is distinctly stated by all the astronomers and historians, including the author of the Rājatarangani We shall arrive at the year 3102 B. C., by adding 26 to this year 3076 B. C., as the date of the commencement of the Kaliyuga, *on which date*, according to all the Ithihasas and the Puranas, Sri Krishna quitted this mundane world. The same year also marks the beginning of the reign of Parikshit, son of Abhimanyu by Uttara, who was placed on the throne of Hastināpura by Yudhishtira, just 37 years after the Great war of Mahābhārata, during which period, Parikshit was said to have been in the womb of his mother. And consequently by adding 37 to the year 3102 B. C., we shall arrive at the year 3139 B. C., as the date of the Mahābhārata war which was fought for 18 days on the field of Kurukshetra between the Pandavas and the Kauravas; and as Yudhistira was crowned Emperor of the whole of Bharata Varsha *in the very same year*, the Yudhishtira Saka, which marks the beginning of the reign of that illustrious Emperor must be dated from 3139 B. C., which also marks the beginning of the reign of Marjari or Somadhi, son of Sahadeva and grandson of Jarasandha, the first king of the Barhadratha Dynasty after the Mahābhārata War.

A great deal of confusion that now prevails regarding the expression "Saka-Kāla," is chiefly due to the misunderstanding and misapplication of the word S'aka or S'āka (सक) found in Sanskrit literature. In the Sanskrit language, the term S'aka has got two distinct meanings unconnected with each other, the one derived from the root "S'ak" (सक) meaning to be able to be powerful) and the other from the Vedic root "S'ak" (सक - to know.) In the first sense, the term S'aka originally meant 'powerful, 'strong', mighty; hence, it was applied in the plural number to denote the name of the country (desa) called S'akasthāna (ie. Persia.)

The term Sakas was subsequently applied to the powerful people (Jana) inhabiting the said tract of country, who, according to Manu, were subdivided into Kambhojas, Pahlavas, Paradas and Yavanas, and were called after the provinces in which they respectively resided; and in still later days it denoted the powerful people who inhabited the whole of Persia or Iran, commonly known under the general name of Persians. As we have already shown, Manu speaks of these 'S'akas' as degraded tribes of Kshatriyas. The first time that we hear of these people in our ancient Indian History is in connection with the great Emperor Sagara, one of the illustrious monarchs of the Solar dynasty. These people according to the Vishnu Purana (IV-3) appear to have attempted to overrun the Western districts of India, and the great king Sagara is said to have successfully driven them out of India; and such of them as were not destroyed were deprived of their social position as Kshatriyas and were compelled to have the forepart of their heads shaved. In later times, the term Saka in the singular number, was applied, to any of the Kings of the Sakas or Persians, such as 'Cyrus the great' the founder of the Persian Empire, or Darius I, who for the first time, since the days of Sagara, asserted his independence by over-running a part of India to the east of the river Indus, and by establishing a Persian Satrapy in the North-West of India:

The second meaning of the word 'S'aka' is an Era or Epoch (Kala), usually commencing with some celebrated prince as Yudhishthira, Vikramāditya, Salivahana, etc., who are hence denominated as 'S'akas varas' or Saka-Kartas', (the Epoch-Founders)

• Dr. C. Narayana Rao Memorial Volume.

since any particular time is known (from *S'ak*-to know) by calculating from any one of these *S'akas*. Some of the latest Samskrit writers have taken the expression '*S'aka-Kāla*' as referring to Salivahana Saka or the Era of Salivahana which commenced on Mahāvishuva-Samkrānti, 3179 years after the commencement of the Kali Yuga, in 78 A. D., while others take it as referring to '*Vikramārka S'aka*' or the Era of Vikramāditya, which commenced on Chaitra Sukla Pratipad, 3044 years after the commencement of the Kali Yuga, in 57 B. C.,

The Buddhists and Jains, on the other hand, take the '*S'aka-Kāla*' as referring to Vikramārka Saka of the year 57 B. C., and calculating Yudhisthira Saka, 468 years after the commencement of the Kaliyuga, place it in 2634 B. C., as they take Yudhishtira Saka to commence from the first crowning of Yudhishtira at Indraprastha, immediately after the Rāja-Sūya-Yāga, which was celebrated, according to Mahabharata, just 15 years before the Great War at Kurukshetra, which according to them, took place in 2619 B. C. All the orthodox Hindus have, however, uniformly taken this Saka-Kāla, as marking the Era of the Saka-Nrupati, the celebrated Persian king, Cyrus the Great, which commenced in the year 550 B. C., just 2526 years after Yudhishtira's death, which took place, as we have already shown, in 3076 B. C., and calculate the Yudhishtira Saka from the date of his Imperial coronation on the throne of Hastināpura, as the sole Emperor of all India, immediately after the close of the Mahabharata war, which took place 37 years before the commencement of the Kaliyuga in 3139 B. C.

Our modern orientalists find it convenient for their purposes, to give to *S'aka-Kāla* as late a date as possible, (as they have done in the case of Gautama Buddha's Mahānirvāṇa); and of course identify it with Salivahana Saka, taking the expression '*S'aka*' to mean an Era or *Kāla*; and thereby bring down the date of Varāhamihira, one of the greatest astronomers of India to the year 505 A. D., as, according to Panchasiddhāntika, the great astronomer's work is placed in the year 427 of the *S'aka-Kāla* with his patron king Vikramāditya and his eight other brother-poets and scholars, who formed the "Nine Gems" of the court of that illustrious monarch, to the 5th or the 6th

century A.D., and say that the Vikrama Era had been antedated, for astronomical or other reasons, by six centuries. If the word 'Saka' in the expression 'Saka-kāla' is taken to mean an Era or Kāla, assuming it to be so, why 'Saka-Kāla' should specifically apply to the era of the king Salivahana, in preference to the five other kings or Saka-Karas (Era-Makers), such as Yudhishtira, Vikramāditya etc., is not explained by any of these Orientalists. In the first place, the expression Kāla in 'Saka-Kāla' would then be redundant and would properly mean Saka-Saka or Era-Era, which is absurd on the face of it. Further, this interpretation is quite opposed to the meaning of the more fully-worded expression Saka Bhūpa-Kāla, found in Varāhamihira's works,—which clearly means the Era of the Saka-Kings", where the term 'Saka' could not in any way, be interpreted to mean Kāla or Era—nor is there any authority why Salivahana should be regarded as a Saka—either in the sense of Persian or Scythian, in which meaning, they apply this term. Further his commentator Bhattotpala interprets the expression "Saka-Nripati-Kāla as meaning the Era of the Saka-King, whose successors were afterwards defeated by Sriharsha Vikramāditya of Ujjain, in 457 B.C.

So, there can be no doubt that Saka-kāla was not understood by the earlier astronomers to mean either the Salivahana, or the Vikrama-Saka.

It clearly follows as a necessary result of this "Persian Synchronism" which identifies the Saka-Kāla or Saka, with the Era of the establishment of the Persian Empire by Cyrus the Great in 550 B.C., that Chandragupta Maurya, who admittedly, even according to these orientalists flourished about 1604, years after the Mahabharata war, which took place in 3139 B.C. co-eval with the accession of Marjari or Sōmadhi, the first king of the Post-Brahadratha Dynasty, must have founded the Mauryan monarchy in the year 1534 B.C., when even the name of Greeks as a nation was unknown to the world, and which was not the date of the "Invasion of India" by Alexander the Great, who admittedly flourished nearly 1200 years after the accession of Chandragupta Maurya to the throne of Magadha; and that the latter could in no way, have been a contemporary of the Mace-

donian king, Alexander, son of Philip. *Thus, while the so-called "Greek synchronism", has grievously up-set all our ancient Chronology by gravely mistaking Sandrocottus of the Greeks for Chandragupta the founder of the Maurya Dynasty, the "Persian synchronism" has now positively restored it to its pristine purity by properly identifying the Saka-Kāla which commenced, according to all authorities, 2526 years after Yudhishthira's death, with Saka-Sāmrajya-Kāla or the Era of the Establishment of the Persian Empire in 550 B.C.,* In doing so, we have not tried to invent or discover any new date for any of the events of the ancient Indian History; but we have only re-affirmed and re-established the dates already given to them uniformly in our ancient literature. adducing our reasons for the same, justly and consciously to the best of our knowledge with-out endeavouring so much at eloquence in diction and elegance in style as thereby to destroy the plainness and simplicity of the manner in which these events are described in our works. And whenever we have had occasion to introduce authorities, in our comment, we hope, we seldom misunderstood, misquoted, misinterpreted or misrepresented them to serve any sinister purpose or pre-conceived notion of our own. We have generally directed our Readers to the book, chapter, page or verse, whence we borrowed our materials; and we neither desire nor expect further credit to our researches than the vouchers we produce and the arguments we use naturally demand. (Vide. Age of Sankara Part I.C.P. 130 ff, and P.P. 157-160)

2. The Kali Era.

Beginning with the Mahābhārata war, if the periods during which the different dynasties that ruled the country from "Girivraja", the Capital of Magadha, are taken into account chronologically, the beginning of the Maurya dynasty comes to 1534 B.C. and that of the Gupta period to 327 B.C. Instead, if the time of the invasion of Alexander is correlated with the reign of Chandragupta Maurya, the chronological order of the different dynasties gets shortened and a period of 1207 years cannot be accounted for.

Pargitar (the Author of the Dynasties of the Kings of the Kali Age.) examined all the Puranas and constructed the Dyna-

stic Tables of Kings and accepted that the royal dynasty of Magadha began with Sōmadhi after the Mahabharata war and fixed the periods of the different dynasties on the basis of some edition or other of the Purana of his choice. He has calculated the interval between the Mahabharata War and the beginning of the Maurya dynasty to be 1598 years (rightly) and the interval between the war and the end of the Andhra dynasty to be (wrongly) 1886 years.

But, he has not attempted to ascertain the time of the Mahabharata war of 3138 B.C. or the Kali Era of 3102 B.C. or the Saptarshi Era of 3076 B.C.

It is surprising that he never mentions the Kali Era which began 36 years after the Mahabharata war, in the year of the Nirvana of Sri Krishna, the retirement (Mahāprastha nagamana = మహాప్రస్థానము) of the Pandavas and the coronation of Parikshit. *It has been well-known in our country from the beginning and forms the basis of the Hindu Almanacs all through.*

The Mahabharata war took place 36 years before Kali Era, i.e. in 3138 B.C. (3102 + 36). If, from that starting point, the dynasties of the Puranas and the periods allotted to them had been reckoned, a correct chronology of Bharat could be constructed. But the western scholars neglected the Kali Era altogether. They had apparently a natural bias to reduce the antiquity of Indian History and to explain that the entire Bharatiya civilisation had been derived from and due to contact with the Greeks. But some of their Indian disciples went a step further and began to estimate the time of Kali and the Mahabharata war on the basis of their own wrong theories of the later history of India. They assigned the time of the Mahabharata war and the beginning of the Kali Era to twelve hundred years before (or a little later even) the birth of Christ. But the Kali Era is not a matter of guesswork. It is based on the solid foundation of astronomical science.

1. According to our astronomical science, the seven planets 1. Saturn, 2. Jupiter, 3. Mars, 4. Sun, 5. Venus, 6. Mercury and 7. Moon should be in conjunction (together) in the Mesha at the commencement of the Kali Era. Such a phenomenon

occurred in B. C. 3102, 2—27—30" hours on 20th February. The Kali Era is reckoned from that moment. Our Almanacs have been prepared year after year, all these centuries, on the basis of the Kali Era and the Kali Era is remembered and used even in the daily traditional observances of all the Bharatiyas and on all auspicious occasions.

2. Count Bjornstjerna says:-

"According to the astronomical calculations of the Hindus, the present period of the world, Kaliyuga commenced 3,102 years before the birth of Christ, on the 20th February, at 2 hours 27 minutes and 30 seconds, the time being thus calculated to minutes and seconds. They say that a conjunction of the planets there took place, and their tables show this conjunction

Bailly states that Jupiter and Mercury were then in the same degree of the ecliptic, Mars at a distance of only eight, and Saturn of Seven degrees; whence it follows, that at the point of time given by the Brahmins as the commencement of Kaliyug, the four planets above mentioned must have been successively concealed by the rays of the Sun (first Saturn, then Mars, after wards Jupiter and lastly Mercury.) They thus showed themselves in conjunction, and although Venus could not then be seen, it was natural to say that a conjunction of planets then took Place. *"The calculation of the Brahmins is so exactly confirmed by our own Astronomical tables that nothing but an actual observation could have given so correspondent a result."* (Quoted in Hindu Superiority P. P. 283-284 By Har Bilas Sarada)

3. Bailly (the famous French Astronomer) wrote:-

"The motion calculated by the Brahmins during the long space of 4,383 years (the period elapsed between these calculations and Bailly's) varies not a single minute from the tables of "Cassini" and "Mayer" and as the tables brought to Europe by Laubere in 1687 from India, under Louis XIV, are older than those of Cassini and Mayer, the accordance between them must be the result of mutual and exact astronomical observations." Then again;

"Indian tables give the same annual variation of the moon as that discovered by Tyco-Brahe, a variation unknown to the

school of Alexandria, and also to the Arabs, who followed the calculations of this school". (Quoted in Hindu Superiority, page 284 By Har Bilas Sarada)

4. The conjunction of the planets and other astronomical phenomena at the time of the commencement of the Kali Era, will recur again at the next such moment in the next Mahayuga ie. after 43,20,000 years. (Forty-three lakhs twenty thousand years)

5. "Kaliyuga commenced on 20th February 3102 B. C. (18th Feb is a mistake) just on the day on which Sri Krishna departed to his Divine abode. The Kuru-Pandava War was fought 37 years before Kali that is, in 3139 B. C. (Vide Hist. of Classical Sanskrit Literature By M. Krishnamachariar. Introduction page XLIII.

"Kaliyuga begins from the year 3102 B. C; the year 1 expired or completed, being 3101 B. C." (Do Book, Introduction Page LVIII)

6. "The quantities which the Indian tables assign to other astronomical elements, Viz., the mean motions of Jupiter and Saturn, have been found to agree almost exactly not with what is observed at the present time, but with what the theory of gravity shows would have been observed at the beginning of the Kaliyuga. Laplace discovered it after the publication of the *Astronomie Indien* and inserted it in the *Journal des Savane*." (Hindu Superiority By Har Bilas Sarada P. 285)

7. M. Bailly has shown that the place of the aphelion, of Jupiter's orbit, determined by the Indian tables for the beginning of the Kaliyuga agrees with the modern tables of Lalende when corrected by theoretical equations of La-Grange. The same thing is true of the quantity which the Hindus assign to the equation of Saturn's centre." (Quoted in Hindu Superiority page 285 by Har Bilas Sarada.)

8. "The length of the Hindu tropical year as deduced from the Hindu tables is 365 days, 5 hrs, 50 minutes, 35 seconds, while La Callie's observation gives 365-5-48-49. This makes the year at the time of the Hindu observation longer than at present by 1'-46". It is, however, an established

Dr. C. Narayana Rao Memorial Volume.

fact that the year has been decreasing in duration from time immemorial and shall continue to decrease. In about 49 centuries the time of the year decreases by about $40\frac{1}{2}$ seconds. This, then, is an unmistakable proof of the very high Antiquity of Indian astronomy. The observation by the Hindus must have been in the Dwapar (Yuga) (more than 5000 years ago.)" ie, nearly 13000 years. (Quoted in Hindu Superiority By Har Bilas Sarada, Page 286.)

Thus, ancient western astronomers like Bailly of France have expressed their admiration (quoted above) for the Knowledge of astronomy of our ancestors who made such conspicuous astronomical phenomena the indisputable scientific basis of their chronology and reckoning. Yet this *Kali Era (3102 B. C.)* was deliberately ignored by the western scholars who set about to reconstruct the ancient history of India.

9. The Nepal Rajavamsavali or the history of Nepal followed the same Kali S'aka that started in 3102 B. C. (Vide Ind. Ant, Vol. XIII. P. 411 ff)

10. Dr. Buhler also admitted and adopted B. C. 3102 as the starting point of Kali Era and Kali 26 or 3076 B. C. as the starting point of Loukika Era or the Saptarshi Era in his commentary on Nepal history and on the manuscript of Kashmir history (Rajatarangini) (Vide Indian Antiquary Vol. V. 27th page ff. Ed. 1876.)

11. Prof. M. A. Trayer in his commentary on 'Rajatarangini' also admitted and adopted this Kali era which started in B. C. 3102. Mr. C. V. Vaidya in his epic history admitted that Kaliyuga 1 is equivalent to 3101 B. C.

12. Kalhana, the author of *Rajatarangini* (History of Kashmir) states that the beginning of Kali Era is 3102 B. C. and that of the Kashmirian Era (ie. Loukikābda or Saptarshi Era, or Yudhistira kala as 26 of Kali Era ie. B. C. 3076 and gives his chronological order from 3076 B. C. (Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* 1-56)

13. The Great Indian astronomer Garga in his *Gargasa-mhita*, Varāhamihara in his *Brihatsamhita* and the astrono-

mer Bhattotpala in his commentary on *Brihatsamhita* established that 3102 B. C. is the starting point of Kali Era and 26th year of Kali (ie. 3076 B. C.) is the starting point of the Loukikābda. (or Yudhistira Kāla or Saptarushisaka) (*Brihatsamhita*, 13-3)

14. The author of *Kaliyugarājavruttānta* states that Kaliyuga started from 3102 B. C. and Yudhistira Kāla Era had its starting point in the year 26 of Kālī or 3076 B. C.

15. The Great Poet Kalidasa tells us in his astronomical book "*Jyotirvidyabharana*" that he began to write the book in Vysakha month of 3076 Kali year and completed his book in the month of Kārtika of the same Kali year. (ie. 33 B. C.)

16. The Great Astronomer and Mathematician Bhaskarācharya in his "*Siddhāntasiromani*", Kālamānādhyāya, verse 28, gives Kalisaka in the following manner:-

"From the creation of the Universe six manus, 27 Mahāyugas, in 28th Mahāyuga Krita, Treta, Dwapara three Yugas and in this Kaliyuga 3179 years have elapsed to the end of Vikramasaka (ie. the beginning of Salivāhana S'aka of 78 A.D.)."

From the starting point of Vikramasaka B. C. 57 to the end of the same saka or to the beginning of Salivāhana Saka of 78 A. D., a period of 135 years have elapsed.

End of Vikrama	3179
Minus duration of Vikramasaka from	
57 B. C. to 78 A. D. (57 + 78 = 135)	135
	3044
Kali	

is the starting point of Vikrama Era. ie. (3101-3044) 57 B. C.

17. All the Puranas and the Mahabharata state that the beginning of the Kali Era is 3102 B. C. and that of the Mahabharata war 36 years before Kali ie. 3138 B. C.

18. An inscription (plate) of a gift-deed by Emperor Janamejaya has been discovered (Indian Antiquary Pt. 333-334)

This is the first inscription known which used the Jayābhyudaya Yudhistira S'aka which has its origin in Kali 1st year. Both the Eras started in the same cycle year *Pramādhī*

19. The famous Mahammadan astronomer, Alberuni mentioned in his Indian History that 1031 A. D. is equivalent

to 4132 of Kali Era ie. 3101 B.C. (Vide, Alberuni's India, Translated by Dr. E. C. Sachaun IInd Vol. 49ch. 5-7 pages)

20. The Great astronomer "Aryabhatta" in his astronomical work '*Aryabhattiyam*' stated that he was aged 23 by the year 360 Kali Era.

21. Even in the Encyclopaedia Britannica 14th Ed. we find in the 5th Vol. at page 658 the following:—

"The Kaliyug Era is the principal astronomical reckoning of the Hindus. It is frequently, if not generally, shown in the Almanacs. Its initial point lay in 3102 B. C. and the year 5002 of Kali began in A. D. 1900."

22. Mr. T. S. Narayana Sastry B. A. B. L. in his book "Age of Sankara" admits and adopts the Kali Era of 3102 B. C.

23. Mr. Nadimpalli Jagannadharao in his books "Age of Mahābharata war" and "Andhramahā Sāmraajyam" followed the Kali Era of 3102 B. C.

24. The Bharatas to this day follow the notation of the Kali Era by adding year to year and repeating it in their daily Prayers, invariably.

25. His Holiness Sri Kalyananda Bharati Swami of Virupaksha Mutt in his "Epochs of Bharata Varsha" adopted the Kali Era of 3102 B. C.

26. The Panchāṅgams (Almanacs) of all the provinces of Bharat show that 5053 years have passed upto now, i.e. 1952 A.D. since the beginning of the Kali Era.

27. In Bhavishya Mahāpurāṇa, the royal dynasties were recorded in Kali Era of 3102 B. C.

28. The succession of the Heads of the Advaita Mutts founded by Sri Sankara in the four quarters of Bharat is enumerated with reference to the Kali Era. It is well-known that

1. Sringeri. 2. Jagannath. 3. Dwaraka. 4. Kanchi Kama-Koti. 5. Sringeri Virupaksha and 6. Badarinath are the six peetas of Sankara Sāmpradaya.

29. In the Sanskrit work Sri Sankara Mandāra Sourabha which deals with the life of Sri Sankarā-charya, the 38th successor in the line of Kanchi Kamokoti Peetha the Kali Era alone is used.

30. In the Astrological magazine Vol 36. no 4, (April 1947, page 278) it is stated that the Kali Era began in 3102 B. C.

31. General Cunningham admitted that the starting point of Kali Era lies in 3102 B. C. and the Saptarshi Era or the Loukikābda starts in Kali 36 or 3076 B. C.

32. Mr. Lionel D. Barnett in his Book "Antiquities of India" Ed. 1913 published by Warner, writes thus:-

"The Kali Era is supposed to begin from 3102 B. C." (P 94)

"The present Age, which is the Kaliyuga, is reckoned as having begun in the Year 3102 B. C. (page 193)

33. Mahabhārata war is mentioned in the Grants dated in the Gupta Samvat Era. (Fleet, C II, 120, 124, 129, 134, 139.)

34. Buchanan mentions an inscription in the temple of Madhu Keswara at Banavasi in North Canara dated in the 168th year of Yudhistira Era; (ie Yudhistira Era begins with the year of the Mahabharata war 3138 B. C.-168=2970 B. C.)

35. Two inscriptions at Belgaum in Mysore are dated in the reign of Yudhistira. (Vide Journey through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar, III, PP. 231, 411.)

36. In a Siva's temple at Iballi in Dharwar, an inscription is dated 3730 years after the Great war and in Saka 506. (Hist. of Classical Sanskrit Literature By M. Krishnamachariar Page 62)

All the above facts definitely go to show that Kali Saka started in B. C. 3102 and it can be followed safely. In Mahābharata, it is clearly stated that Kali Saka begins 36 years after the Mahābharata war. So, the time of the Mahābharata war works out to be 3138 B. C. (3102 plus 36 is equal to 3138.)

3. *Jayābhyudaya Yudhistira Saka. Kali 1 or 3101 B. C.*

In the beginning of the writing of Bhārata, Vyāsa termed the book as "Jaya". The writing of the Bhārata Itihāsa styled 'Jaya' was begun in 1 Kali year or 3101 B. C, by Vyāsa Bhagavān. From that time, an Era was started by the name "Jayābhyudaya Yudhistira Saka."

This Saka was used by Janamejaya in his gift-deed. (Vide Ind. Ant. P. P. 333-344; Also, vide this author's Kali Saka Vijnānam Part II, Kali Raja Vamsāvali P. P. 41, 42.)

4. *Yudhishtira Kāla Era or Saptarshi Era or Loukikābda.*

“అనన్ మహాసుమునయః శాసతిప్రథ్విం యుధిష్ఠిరే నృపతః”
 వద్వ్యైః పంచద్వి (2526) యుతిశ్శక కాలః తస్య రాజ్యశఛ్చ”

(Brihat Samhita Ch. 13. 3.)

“When the circle of the Seven Sages resided in the century of Magha aster, Yudhistira or Dharma Raja, the eldest of the Pandavas was the ruling sovereign. If we add 2526 years to the Saka Kāla prevalent, we get the commencement of that monarch's (Swargārōhana) time, that is, Yudhistira Kāla Era, or Saptarshi Era or Loukikābda.”

It means that an Era came into being, after a lapse of 2526 years in Yudhistira Kāla Era or Saptarshi Era. In the Saptarshi Era 3076 B. C. minus 2526 = 550 B.C., (3076-2526 = 550) an Era came into existence.

In the above sloka is the expression “Yutah Sakakālah” and the question arises to what Saka Era the reference is made.

Originally this verse is from “*Garga Samhita*.” Varāhamihira cited this in his *Brihat Samhita*. We have proved that Varahamihira was one of the nine gems in the court of Vikramāditya of Ujjain, who lived in 57 B. C. (Vide Kalisaka Vigjñanam Part I, By this Author.) This Vruddha Garga “ప్రృథ్వీ” was four or five centuries anterior, in time. Even Western Scholars agreed that either Vikrama Era or Salivahana Era was not prevalent at the time of Garga. So, the Saka Era related in the sloka is neither Vikrama nor Salivahana Era and this fact is approved by all the historians. That is, the Era of the Persian Emperor, Cyrus, began in 550 B. C. That Era, being current in the North-western parts of India, Punjab, Kashmir and North India found access into the Samhitas. This Era was in vogue under the four appellations of “1. Saka-Kāla 2. Saka-Nrupa Kāla. 3. Sakendra Kāla. 4. Sakabhūpakāla.”

The above Sloka cited by Varahamihira in his *Brihatsamhita* (13. 3.) was explained by Bhattotpala, in the commentary of *Brihat Samhita*, named “*Chintamani*.”

Commentary :-

“మునయోమరీన్యాదయః సప్తర్షయో, యుధిష్ఠిరే పాండుతనయే

శృపతారాజని - పృథ్వీం మహీం - శాసతిపరిపాలయతి

మునూసు - మహానక్షత్రేష్వా సన్నధ్యతిష్ఠన్”

This is a quotation from 'Garga Samhita'. The author of this sloka Vriddha Garga explained the meaning of the Sloka himself in it. Bhattotpala, the commentator, after giving the above meaning himself quotes the very words of the author of the Sloka as follows :-

“తథాహి శృష్ట గర్జః” means “Vriddha Garga also says in the same way;” and he quotes the same words of Vriddha Garga.

“కలి ద్వాపర సంభౌతు స్థితాస్తే పితృదైవతం. మునయో ధర్మ నిరతాః ప్రజా నాం పాలనేరతాః తస్యచ యుధిష్ఠిరస్య రాజ్ఞః వడ్వీకపంచద్వియంతః శకకాలో గతః సహస్రద్యయే పంచభిః శతైః వడ్వీంశత్యధికైః 2526 శకస్వపకాలోయుక్తః కార్యః ఏవంకృతే యదృశతీతావ ద్విద్యబృందం వర్తమానకాలం యావద్గతం. తస్యచశతేన భాగ మాశ్వాత్యయదవాప్యతేతాని నక్షత్రాణి మహాదీనిభుక్తాని యచ్ఛేషంతాని వర్షాణి భుజ్య మానే నక్షత్రేతేషాం ప్రవిష్టానాం గతాని, తానిచ శతాద్యోధ్యయదవ శిష్యతేతాన్ ద్వేష వర్షాణి తస్మిన్నక్షత్రే స్థితానీతి | లభినక్షత్రాణా మపిసప్తవింశత్యా భాగమపా చ్చాత్య నశేషాంక సమం మహాదినక్షత్రం భుక్తమితి వాచ్యం.”

The commentary means:-

“When Yudhistira was the ruling monarch, the Seven Sages (Saptarushis) resided in Magha star.”

In the same way, Vriddha Garga also mentioned that “The seven Sages were in the *Magha star at the transition age of Dwāpara into Kali*. In Yudhistira Kāla Era or Louki-kābda elapsed 2526 years. To this figure i.e. 2526 years should be added the age of the Saka-Nrupa-Kāla which was in use at that time. “శకస్వపకాలోయుక్తః కార్యః” When calculated in this manner, the total amount of years, will be the period that elapsed from the commencement of Yudhistira Kāla Era. The quotient got, when the dividend of the years is divided by the divisor 100, should be the number and we must take that so many stars from Magha elapsed in the cycle of the Seven Sages divided in the above manner, and the remainder should be deemed as the number of the expired Stars.

As Magha is the star into which the entrance of the cycle of the seven sages took place, (at the transition period of Dwāpara into Kali) the calculation should be from the Magha star, and the number of the stars will denote the lapse of so many centuries."

We have already stated that the Saka Era in the above Sloka (Brihatsamhita 13. 3.) "Āsan Maghasu Munayah" was the age (Era) of Cyrus, the Saka Nrupati, who lived in 550 B. C.

Let us consider about Yudhistira Kāla Era or the Saptarushi Era or Loukikābda, in the same sloka. It is "dvika pancha dvi" and "Yutah saka Kālah". It means that 2526 years should be added to the current Era or the age (Era) of Cyrus which was then prevalent. We have to explain what the expression "Tasya Rajñasya (or Rajñascha)" interprets. The last line of the Sloka seems to be incomplete, and it will make complete sense, if the missing word is supplied. At the end of the second half of the Sloka, the word understood, namely "Kālah" is added; then the reading will be, "Shat dvika pancha dvi, yutah Saka Kālah, tasya Rajñascha "Kālah". Then the poem makes full sense; and it will mean "the time of that king" or "The Yudhistira Kāla Era, or Saptarshi Era or Loukikābda. The full interpretation of the sloka will be as follows:-

"The Cycle of Seven Sages, at the transition period of Kali Dwapara, was in Magha Star and Yudhistira was ruling at that time. If 2526 years are added to the years current, in the then Saka Era (Cyrus Age), we get Yudhistira Kāla Era or Loukikābda or Saptarushi Era.

Dr. Buhler writes about the initial date of Saptarushi or Loukika Era in his remarks on *Rajatarangini* thus:-

"The discovery of the initial date of Saptarshi or Loukika Era, which I obtained in Kashmir, makes it possible to fix the reigns after Avantivarman with perfect accuracy. The beginning of the Saptarshi Era is placed by the Kashmirians on Chaitra Sudi I of the twenty-fifth year of the Kaliyuga and the 24th year, in which Kalhana wrote, is consequently the Saptarshi year 4224.

From Kaliyuga 25th, the beginning of the Saka Era is 3153
From Saka Samvat to Kalhana's time is 1070

4224

My authorities for placing the beginning of the Saptarshi Era in Kali 25 are the following:- First, P-Dayaram Joshi gave me the subjoined verse, the origin of which he did not know:-

“When the years of the Kaliyuga marked by the ‘arrows and the eyes’ (ie. the five and the two, or, as Indian dates have to be read backward, 25) had elapsed, the most excellent seven Rishis ascended to heaven. For, in the Calender (used) in the world the virtuous declare the computation of the Saptarshi (years to begin from that point)”. Pandit Dayaram explained the verse as I have done in the above translation and added that each Saptarshi year began on Chaitra Sudi I and that its length was regulated by the customary mixing of the *Chandra* and *Saura manas*.

The correctness of his statement is confirmed by a passage in P. Sahebram’s “Rajatarangini Samgraha” where the author says that “the S’aka year 1786 (A. D. 1864), in which he writes, corresponds to Kali 4965 and to Saptarshi or Laukika Samvat 4940. One of the copyists too, who copied the *Dhvanya loka* for me in September, 1875, gives in the Colophon, as the date of his copy, the Saptarshi year 4951. These facts are sufficient to prove that P. Dayaram’s statement regarding the beginning of the Saptarshi Era is not an invention of his own, but is based on the general tradition of the country. *I do not doubt for a moment that the calculation which throws the beginning of the Saptarshi Era back to 3076 B. C. is worth no more than that which fixes the beginning of the Kali-Yuga in 3101 B. C.* But it seems to me certain that it is much older than Kalhana’s time, because his equation $24=1078$ agrees with it. *It may therefore be safely used for reducing with exactness the Saptarshi years, months and days mentioned in his Work to years of the Christian Era.* The results which will be thus obtained will always closely agree with those gained by General Cunningham, who did use the right Key.” (Page 164 to 268 Ind. Antiquary Vol. VI)

Extract from Dr. G. Buhler’s preliminary report on the results of the search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in Kashmir. (Ind. Antiquary Vol. V. 27th page ff. Ed 1876)

"They (Rajatarangini Manuscripts) also led to the discovery of the real nature of the Kashmirian Era which has been used by Kalhana in the last three books of his chronicle, and is still in use among the Brahmins in Kashmir. Its true name, derived from the supposed secular procession of Ursa Major, is the Era of the Saptarshis. It began on Chaitra Sudi, 1st of the 26th year of the Kaliyuga or March-April 3076 B. C."

Dr. Buhler proves, admits and adopts that the Kali Era starts from 3102 B. C. and the Saptarshi Era from Kali 26 or 3076 B. C. This Saptarshi Era is otherwise called Yudhistira Kala Era or the Loukikābda.

Dr. Buhler quoted a sloka which he got from P. Dayaram Joshi of Kashmir and the trend of that sloka reveals that an alteration was made in it. The verse cited by Dr. Buhler is as follows;—

కలేర్వతై సాయక సేత్రవర్షయః సప్తర్షివర్యాః త్రిదివం ప్రయాతాః ।
 లోకేహి సంవత్సర పత్రికాయాం సప్తర్షిమాసం ప్రవదంతి సంతః ॥

In the first half of the above Sloka, the expression, "Saptarshivaryāḥ Tridivam Prayātāḥ" appears to be inconsistent because the Saptarshi Mandala or the Cycle of the Seven Sages will always reside in Heaven. In such a case, there is no rationality or possibility, for saying that the Seven Sages entered Heaven after 25 years in Kali. It will be plausible to speak that Mortals or men who live on this Earth went to Heaven. But to mention that the Seven Sages, who always reside in Heaven, went to Heaven in 25th Kali will look ludicrous and ridiculous. It will be a statement quite contrary to common sense and out of place. Such a sentence will never occur in a scientific treatise. The latter part of the first half of the sloka is not a correct one. The authentic reading as we got it, is given below:—

కలేర్వతై సాయక సేత్రవర్షయః యుధిష్ఠిరాద్యాః త్రిదివం ప్రయాతాః ॥

So, in the above sloka, "Yudhistirādyāḥ" was replaced by "Saptarshivaryāḥ". The Ex-Emperor of Bharata-Varsha, Yudhistira, along with his brothers and wife went to Heaven after 25 years in Kali and at that time, in Kali 26th year, ie.

3076 B. C, 1st of Chaitra Sudhi, the Saptarshi Mandala made exit from Makha and entered the next star. Therefore, the people in memory of Yudhistira's departure from our Planet Earth, commenced the 'Saptarshi Mana'. So say the Puranas.

We have already noted those Purana Slokas in our Kali Saka Vijñanam Part I. Yet for easy reference of the readers, we give here the important ones.

“పంచవింశతి వర్షేషుగ తేష్వధికరాయుగే । సమాశ్రయిష్యత్యాశ్లేషం మనయన్తే
శతం సమాః॥”

“తదైవ ధర్మపుత్రోఽపి మహాప్రస్థానమాస్థితః । భువం పరిభ్రమన్తుంతే స్వర్గ
మారోక్ష్యతీధ్రువం॥”

“తదైవరాకికాద్దేపి సప్తవింశ శతాత్మకః । ధర్మపుత్రజ్ఞాపకార్థం లోకే నావ
త్ప్రవర్తితః॥”

Substance:— “After the expiry of 25 years in Kaliyuga that is, in the beginning of the 26th year or 3076 B. C. the seven Rishis who were till then in Makha enter the Star Āsleṣha and stay there for one hundred years. At that time, Yudhistira (Dharma Raja) who was on world pilgrimage, it is a fact, will complete his going round the Earth and would ascend to Heaven. From that period, the Laukikābda, comprising a period of 27 centuries, will be begun, in memory of Dharma Raja or Yudhistira by the people and it will be current in this world.”. So the Puranas pronounced clearly. As such, the person who entered the Heaven, after a lapse of 25 years in Kali, will be “Dharma Raja or Yudhistira”, but not the “Saptarshis” because the Saptarshis were eternal residents of Heaven.

From the above information, it is evident that Buhler, who wrote that Kalhana mentioned the Kuru Pandavas to have lived in 653 year Kali, as per the inserted forged slokas in Rājatarangini 1-49, 50, 51 and 54, in order to avoid the contradiction, might have altered the expression, “Yudhistiradyas” into “Saptarshi Varyas”. In the 26th year Kali, ie. 3076 B. C. Yudhistira ascended to Heaven. In the first year Kali, 3101 B. C. having abdicated the throne, Yudhistira together with his, four brothers, wife and a dog undertook the pilgrimage round the Earth. As he reigned for 36 years, the year of his coronation will be the 36th year before the beginning of Kali, namely, B.C.

3102 + 36 = 3138 B. C. During that year happened the Bharata Battle and as Yudhistira was the victor in that fight, his coronation took place in that year. So, the date of Bharata War comes to be 3138 B. C. As a consequence, the Readers will be in a position to realise the amount and extent of the distortions and interpolations committed by the Western Writers, in their attempt to re-write the Indian History. The above sloka proves that

The date of the Mahābhārata war and the coronation of Yudhistira was 3138 B. C., the beginning of Kali Era was 3102 B. C., Yudhistira's abdication of the throne of Bharata-Varsha and his Mahāprasthanāgamana was in 3101 B. C. his ascending to Heaven and the starting of Saptarshī Era (or the Loukikābda or the Yudhistira Kālā Era or Kashmirābda, was in 3076 B. C.

From the most ancient times, the Saptarshi reckoning has been used in Kashmir and in the Kangra District and some of the Hill States on the southeast of Kashmir. Some nine centuries ago, it was also in use in the Punjab and apparently in Sind. In addition to being cited by such expressions as 'Saptarshi Samvat', the year so-and-so of the Saptarshis and Sāstra-Samvatsara, the year so-and-so of the science of Astronomy, it is found mentioned as *Lokakāla* or *Loukikābda*, "the time or Era of the people" and by other terms which mark it as a vulgar reckoning. And it appears that modern popular names for it are Pahāri Samvat and Kachchā Samvat, which we may render as the "the Hill Era" and the crude Era." This is the second method of calculation or rather of checking the first method by the second; and like the first, it also depends upon the date of the commencement of the Kaliyuga, 3102 B. C. which is the starting point backwards and forwards in Puranic calculations.

There is a good deal of confusion, among the scholars, as to when the very first cycle of the Saptarshi Era commenced and in which Asterism it began, some placing it in 6677 B. C. (or 6777 B. C.) in Asvinī, and others in 3777 B. C. (or 3877 B. C.) in Magha. Whatever might be the case with regard to the actual

commencement of the Saptarshi Era, there is no doubt whatever that the Loukikabda or Lokakāla which likewise counts the years by centuries (or periods of 100 years) commenced in the year 26 of the Kali yuga. Prof. Buhler was the first to bring the initial date of the Loukika Era, viz. Chitra Sudi 1 of Kali-samvat of 25 (expired) or the year 3077-3076 B.C., to the notice of Oriental scholars, and he seems to base this conclusion on the verse 1.52 of Kalhana's Rajatarangini. As has been clearly pointed out by Prof. Buhler, "the Laukika reckoning is a centennial reckoning by supposed or omitted hundreds with its earlier centuries commencing in 3077-B. C., 2977 B. C., and so on, and its later centuries commencing in 25 A. C., 125 A. C., etc., on precisely the same lines with those according to which we may use, for example, 98 to mean 1798 A. C., and 57 to mean 1857 A. C., and 09 to mean 1909 A. C."

This Saptarshi Era is fully described in all the Purāṇas in words almost similar to one another and the following passage from Kaliyugarāja Vṛttānta may suffice as an example :-

1. "సప్తవింశతి పర్యంతే కృత్యేన నక్షత్రమండలం
సప్తయస్తుతిష్ఠంతి పర్యాయేణ శతంశతమ్॥
2. సప్తర్షీణాం యుగంహ్యే తత్ దివ్యయాసంఖ్య యాస్మృతం
సమాదివ్యాః స్మృతాః సప్తదివ్యామాసాః షడేవహి॥
3. యుక్తాద్భుతం శతేనా జ్ఞేయాంతి చిత్రశిఖండినః
దివ్యః సప్తర్షీ కాలోయంక్రమా దేవం ప్రసర్తతే॥
4. సప్తర్షీణాంతుయా పూర్వాద్భుత్యతేహ్యుదితోదివి
తయోస్తుమధ్యే నక్షత్రం దృశ్యతేయత్ సమంనిశి॥
5. తేన సప్తయో యుక్తాస్తిష్ఠంత్యబ్రహతం నృణామ్
నక్షత్రాణామృషీణాంచ యోగస్యైత నిదర్శనమ్॥
6. యదా దేవర్షయః సప్తమఘాసుపిచగంతిహి
తదాప్రవృత్తశ్చ కలిద్వాదశాబ్ద శతాత్మకః॥
7. యస్మిన్ కృష్ణోదివం యాత స్తస్మిన్నేవహి వత్సరే
ప్రతిపన్నం కలియుగ మితిప్రామాణ్యం పురావిదః॥

8. యావత్ స భగవాన్ విష్ణుఃపస్ప ర్భేమాం వసుంధరామ్|
తావత్ పృథ్వీం పరాక్రాంతం సమర్థోనా భవత్ కలిః|
9. యదామఘాభ్యోయాస్యంతి పూర్వాసాధాం మహర్షయః|
తతః ప్రభృత్యేవ కలిర్వృద్ధిం యాస్యంతి నిశ్చితమ్||
10. యదాయుధిష్ఠిరో రాజా శక్రప్రథే ప్రతిష్ఠితః|
తదాసప్తర్షయః ప్రాపుర్మఘాః పితృహితేరతాః|
11. పంచసప్తతి వర్షాణి స్రాక్ కలేః సప్తతేద్విజాః|
మఘాస్వాసన్ మహారాజే శాశ్వతుర్వీం యుధిష్ఠిరే||
12. పంచవింశతివస్తేషు గతేష్యధకతో యుగే
సమూశ్రయిష్యన్త్యాన్ శ్లేషాం మునయస్తేశతం సమాః||
13. తద్దేవ ధర్మపురోపి మహావ్రస్థాన మాస్థితః|
భువంసరిభ్రమన్మంతే స్వర్గమారోక్ష్యతి ధ్రువం||
14. తద్దేవతాకికాబ్దోపి సప్త వింశతతాత్మకః|
ధర్మపుత్రజ్ఞాపకార్థం లోకేతాతవత్రవర్తితః||
15. సప్తవింశాంధన్వపతేః కాలేభావ్యస్యతేపునః|
ఆశ్లేషాంసమ్మయాస్యంతి యుగస్యాంతే సురర్షయః||
16. సప్తర్షయోమఘాయుక్తాః కాలేయకాధిష్ఠిరేశతం|
శ్రవణేతే భవిష్యంతి కాలేనందస్యభావతేః||
17. చతుర్వీంశే ధనక్షత్రే భవిష్యంతి శతంసమాః|
ఆంధ్రరాజ్యారంభకాలాదారభ్యేతేసారర్షయః||
18. మహాపద్మాభిషేకాత్తు యావజ్జన్మ పరీక్షితః|
ఏకమేవసహస్రంతం జ్ఞేయం పంచశతోత్తరం||
19. ఆంధ్రరాజ్యోపక్రమగత్తు యావన్నందాభిషేచనం|
అంతరంతచ్ఛతాన్యష్టై ప్రమాణజ్ఞైః సమాస్మృతాః||
20. యదాపునర్వసుంయాస్యంత్యే తేసప్తర్షయః పునః|
తదాశ్రీగుప్త వంశ్యానాం రాష్ట్రం దైవ్యంగమిష్యతి||

21. పూర్వాభాద్రాదాం యదా తేషు ప్రవేక్ష్యంతి పునర్ద్విజాః |

సుప్తేభ్యోమాగధం రాజ్యం తదాపాలాన్ గమిష్యతి ||

The above passage may be freely translated as follows :—

In the circle of the lunar asterisms (Nakshatras) where in the great constellation of the Sapta Rishis (constituting the Great Bear or the Ursa Major) revolves, and which contains 27 asterisms (like Asvini, Bharani, Krittika, etc.) in its circumference (ecliptic consisting of 360° , each Nakshatra or lunar asterism being equal to $13^{\circ}-20^{\circ}$, of the ecliptic,) the Seven Sages remain for 100 years in each asterism in turn (the Rishis taking 2700 years to make a circuit of the Heavens.)

This is the Cycle of the Seven Seers (consisting of 2700 human years) and is reckoned in the terms of Divine years (360 human years being equal to 1 Divine year). And the total period is equal to 7 Divine years and 6 Divine months (i. e., $7\frac{1}{2}$ times 360 or 2700 human years).

The constellation of the Seven Saints (or the Seven Stars of the Wain, consisting of Marichi, Vasishtha accompanied by the, Sūkshmatara Arundhati, Angirasa, Abri, Pulartya, Pulaha and Kratu) takes a period of 100 years to go over each of the 27 asterisms, (and it goes through these 27 asterisms in a retrograde order, as the twelve Signs of the Zodiac which comprise these 27 asterisms are arranged in a retrograde order around the ecliptic). Thus, the Saptarshi Kāla (or the Samvat of the Haft Rikheshar), consisting of a cycle of 2700 years. has come to be constituted.

The two front stars (Pulaha and Kratu) of the great constellation of the Seven Sages which are seen (in the northern region) when risen at night, the lunar asterism or Nakshatra which is seen situated equally between them in the sky is said to govern the same—the constellation of the Sapta Rishis being known as conjoined with that asterism for 100 human years.. This is the exposition of the conjunction of the lunar asterisms and the constellation of the Sapta Rishis.

When the constellation of the Seven Sages remained conjoined with the asterism of Maghas, then the Kali Age (the sinful Kaliyuga) comprising 1200 Divine years (or 432,000 common human years) began.

When Lord Krishna returned to Heaven (i.e., left this mundane world), then, in that very same year (on the first day of Chaitra of the year Pramāthi according to the Southern school of Astronomers),—say the knowers of the ancient history—the present Kaliyuga (of the 28th Mahāyuga comprising 12000 Divine years) commenced.

As long as the Great Incarnation of the Divine Vishnu continued to touch the Earth (with His holy feet), so long the Kali Age was unable to approach the Earth.

When the Seven Rishis shall pass from the Maghas and reach the asterism of Pūrvāshādhā, then will, indeed, the Kali Age begin to grow.

When Prince Yudhishtira was, for the first time, crowned as king at Indraprastha (and established himself with his brothers, as master of half of the kingdom belonging to his father Pandu), then the Seven Rishis of the constellation of the Ursa Major entered the Lunar asterism of Maghas which was sacred and propitious to the Pitris.

The Seven Rishis (of the Great Bear) entered the asterism of the Maghas, just 75 years before the beginning of the Kali yuga (in the year 3177—3176 B. C.) at the commencement of the reign of the great king Yudhishtira who ruled the Earth during the said period.

These Seven Sages will enter the asterism of Aslēsā on the expiry of 25 years from the commencement of the Kali Age (in the year 3077—3076 B. C.) and they will continue to remain in that asterism for a period of 100 human years (from 3077—3076 B. C. to 2977—2976 B. C.).

In that very same year (3077—76 B. C.) will Dharmaputra (Yudhishtira, the eldest of the five Pāndava brothers) ascend to Heaven (Svargārōhana) after wandering over the earth for a long time (having abdicated the throne in favour of Parikshit, the grandson of his brother Arjuna and started on his Mahāprasthāna with his brothers and wife on hearing the sad and sudden news of the departure of Sri Krishna from the world).

Then will the Laukikābda or the Laukika Era consisting of a cycle of 2700 years be started in the world in commemoration of the Ascension of Dharmaputra into Heaven.

These Divine Sages (constituting the constellation of the Ursa Major) will reach (the lunar asterism) Āślēshā a second time (in their revolution) at the time of the commencement of the reign of the 27th king of the Andhra Dynasty (Sivasri Satakarni who began to rule Magadha in the year 2762 A. Y. corresponding to 377—376 B. C., one complete cycle of 2700 years having elapsed since the expiry of the 25th year of the Kaliyuga, when they first reached Āślēshā after the Mahā Bhārata War.)

These Seven Sages were conjoined with the asterism Magha for a period of 100 years during the time of Yudhishtira; and at the time of the commencement of the reign of King Nanda (Mahāpadma), they will be conjoined with the asterism Sravana (the 15th Nakshatra from Magha calculated, of course, in a reverse order.)

From the commencement of the rule of Andhra Dynasty (in Magadha) the Seven Rishis (of the Great Bear) will be found conjoined with Chitra, the 24th lunar asterism (calculated from and inclusive of Magha).

The interval of time between the birth of Parikshit (son of Abhimanyu by Uttara, and grandson of Arjuna, who was in the womb of his mother at the time of the Mahābhārata War) and the inauguration of Mahāpadma Nanda (the Founder of the Nanda Dynasty) is to be known as 1500 years.

According to competent authorities (Pramāṇajñas), the interval of time between the coronation of Mahāpadma Nanda (who came to the throne of Magadha in 1504 A. Y.) and the commencement of the Andhra Dynasty (which began to rule Magadha in 2305 A. Y.) is stated to be full 800 years.

When this great constellation of the seven sages of the Ursa Major shall again reach the asterism Punarvasu (in its second revolution after the Mahabharata War), the Empire of the great Gupta Kings shall begin to decline: and when they shall actually enter the asterism of Purvabhadra thereafter, the kingdom of Magadha will pass from the Guptas to the Pala kings.

Now these statements are, more or less fully corroborated by the statements contained in the complete version of the manuscript copy of the Matsya Purana in Tamil Grandha Script

(which practically agrees with the above version and with most of the versions of the other Puranas, though the accounts given in them are not so full and complete as in the Kaliyuga Raja Vrittānta. But owing to the admittedly imperfect nature and inaccurate readings of some of the printed texts of these Puranas a number of mis-conceptions have crept into the History of Ancient India, and the confusions thereby created have been worse confounded by some of the Oriental scholars, who, taking advantage of these wrong versions, have now practically succeeded in unsettling the whole of Indian Chronology by their own pre-conceived and unfounded theories substituting their own fertile imaginations and false synchronisms in the place of the solid and substantial facts and figures which stare at them at every step. The result is that we Indians are now made to give up our own ancient system of Chronology which has been uniformly accepted and acted upon from the most ancient times by all classes of Hindus, Buddhists, Jains and Muhammadans, nay even by Europeans and other foreigners; and we are asked to depend entirely upon the so-called Greek synchronisms which wrongly identify Sandracottus of the Greeks with Chandragupta Maurya of the Hindus, and which thereby make Chandragupta, the Founder of the Maurya Dynasty, a contemporary of Alexander the Great, placing his accession to the throne in or about 322 B.C.,... which is now made the starting point backwards and forwards in all Puranic calculations, instead of the year 3102 B.C., the date of the commencement of the Kaliyuga, which has been hitherto accepted by all Indian as well as foreign authorities without a single exception, and which has been uniformly taken to be the fixed point from which all Vedic and Laukic, Historical and Astronomical, calculations have been, and are still made. And the worst pity is that even the date of the Kaliyuga is now attempted to be fixed by this so-called starting point—the so-called Anchor sheet of Indian Chronology which is now taken to be an axiom of Indian History, which even impartial and patriotic Indian scholars are afraid to question.

Now these learned orientalists, Viz. Wilson, Cunningham Buhler, Stein, Fergusson, Lassen, Hultze and others do not hesitate to agree in placing the Mahabharata War in the year 36 before Kali, which, according to them and to all Hindu, Buddhistic, Jain and Muhammadan authorities, commenced in 3102 B. C. (i. e. the date of the Mahabharata War was $36 + 3102 = 3138$ B. C.) They had no objection to place the date of the War 2811 years before the commencement of the reign of Chandra Gupta of the Great Gupta dynasty who, according to the correct synchronism, was the Sandrocttas of the Greeks, who was actually reigning at Magadha at the time of the expedition of Alexander the Great in 326 B. C., and whose son was Samudragupta, the young prince Sandrocttus or Sandrocypius of the Greek historians.

In doing this, we are not inventing any new date for the Mahabharata War, but are only reasserting the same old date based on the general tradition of the country which had been uniformly given by the Hindus to this great event. The Hindu astronomers are mentioning the expired years of Kali in their yearly calenders (Almanacs) and the year 1952-1953 A. D. corresponds to 5053 Kali year expired. If we add 36 to the expired Kali year 5053 we get 5089, year of the Mahabharata War expired.

In connection with this subject, we are not ignorant of another theory which is based upon the wrong construction of a Verse quoted from Vruddha Garga, by Varāhamihira in his Brihatsamhita (ch. XIII verse 3) from which the date of the Great war is attempted to be fixed in or about 2448 B. C. by placing it 2526 years before the Saka-Kāla, which, by some of the later astronomers, including Dr. G. Thibaut and his protege Mahamahopādhyaya Sudhakara Divedi, is assumed to be identical with Salivahana Saka, which commenced in 78 A.D. We have fully discussed about this subject and showed the absurdity of this theory in our book named "Chronology of Kashmir Kings Re-constructed".

We will only briefly indicate here, for the information of our readers, that the Saka-Kāla, spoken of in the said famous verse from Vruddha Garga, was not the Salivahana Saka, but

it distinctly denoted the Saka-kāla as the first hostile advent of the Sakas or the Persians into India, who, according to the history of the Persians, as narrated by Herodotus and Xenophon, first began under their ideal king Cyrus the Great, to make hostile incursions into India from the Persian Province of Sacae in 550 B. C. just 2526 years after the death of Yudhisthira and this is believed to have taken place in the beginning of the Laukika or Saptarshi Era, which commenced, even according to Kālhana's "Rajatarangini" in the year 26 of the Kaliyuga, corresponding to 3077-76 B. C. From that time they appear to have established Satrapies in the Punjab and in the neighbouring provinces of Kashmir under Darius Hystaspes and his followers but they are said to have been completely vanquished and driven out beyond the Indus about the year 457 B. C.,—by Sri Harsha Vikrama of Ujjain.

The Cycle of Saptarshis

We know, as a matter of fact, that the new cycle of the Saptarshi Era called the Laukikabda commenced in the 26th year of the reign of Parikshit in 3077-3076 B. C. and its second cycle (after the lapse of 2700 years) commenced at the time of the 27th King of the Andhra Dynasty in 377-376 B. C.

But one might naturally object that the stanza in the Puranas, containing the statement of the Sutarshis that the cycle of the Sapta Rishis (evidently the Laukika Era) which began in Parikshit's time (viz, in the 26th year of his reign) repeated itself after going through a full cycle of *2700 years at the end of the "future" 27 Andhra kings* (or more correctly with the commencement of the reign of the 27th Andhra king) distinctly states that the Sapta Rishis *were in Krittika* presided over by the towering brilliant Agni Pradiptā nāgninā whereas the other stanza in the Puranas which gives a period of about 2400 years or roughly 24 centuries for the interval between Parikshit and the commencement of the Andhra Dynasty states in equally explicit terms *that the same Sapta Rishis were in Maghas*, the asterism presided over by the Pitris; and as the Sapta Rishis cannot be, at one and the same time (in this particular case at the time of the birth or reign of

Parikshit) in two different asterisms, *Maghas and Krittikas* (between which there will be at least a difference of 7 centuries, in whatever order the asterisms may be reckoned), the statements with regard to these two intervals of time, must be equally unfounded and inaccurate.

The answer to this objection is very simple. The discrepancy is purely nominal and not real. The substance is the same, but only the nomenclature differs. What is *Magha according to Vriddha Garga and the Puranas* is *Krittika according to Śrutarshis and Varahamihira*: and so the century consisting of the years 3177 to 3077 B. C., will be the Magha century of the Saptarshi Era according to the Puranas and Vriddha Garga, while the same will be designated as the Krittika century of the Saptarshi Era by the Śrutarshis and Varahamihira. This point has been fully noticed and explained by Alexander Cunningham at page 17 of his Book on Indian Eras, and we shall refer our readers to his excellent article on the Saptarshikāla, but the distinguished scholar makes a serious mistake in constructing his comparative Table by counting these Nakshatras backwards and forwards from Maghas or Krittikas in the direct order in which they are enumerated, as the centuries proceed, according to all authorities in a retrograde or reverse order as stated above. Even according to Col. Wilford, these Seven Rishis are supposed to go through the Zodiac in a retrograde motion, for he says: "The Hindus have thought proper to connect their chronology with an astronomical period of a most strange nature. It is that of the Seven Rishis or Seven stars of the Wain, which are supposed to go through the Zodiac, *in a retrograde motion*, in the space of 2700 years". (Vide Asiatic Researches, Vol IX. p. 83).

For the ready reference of our readers, we have herewith appended a correct table of the Cycle of the Seven Rishis which will show at one glance the initial year of each century for three complete cycles of 2700 years, in the Yudhishtira and the Christian Eras commencing from 2738 B. Y. corresponding to 5877 B. C., together with its Nakshatra or Lunar asterism, according to the two different modes of reckoning its centuries,

The Cycle of the Seven Rishis.

According to the Puranas and Vriddha Garga		The Saptarshi Era or Laukikabda Initial Years of Centuries						According to Srutarshis and Varahamihira	
No.	Names of Nakshatras	1st Cycle		2nd Cycle		3rd Cycle		Names of Nakshatras	No.
		B. Y.	B. C.	A. Y.	B. C.	A. Y.	B. C.		
1	Maghā	2738	5877	38	3177	2662	477	Krittika	1
2	Āsleshā	2638	5777	62	3077	2762	377	Bharani	2
3	Pushyā	2538	5677	162	2977	2862	277	Āsvini	3
4	Punarvasu	2438	5577	262	2877	2962	177	Rēvati	4
5	Ārdra	2338	5477	362	2777	3062	77	Uttara Bhādrapada	5
6	Mrigasirās	2238	5377	462	2677	3162	25	Pūrva Bhādrapada	6
7	Rohini	2138	5277	562	2577	3262	125	Satabhisha	7
8	Krittika	2038	5177	662	2477	3362	225	Dhanishtha	8
9	Bharani	1938	5077	762	2377	3462	325	Sravana	9
10	Āsvini	1838	4977	862	2277	3562	425	Uttara Āshādha	10
11	Rēvati	1738	4877	962	2177	3662	525	Pūrva Āshāda	11
12	Uttara Bhādrapada	1638	4777	1062	2077	3762	625	Mula	12
13	Pūrva Bhādrapada	1538	4677	1162	1977	3862	725	Jyeshtha	13
14	Satabhisha	1438	4577	1262	1877	3962	825	Anurādha	14
15	Dhanishtha	1338	4477	1362	1777	4062	925	Viśākha	15
16	Sravana	1238	4377	1462	1677	4162	1025	Svāti	16
17	Uttara Āshādha	1138	4277	1562	1577	4262	1125	Chittra	17
18	Pūrva Āshādha	1038	4177	1662	1477	4362	1225	Hasta	18
19	Mula	938	4077	1762	1377	4462	1325	Uttara Phalguni	19
20	Jyeshtha	838	3977	1862	1277	4562	1425	Pūrva Phalguni	20
21	Anurādha	738	3877	1962	1177	4662	1525	Magha	21
22	Viśākha	638	3777	2062	1077	4762	1625	Āsleshā	22
23	Svāti	538	3677	2162	977	4862	1725	Pushya	23
24	Chittra	438	3577	2262	877	4962	1825	Punarvasu	24
25	Hasta	338	3477	2362	777	5062	1925	Ārdra	25
26	Uttara Phalguni	238	3377	2462	677	5162	2025	Mrigasirās	26
27	Pūrva Phalguni	138	3277	2562	577	5262	2125	Rohini	27

namely, (1) that of the Puranas and of Vriddha Garga on the one hand, and (2) that of the Sutarshis and of Varahamihira on the other. It will be seen from this Table that between 38 B. Y. and 62 A. Y. (or in other words between 3177 and 3077 B. C.), the Seven Rishis of the Constellation of the Ursa Major continued to stay in the Lunar asterism of *Maghas* according to the Puranas and Vriddha Garga, and in the Lunar asterism of *Krittikas* according to the Sutarshis and Varahamihira.

5. *Mālava-Gaṇa Saka. Kali. 2377 or 725 B. C.*

The province Malwa attained its independence in 725 B. C., in commemoration of which the Mālava-Gaṇa Saka (or Era) was started by the people of Mālwa. The Western Indologists deliberately ignored this fact and wrongly identified this Era with Vikrama Era of 57 B. C., and consequently brought down all the inscriptions of Mālva-Gaṇa Saka Era to the fourth and fifth centuries A. D. Therefore, the period of the Guptas which was identical with the age of the inscriptions was brought to the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. *Thus the Gupta Era which actually commenced in 327 B. C., was pushed forward to 319-320 A. D.*

So, a close examination of this question is of great historical value.

Mālavañām gaṇastityā yāte s'atachatushtayē Trinavati Adhikēbdānām"

“మాలవాణాం గణస్థిత్యా యాతే శతచతుష్టయే॥ త్రినవతి అధికేబ్దానాం”॥

On seeing the inscription of Dr. Fleet, Dr P. Peterson, at first proclaimed it as Vikrama Saka year. He explained it as:-

“When four hundred and ninety three years from the establishment (in the country?) of the tribes of Mālvas had passed away.” (Vide Jour B.B. R.A.S. Vol. XVI page 381) (Bhandarkar Commemoration Vol. Page 190.)

Dr. Fleet gave this interpretation: “When, by the reckoning from the tribal constitution of the Mālavas, four centuries of years, increased by nintythree, had elapsed.” (Vide, Indian Antiquities Vol XV, page 201 Gupta Insc P. 87.)

Another inscription found in Mandasar has this:- “Pan-chasu s'atēshu s'aradām yāte Ṣvekāna navati Sahiteṣhu Mālva-gaṇa-Stiti vasāt”. Fleet interpreted it as, “from (the establishment

of) the Supremacy of the - tribal constitution of the Mālavās." (Gupta Insc P. 158). After writing this, he said that it is difficult to interpret the word "Vasāt". As the above two Doctors interpreted, "Stiti" does not mean "Sthāpana" or establishment. Prof. Kielhorn said that 'Gaṇa' means "Gaṇana" or reckoning; Dr. Bhandarkar said that the interpretation is not correct. The correct meaning is: "When 589 years elapsed after the Mālavagaṇa" here 'Gaṇa' means 'Collection' tribe and 'Mālavagaṇa' means "Collection of Malava People". The complete reading of the Sloka is as follows:—

"Panchasu S'ateṣhu S'aradām Yātē śhvē Kāṇna navati Sahiteṣhu; Mālava gaṇa stiti vasāt Kālajñānāya likhiteṣhu."

"పంచశతేషు శరదాయా తేష్యేకాన్నవతిసహితేషు
మాలవగణస్థితవసాత్ కాలజ్ఞానాయలిఖితేషు"

(Gupta Inscriptions No. 35. P. 154; Mandasor Insc.No.163)

After an elapse of five hundred and eighty-nine years of the period which was established among the community of Malava people, for the knowledge of time, and was in traditional use; or *in accordance with the Malava gaṇa Saka which was established for the knowledge of time, after a lapse of 589 years;* the latter would be a better rendering. In the above Sloka, the last portion "Kālajñānāya likhiteshu" was omitted by the Western writers and hence there was no chance for clear interpretation. When the gap, "Kālajñānāya Likhiteshu" was supplied, it would mean that *"five hundred and eighty nine years elapsed, since the period fixed, for calculation of time, to be in traditional use, among the Malava people.* So, it was established by the people of Malava country and was known as "Mālava Gaṇa S'aka"; but it was not known by which king it was established and it has no connection with any ruler. It is the Era established by the people of Malava, in commemoration of their independence and the chronology was calculated beginning from that date. So it is reasonable to call it 'Mālava gaṇa S'aka' as noted in the inscriptions and it is not Vikrama Saka.

Dr. Bhandarkar further says:—

In 1912-13, in Mandasor, the third inscription was discovered by me (Bhandarkar). It is as follows:—

“S’ri Mālavagaṇāmnāte praśaste Kruta Samjñite
Eka Śaṣṭi Adhikaprāpte Samāsata Chaturṣṭaye”

“శ్రీ మాలవగణామ్నాతే ప్రశస్తే కృతసంజ్ఞితే

ఏకషష్ఠి అధికప్రాప్తే సమాశతచతుర్వయే॥”

This means that the year 461 occurred in ‘Mālava gaṇa S’aka’ which was famous and in traditional use, having the name of “Krita”. In this connection, Bhandakar discussed to this effect. In this Sloka the expression, ‘Mālava Gaṇāmnāte’, is equal to the phrases, ‘Mālavānām ganastitiya’ and ‘Mālava-gaṇa stiti vasād’ found in the above two Mandasor inscriptions. Now what is the meaning of ‘Mālava gaṇāmnāte’? In Amarakosa the word ‘Āmnāya’ has the Synonym, ‘Sampradaya’ or tradition. So it must mean, “the period traditionally in use among the Malava tribe.” The word “Stiti” means ‘what was in established usage.’ In the above sloka, the phrase ‘Kruta Samjñite’ is an adjective to the date. In the latter half of the Sloka, the date 461 with its attribute ‘Kruta Samjñite’ must be interpreted as Vikrama Saka. So says Dr. Bhandarkar.

He, further says, that he discovered a fourth inscription, in 1915 A.D., at a place called “Nagari,” which was seven miles north of ‘Chitoorghad’, in Udaipur State of Rajaputana. It has the following Sloka:—

“Krutēṣhu Chaturṣhu Varṣha S’atēṣhu Ekāsityuttare
Svasyām; Mālavapūrvyāyām (400 + 80 + 1) Kārtika Sukla
Panchamyām;.”

“కృతేషు చతుర్వవర్ష శతేషు ఏకాశిత్యుత్తరేస్వస్యామ్॥

మాలవపూర్వాయాం (400 + 80 + 1) కార్తికశుక్ల పంచమ్యాం॥”

In this Sloka, the word, “Kritēṣhu” was interpreted to mean “Vikrama S’aka” and he said ‘Vikrama Saka 481 years falls on Kārtika Panchami. The phrase, ‘Mālava Pūrvya’ means that which is customary to the Mālava tribe. Whatever the word, ‘Krita’ meant, Bhandarkar said, it might have been called from old as Vikrama Saka. This is neither logical nor reasonable. He did not cite any old document for his statement, The above sentence means, “that which was customary among the Malava community or tribe.” This 481 year of Mālavagaṇa Saka falls on Kārtika Suddha Panchami.

Bhandarkar's opinion is that the four phrases in the three Mandasor inscriptions, namely, 1. Mālavānām ganastitya. 2. Mālava gana stiti vasāt. 3. Malava ganāmnāte, and 4. Malava-pūrvyāyām, give the same meaning. "Mālavapūrvya" thus means "Established or Customary among the Mālavās." (Bhandarkar Com. Vol. P.193) This interpretation of 'Mālava Purvya' as the Saka established traditionally by Mālavās is no doubt appropriate but to call it Vikrama S'aka is unreasonable.

As it is stated to be traditional to Malava people, it ought to have come into vogue with the existence of the Malava tribe or the dawn of Malava as an independent State; and it should have been in custom. Then only it would apply to the whole community and would become fixed. In case it refers to a certain king, it can not be applied to the whole people. Now, all the existing S'akas bear the names of the kings; for instance, Yudhishtira S'aka, Cyrus S'aka, S'riHarsha S'aka, Vikramarka S'aka; S'alivahana S'aka and others, go by the names of the rulers. The Gupta S'aka was termed after the Gupta Dynasty. *Lōka Kāla or Laukikābda* was established by the people and hence was called after the people. Similarly, Malavagana Saka concerns all the country-men of Mālava. So, it is styled, "Mālavānām ganastitya; Mālava gana stiti vasāt; Mālava ganāmnāte, and Mālava Pūrvyāyām, but it was not called with the appellation of a particular king. So, the word 'Gaṇa' should be added to 'Mālava Purvya' and should be read as 'Mālavaganapūrvya'. As the word 'gaṇa' was mentioned in the four inscriptions, it was introduced to refer to the whole people and to give the same interpretation. It was not used to denote any ruler and so we should not consider it as Vikrama Saka. The above expressions evidently indicate that the Mālava Gana S'aka had reference to the whole tribe and it should have been a Red-letter-day in the annals of the Mālava people. To know this, we have to make a review of the ancient history of Mālava Country.



Salankayana Maharaja Skandavarma's Kanukollu Copper-Plate Inscription.

By Sri R. Ramanatham, B.A. (Hons.)

It is a set of four Copper-plates containing 19 lines and was discovered in Kanukollu village, Gudivada taluq, Krishna District. The set was published in Bharati dated April, 1950 in Telugu by Sri B.V. Krishna Rao, M.A.B.L. This has helped me to edit it in English and my thanks are due to him as well as to Bharati.

Description of the Plates:

The total weight of the four plates is said to be 78 tolas. Each plate measures 7" by 2". The first plate, second side and the second plate, first side contain four lines each. The second plate, second side, and the third plate two sides and the fourth plate, first side contain three lines each. The binding ring with the seal is not available. Each side of the plate has been numbered by the scribe. The numbers of the plates are found in the margin to the left side of the hole through which passes the ring which binds the plates together. The first side of first plate and the second side of fourth plate are blank. The inscription which contains 19 lines, is in a state of good preservation.

Language and Alphabet:

The subject-matter is composed in Sanskrit, prose and poetry. But, the scribe employed ancient Telugu for engraving. It is known as old Vengi Script or Tel-Kannada Lipi.

The Grant:

The Salankāyana Maharaja Skandavarma donated Kompēra village in Kudrahara (Gudivada taluq of Krishna Dt.) to Rathakāra chaturvedi, in the first Victorious year of his reign. This Epigraph gives the genealogy of the Salankāyana family for four generations. The father of the donor is Mahārāja Hastivarma (II) and grand-father Nandivarma and great-grand-father Mahārāja Hastivarma (I)

Translation:

Hail prosperity! Victorious Vengi. The great-grand-son of Mahārāja Sri Hastivarma who won fame by heroic acts in many battles and the grandson of Nandivarma who killed many enemies and the son of Mahārāja Sri Hastivarma whose fame was embraced by the waves of the four seas, Sri Skanda varma Mahārāja who worshipped the feet of God Chitrarathaswami, (Sun-god) who was devoted to the feet of Bappa Bhattāraka (Revered father), and who belonged to the Salankayana family, desires that the undermen-

tioned is to be made known to the inhabitants of the village of Kompera:- "Let it happen like this! For our family, fame, wealth, and victory, we donate the village of Kompera, in Kudrahara (Gudivada Taluq) to Rathakāra Chaturvēdi, free of taxes and duties having made it into Brahmadeyam. Learning this, and observing old manners and customs (may you) treat the donee with affection. And, let all officials and others remove the village from their control, This Pattika is granted in the first prosperous Victorious year, in the month of Kartika, on Sukla pādyaṁ day." Many Lords of earth donated lands in different ways. In the ways in which they donated lands they will be reaping and enjoying good benefits.

Inscription-(Text from printed Telugu text and photo Blocks.)

First plate-Second side.

1. Svasti! Vijaya Vengyau anēka Samaramukha Vikhyāta karmmanah.
2. Mahārāja S'ri Hastivarmmanah prapautrasya.
3. Svapratāpā panitā hitavarmmanah Mahārāja S'ri Nandiva
4. rmmānah pautrasya chaturudadhitarāṅga līngita.

Second plate-First side.

5. Yasasō Mahārāja S'ri Hastivarmmanah putrasya
6. Bhagava cChitrarathaswami pādānudhyātasya
7. Bappa Bhattāraka pādabhaktasya S'alankāyanasya
8. Mahārāja S'ri Skandavarmmanō Vachanēṇa Kudrahārē

Second plate-Second side

9. Kompera grāmeyakā vāktavyā Aṣṭi Asmābhirasma
10. tkula yasah S'ri Vijaya kalyānābhivruddhayē
- ° 11. ēsha grāmah rathakāra vas thavyāya chātur vyaēdyāya

Third plate-First side

12. Sarvvaparihāreṇa Brahmadeyam Krutvā dattab
13. Tadavagamya Pūrvva maryādāyā sādhiprēsha
14. nam kartavyamapicha sarvvaniyo ganiyuktāyukta kāscha

Third plate-Second side

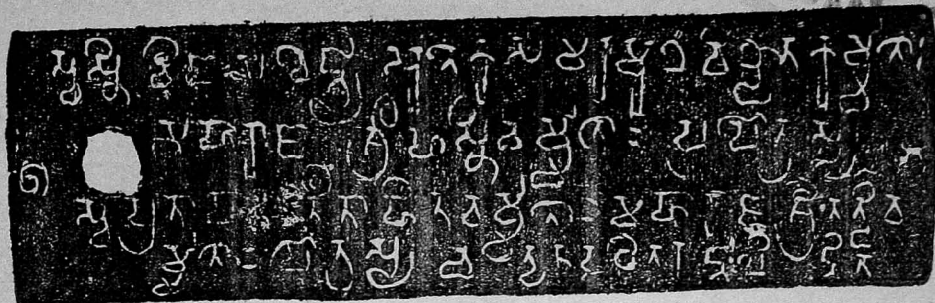
15. Tamgrāmam pariharantu Pravarddhamāna S'ri Vijaya
16. Rājya Samvatsare pratthame kārthikamāsa
17. S'ukla paksha pratipadi dattā pattikā

Fourth plate-First side

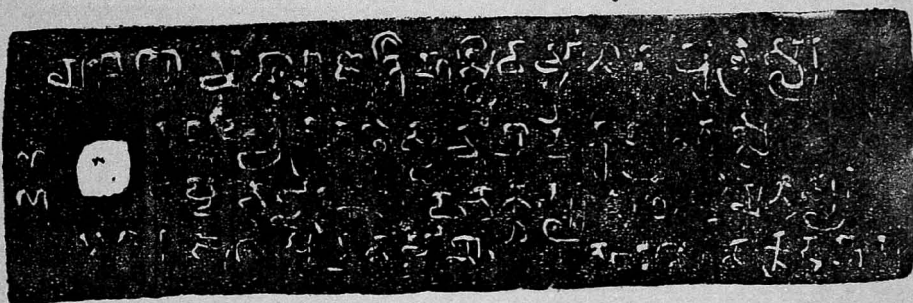
18. Bahubhirbahudhādattā vasudhā vasudhādhipaiḥ
19. yasya yasya yadā bhumih tasya tasya tadāphalam

N.B. I am indebted to my father Sri R. Subba Rao M.A.L.T., M.E.S. (Retd) for helping me in the preparation of the Text (Transliteration.)

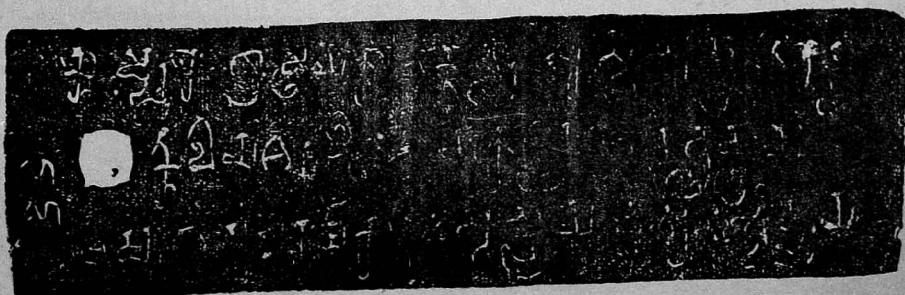
1 MAY 1958



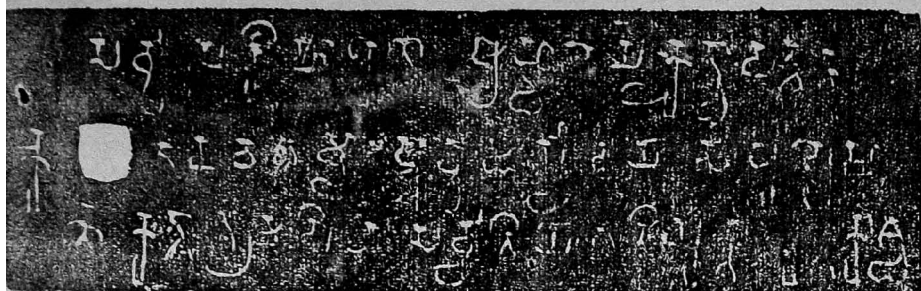
Second Plate, First Side.



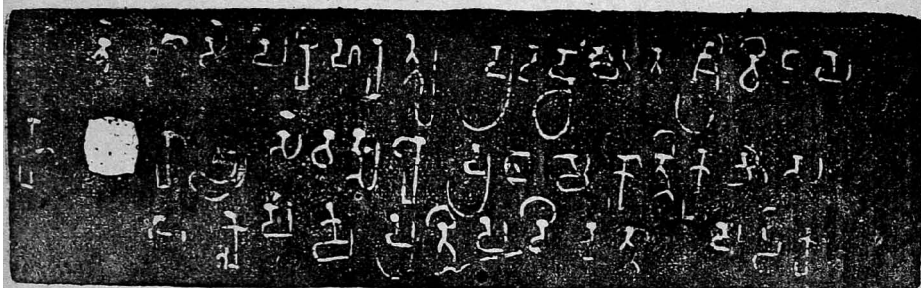
Second Plate, Second Side.



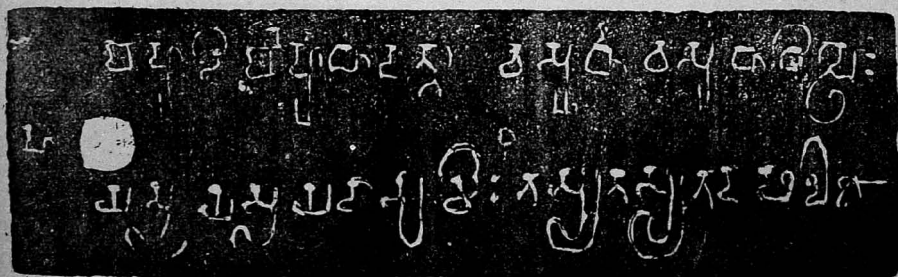
Dr. C. Narayana Rao Memorial Volume.
Third Plate, First Side.



Third Plate, Second Side.



Fourth Plate, First Side.



VENGI

By Sri R. Ramanatham B.A. (Hons.)

Traditionally, Vengi is identified with a village called Peda Vegi near Elur, capital of West Godavari Dt. In the Telugu country, there are four places of this name. Two of these named Chinna Vegi and Pedda Vegi are situated close to each other, near modern Elur; third, Vegeswaram is found in Kovur Taluq, W. Godavari District; and the fourth is a deserted site, named Vegipadu, in the Polavaram Taluq¹. In the Buddhist period, at Vengi, converged five great routes. The roads to Kalinga, Dravida, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Dakshina Kosala started from this place. This was because Vengi was one of the most famous Buddhist sites in Andhra country. It was once a flourishing capital of the Salankayanas and the Eastern Chalukyas. We learn that there existed in Vengi a great Buddhist University, numerous Buddhist Viharas, Chaityās and Samgharamas. The Vishnukundins had their capital in Dendalur close to Vengi. At present in Pedavegi are found ruins of a flourishing metropolis. The temple to Sun God in that place is reminiscent of Salankayana rule. The Salankayanas were patrons of Vedic Brahminism. The Pedda Vegi copper-plates of Vijayanandi record a grant to a temple of Vishnu. The Salankayanas patronised Hindu religion and encouraged Sanskrit. They issued their grants from Vengipura in Sanskrit Language. Benagouron of Ptolemy is this ancient Vengi. Ptolemy mentions three towns—Benagouron, kashtra and Magaris—belonging to the Salakenoi, who are located above the Maisoloi and near the mountain range Aronaia, the last of Ptolemy's seven mountains of Cis-Gangetic India. Now, we have got seven copper-plate charters issued by the rulers called Salankayanas. They ruled over a principality situated between Godavari and Krishna rivers.²

Buddhism was not so popular when Hiuen Tsang visited Andhra land. He records about Vengi thus:—'There are twenty Samgharamas with about three thousand priests. There are also thirty Deva temples with many heretics'.³

Another great scholar Dignāga of Kanchi who stayed for considerable period in Andhra land composed his great masterpiece the "*Pramāṇa Samuccaya*" on a hill with a Stupa near

Vengi. He was the founder of pure Logic, which he differentiated from religion and philosophy.⁴

Cultural contribution of Vengi to Far Eastern Countries

The Andhras were an enterprising race. They went overseas to distant lands and influenced the manners and customs there. 'We have absolute proof of the fact that the country of Vengi had a preponderating influence on the civilisation of Burma, Malaya states and Indo-China'⁴ This proof is supplied to us by stone Epigraphs and the alphabet found there in Vengi characters. 'The earliest Talaing alphabet is identical with the Vengi alphabet of the fourth century A.D.'⁵ Vengi had the unique fortune of being the capital for eight centuries⁶ of two great Dynasties. It influenced considerably the culture, religion and civilisation of Andhra and Far Andhra countries. The Kakatiyas of Warangal had also connections with Vengi. They conquered and annexed it finally to their Empire. Sri Krishnadeva Raya destroyed the city for the stout resistance it offered to him during his Eastern campaigns against the Gajapatis of Orissa. The ruins of the city unlike the Ruins of Hampi have yet to be excavated.

References.

1. Quoted in J.A.H.R.S. Vol. 5 Part I, Page 25.
2. Dr. J.P.H. Vogel's Notes on Ptolemy in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies. Vol. 12, Part I. P. 123.
3. Beal, Buddhist Records, Vol. II, p. 218.
4. Foreword (P.v) to K. R. Subaramanian's, Buddhist Remains in Āndhra and The History of Andhra between 225 and 610 A.D.
5. Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism (London, 1921) Vol III. P. 51
6. B. V. Krishna Rao, Prachināndhradēsam, P. 64.

Salankayana Nandivarma's Kanukollu Prakrit Copper-plate Inscription.

By Sri R. Ramanatham, B.A. (Hons)

It is a set of eight copper-plates ($7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}''$) containing 40 lines and was discovered in Kanukollu village, Gudivada Taluq, of Krishna District. The set was published in the Telugu monthly, "Bharati" of January, 1950, by Sri B.V. Krishna Rao, M.A., B.L. My thanks are due to both Sri B.V. Krishna Rao and the Bharati for helping me to do this work.

Description of the Plates.

There are eight plates. A hole of $\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter is made in the left margin of each plate through which a ring passes and both ends of the ring are drawn closely and soldered into a seal which is said to have the image of Nandi or Bull on it. Except the Sixth plate, second side and the Seventh plate, first side which contain only 2 lines each, the remaining plates contain three lines each. Each side of the plate has been numbered by the scribe. The numbers of the plates are found in the margin to the left side of the hole through which passes the ring to bind the plates together. In addition to the numbers on the plates, on plates 5, 6 and 7 are found some unusual signs, the meanings of which are not known. The plates appear to be in good condition from the appearance of the photo blocks of the Estampages.

Language and Alphabet.

This Inscription is engraved in what is known as old Vengilipi or, old Tel-Kannada. It is the old Prakrit Brahmlipi in which early Pallava records were engraved. Excepting the last two Vyasa verses, which are in Sanskrit, the rest is composed in Prakrit prose.

Subject-matter of the Grant.

The donation of Pidiha village was ordered from Vengipura by Salankayana Maharaja Nandivarma to Rathakāra Chaturvādi. The oral order of the Maharaja was engraved on copper-plates. The grant was made for the Maharaja's dharma, life and strength and also for the increase of fame, strength, and happiness of Bālaka Mahārājakumara Khanda (Skanda) Pota.

Free Translation of the Text:

From Victorious Vengi, by oral order, Maharaja Nandi-

varma, devoted to the feet of Bappa Bhattāraka (Revered Father) commands Mutyada (a village official) who obeys royal command and Niyogas, Kulaputras and Bhattas. Desiring the rise of our dharma, longevity of life and strength and also for the rise of fame, strength, and happiness to Bālaka Maharaja Khandapota, I donated Pidiha as Agrahara to the dweller of the Agrahara, Radhakāra chaturvedi, who is powerful to nullify evil and curse. The following exemptions are also granted to the Agrahara village. Royal officials, spies, etc, should not enter the village. Royal servants should not take earth to make salt. Rashtriyas should not enter the Agrahara. Government officials are forbidden to take boiled rice, cloths, etc, from the village. The village is free from the duty of sending articles to officials. The village is donated free from other petty exactions also. Learning this, officials must protect the village. If anybody disobeys our orders, he will be immediately killed by Yama. (He) who does not protect this gift, or the gift of another king, will drink in every birth ghastly poison which is deadlier than Halahala. Land is given as gift by many rulers. The gifts are looked after by many kings. By the nature of their good acts, they will be enjoying results. •

In the Fourteenth victorious year, in the rainy season, second half, on first day, this gift is made. Hasti swami will bring this (grant) into force. Maharaja's son, Kogala's son, Hadappa will safeguard this gift.

English Text from printed Telugu Text and Photo Blocks

First plate-Second side.

1. Vijaya Vemgipurā Bappa Bhattāraka
2. Pada pariggahitassa Mahārāja
3. Siri Nandivammassa Vachanena pi

Second plate-First side.

4. Dihaggāme Mutyadappamuhogāmō
5. Savva Samaggo savvāyogapesana
6. Kulaputta Bhadamanussā bhāṇitavvā

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

Second Plate, First Side.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

Second Plate, Second Side.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

Third Plate, First Side.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

శ్రీమద్విశ్వనాథాయ నమః
 పంచమ స్కంధము
 శ్రీకృష్ణుని పాదములకు

Fourth Plate, First Side.

శ్రీమద్విశ్వనాథాయ నమః
 శ్రీకృష్ణుని పాదములకు
 పంచమ స్కంధము

Fourth Plate, Second Side.

శ్రీకృష్ణుని పాదములకు
 పంచమ స్కంధము
 శ్రీమద్విశ్వనాథాయ నమః

Fifth Plate, First Side.

శ్రీకృష్ణుని పాదములకు
 పంచమ స్కంధము
 శ్రీమద్విశ్వనాథాయ నమః

५
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Sixth Plate, First Side.

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Sixth Plate, Second side.

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Seventh Plate, First Side.

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 ॐ

Second plate-Second side.

7. ihahi Ambadhammāyubala vaddha
8. nattham Balaka Mahārājakumāra
9. Khamda pottassa yasatti satthiyanam

Third plate-First side.

10. icchantenāmayā etassa sapānu
11. ggahasamatthassa nānā Gottacha
12. raṇatapassajjhāya niratassa

Third plate-Second side.

13. Aggahāra rathākāra chāthurvejja
14. yesa Pidihaggāmo aggahāra ra
15. thakāra vidhānena sampadatto

Fourth plate-First side.

16. Aggahāra ssayime Parihare
17. vitarāmi Appapusamaṇa
18. Masamalonakhātakam aratta

Fourth plate-Second side.

19. Sanvinakam Achollaka kura khhatta
20. ggahaṇam Aharitapamṇasāka
21. Pushpaphala duddha dadhi ghata

Fifth plate-First side.

22. Takkaggahaṇa mādikam yetehi
23. Parihārehi sesehipia
24. lihita chukkakha litehi savva

Fifth plate-Second side.

25. jātaparihārehi pariha
26. dhapariharā pedha chayōcha
27. khuyetam sāsanam appamānam

Sixth plate-First side.

28. kātavvunabādham pilam janejjo
29. Tassamkhuna parityassajjamha
30. tti bhavaticātra

Sixth plate-Second side.

31. Svadattamparadattam Vāyo Nṛpo
32. Noddhareddhareṭ jātejātē

Seventh plate-First side.

33. Sapibati viṣad Halahalam
34. halam Bahubhir vasudhādattābahu

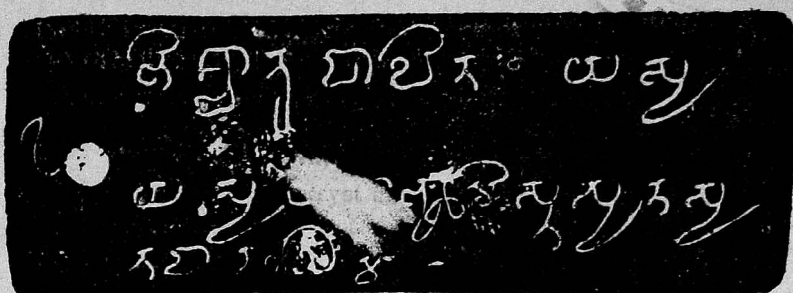
Seventh plate-Second side.

35. bhischānu palitam yasya
36. yasya yadābhūmi stasya tasya
37. tadāphalam

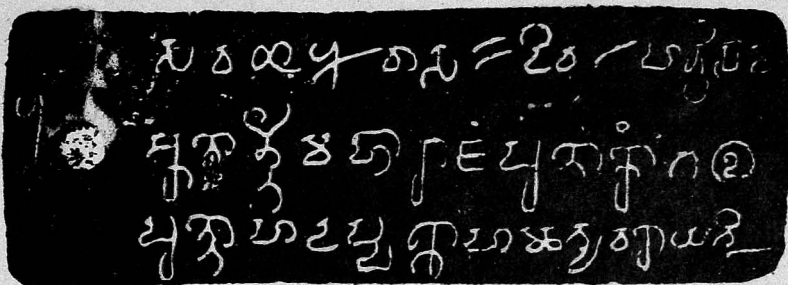
Eight plate-First side.

38. Sava 10,4 vāsa 2 diva 1 Hatthi sāmi
39. Āṇatti Mahārāja puto Kogala
40. Putto Hadappaggāhachetya varōyani.

10 MAY 1953



Eight Plate, First Side.



The Editor acknowledges with thanks that these blocks were made from the Impressions published in Bharati Dated June 1950.

To face Page 90



The Toponymy of Kanara ❖

By Mr. S. Silva, Advocate, Karvyar.

India:- 1. The story is yet in its infancy and there is no serious attempt made yet for a study of the place-names. There are a few stray articles here and there:-

(a) Place-names in Kerala-An article in K.V. Rangaswami Iyengar Commemoration Volume.

(b) A.S. Thyagaraju- A study of Telugu place - names. Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. XIV Parts, 3&4 (1943-44) Vol. XVIII Parts 1, 2, 3 & 4 (1947-48).

(c) K. Iswara Dutt-Indian Place names-a plea for starting an Indian place-name Society. Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society Vol. XVI parts 1, 2, 3, 4 (1945-46).

(d) Bose-Some Place-names in Palaman, *Man In India* Vol. 8, 1928.

(e) R. Caldwell-A comparative grammar of the Dravidian languages. 2nd 3rd Edn. London 1913

(f) A. C. Schoener: Aetdrāwidisches 50 pp. Erlangen, 1927

CHAPTER. I

The Science of Toponymy.⁸

Toponymy is a Greek word made up of two words: Topas=place and onyma=name.

In a geographical sense, it means "the place names, as of a district or country, a register of such names." The suffix "nomy" denotes "the science of". Toponymy therefore is the science of place-names. In German, it is "Ortsnamenkunde" meaning the science of place-names. In French, the term "toponymic" is used.

❖ This study is attempted fully knowing its implications and difficulties. I am deeply indebted to Rev. Fr. Stephen Fuchs S.V.D. Ph.D. of the Anthropos Institute Bombay for suggestions. They are embodied in the study under his own name. S. Silva.

1. I am not much aware of the place-names literature in India; I would be obliged if all the literature on the subject in India is brought to the notice of the public.

2. The bibliography may not be complete. I have tried it as far as it was in my power.

3. I am indebted to much of the matter in this chapter to "The origin of the Place-names of Nebraska" by J.T. Link.

Traces of attempts made at a study of place-names can be found from ancient times. In the Bible Gen. IV, 17th, origin of the name of the city of Enoch is given. The Greek and Roman poets, historians and philosophers have at times dwelt on the origins of place-names.

But the study of the science of place-names is of comparatively modern origin. It can be divided into three stages, viz.

(a) from the commencement till 1840 (b) From 1841 to 1885 and (c) after 1885.

The first stage consists of writers who undertook a study without any scientific attempt. It was an unmethodical attempt. One of the outstanding figures of this period was Gottf. Wilhelm Leibniz (1762). It was he who recognised the value of place name study. He was the first who expressed the fundamental principles that place-names have a meaning, and that meaning must be established from the old forms of such names. Peterson who started the Danish and Norwegian place-names is of the same opinion.⁴ The French historians Adrien de Valois and Jean Lebeuf are recognised as the leaders in French Toponymy of the first period. The American writers of the period are: John Heckewelder; names which the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indian had given to Rivers, Places etc. 1822. Henry R. Schoolcraft. The narrative of the expedition through the Upper Mississippi to Itasca, the actual source of the river. 1834.

The second stage (1841-1885) marks a remarkable development in the study of the science of toponymy. This impetus is mainly due to the inauguration of the study of Sanskrit in Europe. There was a time in the history of languages when Hebrew was considered the mother of all the world languages, or that it was the primitive tongue of human race. An attempt was then made to trace all the Gracco-Latin tongues to Hebrew. But this opinion was flouted for the first time in 1538 by William Postal. He was followed in 1606 by Stephen Gnicard, and in 1627 by Damiel Heynes. The philological researches of all these scholars finally disproved this idea and eventually Hebrew was considered a dialect belonging to the Chanaanitish group of

4. His work is a standard authority even till the present day.

Semitic languages. This was plain from its many recognised affinities with the Phoenician & Morabic dialects and presumably with those of Edon and Ammon.

Vascodegama's sail around the cape of Good-hope revolutionised many of these ideas; a brilliant band of Jesuits introduced the knowledge of Sanscrit in Europe for the first time. Athanasius kircher s.j.⁵ has left certain important papers in connection with the study of the affinity of the different languages and among his papers is found the first Sanscrit grammar which was brought to him in 1664 by another Jesuit Henry Roth who took with him also a dictionary of Sanscrit.⁶ Father Haxledon in 1732 took with him a grammar and also a Sanscrit-Portuguese Dictionary. Fr. Pons in 1738 and Fr. Panlins de samite Barthelumi in 1790 published Sanscrit grammars. Fr. Cocrdaux in 1767 traced the common origin of Sanscrit, Greek and Latin comparing the respective lexicons and grammars. Twenty years after Fr. Cocadenx, William Jones introduced himself to the world in the classical study of Indo-European cult.⁷

5. Kircher Museum of the Vatican known as "Museum kircherionum" at the Roman College still attracts many visitors even to this day.

6. Henry Roth was born in 1620. He arrived in Goa by the land-route. He was sent on an embassy to one of the native princes and finally reached the Empire of the great Moghal, where, as rector of the residence at Agra, he was involved in a persecution under Shahjehan. In 1662 he revisited Europe by the land-route via Kabul & returned to Agra in 1664. Roth shares with the Jesuit Haxledon the fame of being among Europeans the pioneer sanscrit scholar and of having compiled the first sanscrit grammar. During his stay in Agra he succeeded in persuading some Brahmins to teach him sanscrit and after six years of diligent study he obtained a complete mastery of this difficult tongue. He was the author of the interesting description of the sanscrit alphabet, published by Kircher in his "China Illustrata."

7. The statement at p. 201 in the "History and Culture of the Indian people" Vol. I Vedic age (Bharatiya Itihasa samiti), "It was a Florentine merchant Fillipps Sassetti who after 5 years' stay in Goa (1583-1588) declared for the first time that there existed a definite relation between sanscrit & some of the principal languages of Europe. But that this relation is due to origin from a common source was suggested only in 1786 by Sir William Jones in his famous address to the Asiatic society of Bengal" is not quite correct.

This study of Sanscrit, though it could not prove the parent stem, yet pointed rather to the existence of a prehistoric language denominated "Aryan" from which Sanscrit as well as others were derived. With this, there was a general revival of attention to the Romanic, Germanic and Slavonic languages. The interest aroused gave an impetus to the study of place-names. "Names were traced through the various changes they had undergone, back to their original forms and grouped according to certain common elements in their structure. Single names, groups of related names, names within smaller and larger units and collections of names from all continents appear in the various contributions of this period. Increased emphasis was placed on the value of place-name study by pointing its historical, ethnological, etymological, physiographical, geographical and didactic importance. Various systems of place-names and classifications were proposed, and principles expressed during the former period were strengthened, and new ones developed."⁸

Among the celebrated writings of this period may be mentioned Faerstemann's *altden tehes Namenbush*, 2 Vols, Revised Edition 1871-72 and in England F. Edmunds published in 1869 "Traces of history in the names of places."

The following principles were noticed to have been developed during the second stage. Viz. 1. There is no place name without a meaning.⁹ This is the golden rule. It is acknowledged by the earlier writers like Leibnitz also.

2. Place-names seldom contain myths, poetry or humour.¹⁰ "In establishing a new home all energies are necessarily centered upon obtaining the material needs. There is little time for reflection and thought outside of this sphere. Surrounded by the stern realities of nature, the Colonist bestows names that are the outgrowth of conditions and of the experiences in his environment"¹¹

3. The ordinary place-names atleast among the Aryans usually consist of an appellative as a general designation and a modifying element.¹² "Various terms are used by various writers to describe the component parts of a name. Morris uses the

8. Place-names of Nebraska P. 16 9. Egli. p. 203. 10. Egli p. 204.

11. Nebraska 'd 12. Egli p. 205.

words "General element" and Descriptive element." Gibsons, "prefixes" "postfixes" and "stems". Trumbull favours the terms "subjectival element" and adjectival element". The descriptive element is generally a personal name or a word descriptive or commemorative of the general element.

4. For a true explanation, the oldest authentic forms must be examined together with the dialect, phonetics and the historical documents of the origin.¹³ The original names are always descriptive in character. Therefore if there is any difficulty in understanding the names of places, rivers, mountains &c, it is evident that we have forgotten the meaning of aboriginal languages.

5. If documentary evidences are wanting, the analogous name-forms of the region occupied by the respective races should be considered.¹⁴

In the third period, from 1885 onwards, the science of toponomy has developed to a very large extent. A notable contribution in this development is the inauguration of the English place-name society at the University of Reading under the Editorship of Allen Mawer and F.M. Stenton. A large number of books are published giving a detailed survey of the place-names of each Shire. "The English place name survey, undertaken with the approval of the British Academy proposes to interpret County by County the place names of England and to draw from them all those conclusions, historical, cultural and linguistic which are implicit in them. Its volumes will be planned and written to appeal to the educated public at large and not to the specialist alone. Throughout its work, its aims will be to secure the Co-operation of all those scholarly interests historical, topographical, Archaeological, linguistic- that are concerned with the study of place-names in its widely varied aspects."¹⁵

Another work is that of Egli. It is a monumental work in the Science of toponomy.

In the science of toponomy general conclusions cannot be drawn. But if certain tendencies are general, they may be

13. Egli p. 205. 14. Egli p. 206. 15. Introduction to the study of English place names. Vol 1 part 1. p. 5.

expressed as principles. To establish such principles, we must have 1. A register as complete and reliable as possible of place names from all parts of the world. 2. To discover the principles, a suitable classification of place-name material is necessary and 3. From this classification the laws or principles that maintain in place naming are derived and thus we have toponomy or the science of place-naming.

Therefore, to the question, what is there in a name we might truly answer. "The geography and topography and physical conditions of the district, the historical events, the national and tribal immigrations, the ethnological patronomical policy, the constitution of society, the manners and customs of the name givers, their traditions, their mode of worship and much latent information of a kindred nature for which we in vain seek elsewhere."¹⁶

To make a proper study of place-names, all the available literature bearing upon the subject should be carefully read. This includes, the books published, old newspapers, Magazines &c, Manuscripts, Inscriptions on stones &c, topographic maps. Early settlers their descendents and others interested in local history should be consulted. Much travelling is also required.

Then, the names should be tabulated. The tabulation of each name includes. 1. An explanation of the name whenever that name does not readily explain itself. 2. The cause or "motive" that prompted the name and 3. Whether or not the name conforms with the conditions described or embodied in the name. This is the practice of toponomists.¹⁷

"If the name be topographic or descriptive we must ascertain if it conforms to the physical features of the spot; if on the other hand the name be historic in its character we must satisfy ourselves as to the historical possibility of its bestowal."¹⁸

After the names are tabulated as above described, they should be arranged into groups according to the features they designate and then divided into subgroups according to origin. Statistics necessarily become important in a study of this kind. They indicate the strength of certain tendencies in place-naming.

16. F. Davies 1878 p. 21. 17. Nebraska p. 11.

18. Taylor : Words and Places p 52.

Unfortunately, a study of this kind has not been undertaken in India. If a systematic attempt is made, Mohinjodaro and Harappa may open a new type of study. The attempts of the Bharatiya Itihasa Samiti will be more classical and scholarly. The laborious task of the present day Gazeteer compilers will be better appreciated. The unravelling of the science of Toponomy in India will possibly force a totally new History of the Indian people to be written.

Chapter II. The Name "Canara".

Canara of the present day consists of two districts illogically divided between Madras and Bombay States on the west-coast of India. The whole territory is yet an enigma. A detailed study of its place-names will unravel some of the most intricate mysteries of research. For the present study, only North Canara situated in the State of Bombay is considered.

To the authors of the Tamil Samgham Literature¹⁹ the west coast was a Kol Kannam, a veritable No man's land. Geologically, it is known as Parasuram Srushti as opposed to Brahma Srushti viz, the Deccan. The sandy loams of the west-coast are only the result of the receding of the sea and hence the authors of Samgham Literature christened it as Kol Kannam. Anybody could come and settle in this territory.

The legend of Parasuram is really of Aryan colonisation, which commenced from the northern side of the west-coast. To the Aryan with his Sanscrit language, this coastal tract was only Konkan. This word can be ascribed to two sanscrit words "Ka" and "Anka" meaning "on the lap of the Sea." The whole west coast was known as Konkanapatti. It was the preponderance of the Aryan cult over the Dravidian cult. Possibly, Konkan developed itself into Kolkannam to the Tamilian. There is certainly some affinity between the two expressions.

This Konkanapatti was later known as Saptakonkana²⁰ dividing the tract into seven cultural units. Four of these are visible till the present day, viz, Kerala, Tuluva, Haiva and Konkana. The river Gangavali, 7 miles to the south of Ankola

19. The date of this Tamil Literature is computed to be between 300 and 600 A. D. But it may be earlier.

20. (X) Rāga Tar. IV. 159.

in North Canara, divides Konkana and Haiva. To the north of the Gangavli, the coast is known as Konkana coast. Haiva commences to the south of Gangavli and continues to the river Gongalli in Kundapur Taluka. Between the rivers Gongolli and Chandragiri is Tuluva and to the south of Chandragiri is Kerala. It is a historic fact that these rivers of the west coast have played an important part in the development of the different cultures of the coast, and have always been the dividing lines between different cultures.

North Canara coast therefore consists of Haiva and the southern tract of Konkana. The Sahyadris run through the middle of the district. Above the Ghats, the southern portion consisting of the Talukas of Yellapur, Sirsi, Siddapur are the outskirts of Karnataka and the Taluka of Halyal is the outermost post of Maharashtra.

The territory included in this jumble of four cultures is known today as the district of North Canara. Evidently, the name is a misnomer. Literally, the word Canara means Kannada. The foreign Powers, consisting of Portuguese, Dutch & the English invariably called the Kingdom of Bednore (1489-1762) as the Kingdom of Canara i. e. the Kingdom of the Canarese Rulers. The coastal portion of this Kingdom included both the Canaras, north and south. All the three European powers had vast commercial dealings in this Kingdom and for their purposes they were content to call the Kingdom as the Kingdom of Canara or the Kingdom of the Canarese. The official language as also the language of the major portion of the population residing in the Kingdom was Kannada.

The Portuguese writers have invariably misused the word. They have used three sets of words: Canara, Canarin and Canarese. To some of the Portuguese writers "Canares" was a language. Diago de conto applies the word "Canari" to the Christians of Goa. "The priest Belchor de Silva sacerdate..... Canare by birth, was born in Goa. Pyrard applies it to Hindus only. "All the ordinary traffic in retail there (in Goa) is done by the Banias, the Canarese & other foreigners; so also by people like Mahamadans & rarely by Portuguese."²¹

So also the Dutch. Maens uses the word 'canarins; but says they are from Shastha- Vardes (Salceet & Bardes of Goa) & not called so after the Kingdom of Canara.'"²²

Hyder Ali who conquered this Kingdom in 1763 called the coastal portion as Subah Kinara i. e. the coastal district. The English who conquered this territory from Tippu in 1799 called it for the first time the district of Canara. But the word is not mentioned in the Treaty of Seringapatam. Only the territories included in the present two districts are mentioned. But from 1800 the name has been entered in the administration records of the British Government as the districts of North and South Canara. The name Canara therefore is the creation of English administrators including Sir Thomas Munro. It has no toponomic meaning except that it means Kannada.

CHAPTER. III.

Colonisations in Canara and on the West coast generally.

In the middle ages, Canara appears to have been the meeting point of four cultures. Viz. Konkana, Mahāratta, Karusta, and Tiglari. There was a time when the regional languages took their shape and asserted their own cultures in South India, i.e. to the South of the Vindhya. The major languages that developed themselves were Guzerati, Mahāratti, Konkani, Telugu, Tamil, Kannada, Malayalam, Tulu, and Tiglari. If Sanscrit is accepted to be the parent of the first three and, Tamil of the rest six,²³ then it can clearly be proved that in Canara atleast four of the above ten cultures have met. Guzerati and Telugu could not penetrate here owing to distance or perhaps owing to the fact that Maharati and Kannada intervened between Kanara on one side and Gujarat and Telugunadu on the other.

The Aryans directly penetrated along the coast from the northern side and halted at first at Gangavali. The river being named Ganga and a temple of Gangadevi lying at its mouth

22. Dutch in Malabar P. 90.

23. I am doubtful about the correctness of this assumption. But research in India so far does not disprove the proposition. It may be upset by future research.

are clear indications that it was an Aryan Colonisation from the North. The two talukas of Karwar and Supa are Konkani in language and culture and the place-names are Konkani in language. From the Deccan, the Maharatta penetrated into Halyal and introduced the Maratti culture in that Taluka. The place names are Mahratti. In 900 A. d. the Rashtrakuta King Nrupa Tunga asserts in his Kavi Raja Marga that Suddha Kannada was spoken only between Caverry and Godavari Rivers. If so, this Kannada developed itself and engulfed the talukas of Gellapur Sirsi and Siddapur of Canara. The place-names are in Kannada. There remains the question of Haiva including the coastal talukas of Ankola, Kumta, Honaver and Bhatkal. If an attempt is made, culture and language of this tract can be traced to Tamil. It has been proved that Kerala place-names are Tamil in origin. The word sand in kerala language (Malayalam) is Payam. This Payam in Tulu (the language of South Canara or Tuluva) is Poiye. When the Tuluvas migrated further north into the coastal tract of North Canara, they called that tract in their own language Poiyi Fad which developed later in Tiglari to Havye or Haiva. Thus the Tamil culture developed on the coast at the southernmost end the Kerala culture with Malayalam as its language. Its emigration further north into South Canara developed the Tulu culture with Tulu language. Still further north it developed the Tiglari culture in Haiva with the Tiglari language. When Kannada Dynasties of the Upghats asserted their sway over the coastal tracts, they called this Haiva as Haiga, the Kannada word for sand being Haige'. Buchanan in 1800 called it Haiga Nad.

It was therefore in Canara that the Konkani, Maratti, Kannada and Tiglari cultures have met. Tiglari is practically an extension of Tamil. If Kannada is also supposed to be an extension, then the southern portion of Canara is practically an extension of Tamil nadu. To the north with its Konkani & Maratti it is practically an extension of Sanscrit Nadu. The relation between the two is still unclear.²⁴ But it is a fact that the historic Gongavli has acted as a barrier between the two for ages together.

24. What connection there is between the two is for future research to decide. Some hints will be thrown in the later stages of this Paper.

There are two sets of words used for place names. In the sanscritised portion we find *gaon* and *wada*²⁵ and in the Tamilised side we find *gram* and *uru*.

The words *gaon* and *wada* have penetrated into Canara from perhaps south of the Vindhya.

Guzerat : Shegaon.

Nasik district - Khedgaon, Nandgaon, Malegaon.

Poona district : Talegaon, Malegaon, Wadgaon.

Thana district : Unbergaon, Gargaon.

Kolaba district : Bahmangaon, Shrighaon, Mangaon.

Ratnagiri district : Phanasgaon; Karajagaon.

Goa : Talegaon, Madgaon. Amagaon, Asangaon,

Kanara district : Kamergaon, Adangaon.

Similarly, *wada* or *wadi* has followed the *gaon*.

C.P. and Guzerat : Chindwara, Khandwara, Anklishwar.

Poona district : Saswad, Ghatawade.

Surat District - Champawadi.

Thana district - Khaparwada.

Kolaba district or thereabout - Kuwad wad

Kolhapur : Wadi, Bawada.

Ratnagiri district Goa and Sowantwadi.

Kanara district : Savantwada, Wailwada, Kesra wadi.

Wada is found on the East coast-Vijaya wada.

The word *uru* is a remarkable word in the science of place-name. Literally it means in our languages land, country or settlement. The word is found possibly all over Asia.²⁶

The conception and history of this word is yet to be written and when properly expounded it may possibly unravel a vast number of mysteries. Perhaps this word is found in the whole of the Western Hemisphere.

This word is found in Melanesia:—

Language	Land, Country	Language	Land, Country.
Tarikukari	Nugu	Varase	Vudu
Kiposaka	Nugu	Ririo	Vudu
Babatara	Vudu	Sengga	Vadu
Gongoroi	Vudu	Kirunggela	Udu

25. Wada = abode. Abadi = Settlement.

26. Cf. *ur* in Chaldea! Nip (p) *ur* in Akkadia. Uruk in Babylonia.

Dr. C. Narayana Rao Memorial Volume.

Tasobi	Vudu	Kaburu	Vduu
Virulata	Vudu	Velariuru	Vudu
Subi	Udu	Sungasinga	Udu
Ruravai	Udu	Guiuinengo	Vudu
Kunahena	Nugu	Maran	Vudu. ²⁷

Taking our own South India, the Tamil Language generally uses it as a suffix e. g.

Coinuatt ur	Coimbatore
Tanja ur	Tanjore
Bengal ur	Bangalore
This Tamil suffix passed on to Kerala.	
Canan ur	Cananore
Payan ur	Payannur.

From Kerala, it proceeded to Tuluva.

Mangala uru	Mangalore
Putt ur	Puttur
Brahma uru	Brahmawar
Bark ur	
Madan ur	

From Tuluva, it proceeded to Haiva.

Honn ur	Honnatur
Bail uru	Bailura
Chanda uru	Chandavar
Brahm ur	in Ankola Taluka
Benand ur	in Bhatkal do
Gollabail ur	do
Kurand ur	do
Nag ur	in Kumta Taluka
Balk ur	in Honaver Taluka
Dugg ur	Do
Kelgu ur	Do

27. A Comparative Vocabulary of the Languages of the island of Choiscul, British Solomon Islands, Melanesia, by P. A. Lanyan Orgil Ph. D. Printed in Anthropos Jan-june 1950 Vol XLV Nos 1-3 pp- 57-81.

Here in Haiva it has stopped. It does not go beyond the Gangavali. The conclusion is warranted that Tamil Culture has only penetrated up to Haiva. •

It is a fact that *Gaon* and *Wada* do not proceed to the South of the Gongavli and *Gam* and *uru* do not go north of the Gangavli. Is there any connection between *gaon* and *wada* and *gram* and *uru*? Possibly they are the same. An illustration may suffice to prove this.

The origin of the word *gowda* can be traced to both:-

Gaon — Wada		Gram ²⁸ — uru
Gao — n — ada	•	Ga — m — udu
Gaonda =		Gowda = Ga — udu

Is the word *uraon* possibly a combination of *uru* and *gaon*?

Compare the word, *urgaon*.

Is *wada* and *uru* the same? *wada* — *wadi* — *Vudu* — *Udu* — *Uru*. In my opinion all these words *wada*, *wadi*, *udu*, *pur*, *uru*, *ur* are practically of the same stock.²⁹ It is only in the historic ages that we have found the different sets used in different places. So, we are practically going from the present age backwards. Where we shall reach is a matter for the future research worker.

From this an inference may arise as to the size, i.e. in the two words *gaon* and *wada* which is bigger or is *wada* included in *gaon* or *gaon* included in *wada*. Similarly, in *gram* and *uru*.³⁰ A study of this may lead to the conclusion which is the older of the two. i.e. Whether it is *wada* or *gaon* and in the other set whether it is *gram* or *uru*. In the village of Chita-

28. Gram scarcely ever will turn into Gaon. Gram Sanscrit = Village, settlement. But is Gaon Sanscrit? (Fuchs)

29. Another opinion is *wada* and *uru* may be the same but not *gaon* and *wada* or *gaon* and *uru*. [Fuchs]

30. 'It is generally well known in C.P. that a *gaon* includes several *ābādīs*. In Chetisgarh, an *abadi* is called 'Tola.' Tola may be the root for *uru*. Tola is probably *gavdi* [Dravidian language]. In Tola-*t* is dropped, *t* easily turns into *r*. Tola would thus be older" [Fuchs]. To this may I add the Origin of the word *Toda*; is it *Tol-udu*?

kula in Karwar Taluka there are about 10 *wadas* Devli Wado, Desai Wado, Kaju wado, Deva Wado, Kankan wado, Tari wado, Wani wado &c. All these and some other majaras compose the village of Chitakula. Wado here is a smaller unit.

A third set of argument may prove that Canara is a Colonised land. There are certain names of places in Canara which have no meaning for their existence there, that is to say, if the meanings of those words are to be explained, We must possibly look outside Canara. In Canara they have no meaning.

One illustration to prove this: Karambal is a fruit generally used for pickles. There is a village by the name Karambali in Supa Taluka. The name has no meaning in Supa Toponymy, because there are no Karambali³¹ trees there. The tradition also is that the name is not derived from Karambali tree. But it may be observed that there are villages or places named Karambali in the following places in India:—

Karambali—	Bengal and Tirhut
„	Thana District
„	Goa
„	Supa, Canara
„	Khanapur in Belgaum District
„	Dharwar District
Karambal padi	Mangalore, S. Canara District
Karimbali	in Travancore ³² State

Is this a Colonisation from Bengal³³ down wards as far as Travancore? Judging closely, the God of Goa Karambali and Supa Karambali are the same. The Communities in most are the same viz Gaud Saraswats.³⁴ Is this a Gaud Saraswat colonisation from Bengal towards the South?

31. Dutch in Malabar p. 56.

32. "Karambali may be Karam + phali (fruit). Karam tree is sacred to Munda and Oraon Fuchs..

33. Rather vice versa! From South to N. East! According to tradition the Oraons of Chotanagpur hail from the Carnatic! (Gait: Bengal Census Report, 1901) They Speak a Dravidian language! Fuchs.

34. So far as I have ascertained.

Ankola³⁵ is a place in Canara. It is difficult to trace its meaning. Tradition says that there was a temple of Ankleswar deva in this place and so the name Ankola has arisen. It is difficult to imagine this because in all its history and legend, there is no mention of the Ankleswar temple in Ankola. But it should be noted that Ankola is generally a place of pilgrimage. There is a place known as Ankola in Broach. It is also a place of pilgrimage. Is this a Broach Colonisation?

The suffix *puram*, *pur*, or *pura* is attached to a vast number of names in Northern India.

It has travelled in South India also. Suffice it to say that the suffix *pur*³⁶ has travelled into Canara also through Karnataka. e.g. Yellapur, Siddapur, Mallapur.

Is this Sanscrit or Tamil? Has *puram* developed into *pur* and then to *uru* or vice versa? These are details which must be left to the future research worker.

It has been thus amply proved that Kol-Kannam or Konkan which was once only a Parasuram *srushti* is a land which is entirely Colonised. The receding of the sea has enabled Colonists to settle in this territory and the Colonists have come from North, East and South.³⁷

CHAPTER. IV.

Significance of Place-names in Canara

Every place-name has a meaning and a significance. This is the golden rule as enunciated by Egli. The science of Toponomy commenced with the principle. "The local nomenclature of a country is the language in which its autobiography is written and in no other record is its nascent history stamped in characters so indelible or authentic."³⁸

35. There is a town Akola in W-Berar.

36. *pūr* [a] is Sanskrit, found in Raghuvamsa 16;23 from *pur* (pr) or *pūr*: to fill. Fuchs.

37. There has been also Colonisation from the West through the Arabian ocean by ship-wrecked people and Sufi Muslims. But it is too vast a subject and cannot be adequately discussed here.

38. F. Davies 1878.

The names give information about our people. Their history is reflected in the names they give. These throw light on their wanderings, misfortunes, dissensions and battles. They show how well the settler knew his environment and his adaptation thereto; how he obtained his necessities of life in his struggle for existence; how by his primitive system of medicine he sought to cure his ills. To some extent his customs and tribal organisations find expression in his place-names. Few of these appeal to the imagination, the aesthetic and the practical sense. His language expressed in these names indicates his mental and his spiritual life. His culture is reflected in his place-names. A race close to nature uses names derived from Nature.

It is quite a noticeable feature that in the science of topography, woman has always played a remarkable part. Man is the coloniser but woman is the name-giver. Man looks down to the soil to settle. But woman looks around and christens the place. The physical features or the topography is more visible to her than to the male. In a settlement, it is the neighbour that generally names the place. Even here it is the woman that plays the prominent role. The man labours the whole day and is content to remain at home for an evening's rest. But it is the woman who wants an another woman for a chat and when questioned where she had been, she says "I went to the hill, I went to the river, I went to the tree etc. Possibly twentyfive percent of the world's place-names owe thier origin to the woman.

There is always a difficulty in interpreting the names of places. A large proportion can be correctly explained. But there is always the difficulty of telling definitely, which, out of a number of explanations, is correct. The element of uncertainty is always there. It is ever a question of time and research. The element of uncertainty has arisen owing to various factors. In some names, the original meaning is lost. Possibly, the original is wholly lost. Some have undergone change. At times the changes are so great as to remove all connecting links. The growth of forests in Canara has barred all links which could possibly have supplied the keys to the

situation. Lastly, there are no written records. The only record is of nature. Even nature has sometimes varied with the language itself.

It is a significant fact that among primitive people or even among settlers, every place has a name. Every country has a name; the subdivisions of Countries, Districts, Villages; Sub-divisions of villages, Hamlets, Mazaras, individual fields and gardens and even houses have their own names. This is a remarkable feature in the science of toponomy.³⁹

A large number of place-names owe their origin to topography. In Canara, possibly eighty percent of place-names owe their origin to topographic conditions.

Same apt illustrations may be given here:—

Idgundi : Id — gundi = the land which is on the side of the slope.

Upponi — Uppu — oni = The lane of salt.

Harnir — Har — nir = Flowing water.

Tannir handa — Tannir — Handa = The pond of cold water.

Uppena pattana — uppu — pattana = The town of salt.

There was a salt market here. Kelgra onikeri —

Kelgina — oni — Keri = the place which is on the lower street.

Sakalhen = the field that is low.

Varilhen = the field that is high.

Besides topography, various other factors are sources for deciphering place-names in Canara.

Personal names form one of the important sources in place-naming:—

Manigadde = the field of man. Mani is generally the term used to call a Havik Brahmin boy. It is not a personal name. Bablikop — the place of Babli. Balshetti kop — the place Balshetti Bomanalli — the land of Bomma. Bukankop — the land of Buka.

Nagshetti kop — the land of Nagshetti

Nandangadde — th field of Nanda.

Sawantwadi — the land of Sawants

39. A serious attempt to tackle this question would make this paper too long. But it is worth attempting.

Dr. C. Narayana Rao Memorial Volume.

Dasanagadde, Dasankot — the land of Dasa

Prittanmane — the land of Pritta

Sadashivalli — the land of Sadashiv

Mundaganmane — the land of Mundaga

Omigadde — The field of Omi

Among personal names, Royalties also figure:

Rayapattana — the Royal town

Sambrani — Samba Rani

Arasapur — the town of King

Some names are from relations

Ajjibail⁴⁰ — Grand mother's land

Maranmane — The house of father-in-law

Wars or dissensions are clearly depicted.

Jagalbet — Jagala betta, the field of quarrels

Vijayadabe — the land of Victory

Virampoli — Verana - halli — the land of the hero

Viral — Vir - al — the land of the hero

Virkhol — The hollow of the hero

Virnoli — Virana - holi — the land of the hero.

It is Konkanised.

Poetic fancies or imaginations give rise to place-names

Chandavar — Chandu uru (The beautiful Country)

Bhagawati — Bhogowati (land of enjoyment)

Torke — Torike (He who shows) It is said that the Nadores found their way through this place for their settlement.

Huinmane — the land of flowers

Chand wadi — the beautiful land

Hutkambe — Post showing hand (direction post)

Paiswadi — the distant land

Shingorgaon — the beautiful place

Kanchinamale — garland of gold

Hakkigaddi — field infested by birds

Famine, poverty, financial crisis or waste or even wealth give rise to place- names. Bargal (famine), Agga—(cheap),

40. Aji- (Ajj) may also mean : heritage, inherited land.

Cf. Winslow: Tamil—English Dictionary. [Fuchs].

This is a purely Tulu word and possibly introduced by Tuluvas after their settlement in Haiva.

Berde — Barad (useless land)

Bargadde — Bargal gadde — the land of famine

Bhandarakeri — Is it treasure trove?

Charities also give rise to place-names.

Umblikop — the land which was given in gift.

Heggumbli — The charity of Hegdes

Superstitions also have played their part.

Marugadde⁴¹ ÷ the field of the ghost.

Mangalwad—the land of good omen.

Margundi⁴²—The depth of ghost.

Pride or communal prestige is also a factor.

Mogta is a village inhabited by Nadores mainly. The meaning of the name is Makuta (crown). It was therefore a place inhabited by the Premiere of the race.

Amadalli—the land of proud people.

Production by the land also had its counter-part in suggesting the names of places:-

Belaki—Bele akki—(white rice). The tract which produced white rice.

Honnebail—the land of gold, a fertile place.

Belkhand...Bele khanda.. the land of production of rice.

Hanagadde—the land of gold.

Historical events have also given names to places.

Sunksal=Sunka—sale (the place for levying customs).

Sunkeri=Sunkada keri (The place where customs were levied). These are the two customs stations of the Sonda Empire which flourished in Canara from about 1500 to 1762.⁴³

Purvarg-old varg. Varg is khata or title. The land of ancient title.

Medicine also has played its part:-

Halwalli—the tract of a medicinal herb.

41. Maru may also mean : field of the dead - burialground in Hindi; marghat - burial or burning ground.

42. Gundi may be khund - abyss, decline? Fuchs.

43. It may interest the Reader to know that the English Factors at Kadwad (Karwar) paid their Customs at Sunkeri.

Kirkee—the land of a herb.

Vaijagaon—the land of the physician.

Hebballi—Heb—balli.

Religion also has played its part.

Math-matha (temple) Babrwada—Bobberya wada (The place of the deity of Bobberya. This is a typical Tuluva deity).

Brahmur—The land of Brahma.

Devigadde—the field of the goddess.

Devasthan—mianṅte

Hawagi—a goddess Howagi

Jatage—There is a worship known as jataga (anthill)

Siddapur—the land of god Sidda.

Devalmakki—the land of god.

Bastikeri—a land of bastis (jain temples)

Gokern—the land of the sacred cow.

Devarmane—Devanahalli—Devarkop—the land of god

Linganmatt—the temple of Lingayats.

Sudhapura—(Sonda) The pure land.

Ulvi—I will stay here. Chenbasappa of the Lingayat sect said this.

Names are derived from animals common in the localities:—

Nagarkan—the land of the serpent;

Hulgan—the land of the tiger.

Hebbul—the land of large snakes;

Ilimane—the house of rats

Havinabil—The hole of the snake.

Professions are also responsible for giving names of places:—

Agsalkatta—the place of goldsmiths.

agsur—the land of washermen.

Kamerga—the land of pootters.

Kasarwadi—the land of Kasars, Copper-smiths.

Kelashi—Barber.

Kumbral—the land of potters.

Badgi—Carpenter

Agsal—goldsmith

Communities: Gave rise to place-names.

Harvad – the land of fliers (Brahmins)

Shetgeri — the land of shets or vanis
 Hoskumbharkop — Hosa kumbhar — koppa
 The new place of potters.
 Bamanwada — the land of Brahmins.
 Hullermane — the land of Brahmins.
 Gondalli — the village of gondas or gowdas?

Possibly colonisers introduced the same names for their settlements:— Karikal in Bhatkal Taluqa is after Karkal in Tuluva. Whether the i was there in the original name cannot be stated definitely.

Kasarkod in Hannaver Taluka. Possibly from Kasargod of South Canara.

Ullal of Sirsi Taluk. Is it from ullal of South Canara? It is in an uru tract.

Koodla of Sirsi Taluka. It is "Kudla" of South Canara? Mangalur is also "Kudla". The kudla of sirsi is in uru country? Are both topographic because both are the sanghams of rivers. The language of both is Tulu.

National games have also pictured.

Bogribail — The place whose Bagri game was played.

Vadibogri — The place of Bagri play.

Vegetation has also found a place:—

Baleguli — the land of plantations

Mavinkurve — the island of Mangoes

Ambiwadi — the place of Mangoes

Dandeli — Dandaka Aranya (dense forest) a place where Sita, Rama and Lakshmana are supposed to have stayed.

Hunshewadi — the land of tamarind

Balemane — land of plantains

Sappinahosalli — Soppina — Hosa — Halli, the land where leaves are found for manure

Balikaimane — the land of plantains

Tenginamudi Tarehalli — The land of Coconut

Jambesal, the Colucmn of Jamba trees—

Chinchkhand Hunasimane — the land of tamarind

Mavlinge — Citron

Balekari — Plantain fruit Golikai — Banyan tree fruit

Streams and lakes are also there:—

Dr. C. Narayana Rao Memorial Volume.

Nadibag — the land on the border of the river

Keremane Kerekop — the land on the lake

Nadibag — Land near the river

Nirgan Nirgar — the land of water

Holebail — the land near the stream

The Eternal sand of Haiva is depicted in some names:—

Bilihonige — white sand

Belekeri — the land adjoining the sea

Rivers are generally depicted in Colours:—

Kali — black Pandri — whitish

Dudsagar — the ocean of milk. (The foamy water that falls from the height is seen exactly like milk)

The names of lakes, marshes or swamps are ascribed to various factors:—

Religious belief : Devikere = The lake of the goddess

Personal names:

Ajappa kere — The lake of ajappa

Naikana kere — the lake of nayak (Male)

Naikin kere — the lake of Naikin (wife)

If the classification is closely judged from monosyllabic to compounds, the ages of the different colonisations can clearly be marked. History is writ large on the map of Canara itself.

To the first settlers of Tuluva into, Haiva, the land was all *poiye* (sand). It was all sand, sand, and nothing else but sand. *poiye* of Tulu changed into *Havye* of Tiglari. The name was typically topographic. In the vast expanse before them they saw nothing but sand. The pioneer could not but name it that way. The woman stood aghast looking at this vast sea of sand and automatically called it all *poiye*. It was in general the *uru*. It is a very familiar word in Tulu language.

The *uru* of Haiva had later its own settlements. Not all of Tuluvas, but even of others. Here Comes the age of Compounds. A Comparative study can now be made of the relative age of these settlements of the different peoples by a study of the nature and language of these Compounds.

The Tuluvas had:—

Bhatkal	{	Bailur — Bail — uru (the country of fields)
		Hadlur — Benandur — Benaduru (waste land)
		Kurandur —
Honnaver	{	Balkoor — Chandawar — Chanda — uru (the beautiful place)
		Hinnoor — Kelganur — Kelagina — uru (the Country which is on a lower level)
		Shirkur —
Kumta:-		Murur — Nagur — Santur —
Ankola	{	Agsur — Agasara — uru; (the land of washermen)
		Hillur —
		Shirur —

Even the names of rivers have traces of Tuluva settlements. The river Gangavli about 10 miles from its mouth is known as uravale meaning uru— hole (the stream of the Country).

The four talukas constituting Haiva running from south to north are Bhatkal, Honnaver, Kumta and Ankola. The above is therefore a clear indication of Tuluva settlements in Haiva, going from south to north. The Tuluvas that are generally supposed to have come into Haiva are Halepaiks and Nadores.

In this land of Tuluvas, the Kannadigas from the Upghats also settled. The suffixes like Mane *Katte*, Halli Koppa, and so on are Karnatak suffixes extended into Haiva.

These Compounds can clearly be seen in the different Talukas of Haiva. The chief argument for the fact that they are mainly Karnataka settlements is they are no doubt topographic; but they have not stuck to that rigidity of topography as is evinced in the Karnatak region. They are a bit loose, and conform to the coastal conditions. But the Karnataki has coined a name of his own.

The Age of Karnataka Colonisation is evidently later.

In the place nomenclature of Canara therefore we find the following:-

1. Every place-name has some significance. It has a meaning. This meaning as at present interpreted, may not be quite correct.

2. Personal names and strong motives in place-naming:- It is not possible at present to face the historical significance of these personal names. Neither is there much tradition on the

local spots to guide the research worker. With proper historical research, these personal names could be ascertained with some certainty. The names of royalties are few, and national celebrities nil. It cannot be said that the existing celebrities though not national were not local celebrities. They should have been men of some standing.

3. Religion and religious worship has played a prominent part in the Nomenclature of places. The existence of three religions is quite apparent Viz. Hinduism, Jainism and Veera-saivism. In the course of this short paper, it is not possible to develop the full scope of the influence of religion on the place-names. But if a full study were done, remarkable results could no doubt be achieved.

4. Sports, Amusements, Vegetation, Animal life, and various other factors also are responsible for place-naming.

5. The Aesthetic taste has also been developed to a large extent.

6. Medicine and medical cult find their own place.

7. Patriotism and Communal or Village pride are exhibited.°

8. Above all, the historical element that Canara is a Colonised land is writ largely on its place-name. The number of Communities that settled, and the places of their settlement are quite apparent. This study is yet to be developed and if properly worked out would support strongly all existing historical research. A new history may have to be written of Canara.

10 MAY 1953
MADRAS

The History of Andhra Country (1000 A.D. to 1500)

CHAPTER VI.

Subsidiary Dynasties The Parichchedis (Contd)

By Srimathi V. Yasodadevi, M.A.; M.Litt.

(Continued from p. 84 of Vol. XIX)

Nambaya I. A.D. 1043

Nambaya or Nambiraja is the first well-known ruler among the Parichchedis. In records, he is mentioned next to Pandaya though the relationship between Pāṇḍa and Nambaya is yet to be ascertained. Probably, Pāṇḍa and Namba were related to each other as father and son. Nambaya is mentioned as Dēsaṭi Mahāsāmanta Nambaya of the Omgeru-mārga in the record from Valiveru dated A.D. 1043,⁴ of his son Maṇḍalika Gaṇḍa. Nambaya was thus a dēsaṭi ie, general probably, in the service of the Chālukyas of Vēṅgi, and was rewarded with the title mahāsāmanta and lordship over Omgerumārga, by them for his services in their wars.

Gaṇḍa A.D. 1043

Gaṇḍa was the son of Nambaya and his only record dated A.D. 1043 is from Valiveru. Gaṇḍa must have succeeded his father in that year. He bore the epithet Maṇḍalika. Daṇḍanāyaka Tikka payyanāyaka, figuring in Gaṇḍa's inscription was probably his general. Gaṇḍa is not heard of after A.D. 1043 and as both Valiveru and Pērayali, mentioned in the record, were situated in Velanāṇḍu vishaya, evidently Omgerumārga must have formed only a part of the Velanāṇḍu territory.

A.D. 1043-1127-Interval:-

In this period of eighty-five years between the last available date for Nambaya I and Gaṇḍa I, and A.D. 1127-the earliest date for Nambaya II, no records of the Parichchedis are available and the relationship between Gaṇḍa and Nambaya II is not known.

Nambaya II. A. D. 1127-1131:-

Namba II or Nambirāja was probably a grandson of Gaṇḍa. His earliest inscription is from Chebrole dated A.D. 1127 and the 9th year of Rājakesarivarman alias Vikrama Chodadeva.⁵ Namba bore the epithets Mahāmandalesvara, the lord of the city of Kollipāka and of the Shatsahasra country. Nambaya's last inscription is from Drākshārāma dated A.D. 1131 which gives his prasasti.⁶ He is mentioned as Nambiraja of Omgerumārga and the lord of Shatsahasra on the southern bank of the R. Krishna.

4. 673 of 1920. 5. 153 of 1897: S.I.I. VI. III: E. I. VI 223 b.
6. 266 of 1893: S.I.I. 1127: E.I.VI pp 224-225:

Extension of the Kingdom:—

Up to the time of Namba II, the Parichchedis were only the rulers of the Omgerumārga and bore no Prasasti. But Nambaya in A.D 1127, styled himself — Krishnavennanaditira dakshina shatsahasra vishayādhisvara.⁷ So it appears that Namba extended his kingdom from the Omgerumārga into Shatsahasra and had his capital at Kollipāka. His record at Drākshārāma by its location probably attests to the growth of the Parichchedi kingdom.

Nambaya's political relations:—

Some of the titles of Nambaya show that he was a great warrior. His allegiance to the Imperial Chōlas is evidenced by his Chēbrōle epigraph of A.D 1127 dated in the 9th regnal year of Vikramachōla. The Chōla supremacy in Vengi, which was threatened for a while by the Chālukyas of Kalyāni under the aegis of Vikramāditya VI, was restored in the southern-half by A.D 1127. Nambirāja played a distinguished role in assisting the Chola Emperor in this restoration. His epithet - Vengi - Chālukyarājya - Mūlasthambha⁸ shows that he was a staunch supporter of the Vengi Chalukya kingdom which must refer to Chālukya-Chōla kingdom under Kulottunga. I and his successors, as the Vengi kingdom of the Chālukyas ceased to exist as a separate power with the accession of Kulottunga.

Nambaya while fighting with Vikrama Chōla against his Chālukyan enemies came into conflict with the Later Pāndyas, the feudatories of Vikramāditya VI. For, Tribhuvanamalla Pāndyadēva, a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI ruling Nolambavādi 32000 from Belūrū in A.D 1127 had the title - the Punisher of the Parichchedins and the vanquisher of the hopes of the Chōla king Rājiga Chōla.⁹ Here the Parichchedin is no doubt Nambaya II and Rājiga Chōla refers to the Emperor Vikrama Chōla. This shows that in their re-establishment of the Chōla power in Vengi, Vikramachōla and Nambaya II suffered a reverse in the hands of Tribhuvanamalla Pāndya, who must

7. 153 of 1897: S.I.I. VI III: E. I. VI p 223 f.

8. 266, 267 of 1893: S. I. I. VI 1127, 1128.

9. 229 of 1918: A.R 1919. II para 31.

have fought obviously on the side of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi. Nevertheless, the restoration of the Chōla power in Vēṅgi completely shows that Tribhuvanamalla's victory did not result in the continuation of the Chālukyan power in Vēṅgi. This battle between the Chōlas, and the Kalyāṇi Chālukyas must have been fought before A.D 1127- the date of the record of Tribhuvanamalla¹⁰ mentioning his achievements.

Nambaya II must have had friendly relations with Chōḍa I of the Velanāṇḍus. His title - Mallangandhavārāṇa¹¹ shows that he vanquished a certain Mallana whose identity is not known. His epithet Durjayakula - kumudachandra i.e. a moon to the lotus i.e. Durjayakula - perhaps shows that he was a friend and supporter of the local dynasties claiming Durjaya descent against their enemies.

Pandayarāja- A.D 1158.

Pandayarāja succeeded to the Parichchedi throne in A.D 1158 whereas Nambarāja was not heard of after A.D 1131. So there intervened a gap of twenty- seven years between Nambaya II and Pandaya. Pandaya relationship to Nambaya II is not known. His only record is from Guṇṭūr dated A.D 1158 which gives the genealogy of the King's family and mentions Guṇṭūru in Omgērumārga.¹²

Trailokyamallarāju. A.D 1159.

Trailokyamallarāju was the son of Nambaya II. His only record is from Drākshārāma¹³ dated A.D 1159. His reign lasted only for three years, as Bhimarāja, his successor was ruling in A.D 1161. Trailokyamalla's prasasti has some new titles besides the ordinary Parichchedi titles. The epithet Nambhanigandhavārāṇa i.e. the must elephant of Nambha perhaps implies that Trailokyamalla was a deserving son of the father i.e. Nambha.

Trailokyamalla's name suggests that he is probably named after the Western Chālukya Vikramāditya VI to whom his father Nambha was a subordinate prior to the restoration of the Chōla powers in Vēṅgi.

10. Epigraphia Carnatica. Vol VI Introduction p 71, A. R. 1919 II para 31. 11. 266, 267 of 1893; S.I. I. IV 1127, 1128 12. 83 of 1917

13. 267 of 1893: S. I. I. IV 1128.

Bhimarāja. A.D 1161.

The relationship of Bhimarāja to his predecessor or Trailōkyamalla is unknown. His earliest inscription is from Garnepūdi¹⁴ dated A.D. 1161 mentioning him as Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Parichchēdi Tammu Bhimarāja and his commander Gandaya. An inscription at Ellōre dated Kaliyuga (4) 1925 (evidently 4295) mentions Bhima as Parichchēdi chikka-bhimarāja of Verūr.¹⁵ Tammu bhīma and Chikkabhīma are evidently identical, the terms chikka and tammu in Kannada and Telugu respectively indicating younger (brother). Another record of Bhīma at Ellōre, with date lost, mentions him as Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Parichchēdi Bhimarāja.¹⁶ The epigraphist remarked "The genealogy in this record is complete but supplies the names Ganda and his sons Rāma and Bhima of whom the latter is very likely the Parichchēdi Chikka Bhimarāja."¹⁷

So Bhima had an elder brother Rāma and his father was Ganda. Probably he had his capital at Verūr. Bhima's inscriptions do not shed any light on his political relations. Nevertheless, he must have been a subordinate of the Chōla emperor Rājarāja II (A.D 1150-1163) and Velanāṇḍu Chōḍa II. Bhima was perhaps a lover of peace as no signs of his having fought any battles are available.

Kusumarāja A.D 1222:-

Like Nambaya II, Kusumarāja was a ruler of some importance. His only inscription is from Prattipāḍu dated A.D 1222¹⁸ mentioning him as Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kusumarāja and his queen Sabbamadevī. He bore the usual Parichchehedi praśasti one of the titles being - the lord of the town of Virarājapuri. Probably his father was Gaṇḍa, after whom he built the Gaṇḍiśvara temple. Kusumarāja's reign may have lasted up to A.D 1230- the earliest date for his successor Bhimarāja.

His political relations:-

Kusumarāja was of enterprising nature and achieved some victories. His title-the lord of Virarājapuri implies his conquest of it from his enemies. He extended the kingdom

14. 795 of 1922.

15. 431 of 1915.

16. 432 of 1915.

17. AR 1915-II para 52.

18. 140 of 1917.

and shifted his capital from Kollipāka to Virarājapuri. It has been said that "Virarājapuri might be the same as that town the conquest of which is attributed to the Eastern chālukya king Kollabhigaṇḍa Vijayāditya IV." "It is not known who the enemies were whom Kusumarāja had to fight in extending his kingdom. Probably he owed allegiance to the Chola Emperor Rājārāja III (A.D 1216-1246) and maintained friendly relations with the local dynasties in Vengi - the Velanāṇḍus under Prithviśvara, the Kondapaḍumatis, the chāgis and the Kotas. *Bhimarāja. A.D. 1230-1268.*

Bhima was the first Parichchedi ruler who had a long reign of thirty-eight years. His earliest record is from Pottūru dated A. D. 1230²⁰ mentioning his parents-Mahamaṇḍalēsvara Parichcheda Kommarāja and Suralamahādevi. His next inscription also from Pottūru, ²¹ dated A. D. 1246, mentions his younger brothers-Uttambhimarāja, Dēvarāju, and Gaṇapaddevarāju. Bhima's next inscription ²² is from Sekuru near Tenāli. From an undated inscription of Bhima, ²³ Parichchedi Paṇḍarāju, Vallabharāju and Peda kommarāju, bearing a long prasasti similar to that of Namba II are known. As Bhima associated Uttambhima in ruling the kingdom from A.D 1268, that may be taken to be the last year of Bhima's independent rule.

His political relations:-

Rājendra III (A.D 1246-1279) the last of the Chola Emperors had no control over Vengi. The Velanāṇḍu kingdom had disappeared soon after Prithviśvara and only a few princes of the line were ruling in parts of that country. The Kākatiya power was making rapid strides in Vengi under Gaṇapati deva and Rudrama. But there are no signs of the Parichchedis acknowledging the Kākatiya yoke and one may agree with the epigraphist when he says "it is not unlikely that these Parichchedis were among the chiefs who were opposed to and caused disturbance in the reign of Rudrāmba."²⁴

One of the titles in the prasasti of the princes Paṇḍarāju, Vallabha and Pedakomma is Raṭṭa Kaṭakaaksha ie the guards of

19. A. R. 1917 II para 42. I. H. X p 992. 20. 134 of 1917.

21. 138 of 1917. 22. Mack. Mss. 15-6-21. Ms. p 123.

23. 378 of 1915: A.R. 1915 II para 52. 24. A.R. 1915 II para 52.

the Ratta camp.²⁶ Bhima's father Kommarāja was a mahāmanaleśvara and must have ruled over the Parichchedi tracts though none of his records are available.

Bhimaraja and Uttam Bhimaraja A.D. 1268-1283.

Bhima and Uttam Bhima signalled their joint rule by issuing combined grants. The earliest inscription is from Potturu dated A.D. 1268.²⁶ Another record there dated A.D. 1272 mentions mahāmandaleśvara Bhimarāja.²⁷ Mahāmandaleśvara Rāgarāgabhairava Parichcheda Vadamāni (?) Kōṭa devarāja figures in a record dated A.D. 1270 from Tripurāntakam.²⁸ This Devarāja is probably identical with Devarāja, the younger brother of Bhima and Uttambhima. So Devarāja belongs to the Parichchedi line and not to the Kōṭa line as has been supposed by some.²⁹

No political events of the reign have come down to us. The joint rule was probably intended to strengthen the kingdom against the Kākatiyas. Parichcheda Devarāja was ruling about Tripurāntakam. None of the Parichchedis in this period acknowledged the Kākatiya sway.

Alladanatha Devaraja and Bhimaraja. A.D. 1283.

Alladanātha Devarāja and his brother Bhimarāja exercised joint sway like Bhima and Uttambhima. Their inscriptions range from A.D. 1283, which must have been the initial year of their reign. The Srikākulam inscription dated A.D. 1283³⁰ mentions Mahāmandaleśvara Parichcheda Alādanāthadevarāju and his parents Gonkarāju and Kamaladevamma. Alladanātha's prasasti has the titles Virajā-pura-vareśvara, Durjaya-kulakulachalamani - gendra, Śrīkrishṇavenyānadidakshīṇa - shatsahasrāvani valjabha, Kollipāka saptasahasrāvanivallabha, choḍa-kataka vajraprākāra, Ratta-katakakakshapālaka and chālukyārājya-mulasthambha,^{30a} besides others. A record at Tripurāntakam with cyclic year, Pramādin, mentions Alladanāthadevarāja and his younger brother Bhimarāju ruling.³¹ Allāda is mentioned as the lord of Vijayavātika and of the Shatsahasra on the bank of the Krishna.

25. 378 of 1915. 26. 136 of 1917. 27. 137 of 1917. 28. 222 of 1905.

29. Ins. Mad. Press. II (Kn) 315. 30. 160 of 1813; S.I.I. IV 985.

30a. 161 of 1893; S.I.I. IV 986. 31. 193 of 1905.

Extension of the kingdom:-

The Parichchedi kingdom reached its widest limits in this period, as a result of the policy of conquest and annexation of Allāda and Bhima. Allāda had his capitals at Virarājapuri, Vijayavāda and Kollipāka. His titles - Ripuratripura mahēsvara Eladāyarakkasa, parabala-karkasaganda-dhanamjaya, ahavabhima, Aribalaganda, prachandamārtanda, raṇarangabhairava, chola-marupārtha- show that he was a great warrior destroyer of enemies and a faithful subordinate of his overlord. Allāda's titles, the protector of the Ratta camp and main pillar of the chālukya kingdom are hereditary and indicate the past connections of the Parichchedis with the Rāshtrakūtas and the Imperial cholas.

Betaraja. A.D 1285.

Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Parichchedi Betaraju is heard of from an inscription at Ponnūru³² dated A.D 1285 registering his grant of Vankāyalapādu. Beta's relationship to the other Parichchedis of the main line is not known.

Keśavaraju. A.D 1292.

Keśavaraja's only inscription is from S'rikakulam³³ dated A.D 1292 mentioning his father Parichcheda Paḍraju, who may be identified with Paṇḍrāju figuring in the reign of Bhimaraju (A.D 1230-1268) noted already. But the relationship of Keśava and Paṇḍrāju to Allāda and Bhima is not known.

Suraparaja A. D. 1292.

Sūraparāja, bearing the usual praśasti of the Parichchedis, is heard of from an undated inscription at Pottūru in which he is mentioned as Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Su(reparāja).³⁴

Late Parichchedis :-

No Parichchedis are heard of after A. D. 1292 - the last date for Keśavarāju. But the following title; in the praśastis of some families are reminiscent of the Parichchedi rule. The Debbadula family³⁵ had the title-Kollipāka puravarādhīśvara, and the Paṇḍrāju and Cheraku families bore the epithets-Trailokyamallabhujabala bhima and Trailokyamalla respectively.³⁶

32. 160 of 1897: S. I. I. VI 120.

33. 148 of 1893: S. I. I. IV 964.

34. 133 of 1917.

35. Mack. Mss. 15-4-3. Ms. p 97.

36.

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p 99, 103

These titles may refer to the Parichchedi capital Kollipāka and king Trailōkyamalla. And Nambaya was a title borne by the later chiefs of Amarāvati.

Other Parichchedis :-

A record³⁷ at Drākshārāma dated A. D. 1168 and in the reign of Rājarāja, refers to a line of Parichchedi rulers. King Komma's eldest son was Gaṇḍa and the son of his second son was chikkabhima, the lord of Omgerumarga. The name of the second son of Komma is lost in the record. The Telugu portion of the record mentions Trailokya-malla. Chikka bhima probably Trailōkyamalla was the second son of Gaṇḍa, and father of Chikka-bhima. A Pandyaraja³⁸ was the mahamandalesvara of Parichchedi country near chikka lake, ruling as the subordinate of the emperor Narasimha III of the Eastern Gangas in the 13th Century A. D. In the 17th Century A. D. the Parichchedis find mention in the Chatu verse among the feudatories of Rachiraju Tammaraju of the Pusapati family, But their names are not known. Amalaraju of Parichchedi lineage, according to Pusapativarivamsavali,^{38-a} lived at Pusapadu and so his descendants bore the family name Pusapativaru.

End of the Parichchedis:-

The Parichchedis ceased to exist as a power towards the close of the 13th Century A.D and their territories with capital Kōllipāka came to be included in the Kākatīya kingdom under Pratāparudra. The Mahāparichchedis belonging to Vasishta gotra are mentioned as one of the four important sects among Rachavāru-Āndhra Kshatriyas even to this day.³⁹

CHAPTER VII.

The Natavadis. A.D. 1104-1269.

The Natavādis or Natavāris ruled over Natavadi vishaya for a century and a half-from A.D. 1104, with capital at Madapalli. The dynasty consisted of five kings who played not an

37. 210 of 1893: S. I. I. IV 1039.

38. J.A.H.R.S. VIII p 41: S.I.I.IV1106:Kalingadesacharitra p621.

38-a Gajapatis of Vijayanagar-History of the Kammas II p 94.

39. C. Virabhadra Rao: History of Andhra V pp 69-70.

insignificant role in the history of South India of the period. The Natavadi records are at Nidikonda, Tripurantakam, Draksharama and Simhachalam. The rulers owed allegiance to the Chalukyas of Kalyani in the beginning and the Kakatiyas towards the close of the Chalukyan power. The Natavadis never seem to have enjoyed independence, though their marriage alliances with the Kakatiyas on the one hand and the Kotas on the other attest their importance.

Sources, Location of the kingdom and the Capital:-

The Natavadi inscriptions—all stone records which are not numerous; and references in the Kakatiya, the Kota and the Kona Kandravadi inscriptions form the sources for the history of the Natavadis.

About the 6th Century A.D Netra-Pativishaya¹ on the southern bank of the Krishna finds mention in the Vishnukundin records. The records of the chalukyas of Vengi mention Tonkanatavadvishaya,² Pennatavadvishaya,³ and Natavadi vishaya,⁴ whereas Natavadi records mention Natavadi vishaya. As has been suggested already,⁵ Netrapati vishaya and Natavadvishaya are identical and correspond to the modern Nandigama taluq of the Kistna district,⁶ whereas Pennatavadi refers to a bigger Natavadi and Tonkanatavadi to a part of it towards one end. One may agree with the statement “probably the Natavadvishaya extended in the west as far as Nidikonda, although in the time of the Kakatiya Ganapati the Natavadi chiefs ruled only the eastern part of it.”⁷ Madapalli has been identified with the village Madapalle near Madhira, the headquarters of the Madhira Taluq in the Warangal district,⁸ which gains support from the Nidikonda inscription.⁹ So there is no probability of its identity with the village Madapalle near Ellore.¹⁰

Origin:-

The fourth caste i.e chaturthakula was born from the feet of Creator. In it in Madapalli in Natavadi vishaya, was born

1. J.A.H. & C. I p 61-No. 74. Chikkulla plates. 2. I.H.Q. Vol.IX.
3. J. A. H. & C I p 138 No. 143; p 145 No. 156. 4. J. A. H. & C I p 144 No. 156. 5. E.I.V Additions and corrections pp 5-6. B Vol. IV.
6. A.R 1924 II p 117. 7. A.R. Nizam's dominions 1933-34 p 20.
8. E.I.V Additions and correction p 6. 9. A.R. Nizam's dominions 1933-34. App. A No. 1. 10. E.I.VI No. 15.

Durga.¹¹ No mythical ancestors of the Natavāḍis are known. Beta, Kshōṇipalaka figuring in the Inugurti inscription was probably the earliest Natavāḍi chief known so far and father of Durgarāja. He does not find mention in other Natavāḍi records and some of his records are available. Tentatively he may be placed about A.D. 1050. The records do not say that they were Durjayas born from the arms of Brahma, as has been supposed by some.¹²

Durga C.A.D. 1104–1157.

Durga was the founder of the kingdom of the Natavāḍis and its first ruler. He issued records of his own. His earliest inscription is from Nidikonda in Nalgonda district (Nizam's dominions) dated in the cyclic year Tarana and the 29th year of C.V. era. corresponding to December 24, 1104 A. D. Durga is mentioned as Dugga and Duggarasa in the record and as Dugga-bhupaṭhi in the Inugurti record of his son Buddha. He bore the epithets—Mandalika and Nathavatidhatrinatha. In A.D. 1157 as seen from a record at Nave Potavarom (Bezvada taluq) Porlamadevi made grants for the merit of her deceased husband-Durgaraja.¹³ This Durgaraja, was probably Natavāḍi Durga and consequently his reign lasted up to A.D. 1157.¹⁴

His political relations :-

The Nidikonda inscription definitely shows that Dugga was a subordinate of Vikramaditya VI of the Chalukyas of Kalyani, spoken of, as a great warrior and conqueror of many fortresses.¹⁵ Durga must have served Tribhuvanamallavikramaditya VI in his wars faithfully and was bestowed with the rulership over Natavāḍivishaya with its capital at Madapalle. It has been said that this (Nidikonda) inscription is the only definite evidence of the actual extent of the Western chalukya kingdom about this time. "Durgaraja's loyalty to the Chalukyas

11. E.I.VI No. 15-B p 157 f; 270 of 1897.

12. Kakatiya Sanchika p 130; C.V. Rao: History of Andhras V p 365

13. Mack. Mss. 15-6-26. Elliott's colln. p 10 No. 8.

14. The statement "chronologically it is impossible to suggest the identity of Dugga of the Nidikonda inscription with Durga the grandfather of the Nathavadi chief Rudra I" falls to ground.

15. Kakatiya Sanchika App. insn. No. 14.

might have continued throughout the reigns of Vikramaditya VI and Somesvara III—till about A. D. 1140— as the chalukyan power prevailed in Vengi up to that date.

Probably Durga was on friendly relations with Dōra I (A.D 1118-1161) of the Chāgis, Bhima I, Bhima II (A.D 1149-1195) and Pota II (1149 A.D 1195) of the Kōnakandravādis; and of whom Pota may be identified with Mahāmandalēsvara Pōtarāja, father of queen Prōlamadevi. In extending his kingdom and fighting on behalf of the Chāluyas, Durga must have come into conflict with some of the neighbouring kingdoms. For instance, the Natavādis and the Kōnakandravādis during the latter part of the reign were enemies and Dugga seems to have lost his life in the hands of a Kōnakandravadi ruler. In an inscription dated A D 1213 Kōnakandravādi Bhima bears the title-Satrundripāla dugganarendrachūra.¹⁶ Here Bhima probably is Bhima II, the joint ruler with Pōta II and Dugga may refer to Natavādi Durgarāja. If so, a battle must have been fought between the Natavādis and the Kōnakandravādis some time prior to A.D 1157 in which Durgarāja was vanquished and probably lost his life.

Buddha A.D 1157-1201.

Buddha was the son and successor of Durga and had a reign of forty-six years from A.D 1157 to 1201 when he was succeeded by his second son Rudra, which suggests that his eldest son predeceased him. Buddha is known from the records of his successors. His only record is from ^{16a} Inugurti, removed from the wall in the old fort and now preserved in the local Vishnu temple, mentioning Betakshōṇipālaka, Durga bhūpati and Buddha kshonipati. Few details of his reign are known.

Political conditions:-

In this period, some of the Kingdoms in Vengi were the kōttas, the Kōṇapaḍumaṭis, the Kōnakandravādis, and the chāgis besides the velanāndu chodas and the Telugu chodas. The chāgis claim lordship over Natavādivishaya, as is evidenced from their inscriptions. Buddha must have been on friendly terms with the chāgis, and the konakandravādis.

16. 326 of 1892: S.I.I. IV 780. 16-a. S'ārada. 2nd year vol II
No. 6 (1925) p 702.

Buddha and the Kakatiyas:-

The Kakatiya contemporaries of Buddha were Rudradeva Mahadeva and Ganapati. Rudradeva, an ambitious and enterprising ruler, by leading expeditions of conquest frequently into Vengi proved a menace to the security and peace of the Velanandu kingdom. His brother and successor had a brief reign (1195-1199 A.D.) Buddha acknowledged the supremacy of the Kakatiyas under Rudradeva which is attested by his Inugurti stone inscription mentioning Rudradeva and his general sikhinayaka ruling over Natavadi sima. The name of the general is not clear and the record records some grant of his. Buddha and Mahadeva became allies in this period and the political alliance thus inaugurated lasted for the rest of the Natavadi rule, and the Kakatiyas proved a source of strength and support to the Natavadis. The Kundavaram inscription says¹⁷ that Mahadeva married his daughter Kundabmika to Rudradeva, son of Buddha. As for the date, the cyclic year Pramadi is given. This measure of alliance speaks for the political wisdom of Buddha and Mahadeva, for it eliminated any fear for the Natavadis from the kakatiyas. Buddha maintained amicable relations with Ganapati, the son and successor of Mahadeva. We may note that Natavadi Buddha cannot have had any relationship with Buddha, the author of Ranganatharamayana^{17a}, for chronology is against it, as Gona Buddha lived fifty years after the Natavadi Buddha.

Rudra I. A.D. 1201-1248.

Rudra I was the greatest of the Natavadis. His pragasti is imperialistic¹⁸ and indicative of independent rule. His reign lasted for a period of forty-seven years from A.D 1201 to 1248 when he was succeeded by his son and successor Rudradeva II. *Extent of the kingdom:-*

Rudra's earliest inscription is from Bezwada dated A.D 1201 mentioning him as the brother-in-law (marundi) of Ganapati of the Kakatiyas. His next inscription also from Bezwada dated A.D 1205 mentions him as Natavadi Rudra and his father

17. Kākatiye sanchika. Appendix. No. 14. 17-a. S'ārada. 2nd year. Vol II. No. 6 (1925) p 702. 18. E-I VI p 159 b. Post script. 279 of 1892.

Buddharaja.¹⁹ Rudra's inscription from Tripurantakam²⁰ dated A.D 1209 is issued in the reign of Ganapati of the Kakatiyas. It mentions the king as Vakkādimalla Rudra the second son of Buddha and his queen as Melāmbika the sister of Ganapati of the Kakatiyas. No doubt Vakkādi malla Rudra and Rudra I are identical. Rudra's Amarāvati record dated A. D. 1234²¹ mentions Bayyalamahādēvi, the queen of Kōṭa Kēta III and daughter of Natavādi Rudra. Rudra's last inscription is from Tripurantakam dated A.D.1242. Two inscriptions of the reign, one incomplete and the other undated from Tripurantakam and Nudurupādu respectively mention Vakkādi mallarudra dēvamahārāja, queen Mailāla mahādēvi and Bayyaladēvi Yammangāni and her daughter. A record at Mudanūr^{21-a} mentions king Rudra, lord of Nāthavāṭi, his queen Kundāmba, daughter of Mahādēva of the Kakatiyas, their son king Mahādēva and his queen Mahādēvi. Though no records of Rudra after A.D 1242 are available, his reign may have extended up to A.D 1248- the earliest date for his sons.

His political relations:-

Rudra's epithets- Vakkādimalla, doḍḍappādavi-gaṇḍabhairava and parabalaśādhaka show that he was a great warrior. He styled himself Maḍapalla-puravarādhisvara after his capital- Maḍapalle. Rudra had probably another capital at Vallūru ie as one of his epithets is Vallepora-varādhisvara i.e lord of vallepora which is perhaps same as Vallūrupura. The chōla emperors contemporaneous with Rudra I were Rājarāja III and Rājendra III. The titles Chālukyarāja mūlasthambhāyamāna and Srimat-tribhuvanādhisvarapādārādhaka²² borne by Rudra suggest his allegiance to the chōla emperors. For chālukyarāja must refer to the chālukya-cholas and Tribhuvanādhisvara is same as Tribhuvanachakravarti - the common epithet of the chōla emperors.

Rudra I and Ganapati of the Kakatiyas were on amicable relations in this period. Kundāmbika and Mailāla mahādēvi.

19. Mack. Ms. 15-6-3. Ms. p 75 No. 31. 20. 204 of 1905.

21. 270 of 1897; E. I. VI p 157 f. 21-a. C. Yirabha-draRāo: History of Andhras. V p 366. Citation. 22. 279 of 1892 E.I. VI p159 f. postscript: Kielhorn; List of inscriptions in South India. No. 591.

the queens of Rudra I were the sisters of Gaṇapati. By the former Rudra had a son and by the latter eight sons and a daughter.^{22-a} Rudra with his armies would have assisted Gaṇapati in his expeditions against the Velanāṇḍu chōlas and other kingdoms in Vengi. It is likely that Rudra was a friend of the Kōṇakandṛavāḍis, the Kondapadumatis and the chāgis. The Kōṭa rulers at the time were Keta II (A.D 1181-1231) and (Bhima III A.D. 1231-1234). The marriage of Bayyala, the daughter of Rudra, with Kōṭa Keta III, the son of Bhima III must have taken place before A.D 1234 in which year she figures as the queen of Keta III, while participating in Gaṇapati's Velanāṇḍu expedition against Prithviśvara and his successors and afterwards Rudra must have allied himself with the Kōṭas as also Gaṇapati did.

Rudradeva II. A.D. 1248-1259.

Rudra II, Mahādēva, and Mummaḍi Gaṇapa or Kumāra gaṇapatidēva mahārāja the three sons of Rudra I were according to some inscriptions by princess Mailāla. According to the Kundavaram inscription, Mahādēva was the son of Kundāmbika and was also known as Mādhava.^{22-b} Rudra II probably the eldest son of Rudra I succeeded his father on the throne. His only record²³ is from Tripurāntakam dated A.D. 1248. His two brothers, Mahādēvarāju and Mummaḍi Gaṇapati, are known from two records²⁴ of the same year at Tripurāntakam. Rudra's reign lasted up to A.D 1259 in which year Gaṇapati issued a record dated in the regnal year of Gaṇapati of the Kakatiyas. Besides none of Rudra's inscriptions are found after A.D 1248.

His political relations:-

Rudra II must have continued the friendly policy of the Natavāḍis towards the Kākatiyas and the Kōṭas. He must have associated his brothers in governing the kingdom and they issued records almost from the initial year of this reign.

Gaṇapati A. D 1259

No sons of Rudra II are heard of. He was succeeded by his younger brother Gaṇapati, whose accession shows that

22-a. Mailama and Kundama are not identical. C. V. Rao: History of Andhras V. p 367. 22-b. also the Mudunur inscription cited on p366 of History of Andhras V. K.B. Chaudari. History of the Kammas I p 102. 23. 225 of 1905, 24. 227 & 228 of 1905.

Mahādeva predeceased Rudra. Gaṇapati styled himself as Kumāra Gaṇapati deva mahārāja. His dating of his record at Tripurāntakam in the 61st regnal year²⁵ of Gaṇapati of the Kākatiyas marks the subordination of the Natavādīs to the Kākatiyas under the two Gaṇapatis.

His political relations:-

Gaṇapati's allegiance to the Kākatiyas must have continued in Rudramadevi's reign. Friendly relations between the Natavādīs and the Kōṭas also continued. In the partitioning of the Kōṭa kingdom between Bhima III and Rudra, the sons of Kēta II by Bayyaladevi and the Velanāṇḍu princess respectively. Natavādi Rudra, the grandfather of Gaṇapati must have played an important role along with Rudradeva of the Kākatiyas. Thus the Natavādīs were allied to the main line of the kōṭas and the Kākatiyas to the Yenamadala Kōṭas. So the Natavādīs, the kōṭas and the Kākatiyas were all allied to one another by alliances of marriage.

Later and other Natavādīs:-

It is not known when the reign of Gaṇapati ended. No sons and successors of him are heard of.

From a record at Drākshārāma dated A-D 1115²⁶ and the regnal year 46, Maḍapalli Nūkaya the son of Piṭṭama, bearing an elaborate praśast is heard of. The epithets sāhasasūdraka, Vikramadhanamjaya, satrumadabhanjana, bhārataviravatāra, nikhiladiksādhaka show that Nūkaya was a warrior of merit. He was in the service of Kulottunga I as his titles-sarvalokāsraya, rājanārāyana rājyalakshmibhavanamūlasthambhāyamāna and Parāntaka magadharāya indicate. Paragita Banapati, the son of Kasyama, the elder sister of Nigarilichola Gangadevara. Madapali Muppināyaka made gifts at Draksharama on the 313th day of the 3rd year of sarvalokasraya vishnuvardhana.²⁷ One of the titles of the Janjaturi chiefs is Madipalli Kanchineri Sirahchehedana.²⁸ Probably Madapalli Piṭṭama, Nukaya, Muppi and Kāchaya belonged to a single family of feudatories, who bore the family name Madapalli and had their capital at Madapalli.

25. 181 of 1905. 26. 191 of 1893: S.I.IV 1265.

27. 367 of 1893: S.I.IV 1265. 28. Mack. Ms. 15-3-4 Ms. p91-92

in the beginning of the Natavadi rule. They were in the service of the chola emperor-Kulottunga I.

Arjuna, the lord of Natavadvishaya and Madapallipura is heard of from a Simhachalam inscription dated A.D. 1255.²⁹ He was the son of Srirama and belonged to Pasapulagotra. The relationship of this Srirama and Arjuna, with the main line of the Natavadis is not known. In A.D 1255, Arjuna made gifts to the temple at Simhachalam.

End of the Natavadis:-

No Natavadis are heard of after A.D 1259. Consequently the Natavadi territories were included in the Kakatiya kingdom under the sway of Rudradeva maharaja.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Malayas C.A.D. 1015-1280.

The Malava dynasty ruled over Malayavani or Malayadesa with its capital at Mashapuri-popularly known as Madduripura for more than two and a half centuries-from the beginning of the 11th to the close of the 13th Century A.D. About a dozen rulers of the dynasty are known and there were long gaps between the reigns. The Malayas, claiming solar descent, were never an independent or great power. They owed allegiance to the chālukyas of Vēngi, the chālukyachōlas and the chālukyas of Pithāpūr. The Malaya kingdom had a long tenure of life like that of the Haihayas of Kōnamandala and was situated in the fertile tract in Vēngi watered by the Gautami' (i.e the Godāvāri) The Malayas had political relations with the Kōnas, the rulers of Vēngi and other local rulers besides their suzerain lords. Malayamu, or Malayamuna is prefixed to the names of the rulers signifying the country over which they held sway.

Political conditions:-

In the first half of the 11th Century A.D, Kalinga was ruled over by Vajrahasta IV (A.D 983-1017) and his sons Kāmarnava V (A.D 1017) Gundama II (A.D 1017-1019) and Madhukāmarnava VI (A.D 1019-1038) the western chālukya kingdom

29. 365 IX of 1899: S.I.I.VI 1176. 1. A. R 1917-II para 29.

by Satyāśraya (997-1008), Vikramāditya V (1008-1014), Ayyapa II (A.D. 1014-1015) and Jayasimha III (A.D. 1015-1042) the Eastern chalukya kingdom by Saktivarman (A.D. 999-1011), Vimalāditya (A.D. 1011-1022) and Rājarājanarēndra I (1022-1063 A.D.) and the chola empire by Rājarāja the Great (985-1014 A.D.) and Rājendra I (A.D. 1022-1044.) The condition of Vēngi in this period, in the words of Professor Śāstri was as follows. "After more than three centuries of rule in Vēngi, the Eastern chālukyas had become an old and decrepit race and their kingdom was falling a prey to disputed successions and anarchy. The coming of the chola brought fresh blood into the family and became a source of strength to this declining dynasty which sustained for nearly a century by the Cholas in a position of respected though subordinate alliance soon after, more than repaid the debt by contributing largely to the continuance of the chola empire under Kulottunga I and his successors the chola-chalukyas as they are some times called."³

Location of Malayamu:-

Generally Malaya refers to the southern portion of the Western Ghat, South of the Cauveri called the Travancore Hills and Malaya Khandam applies to Travancore.⁴ But Malaya. dēśa of the inscriptions in Telugu country from early times, refers to a different locality altogether. One of the Vishnu-kundin titles is Trikutamalayādhipati.⁵ The inscriptions of the Malaya dynasty say that the Malayas ruled over a province watered by the Gautami (ie the Godāvari) and called Malayāvani and were the lords of Maddūripura. The localities in which the Malaya records⁶ are found, confirm the location of Malaya on the west of the Godāvari. Bengarunāntivishaya of the Malaya c.p. grant⁶ must have formed part of the Malayadēśa. Rājah-mundry probably formed the eastern bound of the Malaya kingdom. Approximately Malaya corresponds to the modern Kovūr, Nidadavole and part of Ellore Taluqs of the west Godavari district.

3. The Cholas I pp 212-213. 4. Nandalal Dey: The Geographical dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India pp 122-123. 5. J.A.H. & C. I. p 16 5-a. The c.p. grant (A. D 1018) is discovered at Eduvalapalem in Ernagudem Taluq on the banks of the Godavari. 6. A.R. 1917 II para 29.

Sources, Origin and rise of the dynasty:-

A few stone records and two copper plate grants form the entire material for the history of the dynasty. The records of the chālukyas of Pithāpur and the Konas supply some details about the Malayas.

For the early history of the Malayas, the c.p. grant of A.D. 1018⁷ is the only source of information. The Malaya family is said to have obtained regality from Rāmabhattāraka of Sūryavamsa (Rāma, son of Dasaratha). They were the lords of Malaya,^{7-a} Mādūpura, the supporters of the Brahmins of Vēngi-pura, and had on their banner a garuḍa bird and a mirror. The names of the early members are not known. In A.D. 1018 the Malaya kings, Kāmarāju, Eramarāju, Immaḍi Bedangarāju, Soḍaparāju, Kaliyugā kaṇṇarāju and Maravala garuḍa made a grant. The interrelationship between these six Malaya kings is not apparent from the c.p. grant and the statement^{7-b} that they had from different families is wrong.

The early Malaya kings were subordinate to the chālukyas of Vēngi. The legend S'ribhūvipamalla,⁸ evidently a mistake for Sribhuvanamalla on the seal of the Malaya c.p. grant, confirms this, for the prasasti of the chālukyas of Vēngi has the epithet Tribhuvanamalla and their records end with Tribhuvanāmkuśa. The chālukyan rulers at the time were Saktivarman and Vimalāditya to whom the Malayas owed allegiance.

A.D. 1018-1128 Interval:-

In the period of a century and a decade from A.D. 1018 we hear practically nothing about the Malayadesa and its rulers. Vēngi suzerainty changed hands. The chālukyas became chālukya-cholas from A.D. 1070 and Vēngi became a chola viceroyalty. Towards the end of Kulottunga I's reign, there was slow but steady infiltration of the western chālukya power into Vēngi, which is borne out by several records in Vēngi

7. C.P. 1 of 1921-22: A.R. 1922 II para 5; Srirajajaranarendra pattabhisheka sanchika pp 181-189-Eduvadalapalepusasunama. 7-a. Malayadhipatiyanavaru-the suggestion that Malaya is a village is obviously mistaken-Rajaraja sanchika p 188. 7-b. Rajaraja sanchika p 188. 8. c.p. 1 of 1921-22: A.R. 1922 II para 5.

dated in c.v. era especially between the years 45 and 48. Probably the Malayas, like the Haihayas of Konamandala, had to recognise the Chalukya suzerainty. However, the situation in Vengi in A.D. 1128, when the Malayas appear on the political arena again is thus after Vikramaditya's death the chola supremacy in Vengi was restored with the willing co-operation of the local rulers completely in the southern half though it took another decade for its completion in the northern half-A.D.1138.

Suraparaju A.D. 1128-1143

The relationship of Suraparaju to the early Malayas is not known. His earliest inscription is from Draksharama dated A.D.1128 and the (second) year of Sarvalokasraya Vishnuvardhana maharaja⁹ in which the name Suraparaju, is lost. In the next inscription dated A.D. 1129 and the 4th year of Sarvalokasraya Srivishnuvardhana,¹⁰ the king is mentioned as Suraparaju of Venginantl Malayamandala. Surapa is described as a great warrior and a sun to the Malaya family. Though his records are not found after A.D. 1129 nevertheless his reign may have extended up to A.D. 1143 the earliest date for his successor Bantaraja.

Surapa's political relations:-

Suraparaja was a subordinate of the chalukyas of Pithapur-the contemporary ruler being Sarvalokasraya Vishnuvardhana maharaja who ascended the throne in A.D. 1123-1124 and ruled till A.D. 1145. His two records are dated in the second and the fourth regnal years of Vishnuvardhana. Besides, Surpa had the titles-chalukya samuddharanudaina and an expert in restoring the kingdom of the Chalukya narayana.¹¹ These show that he had a great part in the enthronement of Vishnuvardhana at Pithapur. The titles cannot apply to the restoration of the chola power in Vengi under Vikramachola for the dates do not agree, nor to the rule of Somesvara III of the western chalukyas in Vengi, for he never bore Eastern Chalukya titles. Therefore, Vishnuvardhana and the chalukyas of Surapa's inscriptions, refer to chalukya Vishnuvardhana of Pithapur. Surapa may have maintained friendly relations with the Kona Haihayas, the Saronathas and other local rulers.

9. 314 of 1893: S.I.IV 1177. 10. 303 of 1893: S.I.I. IV 1167. 11. do.

Bantarāja A. D. 1143

Bantarāja's relationship to Suraparāja is unknown. He was the son of Atyamadēva. In A.D 1143¹² he made gifts at Drākshārāma. Bantarāja bore the epithets, mahāmandalēsvara and the restorer of Chālukyarājya i.e. chālukyarājyasamuddharana-evidently the chālukyas of Pithāpūr. Either Bantarāja participated with Sūraparāja in the restoration of the Chālukyan power in A.D 1126 or inherited the title from Sūraparāja.

A.D. 1143-1205 Interval:-

In this period of sixty years from A.D 1143 to 1205, nothing is heard of the Malayas. Vengi was chiefly under the Velāṇḍus who recognised the chōla suzerainty. There was no interference from the Chālukyas of Kālyani. The Kākatiyas were intruding in Vengi affairs. It is likely that the Malayas continued their loyalty to the chālukyas of Pithāpūr.

*Mahadeva A.D 1205-1240**His predecessors:-*

A new branch of the Malayas comes to light from a c.p. grant of A.D. 1205 of Eastern chālukya Mallapa Vishṇuvardhana.¹³ The earliest member so far known, is Bhīma who is said to have acquired the hereditary sovereignty of his grandfather and other ancestors through the favour of the glorious chālukya chōḍa.¹⁴ This definitely shows that the Malayas lost their kingdom for some time and Bhīma regained it with the help of Chālukya chōḍa i.e. probably emperor Vikramachola. The son and successor of Bhīma was Vishṇuvardhana whose son was Mahādeva. The restoration of Bhīma may be placed about A.D 1130 and his rule and that of Vishṇuvardhana probably filled the gap till A.D 1205.

Mahadeva's inscriptions:-

Mahadeva's inscription of A.D 1205 mentions Chengarunāṇṇivishaya. His next inscription¹⁵ is from Kumāradēvam, dated A.D 1235. Two of his records¹⁶ dated A.D 1237 are at Paṭṭisam (Near Polavaram) in one of which figures Adaoa Māvena preggada, the minister of Mahādeva. In the record at Kumāra-

12. 296 of 1893; S.I.I.V 11. 13. A.R.1917 II para 29. 14. The Godavari grant - I.A. XX p 258. 15. 247 of 1935-36. 16. 297 & 298 of 1920.

dēvam dated A.D 1240.¹⁷ this Māvena is mentioned as Adapa Mahādēvana pergaḍa and his father was Manchiraju. King Mahādēva ruled for thirty-five years and was succeeded by his son and successor, Ganapati.

His political relations:-

Mahādēva bore the titles-mahāmaṇḍalēsvara, Samadhi-gata panchamahāsabda and the supporter of Chālukya sovereignty.¹⁸ His contemporaries on the chalukyan throne at Pithāpur were Mallapa III alias Vishnuvardhana, (A.D 1203-1223) the son of Vijayaditya III and his sons Udayachandra (A.D 1223-1226) and chandraśekhara (A.D 1226). None of Mahādēva's records mention the chālukyas of Pithāpur. Nevertheless the Malaya allegiance to the chālukyas may have continued in this period.

Ganapati A.D. 1240.

Ganapati ruled for thirty years. His earliest inscription is from Kumāradēvam dated A.D 1240.¹⁹ The next record is from Rājahmundry, dated A.D 1248²⁰ and indicates the extent of the Malaya kingdom. Ganapati's latest record is from Kumāradēvam²¹ dated A.D 1250, mentioning Vengisvararāja of Vengi. As the earliest date for his successor Vishnuvardhana is A.D. 1281, Ganapati's reign may have lasted till that year.

His political relations:-

Ganapati was a friend of the Konas and the Chālukyas of Vengi. Lōkema, the queen of Ganapati was the daughter of Kona Bētarāja.²² Vengisvararāja of the Vengi chālukyas and Ganapati together appear in A.D 1250 in the record at Kumāradēvam which attests their amicable relations.

Vishnuvardhana A.D 1281.

Vishnuvardhana was the last among the Malayamu kings. His only record is from Kumāradēvam, dated A.D 1281,²³ recording some gifts by his subordinate Mahādēvanāyaningāru. His relationship to his predecessor Ganapati is not known.

His political relations:-

Vishnuvardhana must have continued the Malaya allegiance to the Chālukyas of Pithāpur. Probably he is named

17. 251 of 1935-36. 18. I.A 120 p 268. 19. 249 of 1935-36. 20. 506 of 1893:S.I.I.V 116. 21. 250 of 1935-36. 22. 249 of 1935-36. 23. 246 of 1935-36.

after Chālukya Vishnuvardhana of Pithāpur, As his record positively shows that he was a Malaya chief, the statement that "since Vishnuvardhana is a name familiar among the Eastern chālukyas, it is likely that the king was a later member of that family and is identical with Vishnuvardhana Chakravatin or mahārāja."²⁴ falls to ground.

Later reference to the Malayas:-

One of the titles of the Māraṭṭa family is Malayamanne Kōmastaka²⁵ the meaning of which is not clear. Probably some early members of this family had a share in the ending of the Malaya dynasty after Vishnuvardhana. No sons or successors of Vishnuvardhana are heard of. It is likely that the Malaya tracts were incorporated in the kingdom of the Kākatīyas under Rudradēvamahārāja.

CHAPTER IX:

The Kanḍravādis C A.D. 1130-1280.

The Kanḍravādis ruled over Kanḍravāḍi viśaya for a century from the middle of the 12th to the middle of the 13th Century A.D. The two main branches of them were the Ivani Kanḍravādis and the Kōnakandravādis which exercised sway simultaneously with their capitals at Ivani, and Bhōgāpura, and Duggirāla respectively. Their kingdoms formed two divisions of a bigger division Kanḍravādiviśaya or Doddikandravāḍi finding mention in the Eastern chālukya inscriptions. The terms Ivani Kanḍravāḍi and kōnakandravāḍi are prefixed to the names of the rulers of the respective dynasties. The two dynasties owed allegiance to the cholas and were united for external purposes.

The Ivani Kanḍravādis.

A few inscriptions form the sources for the history of the Ivani Kanḍravādis. They claim to have been born from the feet

24. A.R 1935-36 II para 33.

25. Mack. Ms. pp 108-109. If sula is added to the title which obviously is incomplete it becomes intelligible meaning the axe to the foreheads of the kings or princes of Malaya manne.

of Brahma¹ and belonged to Durjayakula,² like the Kākatiyas, the Konḍapadumaṭis and the chāgis.

Panda.

King Paṇḍa or Paṇḍabhūmiṣvara is the earliest known member of the line. None of his records are available and those of his descendants do not give any details about him. The term bhūmiṣvara³ suggests that Paṇḍa was a person of some importance in Vēṅgi of his day.

Kanta.

Kanta was the son and successor of Paṇḍa. Information about him is meagre. The only fact of some significance, about his reign is that he was an enemy of Siddhi of Nellōre.⁴ This Siddhi is undoubtedly the Telugu chōḍa king Siddhi (A.D. 1175-1192) the uncle of Dāyabhīma I and the elder brother of Betta. Thus Kanta who won a victory over Siddhi must have lived in the first half of the 12th Century A.D. How Kanta came into conflict with the Telugu chōḍas of Nellore is not clear. The probability is this-Velanāṇḍu chōḍa II fought the Telugu chōḍas and won a victory over Siddhi identical with Siddhi of the Kandravāḍi inscription. It is likely that Kanta was a subordinate of Chōḍa II, participated in his wars and won this victory over King M.P.C. Siddhi. His brother was Kēśava I, who must have held a position of importance in the kingdom.

Gonka.

Gonka was the son and successor of Kanta. No records of his are available. He is mentioned as Gonkadharādhinātha. His queen Meḍāmbika was the daughter of Vipparti Potarāja.⁵ Evidently Gonka is named after Gonka II or III of the Velanāṇḍus which indicates Konakanḍravāḍi loyalty to the Velanāṇḍu chōḍas. Vipparti Pota, the father-in-law of Gonka, must have been a local chieftain of some importance. No sons of Gonka are heard of and the throne passed on to Kēśava II, the son of a cousin of Gonka, whose name is not known.

Kesava II. A.D. 1207-1234.

Kēsevarāja was the greatest of the Ivani Kandravāḍis.

1. 303 of 1924: A.R. 1924 II para 60. 2. 304 & 280 of 1924. 3. 303 of 1924: Ins. Mad. Pres. II Kt. 265. 4. 303 of 1924: Ins. Mad. Pres. II Kt. 265. 5. „ „ „

His records range from A.D 1207 to 1234. The earliest record⁶ is from Muktyala dated A.D 1207, mentioning him as the lord of Ivani kandravādi. Of his records⁷ dated A. D. 1209-two are from Anigandlapādu and another from Muktyala. His last inscription is from Muktyala⁸ dated A.D 1234, in which his name is lost. Two of his undated records⁹ at Muktyala trace his ancestry to Panda.

His political relations:-

Kesava II bore the titles-Mahamandalesvara, of Durjaya-kula and the lord of Bhogapura. By A.D. 1209 he shifted his capital from Ivani to Bhogapura. He was loyal to Prithvisvara of the Velanandus and would have helped him in fighting his enemies-especially the Kakatiyas. Probably Kesava was the last of the Ivani Kandravadis, as no sons and successors of him are heard of.

From an Amaravati record¹⁰ dated A.D 1155 is heard of Komminayaka, the son of Itamanayaka, subordinate of Gonka II and lord of Damalur and ruler of Kurugallu in Ivani kandravadi. The contemporary Ivani kandravadi ruler was either Kanta, or Kesava I, the grandfather of Besava II. No doubt Komminayaka was a subordinate of Kanta or his brother Kesava I.

The Kona kandravadis.

The Kona kandravadis ruled from A.D 1134 to 1279. The term Kona suggests that their kingdom comprised the deltaic area probably of the Krishna, it may also suggest any relationship with the Kona Haihayas of Konamandala and Panchadharala. The Konakandravadis contracted alliances of marriage with the Kakatiyas. Their inscriptions cover a wide area from Bezvada and Amaravati to Draksharama from the Krishna into the Godavari district. The Konakandravadis played a more significant role than the Ivani kandravadis in the politics of Vengi.

The Konakandravadis trace their descent from Durjaya. In Durjayavamsa was born a king whose name is not known. In his lineage was born Buddhavarman in whose lineage after

6. 302 of 1924.

7. 280, 281 of 1924: Ins. Mad. Pres. II (Kt. 266)

8. 305 of 1924.

9. 303&304 of 1924. 10. 265-A of 1897: S.I.I.VI239.

many kings had passed away was born Kaṇḍyadesati. General Kaṇḍaya¹¹ was the first historical member of the dynasty spoken of, as the light to the house i.e. Durjayavamsa dēsati kaṇḍaya was probably in the service of the Chalukyachōlas.

Bhima I A.D 1134-1149

Bhima I or Rāja Bhima was the son and successor of Kaṇḍaya. His earliest inscription is from Duggirāla¹² dated A.D 1134 mentioning him as the lord of Kaṇḍravāḍi. His Nūtakki inscription¹³ dated A.D 1137 and the 4th year of Kulōttunga II, mentions him as mahāmaṇḍalēsvara kaṇḍravāḍi Bhīmarāju. Though none of his records are available after A.D 1137, his reign may have lasted till A.D 1149¹⁴, the earliest date for his sons and successors - Bhima II and Pota.

His political relations:-

The son of a general, Bhima became a ruler. He owed allegiance to the Chōla emperor Kulōttunga II. Whether Bhīma inherited the kingdom from his father or acquired it from the chōla emperor as reward for his services is not clear.

Bhima II and Pota A.D 1149-1195.

Bhima II and Pota exercised joint sway. Their records range from A.D 1149 to 1195. The earliest record is dated A.D 1149 and the 17th regnal year of Kulōttungachōḍadeva mentioning both the brothers.¹⁵ Another record at Drākshārāma dated 1153 and the 17th year of Rājarāja chōḍa mentions Bhima II. The next inscription dated A.D 1166 and the 21st year of Rājarāja also¹⁶ from Drākshārāma mentions Bhīma as Kaṇḍravāḍi Bhīmarāju.^{16-a} Pota figures in the Kota record dated A.D 1195 from Amarāvati.¹⁷

The political relations of Bhima II and Pota:-

The Kōna kaṇḍravāḍis in this period continued their loyalty to Kulōttunga II and Rājarāja II, the chōla emperors as is evidenced by the records of the reign dated in their regnal years. Besides, the Kōna kaṇḍravāḍis in this period contracted alliances of marriage with the Kōṭas and the Natavāḍis. Pārvaṭi

11. 286 of 1893: S.I.I. IV 1153. 12. 716 of 1920. 13. 116 of 1917: The Colas II-II p 636. 14. 284 of 1893: S.I.I. IV 1151. 15. do. 16. Sewell Antiquities I Draksharama No. 110. 16-a. 217-B of 1393: S.I.I. VI 1053. 17. 261 of 1897: S.I.I. VI 228.

and Prolama, the daughters of Pota were married to Kēta II of the Kotas and Durga of the Natavādis respectively. Prolama figures in a record at Nave Potavaram, in A.D 1157. Potama, the daughter of Bhima II was married to¹⁸ Rāchūra Dārapa rāju, a local chieftain of some importance. Under Bhima II and Pota, the Konakandravādi power appears to have been in the ascent.

Choḍayarāja and Kēta

Choḍayarāja and Potarāja were the sons of Bhima II mentioned as Kona kandravādi Bhima in an undated record at Mudunūru.¹⁹ Pota's son was Kēta, evidently named after Koṭa kēta. Probably, choḍayarāja, the eldest son of Bhima II and Kēta, ruled together like their fathers Bhima and Pota. Neither chronology nor history of the reign is available.

Bāda

Bāda was the son of Kēta.²⁰ Nothing is known about him. No sons and successors of him are heard of.

The second Kona Kandravadi dynasty.

After Bāda, the last of the Konakandravādis a family also of Durjaya descent, ruled over the Kona kandravādi territory. The names of the rulers of this line are similar to those of the Konakandravādis. But the actual connection between the two lines is not known. The ancestry of the second Kona Kandravādi dynasty is as follows:- In Durjayavamsa was born king Pota. His son was Rājendra choḍa, the lord of Konakandravādi. He received Vengi 1000 (Vengi grāmasahasrakam) and the epithet Vengindra from Kulottunga choḍa. Some of his titles were - Durjayavamsarājatilaka, the frightener of the elephants of Kalinga and the conqueror of the lord of Trikalanga.²¹

Rajendrachoda's political relations:-

Rājendra chola alias virachoda owed allegiance to the chola emperor Kulottunga I. His victories over the Kalingas must have been acquired during the first or the second Kalingan wars in A.D 1090 and 1110 respectively under the leadership of Vikramachoda. For, as the subordinate of the cholas, he must have

18. Mack. Mss. 15-6-26. Elliot's Telugu inscriptions No. 8. 19.307 of 1920
20. 286 of 1893; S.I.I. IV 1153. 21. do. do.

served in the imperial wars, along with the Velanḍus, the Konda-paḍumatis, the Kotas and other powers in Vengi. Rājendra-chōḍa was duly rewarded by Kulottunga with Vengi 1000 and the title Vēngindra. So his kingdom included Konakandravāḍi and Vēngi 1000.

Rajaraja

Rajendrachoḍa had two sons Rājarāja and Bhima and the former succeeded the father on the throne. Rājarāja is mentioned as the best among kings. His son was Potabhūpāla, who is said to have destroyed his enemies. King Pōta had two sons - Rājarāja and Tonda and Tonda's son was Bhima.²²

As for the descendants of Bhima,²³ the second son of Rajendrachoḍa, Bhima's son was Chōḍabhūpa whose son was Tyāgipota. It is clear thus, that a line of the Chāgis branched off from the Konakandravāḍis.

Other and Later Kandravadis:-

Ballerāju, the lord of Gangūru, an agrahāra in Kandra-vāḍi 1000, and his son figure in a record from Bāpatla, dated A.D. 1112 and the regnal year of a king whose name is lost.²⁴ Ballarāju and his son must have recognised Kulottunga I's suzerainty and locally were feudatories of the Konakandravāḍi ruler - Rājendra chōḍa. Mallikārāju the son of Kandravadi Apparāju is mentioned in a record from Drākshārāma dated A.D. 1139 and the 7th year of Kulottunga ie. Kulottunga II.

Mahāmandalika Konakandravāḍi Sabbaya and his mother Muppana are mentioned in a record from Bezvāda dated A.D. 1140 and the 16th year of Tribhuvanachakravarti Kulottunga Chōḍaḍeva²⁵ i.e. Kulottunga II. It is not known whether Sabbaya was related to the Konakandravāḍi dynasties. He was a contemporary of Konakandravāḍi Bhima I (A.D. 1134-1149). A Kandravāḍi Konarāja is heard of from a record dated A.D. 1177 and the 19th year of Rājarāja.²⁷ Another chief, Konakandravāḍi Bhimarāju figures in a record from Bezvāda dated A.D. 1213.²⁸ Another record there, dated A.D. 1233 mentions Konakandra-

22. 286 of 1893: S.I.I.IV 1153. 23. 326 of 1892: S.I.I.VI 168. This is the earliest Konakandravāḍi record so far available. 24. 238 of 1899: S.I.I.VI. 168. 25. 269 of 1892: S.I.I.VI 722. 27. Sewell: Antiquities I Drākshārāma No. 116. 28. 326 of 1892: S.I.I.IV 780 - 3rd face.

vādi Surapota- He bore a prasasti beginning with Svasti samadhigata Pamchamahāsabda..²⁹ The relationship of Bhima and Sura Pota to the Konakandravādi dynasties is not known.

Later references to the Kandravadis:-

A record at Atmakur³⁰ dated A. D 1248 mentions Doddi Kandravādi. The Mandaram record dated A.D 1279³¹ mentions the bank of the Krishnavēni. ie. R. Krishna in Doddi Kandra-vādi. A record at Drāksharama dated A. D 1255³² mentions Kandravadi. Moramapūdi Ketinayaka, the minister of Gonka. Probably Moramapudi Mallinayaka of Narnepadu inscription ³²-a (A- D 1266) belongs to the same family of Ketinayaka. Another record there with the Saka and the regnal years of Rajarājālost, mentions Kandravadi choda and his son Kommana.³³ This choda may be identified with either choda, the grandson of Rajendra choda, in which case Kommana becomes brother of Tyagi Pota; or with Chodayaraju, the son of Bhima II (A D. 1149-1195).

End of the Kandravadis:-

No Kandravadis - either Ivani, or Kona - are heard of after A.D 1282. No doubt about that year, the Kandravadi territories were absorbed into the Kakatiya Kingdom under the rule of Rudradeva Maharaja. Under Prataparudra, her successor almost the whole of Vengi came under the Kakatiya banner.

CHAPTER X.

The Saronathas. A.D. 950-1260.

The Saronāthas or Kolanumandalikas ruled over Kolanu vishaya with capital at Sarasipura i.e modern Ellōre in West Godavari district for three centuries. The dynasty consisted of more than ten kings who were distinguished warriors and administrators and the kingdom had a long tenure of life like the Kona Haihaya kingdom of Konamandala. Generally, Kolani or Kolani mandalika is prefixed to the name of the rulers. The Saronathas owed allegiance to the Vengi Chālukyas, the Chālukya-cholas, the Chālukyas of Kalyāni and the Kākatiyas at

29. do. 1st face. 30. 63 of 1917. 31. 101 of 1917. 32. 270 of 1893: S.I.IV 1132. 32-a. 316 of 1932-33. 33. 239-A of 1893:S.I.I.V08 18.

different times; nevertheless they were independent for all internal purposes. They are referred to as Telugunāyakulu or Telungunāyakulu by some, probably after Telugu Bhīma. Their kingdom fell a prey to the Kākatiyas under Gaṇapati and they were replaced by the second Kolanu dynasty, the Indulūri family. The second Kolanu kingdom loyal to the Kākatiyas lasted till the fall of the Kākatiya kingdom in the 14th century A.D and its rulers acquired important political victories.

South India and Vengi in the first half of the 10th century A.D:-

The major powers in South India in this period were: the Kalinga Gangas, the Vengi Chālukyas, and the Cholas. The Ganga kings were Gunārṇava I (951-958 A.D); the Chālukyas were Bhīma I (858-918 A.D), Vijayāditya IV (A.D 918), Amma I (918-925 A.D), Beta Vijayāditya V (925 A.D), Bhīma II (926-927 A.D), Yuddhamalla II (927-934 A.D), Chālukya Bhīma III (934-945 A.D), and Amma II (A.D 945-970); and the Chola Emperors were Āditya I (871-917 A.D), and Parāntaka I (917-953 A.D)

Sources and Early history:-

A few stone records and a single copper - plate grant form the sources for the history of the Saronathas. The inscriptions of the Chālukya-Cholas, the Velanāndu cholas and stray verses in Telugu supply additional and corroboratory information.

The earliest known member of the Kolanu dynasty was Balāditya¹ or Choladitya² or Bhataditya.^{3-a} He was a great archer and an equal of Rama and Arjuna. As his son Nripakama was in the service of Amma II, Baladitya may be placed provisionally between A.D 900 and 945. Probably he was in the service of the Vengi Chālukyas. Nripakama, was a great archer and fighter. He is said to have slain five heroes at one time with his sword. He, in Chalukya records, is specifically mentioned as Saronatha - the lord of the lake district.⁴ Nripakama

1. I.A.14 p 56 f; Kielhorn: List. of inscriptions No. 574: I.A.XXI p 191 No. 48: p 285 No. 10.

2. J. A. H. & C. I. pp 147 - 148. No. 164: E. I. XIX pp 137-148. 3. Sewell: Historical inscriptions of S. India. p 361. 3-a. Rajarajasanchika. p 89. 4. J. A. H & C I p140 No. 149 - Gundagolanu plates of Amma II Andhra patrika Annual Vol. 12 - pp 73-81 Ārumbaka. plates.

lived in the second half of the 10th Century A.D and his son was Ganḍanarayana, and daughter was the queen of Amma II. How he came in possession of Kolanu vishaya is not known. Perhaps he secured it in return for his services to the Chalukyas in their wars. On the request of Nripakama, and queen Naya-mamba, king Amma II granted Gundugolanu in Venginadu-vishaya to the Brahmins.

Ganḍanarayana bore the title Satya bhallata. He was skilled in riding horses and elephants. He proved a traitor to Amma II Vijayāditya (945-970 A.D), his brother-in-law for reasons not known to us, and sided Badapa and Talapa against him⁴-a. Thus Ganḍanārāyaṇa Bhima was in the service of King Bādapa of the Chalukyas of Vengi whom he pleased by his help in wars and in return received from him Ārumbāka in the Velanadu vishaya and regranted it to Chandenarya, son of Samakamba, a sister of Nayamamba,⁵ the mother of Ganḍanarayana. It may be noted here that the statement⁵-a that he was a Niyogi Brahmin of Pattavardhani lineage is baseless.

King Bhima was the best known among the Kolanu mandalikās. He was a warrior of rare capacities. None of his records are available. He lived in the latter half of the 11th Century A.D, as he was an important person in the first Kalingan war of A. D 1090. The little information known about Bhima is from the reference in the contemporary Chola, Pāndya and Velanandu Choda inscriptions.

Between Gandanarayana and Bhima, at least fifty years must have elapsed. No intermediary Kolana rulers are known and neither the relationship between Gandanarayana and Bhima.

Bhima was known as Telinga or Telunga Viman or Bhima of Kulam ie. Kolanu in Tāmil records of the period. He owed allegiance to the Ganga Emperors of Kalinga - Vajrahasta V (1038-1070 A.D), Rajaraja I (1070-1078) and Anantavarman (1078-1146 A.D). This transference of the Kolanu loyalty from the Chalukyas to the Gangas must have been the result of the spread of the Ganga power into Vengi after Gandanarayana and

5. S.I.I.II p 107; S.I.I. III p178; T. A. S. 111. 19; Āndhrapatrika Annual Vol. 112, pp 73-81. 6. The Cholas II-I pp 33-34.

prior to Bhima. Bhima was probably an ally of Vikramāditya VI of the Chālukyas of Kalyāni.

The only important political event of the reign is this. With the support of the Gangas and the Western Chalukyas, Bhima and other subordinate rulers in the northern Vēngi-southern Kalinga, conspired together, rose in rebellion soon after the acceptance of the viceroyalty of Vēngi by Vikramachōḍa and by their aggressive policy threatened, the Chola suzerainty in Vēngi.⁶ Bhima was the leader of the rebellion. It was to put an end to this Kalingan trouble, that the first Kalingan war of the Cholas, was undertaken under the leadership of Vikramachōḍa. King Parantaka of the Pandyas, Chōḍa I of the Velanandus, Bhima of the Kotas, besides many other feudatory rulers in Vēngi joined the viceroy in this war, took active part and contributed to the complete success of the expedition.

The Chief object and victim of the expedition was Bhima. All records say that Bhima was captured and killed. A record of the Velanandu chodas describes the event as follows: Vikramachōḍa dried up the whole of that lake (saras) like ocean and killed Bhima (ie. he built dam or bridge across the water in order to reach him who had evidently taken refuge in an island fortress.)⁷ Professor Sastri says "In (Vikramachōḍa's) inscriptions dated after his accession, there occurs a brief description of his viceroyalty of Vēngi. It is this: "while yet a child (he) bore the cruel weapons (of war) so that at Kulam the Telunga Viman ascended the mountains as refuge and so that hot fire consumed the land of Kalinga."⁸ "Thus the victory over Bhima was recorded with pride in Vikramachōḍa's records. Parantaka Pandya claims to have taken Kulam from Bhima and subdued Kalinga.⁹ Velanandu chōḍa I claims to have defeated Telugu Bhima, a vassal of the king of Kalinga, drove him to take refuge in the colair, pursued him thither and killed him. According to the Velanandu c-p. grant,¹⁰ Chōḍa I killed also the children and friends of Bhima. Many of the later Velanandu records refer to this victory over Bhima.

6. The colas II-I pp33-34. 7 E. I. IV. No. 4 V45. 8 The Colas II-I pp 32-33. 9 His inscriptions. 10 C. P. 23 of 1916-17.

Thus the rebellion of Bhima brought on him the wrath of the Imperial cholas and their subordinates and proved disastrous to the Kolanu kingdom. Bhima and his children were killed and so his line became extinct. Incidentally we may note that Kolanu Bhima was distinct from Kota Bhima and not identified as has been supposed by some¹¹.

Interval A.D. 1090-1125.

Between A.D. 1090 - the last date for Bhima and 1125 - the earliest date for Rajendra choda, we hear nothing about the Kolanu kingdom and its rulers. Evidently after the subjugation the Kolanurajas would have been loyal to the chola emperors and their representatives - the Velanandu chodas.

Rajendra choda alias Okkettuganda. A.D. 1125-1135.

Rajendra choda is the first Kolanu ruler whose records are available. His earliest inscription is from Juttiga (duttika) dated A.D. 1125 mentioning him as mahāmandalēśvara Kolani Okkettuganda¹². His only other record is from Drākshārama dated A.D. 1132 and c.v. year 57.¹³ It mentions him as Okkettuganda, the lord of saras and named Rājendrachoda. His parents were-Damatināyakudu and Ōrllasāni, and sister was Mēdasānis. Though his records are not available after A.D. 1132 his reign may have lasted till A.D. 1135 - the earliest date for his successor - Kāṭamanāyaka.

His political relations:-

The title of Rajendrachoda. Okkettuganda - seems to indicate that he was a great hero and warrior. But the epigraphist takes the view that, "the expression presents some affinity to Okakētu, a banner of the Rāshtrakūṭas"¹⁴. This suggests some connection between the Sarōnāthas and the Rāshtrakūṭas in earlier days, as there were no Rāshtrakūṭas in this period.

As Damatinayakudu alias Amarinayaka did not bear any titles, probably he was only a general and not a king. So Rajendra choda, revived the Kolanu kingdom, after the death of Bhima.

11 Sewell: Historical Inscriptions of S. India p 90. 12 728 of 1920-13 289-B of 1893: S. I. I. IV 1158. 14 A-R. 1921. II para 62.

The contemporary Chola emperor was Vikramachola. Till A.D 1132, Rajendrachoda must have acknowledged the Chola suzerainty, though he has not specified it in his Juttiga record. But in A.D 1132, he recognised the western Chalukya suzerainty, by dating his Draksharama epigraph of that year in C.V.era. The Chalukyan emperor at the time was Bhuvanaikamalla Somēśvara III whose sway in the northern Vengi lasted till A.D 1139-the year in which he suffered a signal defeat in the chola lands on the Godavari. Owing to the activity of the Chalukya armies in the northern Vengi, even after the chola suzerainty was restored in the southern Vengi by A.D 1127. Rajendrachoda had to submit to the Chalukya authority towards the close of his reign-probably after some resistance which probably proved futile before the strong Chalukya general.

Katamanayaka. A.D 1135-1151.

Katamanayaka had a reign of fifteen years and issued many records. His relationship to his predecessor Rajendra choda is not known. His earliest inscription¹⁵ is from Elurpādu, dated A.D 1135, mentioning him as Bhujabalabhima katamanayaka the lord of Sarasipura in Vengimandala and comparing him with Kartavirya and Abhimanyu in valour. His next inscription¹⁶ is from Draksharama dated A.D 1140 praising his valour. His chellur copper plate inscription¹⁷ dated A.D 1143 of the time of Kulottunga II traces the Eastern chalukya genealogy up to Kulottunga II, the son of Vikrama chola and records that Kolani katamanayaka alias Dandadhinatha kata was governing sarasipuri while Vikramachola was governing Vengimandala and granted Mandadorru with Panduva in Savattili vishaya to the Brahmins. Katama's next record is from Draksharama dated A.D 1148. His last record¹⁸ is from Ganapavaram dated A.D 1151 mentioning him as mahamandalēśvara Kolani katamanayaka.

His political relations:-

No political events of Katama's reign are available. Katama was loyal to the Imperial cholas - his contemporary being Kulottunga II. He may have participated in the battle on the

15 243 of 1935-36. 16 204 of 1893: S. I. I. IV 1031. 17 XI. A XIV p 56 ff. The colas II-II p 641. 18 310 of 1920.

Godāvari between the cholas and the chālukyas, on the side of the former along with the other subordinate rulers in Vēngi and had a share in ending the Chalukyan power in Vēngi.

Somayanayaka. A.D 1151-1195.

The relationship of Somayanāyaka to his predecessor Kāṭamanāyaka is not known. He was the first Saronātha to bear a prasasti. His earliest inscription¹⁹ is from Gaṇapavaram dated A.D. 1155. The two records²⁰ at Gaṇapavaram dated A. D. 1165 and the 20th year of Rājarāja respectively may belong to his reign. Somaya's next inscription is from Palakol dated A.D 1192, mentioning Kēśavadeva.²¹ In the record of A.D 1194, Erakamahādevi, the queen of mahāmaṇḍalika Somana-yaka, figures as the donor.²² Somaya's last record is from Gaṇapavaram dated A.D 1195²³ mentioning him as Kolani maṇḍalika Somayarāju.

His political relations:-

The loyalty of the Kolanu rulers to the cholas is evidenced by Somaya's record dated in the 20th year of Rājarāja II. Somaya styled himself Kamalākara-puravallabha and his epithet Manniyadevendra²³-a i.e Indra to Manniya chiefs, attests his rule. Towards the close of his reign from A.D 1192, Somaya associated Kēśava in ruling the kingdom, for he issued records in that year.

Kesavadeva. A. D. 1196-1233.

Probably Kēśava was named after God Kesava at Ellore. Among all the Saronāthas, he issued the largest number of inscriptions. Two records of his initial year A. D. 1196²⁴ mention him as mahāmaṇḍalesvara Kolanimaṇḍalika Kesavadeva and his mother cha-mbika mahadevi and queen Somambikamahadevi. Kesava's Palakol inscription dated A. D. 1197²⁵ gives him the epithet Bhujabala-Bhima. His sister was Tankasani. His Draksharama record dated 1200 A. D. ²⁶ mentions his father

19 Ins. Mad. Pres. II kt. 121. 20 316 & 388 of 1920. 21 532 of 1893: S.I.I.V 186. 22 528 do. do. 172. 23 309 of 1920.23-a. 309 of 1920. 24. 531 & 533 of 1893: S. I. I. V. 181, 188. 25. 530 of 1893: S. I. I. V. 176. 26. 325. of 1893: S. I. I. IV. 1206.

Viddebhūpa, and his Palakol inscription dated A. D. 1212²⁷ mentions him as the ruler of the country from the Himalayas to the ocean and a destroyer of enemies and his son Pōṭa, the lord of Vārijākarapura. Kesava's record²⁸ from Natta Ramesvaram dated A. D. 1218 mentions his two sons-the eldest Kommaya kumara and Somaya kumara, besides Potaya. The next record is from Elurpadu dated A. D. 1228. In one of his records from Palakol dated A. D. 1229, Kesava is mentioned as Dharani valayam kudukesava.²⁹ His last record is from Palakol dated A. D. 1233. *His political relations:-*

Kesava had a reign of forty years. He bore the usual Kōlani prasasti. Of his sons, Potaya, and Somaya were probably provincial governors and Kommaya the crown prince in his reign and find mention in records dated between the years A. D. 1212 and 1218. Kesava must have strengthened his power at the expense of the Velanandus who were declining in this period. He does not seem to have recognised the Chola overlordship, nor that of the Kakatiyas. In a Palakol inscription dated A. D. 1231, Ellōre appears as Kolanuvidu.³⁰

Mangayadevaraja A. D. 1243.

During the decade from A. D. 1233 to 1243 nothing is known about the Kolanu kingdom or its rulers. It is not possible to see the circumstances that prevented the sons of Kesava from succession to the throne. In A. D. 1243, mahamandalesvara kolani mandalika Mangayadevaraja figures in a record³¹ from Ganapavaram. His relationship to Kesava or his sons is not apparent. His rule may have lasted up to A. D. 1260 - the earliest date for his successor Yeragayadevaraja.

Yeragayadevaraja A. D. 1260

Mahāmandalesvara Yeragayadevaraja is known from a single inscription at Juttiga dated A. D. 1260.³² King Manma is heard of from another record at Juttiga. It is not known whether he is a Kolanu ruler.

End of the Kolanu kingdom:-

The Kolanu kingdom finally fell a prey to the Kakatiya expeditions under Ganapati and Rudradeva. The suggestion³³

27. 529 of 1893: S. I. I. V. 175. 28. 723 of 1920. 29. 533-D of 1893: S. I. I. V. 192. 30. 532 of 1893: S. I. I. V. 187. 31. 311 of 1920. 32. 741 of 1920. 33. Kakatiya Samchika.

that it was conquered by the Kakatiya general during the Velanāṇḍu conquest about A.D. 1212 to 1213 is disproved by the reigns of Kesava and his successors. Kolanu was taken by the Kakatiyas after Yeragaya, though his attempt towards that end began as early as A.D. 1214.

The Second Kolanu Dynasty-The Induluri family.

The records of the Kakatiyas and Sivayogasara by Kolani Ādiganapatideva form the Sources for the history of the second Kolanu dynasty. The Induluri family, an important feudatory power of the Kakatiyas was related to the Kakatiyas, by alliances of marriage. Its members were ministers of the Kakatiyas from the time of Prola II to Pratapa Rudra.

Nāṇa gaurya, the lord of Indulūr had two sons Pedamalla and Pinamalla both in the service of Rudradēva of the Kākatiyas. Pedamalla had two sons - Soma and Pedaganna, of whom Soma was in the service of Rudradēva of the Kākatiyas. The political achievements of Soma were remarkable. At the head of vast armies, Soma conquered the tracts to the east of Warangal, took Gōgulanāḍu and Kolanuviḍu fortresses, crossed the Gautami, conquered the two Mādes, twelve Manniyas and parts of Kalinga. As he drove off the lords of Kolanu and made it his own, he came to be known as Kolani Soma.¹ Thus, the Indulūri chief who came in possession of Kolanu was Soma. From that time Kolanu became the family name instead of Induluru.^{1-a}

Manma Ganna, the son of Soma was a general-Dandādhinatha in the reign of Rudrama, and had three sons - Rudradēva, Irumaḍi and Mummaḍi.² Rudradēva and Annaya, the sons of Pedda Ganna, the brother of Kolani Soma, were the ministers of Pratāparudra.³ These two ministers always acted together and their victories were great. They conquered the kings of Mopur and took the title Rāchauhattamalla, captured many forts - sthala, jala, giri and vana, vanquished the Muslims, and protected the fort of Pratāparudra.⁴ The kings of Mopur were

1. Kakatiya Samchika Appendix. Ādiganapatideva Sivayogasara V. 27.

2. " " " " "

3. " " " " "

4. " " " " "

1-a C. V. Rao: History of Andhras V p 391.

probably some Telugu chola princes, who were subdued during the Kakatiya conquest of the Rēnāḍu. The victory of Annaya over the Muslims was evidently on one of the many occasions of the Muslim attacks on Warangal in the reign of Pratāparudra, during the first Muslim invasion into the Telugu country under the lead of Malikapur, the general of Alauddin Khilji.

Annaya's rule:- Annaya ruled the country from the eastern gate of Warangal to Simhadriśima,⁵ i. e. the tracts about Simbachalam. His titles were-Gajapatigajasimha, Mūru Rāyara-jagadādiganda, Jagamartyaganda, Sambetanāgaya, Kaliyuga-bhima, Mandalika and Rāyachauhattamalla,⁶ Annaya claims to have vanquished Gajapati, the king of Kalinga, killed the Panchapandyas, and taken Olacherla and Suravaram in Vengi.⁷ He kept his relatives as rulers in seventy two forts. He placed Gannayendra in Kolanividu and other forts. Parvatamallu, his brother-in-law, in the fort at Rajahmundry, Revana, the son-in-law of Manma Gannaya and Mangiraju in Nujella.^{7-a} Annaya was the son-in-law of Rudramadevi Queen of the Kakatiyas as he married Ruyyamba⁷ her (adopted) daughter.^{7-b}

Kolani Rudra.

Rudra, the elder brother of Anna ruled the country from Warangal to Simbachalam with capital at Kolanividu. His sway extended over Chebrole, Padinapuram, Devapurapukota, Jayavadi, Yenamadala, Kancharla, Podile, Nugundudu, Podakanuru Olacherla, Aduru, Nujella, Suravaram, Rānmahendrapuram ie. Rajahmundry, Bodasakurru, Bendapudi⁸ etc. This list roughly indicates the extent of his kingdom including the parts of Guntur, Nellore, Godavari and Vizagapatam districts.

Rudra bore the epithets - Chauhatiamalla, Iruvattuganda and the conqueror of the Panchapandyas - Vira, Marava, Sundara Vikramesa and Ballaha.⁹ He is mentioned as the lord of the seventy-two forts (Bahattari Durgas) of Prataparudra. A record of Rudra is dated A. D. 1326.¹⁰ He had two sons- Ganapati and Aubala. Nannayamba, the wife of Ganapati was the daughter

5. Kakatiyasanchika - App. Sivayogasara. 6. " "

7. do. do. 7-a. do. do. 7-b. " "

v 54. 8. do. do. 9. do. do. v 54- 10. 308 of 1915.

of Appayamatya and grand-daughter of Chamāraja. Entitled Chauhattamalla, Kolanu Ganapati had three sons Annayadeva, Rudra, and Adimula, and two daughters, Mallambika and Gaurama who were married to Bacherla Dochana and Nagaya respectively.

Aubala, the brother of Ganapati, married Kommamambika, the daughter of Visvanatha. Adimula, the son of Ganapati married the daughters of his uncles and by Elambika had Adiganapatiġeva. Perhaps Adiganapati was the last to rule over Kolanu as no sons and successors of him are heard of.

The family of Guru Induluri Nākanārādhyaġeva to whom Adiganapati dedicated his Sivayogasara, was in the service of the Eastern Chalukyas of Nidadavole and contracted alliances of marriage with the Kakatiyas and the Kolanu rulers. The ancestry of Nukaya is as follows :-¹¹ In Venginadu was Nukanarya. His son was Ballepreggada who was a minister in the service of the kings of Niravadyapuram i.e Nidadavole. His son was Nagamantri, also a minister of the Chalukyas of Nidadavole. Nukaraju was the son of Nagamantri and had two sons Nagaya and Vallabhendra. Gauri, the wife of Nagaya was the daughter of Ganapati, the son of Kolanu Rudra. The son of Nagaya by her was Nukaya who had two wives Gauridevi, the daughter of Pudikommaraġu¹² and another Lakshmidevi,

Later Kolanus :

From a record at Peravali dated A. D. 1411, Kolani Rachanna, son of Kolani Bhimanarya¹³ is known. Kolani Ramanna¹⁴ is heard of from another record also at Peravali dated A.D. 1417. It appears that Ramanna and Rachanna are identical, as the two records seem to be one as the cyclic year in both, Vilambi, is the same. Living in the 15th Century A.D, this Kolanu chief must have recognised the suzerainty of the Reġḡis of Rājahmundry, supreme in this period in the Telugu country.

One of the titles of Racherla family¹⁵ is Kolanivitivira-

11. Kakatiya sanchika. Sivayogasara. 12. do. do. 13. Ins. Mad. Pres. II. (Gt) p 761 for 1 No. 2 Mack. Ms. 15-4-41 Ms. p 9 No. 3. 14. Mack. Ms. 15-6-26 Elliot's Telugu inscriptions No. 96. 15. do. 15-4-43 Ms. 674. N. Venkataramanayya. Velugotivari Vamsavali. App. A. p 155.

kshetrānōvijayapramōḍa. The Vipparla family¹⁶ had the title-Kolanipuramahipalakasirahkridāvinoda. One of the epithets borne by the Alagucherla family¹⁷ is Mridumakolanivirakshētrānōbhāratikamalla, and the Dāchunūlla¹⁸ family had the title-Kolanimanniya talagonḍuganḍa. The names of the individuals of this family, who acquired victories over Kolanu and its rulers, and the time and circumstances, which brought about these results are not known. Probably during the conquest of Kolanu in the reign of Pratāparudra of the Kakatiyas by Indulūri Sōma, members of the Recherla, the Vipparla, the Alagucherla, and the Dachunūlla families, all feudatories of the Kakatiyas, accompanied him, participated in the expedition and assumed the epithets signifying their victory over Kolanuvidu i.e. Sarasipura¹⁹ and its rulers not known to us. As has been suggested already,²⁰ the identification of Kolanividu with Kolanupaka i.e. Kulpak in Nizam's dominions is wrong. Kolanuvidu is the vidu-town built in the midst of Kolanu i.e. lake.

CHAPTER XI.

The Chālukyas.

Introduction :-

The Chalukyas in Andhradesa, other than the Vengi chālukyas, held sway from about A.D 925 to 1596. They were the chalukyas of Pithapur, Panchadharala, Yelamanchili, Sri kurmam and Niravadyapura and those in the interior of the Guntur district. Some dynasties in Southern Kalinga, and some princes in South India claimed Eastern chalukya descent and assumed chalukya titles. The chalukyas in Andhra in common with the Andhrabhritiyas, the Kadambas and the Vengi chalukyas claimed to belong to Manavyasagotra and descent from Harita. They owed allegiance to the chalukyas of Vengi, the Chalukya-cholas, the Kalyani chalukyas and the Gangas of Kalinga and acquired significant political successes.

The Chalukyas of Pithapur. A.D 925-1226.

The chalukyas of Pithapur ruled the country from Pithapur to Simhachalam with capital at Pithapur for nearly three

16. do. do. Ms.p77. 17. Mack Ms.15-4-43 Ms. p 77. 18. do. do. Ms. p 116. 19. 532-A of 1893: S.I.I.V 187. 20: C. V, Rao: Hist. of Andhras V p 392.

centuries from A.D 925 to 1226. The dynasty which branched off from the Vengi chalukyas with Betavijayaditya V,¹ produced many rulers who were capable warriors and administrators. They maintained political relations with the Gangas, the Chols, and the Haihayas besides the minor kingdoms in Vengi, and other chālukyas in Vengi and Kalinga.

The condition of Vengi in the 10th Century A.D. was as follows:- Amma I on the chālukya throne was succeeded by his son Betavijayāditya V in 925 A.D, who reigned for fifteen days when the throne was seized by Tādapa, of the junior branch. After a month Tādapa was assassinated by Vikramāditya II whose reign lasted for eleven months.² Then a civil war ensued, the king was defeated and the throne was occupied by his grand nephew Bhima II who had the best claim to the throne in the absence of Vijayāditya V. Bhima II, after a rule for eight months, was killed by Yuddhamalla, son of Tādapa who reigned for seven years (A.D 927-934) and was ousted by Bhima III who ruled from 934 to 945 A.D. His successor Amma II ruled from 945 to 968 A.D. After the reign of Dānārāja from A.D 968 to 971, the period of anarchy of twenty seven years followed which ended with the accession of Śakti-varma in 999 A.D.³

Origin and rise of the dynasty:-

The Chālukya records give the complete genealogy of the chālukyas from the moon to Vikramachōḍa. Between the moon and Pāṇḍurāja were thirty-seven names, then the five Pāṇḍavas ruled and Udayaka, the last of the seven descendants of Arjuna, was followed by the eleven emperors in Ayōdhya. King Vijayāditya of this⁴ family came to the south and lost his life at the hands of Trilochanapallava. Then follows the account of the rise of the chalukyas. Among the chālukya kings Vijayāditya I (749-768 A.D) fought 108 battles, Guṇa vijayāditya was surnamed Tribhuvanamkuṣa and chalukya Bhima was the victor of 360 battles.⁵ Beta Vijayāditya V, the seventeenth ruler was the originator of the chālukyas of Pithāpur.

Beta Vijayaditya V. A.D 925.

Vijayāditya V was also known as Kanthika Bēta, as he

1. E. I. IV No. 33. The Pithapur pillar inscription.

2. Sewell: Historical inscriptions of S. India. p 43. 3. do do do

4. E.I.IV; No. 33; Sewell list. of Anti. II c.p. 77. 5. do do do

wore a necklace (Kaṇṭika) as a symbol of his anointment as heir apparent. After a brief rule as chālukya emperor he retired from the scene of war of succession to the chālukyan throne and founded the Pithāpur branch. The Maliyapūḍi inscription says that Vijayāditya V was banished by Bhima III. Whatever the causes were, retirement of Vijayāditya from the chālukyan politics shows that he was wise and could measure correctly his strength as against that of the enemy and the improbability of his success.

Satyāśraya

Satyāśraya was the son and successor of Vijayāditya V at Pithāpur though the date of his enthronement is not known. In the light of this, the statement, "it seems more probable that Satyāśraya lived about one hundred and fifty years later than his chālukyan ancestor,"⁶ accepting that Satyāśraya was the son of Beta V "allows only five generations between A.D 925 and 1202"⁷ falls to the ground. The Pithāpur pillar inscription shows that Satyāśraya had another name Uttama chālukya⁸. Gauri, the queen of Satyāśraya was a princess of the Ganga family and "may have been related to Eastern Ganga king Anantavarman alias Chōḍaganga of Kalinga (A.D 1078)" as has been suggested already.⁹ Satyāśraya had seven sons - Vijayāditya, Vimalāditya, Vikramāditya, Viṣṇuvardhana, Mallapa, Kāma and Rajamārtanḍa.¹⁰ There is no evidence to fix the chronology of the reign.

Vijayaditya II - A.D 1123-24.

Vijayāditya II, the eldest son of Satyāśraya succeeded him on the throne. None of his records are available. He married Vijayamahādevi, a princess of the solar race¹¹ probably of the Chōla lineage and by her had three sons-Viṣṇuvardhana, Mallapadeva and Sāmideva. In A.D 1123 Vijayāditya II was succeeded by the eldest son Viṣṇuvardhana.

Viṣṇuvardhana. A.D 1123-24-1145.

Viṣṇuvardhana was the first king of the dynasty. whose inscriptions are available. The Godāvāri copper-plate grant¹² is

6. Sewell: Historical inscriptions of S. India. p 382. 7. do do do
8. E.I.IV No.33 V26. 9. do do p228. 10. E.I.IV No. 33 VV27&28
11. do do V 29. 12. A.R 1917. para 29. I.A.XX pp 267-268. Sewell.
List of Antiquities. II c.p No. 77 p.11.

definite that Vishṇuvardhana succeeded his father which sets at nought the doubts about his place in the chalukya genealogy. One author¹³ makes him the successor of Vijayāditya II, another says that he was probably the uncle of Vijayāditya III of the Pithāpur chālukyas and the epigraphist says "as his name is not found in the usual lists, he was probably an ancestor of Mallapa III of Pithāpur epigraph." But these doubts disappear as the records of Vishṇuvardhana help us to fix the chronology of the reign.

Vishṇuvardhana's records are dated in his regnal years. The earliest inscription is from Tanuku dated A.D 1141 and the 15th regnal year of Vishṇuvardhana.¹⁴ The second inscription of the reign is also from Tanuku dated A.D 1142 and the 17th year of the king.¹⁵ The Rājahmundry inscription dated A.D 1145 and the 21st year of Sarvalōkāsraya Vishṇuvardhana mahārāja mentions Pattisapunāḍu.¹⁶ As none of the records of Vishṇuvardhana dated after A.D 1145 are available, his reign lasting for twenty-one years must have begun in A.D 1124.

His political relations:-

Vishṇuvardhana was a strong ruler. He is spoken of as "an ornament of the lunar race (ie the chālukya family)"¹⁷. The Eastern chālukya kingdom ceased to exist by this time. Perhaps this encouraged Vishṇuvardhana to assume their titles and issue grants dated in his own regnal years. The contemporary chōla emperors were Vikramachōla and Kulottunga II. It is likely that Vishṇuvardhana owed allegiance to the Chālukya-chōlas and helped them and Gonka II of the Velanāṇḍus in terminating the Western Chālukya rule in Vengi between A.D 1127 and-1139. We have no evidence whether Vishṇuvardhana, in the early part of his reign, had to acknowledge the Chālukya yoke under Vikramāditya VI and Sōmesvara III along with the Konahaihayas, the Kolanu rulers and others.

Mallapa II. A.D 1145-1158.

Mallapa II was the second son of Vijayāditya and succee-

13. Sewell: List. of antiquities II c.p. No. 77 p 4. 14. 743 of 1920: Sewell. Historical inscriptions of S. India. p104. 15. 745 of 1920. 16. 41 of 1912. A.R. 1912 para 66. 17. I.A.XX. p 268.

ded Vishñuvardhana in A.D 1145. Sewell¹⁸ says "Here the plate is injured and the connection is lost between this prince and his ancestor "Mallapadēva. The Godāvari C.P. grant¹⁹ wrongly makes Mallapa II, the son and successor of Vishñuvardhana. Mallapa was a capable ruler. The Pithāpur pillar inscription says that among the three sons of Vijayāditya II, Mallapa possessed royal splendour, great valour and was a wrestler with all the enemies in the world. Mallapa married Chandaladevi, the daughter of Prince Brahman of the Haihayas of Sagara vishaya.²⁰ After a rule of thirteen years, in A.D. 1158, he was succeeded by Vijayāditya III.

Vijayaditya III. A.D 1158-1202.

Vijayāditya III was the greatest among the Chālukyas of Pithāpur and enjoyed a long reign of fifty years. He issued the largest number of inscriptions. The actual day of his anointment or coronation is given as māgha, bright fortnight, tenth tithi, rohiṇi and mīnalagna.²¹ But the year may be either s. 1049 or 1079 as Jaladhi in the chronogram may mean either four or seven. S'aka year 1049 expired corresponds to Saturday, 14th January A.D 1128 and s. 1079 expired corresponds to Saturday, 11th January A.D 1158.²² The earlier date is unacceptable for it gives Vijayāditya a long reign of seventy five years, and Vishñuvardhana was ruling at Pithāpur at that time, and Mallapa after him, although one cannot agree with the epigraphist when he says "It looks as if the date of the accession of Vijayāditya III was intentionally pushed back to s. 1049 for this was the year of the death of Vikramachōḍa, the last representative of the direct line mentioned in the inscription and in that in reality Vijayāditya III may have begun to reign at a much later date."²³ So the initial year of Vijayāditya was s. 1079 or A.D. 1158 as has been suggested by Kielhorn and the Epigraphist already.

The earliest record of the reign of Vijayāditya is from Bhimavaram dated A.D 1158 mentioning a Chālukyamahārāja. The next record also from Bhimavaram dated A.D 1176 mentions Vijayāditya, the son of King Malla, or Vikramāditya and the

18. Sewell: Lists II c.p. No 77 p II 120 E. I. IV. No. 33. V 32 122. E.A. IV pp 228-220. 19. do 20. do 21. do do V 39

22. Kielhorn: List No. 575. 23. A. R. 1894 para 9.

lord of Vēngi, and his son Rājanārēndra.²⁴ In the Drākshārāma inscription, also of A.D 1176 the king and his son appear as Vishṇuvardhana mahārāja and Narēndra.²⁵ The next inscription also from Drākshārāma dated A.D 1177 and the 2nd year of Vishṇuvardhana refers to the kingdom of Vijayāditya.²⁶ Another record of Vijayāditya of this year is at Bhimavaram. Two records²⁷ there dated in the 3rd year of Sarvalōkāśraya Śri-Vishṇuvardhana mahārāja, record gifts by Mallapadēva chakravarthi. The next record is from Drākshārāma dated A.D 1179 and the 2nd year of Vishṇuvardhana mahārāja.²⁸ The second year is a mistake for the fourth year. A record of the 6th year of Vishṇuvardhana mahārāja is from Drākshārāma. The latest records²⁹ of Vijayāditya are at Drākshārāma dated in the 9th and the 10th years of Vishṇuvardhana mahārāja.

Vijayāditya's political relations:-

In the Gōdavari Copper-plate grant,³⁰ Vijayāditya is described as the moon to the ocean i.e the chālukya lineage and the lord of the Vēngi country. His two sons Mallapa III and Narēndra, by his two queens Lakshmi and Ganga respectively, began to issue inscriptions from A.D 1176 and Mallapa's records are found in a continuous series from his second year to the 10th year i.e A.D 1177 to 1183. This shows that Vijayāditya associated the two princes in the administration of the kingdom from A.D 1176 to the close of his reign.

The contemporary rulers of Vijayāditya in other kingdoms were Rāghava (A.D 1152-1167), Anantavarma Rājārāja II (A.D 1167-1192) and Aniyānka Bhīma (A.D 1192-1202) on the Ganga throne in Kalinga, Rājārāja II, Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttunga III on the Chola throne, Gonka II, Chōda II, Gonka III and Prithviśvara on the Velanāṇḍu throne, Loka (A.D 1150-1175) and Bhīma III (A.D 1150-1168), Mallidēva I (A.D 1175-1182) and Manmasatya II (A.D 1182-1231) on the Haihaya throne in Konamandala, besides many other smaller

24. 474 of 1893: S.I.I. V 61.

25. 440-A of 1893: S.I.I.IV 1371. 26. 352 of 1893: S.I.I.V 1243.

27. 486 & 487 of 1893: S.I.I.V 90, 91. 28. 363 of 1893: S.I.I.IV 1261.

29. 479 & 485 of 1893: S.I.I.V 67, 79. 30. J.A.XX p 268.

kings in Vengi. Vijayāditya does not seem to have come into conflict with any ruler but reigned in undisturbed peace.

Mallapa III. A.D 1202-1223.

After serving for a period of twenty-six years in the governance of the kingdom in the reign of Vijayāditya, Mallapa^a began to rule independently as his successor from A.D 1202. His Sarpavaram inscription dated A.D 1201 and the 9th year of Vishnuvardhana mahārāja,³¹ falls prior to his coronation. The Pithāpur pillar inscription, the earliest record of Mallapa III after he became ruler, mentions his Grant of Gudivāda in the district of Prolunādu to the deity on the occasion of his anointment in the temple of Kuntimādhava at Pithapur.³² The king in this is mentioned as Sarvalōkāśraya Vishnuvardhana mahārāja alias Mallapa deva chakravarti. His Godavari copper plate grant is similar, in terms to the Pithāpur pillar epigraph with the difference that his mother is mentioned as Lakshmi in this whereas, Ganga in the other. The next inscription is from Bhimavaram dated in the 39th year of Mallapa which calculating from his first year in his father's reign falls, in A.D 1213³³. A record undated and incomplete at Bhimavaram mentions Mallapa Deva and his father Vijayāditya III.³⁴ Three records at Drāksharāma mention Vishnuvardhana and may belong to his reign. Though none of Mallapa's records are found after A.D 1213, his reign may have lasted up to A.D 1223 when he was succeeded on the throne by his son Udayachandra.

His political relations:-

Mallapa III assumed the titles-Rājaparamēśvara, Karaṇalabhairava, and a full moon to the ocean i.e the race of the Chālukyas.³⁵ His contemporaries were Kulōttunga III and Rājārāja III of the Cholas, Gaṇapati of the Kākatiyas and Prithivīśvara of the Velanādu chodas. We have no evidence of the hostility of Mallapa to any of these kings. The rulers of Malaya were the feudatories of Mallapa III. For, the Godavari copper-plate grant³⁶ shows that Malayamu Mahādēva owed allegiance to Mallapa III.

31. 455 of 1893: S.I.I.V 8. 32. E.I.IV No. 33. V 40.

33. 482-D of 1893: S.I.I.V 75. 34. 489 of 1893: S.I.I.V 93.

35. E.I.IV No. 33: A.R 1917. para 29. I.A.XX p 268.

36. A. R. 1917 para 29. Sewell: List. of antiquities. V IIc. p 77. n 11.

Mallapa, like his father Vijayāditya, was a strong and popular ruler. Recorded tradition has preserved the permanent marks of his rule. The Kaifiyats³⁷ of some of the villages in the East Godavari district mention the king as Vishṇuvardhana and Mallapadēva chakravarti and the year of his coronation, and say that he ruled for ten years, as no records of his, are found after that period.

Udayachandra alias Vishṇuvardhana. A.D 1223-1226.

Udayachandra alias Vishṇuvardhana had a brief reign of three years. His earliest inscription³⁸ is from Bhimavaram dated A.D.1223 mentioning him as Udayachandradēvachakravarti alias Sarvalokāśraya Vishṇuvardhana mahārāja. His only other record is from Drākshārāma dated A.D 1125 mentioning his father Sarvalokāśraya Vishṇuvardhanamahārāja alias Gonaga chakravarti.³⁹ The rule of Udayachandra must have ended in A.D. 1226, the earliest date for his successor Chandrasēkhara chakravarti.

No events of importance of the reign of Udayachandra are known. Probably his kingdom was secure from the invasion of the Kākatiyas.

Chandrasēkharadēva chakravarti. A. D. 1226-C. A. D 1246.

In his only inscription from Drākshārāma dated A.D.1226, king Chandrasēkhara is mentioned as Sarvalokāśraya Vishṇuvardhana chandrasēkharadēva chakravarti. His minister Puruṣottama nāyaka, the son of Kāmināyaka figures in the record.⁴⁰ The relationship of Chandrasēkhara to his predecessor Udayachandra is not stated anywhere, but probably he was an younger brother of Udayachandra. Though his records after A.D. 1226 are not found, nevertheless, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, his reign may be take to have lasted till A.D 1246, the earlier date for his successor Vishṇuvardhana Vijayāditya.

37. Chellur, Rajahmundry, Jallur, Korukonda, Chamarlakota, Kommuru
Wilson's Mack. Cat III pp 492, 513, 538; Ms. 15-6-18.

38. 482 of 1893: S.I.I. V 84. 39. 198 of 1893: S.I.I.IV 1025.

40. 369-H of 1893: S.I.I.IV 1275-B.

MAY 1908

Galavalli Copper-plate Inscription of King Manujendravarma of E. Ganga Dynasty.

By

Sri N. Ramesan., M. A., I. A. S.

(1) This set of copper-plates was discovered along with another of King Raja Raja (which is being edited separately in the J. A. H. R. S.), while digging for earth in the fields of Sri B. Rajagopala Rao, Panchayat Board President of Galavalli village of Bobbili Taluk in my revenue division of Parvatipuram in Srikakulam District. The Purohit of the Kāmēśwaraswāmi Temple of Galavalli retrieved them and sent them to me for decipherment, as I have acquired an unenviable reputation in these parts of being able to read 'Paṣaḥi Akṣharālu',- at least that is how the villagers look at my hobby of paleography! The present set has been sent by me to the Museum of Andhra Historical Research Society at Rajahmundry for safe custody. An Estampage has been taken and the Text is published with a Sanscrit transcription by me.

(2) The present Grant consists of three plates, tied together as usual with a firon ring and sealed at the end with the King's seal which is circular and consists of a 'Nandi' (Bull) facing right, a crescent, sun and an elephant-goad on top of the Nandi, and a 'chamara' (fly-whisk) at the bottom. Usually, the first side of the first plate and last side of last plate will be left blank and will serve as covers for the writing. In this case, however, on the first side of the first plate, there are six lines of writing and on the last side there are four letters, unconnected with each other, one of which is 'Om'. However, the main body of the Grant does not look like a palimpsest and the writing on the first plate, first side has no connection whatever with the main grant.

(3) The actual grant consists of 28 lines. The scribe has mixed up every conceivable script in writing this grant and there are Telugu, Kannada, Kutila, Grantha, and Tamil (letter Va) letters also. The present grant, so far as paleography goes, is of an extraordinary variety and upto now I have not come across such a mix-up in the script. Apart from the differ-

-ent types of script used, the alphabets used also consist of three or four varieties usually found in different centuries. The language used is Sanskrit and it is in prose except for the Vyasa Gitas at the end. The grantor is Mahārāja Manujendra-varma, son of Dēvēndravarma and the year of the grant is 393G.E. (Gāṅḡeyavamsa Pravardhamāna Vijaya Rājya, Samvathsara sathathraya tri nava thyādhikam) The present grant is of the greatest importance as it introduces King Manujendra of Ganga Dynasty, who has not been heard of upto now and also because it sets up such a tough lesson to a student of paleography by its extraordinary jumble of alphabets and scripts ranging over different centuries.

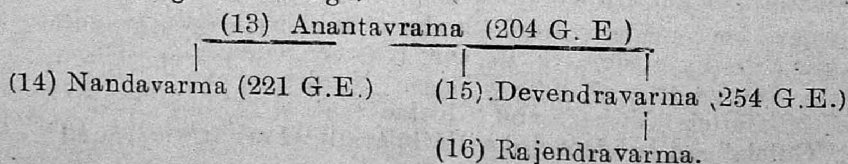
- (4) The following points about the paleography may be noted:—
 - (i) In "Svastyamarapura..." etc, the first 'Sa' is Nagari and in 'Stya', the letter 'Sa' is Telugu.
 - (ii) There are as many as four different letters for Va as following:-
 - (1) Ramaniyadvijaya - plate (1) II nd. Side-line. (1)
 - (2) Nagarādhivāsakan-plate (1) II nd Side-line (2)
 - (3) 'Bhuvana' - plate (1) II nd. Side-line (3)
 - (* This va is Tamil)
 - (4) Vinayar in II plate (1 side) - line (2)
 - (5) Vyasa in II plate (II side) line - (3)
 - (This is bigger in type than its prototype elsewhere)
 - (iii) Na is written in 3 ways.
 - (iv) Ya and Pa are interchangeable and also written in 3 ways.
 - (v) yasya yasya yadha Bhumi tasya tasya tatha etc, in II plate, II side, line 5, the three yas and thas are different in different letters.
 - (vi) 'Cha' is written in three ways.
 - (vii) 'la' - This too is written in three ways.
 - (viii) 'ma' - Both Nagari and Telugu Scripts are used.
 - (ix) 'pa' and 'sha' are written in two ways.
 - (x) 'Ga' in four types, Sa in three types and 'Sha' and 'chcha' have little difference.

It is clear therefore that the script has been completely jumbled up probably because the scribe was unused and new to his work or what is more probable, this period represents the interval between the transition from the 'Telugu' to the 'Nagari' script. The Cheedivalasa grant of King Devendravarma of 397 G. E. (J.A.H.R.S. Vol II) is written mostly in Nagari and the Shalantri C. p. grant of king Devendravarma of 306 G.E. (J.A.H.R.S. Vol XVII) is mostly written in Telugu and the present grant combining both the scripts represents probably the transition and hence paleographically it is of great importance.

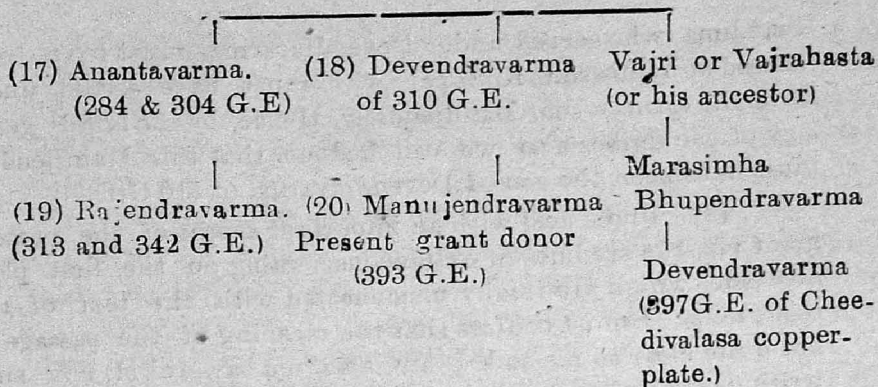
(5) Coming to the grant proper, it is the grant of three villages made by king Manujendra, son of Devendravarma in G.E. 393. Sāmaveda Bhagavanta, son of 'Vallakantha Brahmatma Bhagavanta' is said to have got them. The text also mentions that they were granted to Gundēsvara. These two types of donees have not been connected in the grant itself. II plate, IIInd side reads "Gundisvarāyadatte" (granted to Gundiswara). "Vallakānta Bahmātma Bhagavanta tasya sūnūnā Sāmaveda Bhagavanta labdhāni grāmatrayāni" (Three villages were obtained by Samaveda Bhagavanta, son of Vallakantha Brahmatma Bhagavanta). The only possible construction is that the grant was made to Lord Gundēsvara and was actually handed over to Sāmaveda Bhagavanta, who must have been the purohit and trustee of the temple. In fact, at 'Galavalli' there is a very ancient temple of 'Siva' and on its walls there are inscriptions in old Telugu-Kannada script of the time of "Srimad Anantavarma" and hence the temple must have existed even prior to this grant. Though the deity is now called 'Kāmēsvara', in medieval times, it may have been called 'Gundēsvara', meaning 'Siva', lord of 'Gunda', which means 'Gundōdhara', who is a famous figure in Saiyite legends. Some villagers mentioned that the deity was also known as Gundeswara in ancient days. Hence, I conclude that the grant must have been made to Lord Gundeswara of Galavalli temple and was actually made over to the trustee Samaveda Bhagavanta. The grant is of three villages, "Nunkipathaka", "Paravada" in 'Gallela' Vishaya and 'Chittacheru' in "Homva Vishaya". 'Gallela' can be identified with Galavalli where it was found

and the other places are unidentifiable. The year of the grant is 393 G.E. and accepting 494 A.D. as the initial year of G.E., the year of the grant will be 887 A.D. or if we accept 434 A.D. as the starting - point of G.E (as published by me elsewhere) it would be 827 A.D. The scribe is 'Khirapa', son of 'Khandima'.

(6) The donor is king Manujendra whose plates have not been discovered so far and therefore we have to fix him in the scheme of the Ganga Kings. Obviously, the present king's father Devendravarma cannot be the Devendravarma of 397 G.E. (J.A.H.R.S. Vol. II, Cheedivalasa plates) as the date of the present grant Viz, 393 G.E. is anterior to it. Hence, the father must be identified with Devendravarma of 310 G.E. (mentioned in Ep. Reports for 1917-18, pp. 137-139 and 1923-24 pp. 97-98) and whose copper-plates (Shalantri) of 306 G.E. have been published by Sri M. Narasimham in J.A.H.R.S. (Vol XVIII). However, after this Devendravarma, we know of another king Rajendravarma of 313 and 342 G.E., son of Anantavarma, the elder brother of Devendravarma of 310 G.E. One possible theory would be that after this Rajendravarma, there must have been another Devendravarma, not known so far, whose son would be this Manujendra. However, the Cheedivalasa plates of Devendravarma of 397 G.E. mention his ancestors as Bhupendravarma, Marasimha and Vajri and do not mention either this Manujendra or his possible father, after Rajendra of 342 G.E. So, the only possible conclusion is that this Manujendra must have been the son of Devendravarma of 310 G.E. and that after Rajendravarma of 342 G.E., he ascended the throne and after the time of this Manujendra, Devendravarma of 397 G.E., must have succeeded and he must have traced his descent from a second brother of Anantavarma of 284 G.E. I give below a possible genealogy tracing the kings from Anantavarma of 204 G.E. who is the 13th king as given by Prof. R. Subba Rao, M.A.L.T. M. E. S. (Retd) in his 'History of the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga.'



GALLAVALLI C.P. INSCRIPTION OF KING 165 MANUJENDRAVARMA



As per the above genealogy suggested by me, the present king would be no. 20. As per this, there is an interval of 83 years between father Devendravarma and son Manujendravarma, and hence king Manujendra must have lived to a ripe old age certainly upto 83. We must assume that he must have been a small baby at the time of his father's end and hence Rajendravarma came to the throne and after Rajendravarma died issueless, he succeeded him. Or, it may be that king Devendravarma might have abdicated his throne in favour of Rajendravarma and Manujendravarma might have been born subsequent to date of abdication and later succeeded to his rightful heritage. Any way, these are pure speculations and have to remain so till fresh discoveries throw better light on this, the most glorious dynasty that has ever ruled in the whole of India for nearly 1000 years. However, so far as existing knowledge goes, the above arrangement of kings seems to be valid.

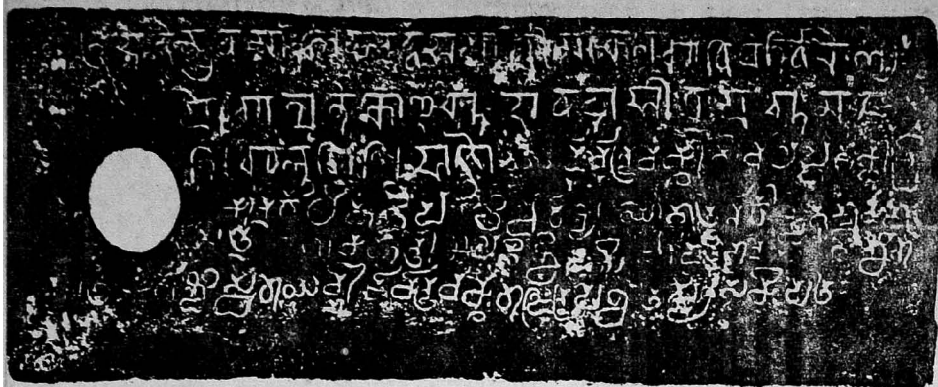
(7) One other reason why we can assume this Manujendra to be the son of Devendravarma of 310 G.E. is that in the three C.p. grants of this king so far discovered (Ep. Ind. vol XVIII pp. 311-13 and Ep. Car. Bangalore Vol. Insc. No. 140 and Shalantri plates published in J.A.H.R.S. Vol. XVIII), the scribe is 'Khandimalla'. The scribe of the present grant is Khirapa, son of 'Khandima'. So, the father of the present scribe 'Khandima', can be identified as 'Khandimalla' of Devendravarma of 310 G.E. It is also common knowledge that these offices were hereditary in nature and it is therefore natural to assume that

Khandima who served under Devendravarma, must have been, succeeded by his son 'Khirapa' who must have served under Devendravarma's son, Manujendra. Hence, by the family genealogy of the scribes also we can deduce that this Manujendra must have been the son of Devendravarma of 310 G.E.

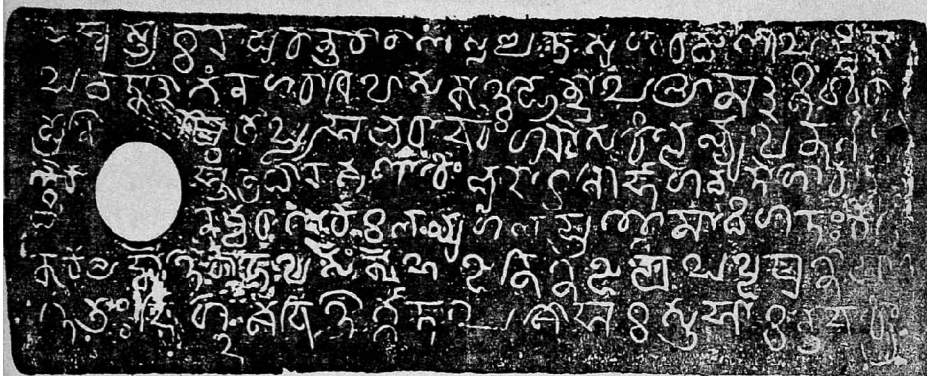
(8) I now deal with an important aspect of the present grant viz, the six lines of extraneous writing on the first plate first side, which are totally unconnected with the text of the real grant. I must confess that the meaning of the passage is not quite clear to me and I am also not aware of any such writing in other grants, unless they are palimpsests, (which the present grant is definitely not) in which the original writing is not properly wiped out. One peculiar thing can be noted. The first $2\frac{1}{2}$ lines are in 'Nagari' script and the rest are in 'Telugu' and more peculiar still, the portion in 'Nagri' script is repeated, identically word for word in the next $2\frac{1}{2}$ lines except that the script is changed from Nagari to Telugu and one more line is added. It looks as if the scribe must have practised his hand, first writing a piece in Nagari and then writing the same in Telugu. That this extraneous writing was done after the original grant was issued is clear from the following:- Usually the letters in C.P. grants are written from extreme left to right and letters are generally to be found even to the left of the hole made in the copper plates, for the passage of the seal. This is so because the seal and the copper wire are fixed and sealed only after the writing is completed and hence the scribe will not have the copper wire and seal as impediment while writing. But in this extraneous writing, in lines 2, 3, 4 and 5, there are no letters to the left of the hole made, in the copper - plate for the passage of the ring and this shows that the scribe must have been impeded in engraving in that portion, because the presence of the copper wire, and must have omitted to utilise that space. That means the C p. grant was sealed when this writing was engraved, which must therefore be subsequent to the main grant. As stated by me this consists of $2\frac{1}{2}$ lines of 'Nagari' followed by $2\frac{1}{2}$ lines of the same passage written in 'Telugu', repeating the words and letters identically with an extra line added. The

sentence in Telugu script runs as follows:-Om! Devendravarmmā Sivalabdhā'sarmmā Srimankalingādhipatinvarēnyah. Yōgātmanē kondagudā radasinayegu mahantokhalushindaya jnōpavitamāna Sri ma Gundisvarāya vō DēvendravarmmaāRjendra Panditasya-samipatah" The same identical passage up to 'Khalushendiya j-nau' occurs in Nagari script as the first 2½ lines of the writing- Except that the word 'Gundeswara' occurs in both, this has no connection with the main grant. The meaning of the above passage too is not quite clear and the grammar is also faulty. The sentence seems to be incomplete. The name Devendravarma is coupled with the name of 'Sivalabdhā Sarma' which 'Sarma' name is given at the time of 'Nāmakarana' and Devendravarma is his imperial name. This means these kings were Brahmins as 'Sivalabdhā Sarma' is definitely a Brahmin name. If so, it can be construed to mean 'Devendravarma alias Sivalabdhā Sarma, the best among Kalinga kings, for Gundiswara who is a great yogi...' and is incomplete. The two phrases 'Kondagudāvadāsana' and the phrase 'Yegumahanto Khalushende yajnopaveethamānam' are not quite clear. The relevancy of the last phrase 'Devendravarma, Rajendra Panditasya sameepatah' which means 'Devendravarma, close to Rajendra Panditha' is also not quite clear. If we can split up the punctuation to read 'Kondagudāradāsi', we possibly arrive at the proper name of a 'Dasi', probably attached to the temple who is reputed to be a great yogini. Even then the passage as a whole does not make complete sense. The word 'Mahanti' occurring speaks of Oriya influence. Apart from this it is not possible to glean anything more out of this except that it is definitely written after the main grant. I can however hazard one pure guess. Just as modern students of typing go on typing a sentence consisting of all the 26 letters of the alphabet, a number of times, to get practice, even though the sentence might not make complete sense, so also, the present scribe must have engraved the above sentence as a kind of 'Chart' to refer to for his future work. This view is strengthened by the fact that the same sentence running to 2½ lines is repeated letter by letter both in Nagari and Telugu. This one fact is enough to show that the importance of this

piece is not in its intrinsic value, but only in its alphabet and the scribe is more bothered about knowing the letters correctly rather than about the correct meaning. This would mean that the scribe who wrote this is not 'Khirapa' who wrote the main grant, but some one in the same profession related to the grantee Sāmaveda Bhagavanta as the C.P. grant would have been only in the latter's possession. This is quite probable, because the writing of these six lines is neat and clear, whereas 'Khirapa's writing is very irregular and ill - formed. The writer of these six lines must have utilised the first side of this plate, which must have been blank in the custody of Sāmaveda Bhagavanta or his successors and written up a fairly long sentence of $2\frac{1}{2}$ lines in two different scripts, so that he may refer to it for future guidance. This is the only solution that I can offer to this at present. However, from the paleographic importance of the plate which has a number of scripts and also alphabets of different centuries jumbled up higgledy-piggledy and which might on careful analysis afford valuable data for comparative study of different scripts and their times and periods in history and also from the fact that the first plate, first side gives a writing in six lines, which is quite puzzling and is of importance in as much as $2\frac{1}{2}$ lines are repeated identically in two different scripts and is quite a poser for an amateur student like myself, apart from its meaning and context which are not quite clear, I hope able scholars of paleography will re-edit the same plates, giving their view-points on several of the technical points which require better elucidation.



First Plate, Second side.



Text (From the original plates)

*First plate : First side.*¹

1. Om! Dēvendravarmā S'ivalabdhā S'armā S'rimān
Kaliṅgādhipatir varēnyah.
2. 'Yogātmanē Koṇḍagudāvadāsina Yēgumaha
3. Nto⁸ Khaluṣiṇḍi⁴ Yajñō⁵ ... 'Devendravarmmā S'iva-
labdhasarmā S'ri
4. mankalingādhipatirvarēnyah Yogātmanē Koṇḍagudā
va dā
5. sina⁷ Yēgumahanto Khaluṣiṇḍi Yējñō Paveeta.....⁸
6. Manam Srimat Guṇḍiswarāya⁹ Dēvendravarmmā Rā-
jendra Panditasya samipatah

First plate : Second side.

1. Om! Svastyamarapurānu Kāriṇah Sarvvarṣu Sukha
ramaṇiyad Vija
2. Ya Van Kaliṅganagarādhi Vāsakān Mahendrā Chālā-
mala S'ikhara
3. Pratishtitasya Sacharāchara Gurō Sakala¹⁰ Bhuvana
nirmā
4. ṇaika Sūtradhāra sasamka Chūdā maṇer Bhagavato
Gokarṇa swā
5. mināścharaṇa Kamala "yugala Praṇā¹² mādhigatah
Kali
6. ka¹³ kalamko (a) nēkāhaya Samkshobha Janita¹⁴ Jaya-
¹⁵abda pratāpāva
7. Natah digdeśa vinirgata Yasō samasta sāmanta chakra

Second plate : First side.

1. Chūdāmaṇē prabhāmanjari punja ranjita vara char-
aṇa¹⁶ sita kumu

1. The writing on this side has no connection with the main grant.
2. There is no writing to the left of the hole made for the passage of
the copper ring: 3. The first two letters are kha and lu. The rest two are
not quite clear. 4. The letters look like yajñō but beneath ja there is
another letter and I tentatively put it as jna 5. There are illegible
letters here. 6. From here, the letters are in Telugu and the previous
sentence is repeated. 7. The first two letters are illegible. They also
look like numerals 78. 8. There are one or two illegible letters here
9. There is one extra letter here. 10. The la formation is peculiar.
11. This ya is just like modern Telugu ya 12. This ṇa is Tamil. 13. There
are two kas probably a mistake in writing. 14. This ta is just like modern
Tamil na. 15. sa and s'a are interchangeable. 16. See (6) above.

2. da kundēda vadāna dhvastārāri kulāmala naya Vina-
ya dayā dā
3. na dā¹⁷shinya¹⁷ sauryāudārya satya tyāgādi guṇa sampa
4. dādharma bhutah parama māsēwarō matipitī pādā
5. nudhyātō Gaṅgāmālakula tilakah Mahārājādhirāja pa
6. ramēs wara paramabhattāraka SrimadDēvendravarma.
7. Deva sūnu Mahārāja Sri Manujēda Va¹⁸(rma) Gālela
Vishayē
8. Numkāpātaka Grāma Paravada Grāma¹⁹ Homva
Vishayē Chitāche²⁰

Second plate : Second side.

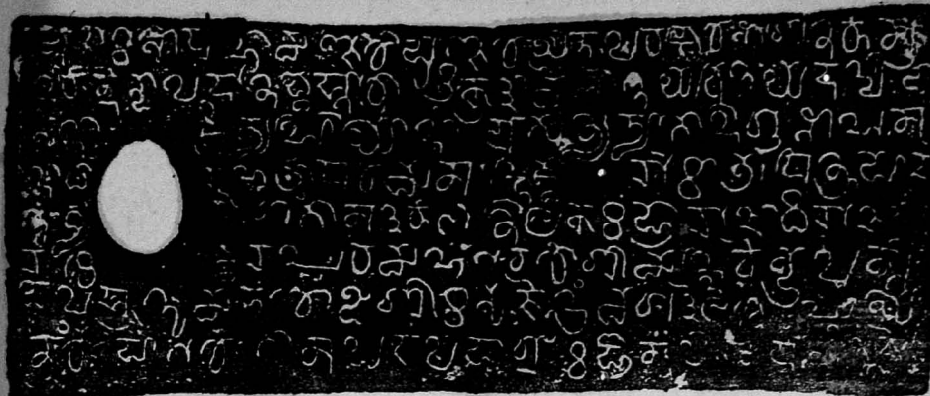
1. ru grāma nandraka Gundēs warāya dattam²¹ Brimata
Vallakānda²² Grūhyātma Bha
2. gavantatasya sūnu Sāmaveda Bhagavantēna labdhāni-
grāma trayā
3. ni simā satutrikūṭāni lōkavishaya gamyāni Atra
4. Vyāsa gitāni bhavanti Bah²³ubhirvasudhadattā Rāja
5. Bhi ssagarādibhih yasya yasya Yadā bhūmih tasya
6. tasya tādāphalam Svadattam paradattamvā Yōharēt
Vasumdharam savi
7. shchayām krumirbhūtvā pitṛbhih saha pachyate ma
dattam sadvijātena

Third plate : First side.

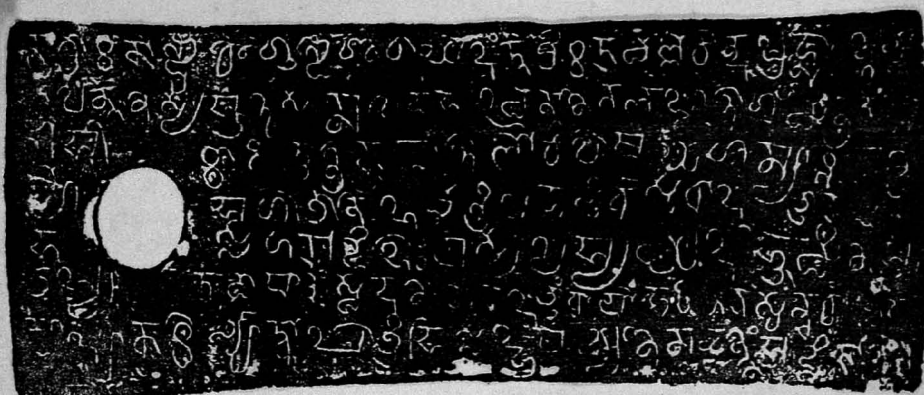
1. Pāturvolabva daisikām mastiram makutam Yastatasyā
rājñah Pada
2. dvayam Sarvamētām bhāvinah Parthivendra Bhūyo
bhūyo Yāchate Rā
3. ma bhadra Sāmānyō yam dharma sētu Nīpānam
kāle kāle pha
4. lati Yō bhava dbhih Gāmgēya Vamsa Pravardhamā-
na Vija
5. Yarājya samvatsara²⁴ sata traya tri nava tyādhikam
likhitam
6. Khāyasta²⁵ Rahasya kha dāmasyasūnu Khirapah iti.

17. See (6) above. 18. After va the letter rma is omitted probably a mistake in using. 19. This letter is like hō but in ha the top vertical line '—' is not generally given. 20. chitta or chinta. 21. The bindu 'o' is put in between the letters. 22. The name is Vallakānda or Vallakōnda. 23. Va and ba are interchangeable. 24. trinava is 93. Adding satatraya we get 393 G.E. 25. The word means 'Secret. Secretary'—probably private secretary.

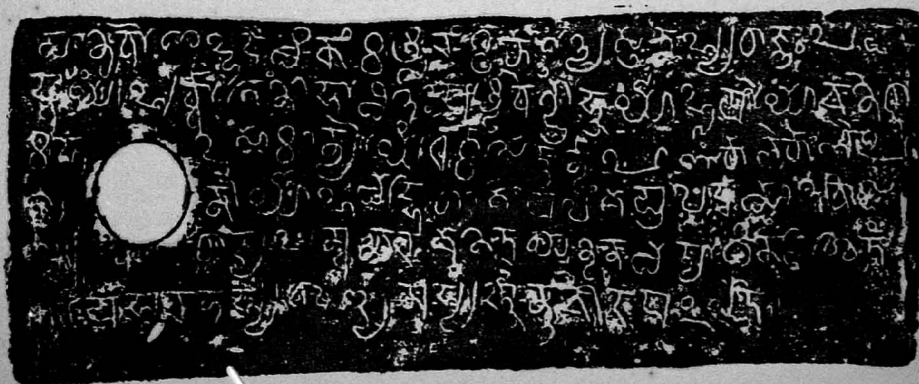
Dr. C. Narayana Rao Memorial Volume.
Second Plate, First Side.



Second Plate, Second Side.



Third Plate, First Side.



Galavalli Copper-plate Grant of King Devendravarma Raja Raja of E. Ganga Dynasty.

(Date of Coronation of King Vajrahasta III discussed)

By

Sri N. Ramesan., M. A., I. A. S.

This C.P. grant along with the C.P. grant of King Manujendra of E. G. line (edited separately) was discovered while digging for earth in a field of Galavalli village of Bobbili Taluk of Srikakulam District. It was retrieved by the Purohit of the 'Kameswaraswami' temple of Galavalli and was sent to me for decipherment. The C.P. grant has been sent by me to the Museum of the Andhra Historical Research Society, with the permission of the owner of the field for safe custody. An estampage has been taken and the original is published along with a Sanscrit transcription of it by me.

The script used is 'Nandi Nāgarī'. The engraving has been done very neatly and the execution is by itself a piece of art. The copper-plates are bound by a copper ring sealed by that of the King with a couchant 'Nandi'. There are four plates, the first side of the first plate being blank and the last side of the fourth plate containing only two lines.

It is the grant of the village "Kodila" to 300 Brahmins by King Raja Raja during 'Vishuva Samkrānti' in the year 'Vasu Nanda Nidhi' saka year. Applying the principle Ankanām, vāmatho gathihi, the year will work out to be 998 Saka Era or 1076 A.D. Also the Samkrānti is in 'Chaitra Māsa' i.e., it is the 'Chaitra Mēsha Samkrānti' and will be the same as the beginning of the solar year 1076 A.D. By astronomical calculations, it is seen that the commencement of the solar year of 1076 A.D. occurred on 23rd March. As this corresponds to Mēsha Samkrānti and is in the chaitra month, the date of the present grant is 23rd March 1076 A.D. The village "Kodila" can be identified with the modern "Kodisa" which is only two miles off from Galavalli where the present grant was discovered.

As is usual with these latter Ganga Kings, the date and hour of coronation are also given. King Rajaraja was crowned on "Sākābdē Nayana-abjagarbha nidhige Jyeshte Ashtami Simhikēlagnecha uttarapālgunī guru dinē, pakshe susubre" The year

is 992 Saka or 1070 A.D. The date, by astronomical calculation, has been worked out by me as 20th May, and the day of the week is also Thursday and tallies with the Guru Dinē given in the Grant. King Rājarāja was therefore crowned on 20th May 1070 and hence the grant being given in 1076, would fall in his sixth regnal year. By other evidence, we know that Rājarāja reigned for seven years and hence the present grant is in the penultimate year of his reign.

I now discuss the date of coronation of King Vajrahasta III given in the grant. The data given is identical with the data given in the other grants of both Vajrahasta III and his grandson Ananthavarma Gangachōda. The data is contained in a verse (in metre) and is as follows: Viyad Rithu Nidhi Sankhyām yāli Sakabda Sanghē, Dinakrithi Vrishbastē Rohinebe sulagnē Dhanushichā sitapakshē Suryavara thrithriya, yuji sakala Dharithrim Rakshithum yō Abishiktaha. The year "Viyad Rithu Nidhe" as per the principle "Ankānam Vamatho Gathihi" is 960 and Era is Saka i.e., it is 1038 A. D. But the exact hour of coronation has been calculated as 3rd May, 8-27 p.m. hitherto and has been so published. Upto now, there has been no attempt to check this up by independent astronomical calculation and the dates have been accepted on the basis of perpetual calendar tables. The Astronomical data given in the Grant are as follows:—

- (i) The sun is in the zodiacal sign of Vrishaba.
- (ii) The moon was in the constellation of Rohini.
- (iii) The fortnight was the bright fortnight.
- (iv) The zodiacal sign of Dhanus was rising on that date.
- (v) The day of the week was Sunday.
- (vi) It was the 3rd thithi.

The 3rd May 1038 A.D. calculated hitherto, falls on a Wednesday and the Nakshatra was not Rohini, as is verified astronomically. Another possible date is 10th May of the same year. Even then the day of the week was Wednesday and the Nakshatra was Ardra or Punarvasu instead of Rohini.

The inability to fix a particular date with so much of data available, led me to examine the six points given above and I am led to conclude that the simultaneous occurrence of all the

six is an astronomical impossibility. The reason is as follows:- When the sun was at 'Vrishaba rāsi', it must have covered up 'Mesha rāsi' and even granting that the sun was just entering, Vrishabha, even then, the sun must be at 30° long, as each rasi has 30° , and the sun must have, at the worst, crossed 'Mesha' to enter 'Vrishabha' and hence must have travelled 30° as a minimum. Since the 'thithi' is 'thrithiya' of the bright fortnight, the moon must have travelled away from sun, at the least, 24° , as the moon travels at the rate of 12° for each 'thithi' and since the thithi is given as 3rd, and the moon must have travelled at least 24° for two thithis i.e. the distance of the moon from Mesha must be as a minimum $54^\circ (30^\circ + 24^\circ)$. 'Rohini' is the fourth nakshatra from Aswini, and even upto the end of Rohini, the distance of the moon cannot be greater than $53\frac{1}{3}^\circ$ (at $13\frac{1}{3}^\circ$ for each nakshatra). Hence the moon must have crossed Rohini and be at Mrigasira, when the sun was at Vrishaba, i.e., at 54° and so the 'Rohini' nakshatra given must be wrong if the Vrishaba rāsi of sun is taken as correct. Conversely, if we accept the 'Rohini' nakshatra as correct, it can be verified that the sun's rāsi would be 'Mesha' and not Vrishaba. The three factors, (a) Sun in Vrishabha, (b) Moon in Rohini and (c) Sukla Thrithiya Thithi, cannot occur simultaneously. One of them must be wrong.

Taking the evidence that the day of the week was Sunday, I find the date corresponding to 9th April 1038 A. D., the week day would be Sunday, the nakshatra is Rohini and thithi is also Sukla thrithiya. Only the sun's constellation is Mesha instead of Vrishabha as given in the grant.

It may be noted that Vishuvati is the generally accepted term for "Mesha rasi" and hence if the verse should read "Dinakruti Vishuvaste Rohinithe sulagne" instead of "Dinakruti Vrishabhaste" as at present, all factors are resolved. Further, and more important, the metre of the sloka is unaltered by this change. I am, therefore, of the opinion that the original composer must have composed it only as "Dinakruti Vishuvaste" and later the scribes must have copied wrongly as "Dinakruti Vrishabhaste" without knowing the error, as the metre was unaffected. In fact, the error has escaped notice upto now by eminent scholars, till I meticulously started to calculate independently by means of the data given, instead of relying on calendars. I therefore conclude that Vajrahasta III was crowned on Sunday, 9th April 1038 A.D.

J. A. H. R. S.

Dr. C. Narayana Rao Memorial Volume.

*Text of the Grant of Kodila village by King Devendra
Varma Raja Raja.

I Plate, 2 Side

1. ओं स्वस्ति श्रीमतां अखिल भुवन विनुत नय विनय दया दाक्षिण्य स
2. त्य शोच शौर्य धैर्यदि गुणरत्न पवित्रकानां, आत्रोय गोत्राणां, विम-
3. ल विचाराचार पुण्य सलिल प्रक्षालित कलिकालकल्मषमधीणां, महा
4. महेन्द्राचल शिखर प्रतिष्ठितस्य सचराचरगुरी : सकल भुवननि
5. र्माणैक सूत्रधारस्य शशांक चूडामणे भगवतो गोकर्णस्वामिनः
6. प्रसादात् समासादितं, एक शंखभेरी, पंचमहाशब्द, धवल छत्र, हेम चाम-
7. र, वर वृषभ लांचन समुज्ज्वल समस्त साम्राज्य महिम्नां, अनेक समस्त
संगृह्य सन्तु
8. पलब्धा विजयलक्ष्मी समालिङ्गोत्तुंग भुजदंडमंडितानां त्रिकलिंग महीभुजां
9. गंगानामन्वयमलंकरिणो विष्णोरिव विक्रमाक्रान्त धरामंडलस्य गुणम

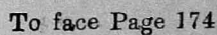
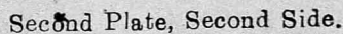
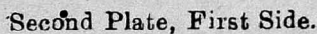
II Plate, 1 Side

10. हार्णव महाराजस्य पुत्रः ॥⁽¹⁾ पूर्वं भूपतिभिः विभज्य वसुधा या पंचथिः प
11. ङ्गवा भुक्त्वा भूरिपराक्रमो भुजबलात् तां एक गक स्वयं एकीकृत्य
विजित्यशत्रुनि [समाम् ॥
12. वहान् श्रोवज्रहस्तः स्रुतस्रुतवारिशतं अत्युदार चरितः सर्वमिरक्षन्
13. तस्य तनयो गुण्डम राजा वृषत्रयमपालयद्गृहो । तदनुज, का
14. मार्णवदेवः पञ्चत्रिंशमब्दकान् । तस्यानुजो विनयादित्यस्स
15. मास्तुतः ॥⁽²⁾ ततः कामार्णवाज्जातो जगतोक्तपभूहः यो राजद्रजि
16. तच्छायां वज्रहस्तो अवनीपतिः ॥ ॥⁽³⁾ प्रस्थोदान्मदगंध लुब्धमधुप
व्यलीठगंडान् ग [भीम
17. जानथियः समदात् सहस्रमनुलो यः त्यगितां अग्रणीः, स श्रीमाननियंक
18. नृपतिः गंगान्वयोत्तंसकाः, पञ्चत्रिंशतमब्दकान् समभुनक्पृथ्वीं स्तुतः पा

II Plate, 2 Side

19. थिवैः ॥ ॥⁽⁴⁾ तदग्रसूनुः सुरराजसूनुना समस्समस्तां शमितारिमंडलः ।,
स्म पा
20. ति कामार्णव भूपति भुवां समृद्धिमान अर्धसमाः सनुज्वलः ॥ ॥⁽⁵⁾ तनन्
[तदनुजन्मा चि

* The text is written in Devanagari script and the compounds have been split up to make the meaning clearer. Punctuation marks are also added wherever necessary. (1) metre Sardulavikriditham. (2) metre Anushtub. (3) metre Sardulavikriditham. (4) metre Anushtub. (5) metre.



[illegible][illegible]

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥

Galavalli C. P. Grant of King Devendravarma Raja Raja.

21. त जन्मोपमानो गूणनिधिरनवद्यो गुंडमा ह्यो महीपः, सकलमिदमरक्षत् त्री
22. णि वर्षाणि घात्री-वलथं अलधुतेजो निजितारातिचक्रः॥ ॥⁽⁶⁾ ततो द्वमा
23. गुरस्तस्य मधुकामार्णवो नृपः । अवनि स्मावनीमेतां अब्दानेकाग्रवि
24. शतिः ॥ ॥⁽⁷⁾ अथ वज्रहस्त नृपतेः अग्रमुतात् अखिल गुणिजनाग्रमः
कामार्णवाकवी [समुद्भवा
25. न्द्र प्रगीयमानावदात शुभकीर्तः ॥ श्रियोव वैदुम्बान्वय पयः पयोनिधि
26. याच्च यः समजनि विनयमहादेव्याः श्री वज्रहस्त इति तनयः ॥
⁽⁸⁾ वियुत् कतु नि-

III Plate, 1 Side

27. धि संख्यां याति साकाब्द संघे, दिनकृति वृषभस्थे रोहिर्णे भे सुलग्ने ध
28. नुषि च सितपक्षे सूर्यवारेतुनीया, युजि सकल धरित्री रक्षितुं योभिषिक्तः ॥
29. ॥⁽⁹⁾ न्याय्येन यत्र सममाचरितुं त्रिवर्ग मार्गेण रक्षति महीं महितप्रताथे
30. निर्व्याधयश्च निरघादज निरापदश्च शश्वन्प्रजाः भुवि भवन्ति विभूतिम
31. त्यः ॥ ॥⁽¹⁰⁾ द्याप्ते गांगकुलोत्तमस्य यशसा दिवचत्रवाले शशिप्रद्योता
32. मलिनेन यस्य भुवनः प्रह्लादसंपादिनः, सैन्दूरैः अनिसांन्द्रपंकपटलैः
33. कुंयस्तली पट्टकेन्वालिम्पन्ति पुनः पुनश्च हरितामाधोरणा वारणाः ॥
॥⁽¹¹⁾ अनु
34. रागेण गुणिबो यस्य वक्षो सुखाब्जयोः आसीने श्रीसरस्वत्या दैनु

III Plate, 2 Side

35. कूलेविराजतः ॥ ॥⁽¹²⁾ आगच्छद्गुरुहविक्रमेण सहसा शस्त्राभिधातात् वि
36. भोः येनाव्याहतविश्ववृत्तिमहिमा हेला निरस्तोऽग्निः तेन अकारि निका
37. म काम्य तनुना राज्य महीमंडले, त्रिशत् वत्सरमभ्रशुभ्र यशसा वर्षत्रये
38. णाधिकं ॥ ॥⁽¹³⁾ ततो अनंग माहादेव्यः वज्रहस्त महीपतेः गौर्यामिव ह
39. रस्याभूत् कार्तिकेय इवात्मजः ॥ ॥⁽¹⁴⁾ लक्ष्मी वधू वदन पंकजमाकर
40. न्द सन्दीह चारु परिचुंन चंचरीकः यो मानिनां च गुणिनां च दुरात्म
41. नां च शान्तिं च मोदमदुलं च भयं च धत्ते ॥ ॥⁽¹⁵⁾ साकाब्दे नयनाब्जगर्थ
निथिशे जेष्टे
42. ष्टमी सिंहके लग्ने चोत्तरफाल्गुनी गुरुदिने पक्षेशुशुभ्रे शुभे लोकालो

(6) metre Anushtub. (7) metre. (8) metre matthebha.

(9) metre. (10) metre Sardulavikriditham. (11) metre Anushtub.

(12) Sardulavikriditham. (13) metre Anushtub. (14) metre. The later half is 'Kramalankara'. (15) metre.

J. A. H. R. S.

Dr. C. Narayana Rao Memorial Volume.

IV Plate, 1 Side.

43. क महामहोद्यवलयालंकारवत्या भुवः संसिक्तः स कलिंगराजतिलकः
44. श्री राजराजो नृपः ॥ कलिंगनगरान् परममाहेस्वरः परमभ
45. द्वारक महाराजाधिराज त्रि कलिंगाधिपति श्री महेश्वरवर्मा
46. राजराजदेवः कुशलो समस्तामात्यप्रमुख जनपदान्
47. समाहूय समाज्ञापयति । विदितमस्तु भवतां । वराहवर्ते
48. न्यां कोडिल.ख्यो ग्राम इचुस्सोमावच्छिन्न स्वजल स्तल सर्वपीडाविवर्जिता
49. आचन्द्रार्क क्षितिसमकालं यावन् मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्य यशोभिवु
50. द्वये वसु नन्द निधि गणिते शकाब्दे चैत्रे मासे विमुचति संक्रान्त्यां

IV Plate, 2 Side

51. आत्रेय गोत्र श्यावाश्च त्रयाव्येच्छन्दोग त्रिशतब्राह्मणेभ्यः धारापूर्वकमस्मा
52. विदत्तः इति ॥

GIST OF THE G. P. GRANT.

This copper-plate inscription registers the gift of Kodila village to three hundred Brahmins of Atreya gotra in the year 998 Saka (1076 A. D.) The prasasti and phraseology are identical word by word with the Grant of the same King published at pages 6-10 Appendix of inscriptions as C. P. No. 4 of 1918—1919, in the book, "History of the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga" by Prof. R. Subba Rao* except for the name of the village and the grantees. The year of the grant 998 Saka and Chaitra Masa Vishuvat Samkranti (date of grant) are also identical in both cases. Except for the village granted and the donees, both the inscriptions are identical. Obviously, Chaitra Vishuvat Samkranti of 1076 A. D. must have had a special significance as the king had done so many danas (gifts) on the same day.

*Copies are available with the Author who is the Gen. Secretary of the A. H. R. S. (Rjy.) at Rs. 6/- per vol.

The Sources of Hindu Law.

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Introduction:

Manu enumerates four and Yājñavalkya fourteen different sources of Dharma. In both these texts, it must be noted that the word Dharma has been used and that it has been used in the sense of Varṇās'ramadharma and not in the sense of Vyavahāra or positive law. The types of literature alluded to by Manu and Yājñavalkya can be regarded as the sources of positive Hindu law only in an indirect way. It has to be noticed that Dharmā, in the comprehensive sense of the term implying the religious, moral, social and domestic aspects of the life of the ancient Hindus, has been embodied in the different kinds of more or less scriptural literature. But as law proper also was one of the aspects of the social life, it is in this sense that law (positive) also has been discussed therein, however meagre the discussion might have been, in proportion to the other aspects. In reality, the different sources of positive law must be sought in the different aspects of vyavahāra which have been enumerated as Dharma, Vyavahāra, Charitra and Nripājñā. Here, the word Dharma has been used in the sense of truths and principles as embodied in the Dharma-s'āstras in the most comprehensive sense to include almost the whole of scriptural literature which constitutes the literary sources of Hindu law; the term vyavahāra has been used in the sense of adjudication; the term Caritra in the sense of custom and Nripājñā in the sense of royal edicts, ie, the laws made by the king in his judicial capacity as the highest tribunal. According to this interpretation, the different aspects of vyavahāra will represent the different sources of Hindu law, to wit, the literary, the material and the instrumental-as this term has been used by the modern jurists.² Each of these sources of Hindu law in the above sense of the term will be discussed more fully one by one.

Dharma:

The term Dharma has been used in the sense of Dharma-literature¹ including the Dharma-sūtras and the Dharma-sāstras,

1. Vide Hārita as quoted in the Smṛiticandrikā; Nārada, Introduction, 10
2. Holland's Jurisprudence, Chapter V.

the Śrutis having practically very little of secular positive law. In ancient India there was no arrangement for Law-Reports and hence no decision could be preserved in the modern sense of the term; all the customs of the country also were nowhere exhaustively enumerated in any literary form though certain conditions were laid down for the recognition and operation of certain customs; lastly the king's edicts also were more in the form of judicial decisions than in the form of legislative enactments, their fate being analogous to adjudications in general. Thus the literary source alone occupied the most important position so much so that in later literature by source of Hindu law was meant the literary source almost exclusively. Hence in enumerating the ancient sources of Hindu law only the different kinds of literature were enumerated; in more recent times, of course, adjudication and legislative enactments also were referred to as important sources of Hindu Law. Thus the expression literary source, as used in connection with Hindu law, comprised the Śrutis, the Smritis and the Commentaries of which the first played a very insignificant part as a source of positive law or "lawyer's law" and the last could not be foreseen by the authors of the Smritis as they were produced much later. The positive law that is to be found in the Scriptural literature in general and the Smṛiti-literature in particular was binding on the kings and the judges as well who were to decide cases abiding by their enjoinders, though of course the provision of these so-called codes could be supplemented by the application of reason and the principles of justice, equity and good conscience.

Vyavahara:

Vyavahāra or adjudication must have been a very important source of ancient Hindu law. The different tribunals including the king with original and appellate jurisdiction used to decide disputes among the litigants. These decisions must have served the purpose of precedents and principles—however rudimentary—for guiding the tribunals in any subsequent disputes on similar or analogous circumstances. An account of the constitution and function of the different judicial units in ancient India has been very lucidly given by Professor B.K. Sarkar.⁶

3. Jayaswal's Tagore Law Lectures on Manu and Yājñavalkya, p. 41.

4. Nārada, Legal Procedure. [Introduction, 40-43].

5. The Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus, pp. 107 Et seq.

According to the Dharmas'āstras and the Nitis'āstras, there were no fewer than six classes of Courts in ancient India.⁶ Three of them were royal courts beginning with the king and his councillors; below them was the Chief Judge and last of the royal courts were presided over by the puisne judges with regional jurisdiction. From the decisions of the puisne judges, appeals lay to the court of the Chief Judge from that of the Chief Judge to the king in person. Besides these royal there were three other courts representing the folk-element of the ancient Indian judiciary. These were the courts of the Pugas, S'renis and the Kulas mentioned in order of superiority.⁷ Each next higher court was competent to hear appeals from the lower courts. From the detailed organisation and the different gradations of the various courts as conceived and executed by the ancient Hindu jurists, it is quite clear that by uniform and approximate decisions in identical and analogous cases, there were established certain judicial customs and conventions which became crystallised in course of time even though there might not be any regular system of Case-law or Law-Reports.⁸

It can be presumed that any organisation worth the name must have some sorts of principals and precedents—however rudimentary they might appear to be—for the guidance of and justification for the organisations themselves. Frequent uses of expressions like "this is the settled law", "this is the settled rule of law", "the decision is according to the rule established in judicial proceedings" will substantially corroborate the above observations. No rule or law can be conceived of unless it is characterised by uniformity. Bacon rightly says, "Judicial decisions are the anchors of the laws as the laws are the anchors of the state."⁹

It may be mentioned in passing that the force or weight of precedents has been differently appreciated by the different

6. Colebrook—Hindu Courts of Justice, R.A.S. Britain and Ireland Vol 11, 1928.

7. Yājñavalkya, ii, 30; Nārada, i, 7; Brihaspati, i, 30.

8. Report of April 30, 1794 of a Committee of the House of the Commons on the Proceedings on the trial of Warren Hastings, Bohn's Edition, vi, 451—52.

9. De Augments—Book VIII, C. 3. App. 73.

systems of law.¹⁰ It was rightly said that the Roman law was influenced and developed by the Bar as English law was developed and influenced by the Bench. The ancient Hindu jurists were fully conscious of the importance of adjudication and were very particular about the correctness of the decisions. Any error in the judgment was to affect the king himself and his administration in general and the participants in the decision in particular. Thus it was the duty not only of the king but also of his councillors and other persons versed in the science of law to see that a correct adjudication is made. The remonstrations by the appointed councillors and the opinions given by the experts in law were undoubtedly very important checks and a very wholesome impetus for the growth of the ancient Hindu law on the correct lines.¹¹ Thus being checked and aided, the judiciary of ancient India played a very important part in creating, developing, modifying and improving the law. Thus adjudication played and is still playing the most important part in the growth of Hindu law with greater force particularly since the introduction of the British administration in India.

Most practically speaking, at the present time, in deciding a case the court in reality sees if there is any decided case on the point; if there is a decided case, the judge is bound by the 'doctrines of stare decisis and communis error facit jus;' and if there is no decided case, then and then alone he will have to consider as to by which law the case should be governed—S'ruti Smirti, Commentary or custom. It may be said that if there is a custom—ancient, positive, continuous and reasonable—the judge will decide according to this custom. Hence it follows that the actual scope for looking into the S'ruti, Smriti, etc. is limited to those cases only where there is no decided case on the point and also where there is no custom affecting the point. In such a case alone the court may regard the question as open and it will take into consideration as to what is the actual provision on the point in the S'ruti Smritis and the Commentaries.

10. *Bole vs Horton*, Vaughan, C. J. [at page 383]; Pollock, *A First Book of Jurisprudence* [1st. Ed. p. 299].

11. Holdsworth—*Some Lessons from our Local History*, P. 24. Cf. Atlay, *The Victorian Chancellors* II, 138.

12. Subject to the general principles stated by Pollock in his *First Book of Jurisprudence* (1st. Ed. PP. 299—300).

Charitra or custom:

Custom undoubtedly played a very important role as one of the material sources of ancient Hindu law. It is also playing equally important part even in the modern systems of jurisprudence. The original Roman law was nothing but customs—the whole of English Common law also was derived from customs. *Lex Salica*¹³ also was one of the earliest embodiment of Germanic customs. Though there are large elements of truth in these assertions, still it must be said that the importance of customs in Hindu law has been over-emphasised by Mayne.¹⁴

Good customs were no doubt recognised in Hindu-law; but there was a difference of opinion among the different Smriti-writers and Commentators regarding the relative superiority of law and custom. Thus Vas'istha says that Manu has recognised customs of localities, families and castes in absence of revealed texts. This view was adopted in its entirety by the *Mīmāṃsā* School of thinkers according to whom customs were based on the last text of the *S'ruti*; hence they maintained that customs opposed to written law must be discarded. The latter Smriti-writers appear to have been in favour of unqualified acceptance of customs even when they are in conflict with the written law. Thus, Brihaspati¹⁵ says that time-honoured institutions of each country, caste and family should be preserved in tact, otherwise the peoples would rise in rebellion; the subjects would become disaffected towards their rulers and the army and treasure would be destroyed. He then enumerates certain usages of different localities among different peoples who are not subject to penances or punishments on account of some such transgressions or irregularities. He also gives some reasons for the observance of the customs referred to by him. Nārada also advocates superiority of customs to law—a proposition which has been supported by his eminent commentator Ashāya. The Privy Council also has most un-ambiguously accepted and given expression to the view that "Clear proof of usage will outweigh the written text of law"¹⁶ It was further said by the Privy

13. For a brief but clear account of this Lex, Vide a Sketch of English Legal History by Maitland and Montague, p. 4. 14. Hindu Law and Usage, (10th Ed.) pp. 8—9. 15. Vill, 2-31. 16. 12 M.L.A. 397 (1868).

Council" that the difference of law chiefly arose from the difference of local customs; the propounders of law interpreted the ancient texts in such a way as to make them harmonise with local usages or in other words they had to harmonise the written with the un-written law. As the Calcutta High Court remarked in *Jagadamba vs Secretary of State*,¹⁸ "Their doctrines may often have moulded usage but still more frequently the doctrines have themselves been moulded according to the prevailing usage of which they are only the recorded expression." To the same effect, the Privy Council observed in a recent case, "The commentators do not enact, they explain and are evidence of the congeries of the customs which form the law". (19) From the decisions referred to above, it is quite clear that the Privy Council laid too much emphasis on custom. This must have been largely due to the influence of the Historical School of Jurisprudence which agitated the juristic philosophers of the 19th century. The same influence is again responsible to some extent for the views held by Mayne referred to above.

KING'S EDICT :

King's edict does not mean any legislative act passed by the king; but it means the law as given rise to by the judicial decisions of the king as the highest tribunal with both original and appellate jurisdictions. When any case was tried by the king in person with the help of Councillors, there was no appeal therefrom and when any case was tried by the lower Courts the king's court was the highest appellate court above them all. According to Brihaspati, assemblies of kinsmen, artisans, co-habitants and the Chief Judge are declared to be the tribunals to whom he, whose case is tried previously, may appeal in succession.

The king only executes and never formulates laws except through adjudication. This will be fully corroborated by verses 19, 23, 33 and 52 of the 18th Title of Narada. According to the first of these, whatever sentence a king may pass, whether just or unjust, settles the law; according to the second verse, royal orders are declared to arise from law-suits; the third verse

17. 2 M. I. A. 32. 18. 16 Cal. 275. 19. 48. Cal. 30.

enumerates the different functions of the king; but it does not contain any legislative function direct; the fourth verse also refers to the purely judicial function of the king. Again according to Brihaspati²⁰ also, the edict of the king clearly refers to the judicial decisions made by the king; royal edicts thus never imply any legislative enactment passed by the king. This will be quite clear from the illustrations given by Brihaspati regarding the king's edicts which are to be found only in the decisions of the king; (1) when no evidence is forthcoming;²¹ (2) when the judges and the law books are at variance with one another; and (3) lastly, when the king disregarding established usages passes a sentence according to his discretion and consideration. It has been rightly said that "the administration and the administrative machinery were not entrusted with the legislative or the law-making functions..... Therefore, the king and his agents who carried on the Government were as much subject to the law as the subjects themselves. The king could not change the law in his own favour except to the extent that the administrator of law could introduce changes in administering law.

This absence of legislative power in the administration takes away the important influence that had a tendency to make the ruler degenerate into an autocrat."²²

20. 11. 18—27. 21. Maun, VIII, 265; Vas'istha. XVI, 13—15.

21. When the boundaries cannot be ascertained by marks or evidence, the king as an arbitrator should demarcate them with the best of intention.

22. Introduction by S. K. Aiyangar to "Hindu Administrative Institutions" by V. R. R. Dikshitar, pp 32—33.

A Note on Salivahana Era

by

Kotha Bhayya

In a previous article on Salivahana Era, published in J. A. H. R. S. Vol. XVIII, I have stated that it was simply used as a Sakaraja's saka till 13th century. According to Bhavishyapurānam, it was really started by Salivahana of Pramavaravamsa, who was also a grandson of famous Vikramārka of B. C. 58, after conquering the whole of Northern India up to Sindhu. He ruled for 60 years in Ujjain. His own kingdom was Malwa but he had supremacy over the whole of Northern India. It appears that his kingdom was occupied on his death by the Saka Mahākshātrapa king named Chastana mentioned by Ptolemy, though it is not mentioned in Bhavishya-Purana and his son become a feudatory king. The Saka started by Salivahana was however continued in the country of Malwa and in other kingdoms where the supremacy or intimacy of Salivahana was acknowledged before, simply as a Saka Era, though it is rarely said as Salivahana Era up to the 13th century.

The history of Salivahana and his grandfather Vikramārka may be easily detected from Bhavishyapurānam, as they are not mythical kings, as hitherto thought by several eminent scholars. Much documentary evidence is forthcoming to prove it in literature but space forbids to write here.

[This matter was long ago published by Sri Pandit Kota Venkatachalam of Bezwada in his several Books] Editor.

**The Sixteenth Session of the Indian History Congress,
Waltair [29th December, 1953]**

Local Section: Andhra History and Culture.

Presidential Address

By Professor R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., M.E.S. (Retd.)

Brother Delegates and Members of the Conference, Let me express my thanks to the Secretary and the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress for inviting me to accept this office. I think this honour is due to my life-long devotion to the cause of Andhra Historical Research and also to my connection with the All-India Oriental Conference, the Indian Historical Records Commission, the Indian History Congress and the Andhra Historical Research Society during the past 25 or 30 years. Probably, very few scholars here know that I had a little hand in the formation of the Modern Indian History Congress.

As a teacher that worked for over thirty years in several first grade Colleges in Andhra, Madras and Utkal Universities, I had from the beginning planned that the History of Andhra on scientific lines should be written by Andhras only who are well-versed in Epigraphy, history, art, archaeology, numismatics, language and literature relating to Andhra and so, when a chance arose in 1924, I had the privilege of Re-Constructing the Andhra Historical Research Society at Rajahmundry and getting it registered with a proper constitution. Two years before that, Mr. Chilukuri Virabhadra Rao, the pioneer writer of the History of the Andhras in Telugu, Mr. Chilukuri Narayana Rao, the eminent educationist, linguist and research scholar, Mr. Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma, the erudite scholar of Andhra History and Culture and Mr. Bhavaraju Venkata Krishna Rao, author of Early Dynasties of Andhra, formed the Society. But it had to be re-constructed by me with the help of Messrs. Narayana Rao and Krishna Rao. This trio must be said to have done something tangible for the Andhra History and Culture all these years. Andhra, as is well-known, is an ancient and enterprising nation,

whose history dates back to the age of Aitereya Brahmana. The Andhras are also mentioned in the Puranas where they are described as an Aryan race originally living beyond N. W. India. They migrated to Aryavarta and lived there and in course of time they settled in the Deccan. They are next mentioned in the Edicts of Asoka and if we can believe the testimony of the Puranas, their rule can be dated back to the tenth century Before Christ. After the fall of the Maurya, Sunga and Kanva Empires, one after another successively, the Andhras became an Imperial power and ruled over the region extending from Magadha to Malwa and from Coast to Coast and also over the Southern region including Mysore. As the late K. P. Jayaswal rightly pointed out, "the solution of race origins and the identification of this ancient civilization will be found in the Puranas which are amongst the most ancient documents on race history and the tradition and the data embodied therein go back to the Flood and even earlier. The Flood recorded in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa is the greatest land-mark in the pre-dynastic History of India. The Flood has been proved to be a historical fact by Dr. Woolley's excavations. The area of the Flood was certainly the continuous land from Mesopotamia to Rajputana and there is a common tradition at both ends of this area embodied in the ancient literatures of the Samites and the Hindus. Our dynastic history in the Puranas almost begins from the Flood and the Mohenjodaro civilization is a post-Flood event. Here, I may mention the discovery made by Mr. Karandikar that there is a positive statement in the Puranas that the Narmada valley was not affected by the Flood. In the Narmada valley, we may therefore expect to find evidence of a civilization which may vie with that of the Nile valley in antiquity. The Puranas are the richest documents on the race movements in India and its adjacent West. They possess a detailed knowledge of the Central Asian Geography which goes back at least to the Second Millennium

THE 16TH SESSION OF THE IND. HISTORY CONGRESS 187.

Before Christ. The task of properly interpreting Indian Texts in the light of our Archaeological Finds requires a special training in Assyriology and Cognate subjects'... Unfortunately, the Historicity of Puranas and their testimony has been perverted by certain Western scholars who stated rather dogmatically that the historical age cannot go back beyond 2000 B. C, and that there is no need for fixing the Mahabharata war earlier than 1400 B.C. They accused the Brahmins of having raised their antiquity and questioned the authenticity of the Hindu astronomical works.

Sir W. Jones while stating that Chandragupta Maurya, according to Hindu Chronology, lived in 1502 B. C. arbitrarily cut down the periods of certain dynasties and made him the contemporary of Alexander (327 B.C.). He should have noted that Sandrakottas mentioned by Greek writers was not Chandragupta of Maurya line but Chandragupta of Gupta line. His identification of Xandremes, Sandracuttus and Sandrocyptus with Dhanananda, Chandragupta Maurya and Bindusara appears to be wrong and more correctly it should be with Chandramas or Chandra Sri, the last but one Andhra king and Chandragupta of Gupta line and Samudragupta, his son and successor respectively. It is their wrong identification that misled other scholars and the whole chronology of the Dynasties of the Kali Age was upset. Xandrames, of the classical writers is rightly identified by Prof. E.J. Rapson with Chandramas or Chandra Sri or Chandra Bija the last but one king of the Andhra Dynasty as stated by the Puranas. He was evidently ruling when Alexander invaded the Panjab. He was killed and later on, his son, the last Andhra king also by Chandragupta, a close relative, who established the *Gupta Dynasty in or about 327 B. C.* There seems to be every need for a critical edition of the most important Puranas dealing with the history of the dynasties that ruled over India from the time of the Mahabharata war in 3138 B. C. The Andhra Historical Research Society which has been recognised as a learned institution by the Madras, Andhra and India Governments will, it is hoped, shortly undertake a critical edition of the

important Purāṇas relating to the Andhra History. The Society is thankful to the Andhra Government for making a token grant of Rs 500/- in appreciation of its efforts for Historical Research. The thanks of the Society are also due to Sri Vijaya Ram Gajapathi of the Illustrious Vizianagar House for making a Building grant of Rs. 13,000 and to other Donors.

Thanks to the Archaeological Department, several famous sites in Andhra have been dug out. Karle, Nanaghat, Nasik, Sanchi, Chitaldurg, Erragudi, Maski, Amaravati, Jagayyapeta, Ramireddipalli, Goli, Nagarjunakonda, Bhattiprolu, Sankaram, Salihundam and several other places in Andhra have yielded valuable sculptures, inscriptions and historical antiquities, throwing interesting light on Andhra History and culture. The recent find at Amaravati of 8600 and odd punch-marked silver coins will prove that nearabout 9 century B.C., there was Currency in Silver in Andhra which would suggest a brisk internal and external trade. The double-masted ship-coins of the Andhra Satavahana king Yajña Sri Pulomayi and others would also suggest that from the East coast, the Andhras and the Kalingas migrated and founded a Greater Empire in the whole Eastern Region extending from Burma and Thailand in the north to Singapur in the south. The islands of Java and Sumatra still show the influence of the Telaiṅgs and Klings who carried the Andhra-Kalinga civilization to the lands lying in the East. The Kalingas of Ganjam and Vizag Districts like the Andhras of the Coastal and Interior Districts spoke Telugu and had the same religious and cultural affinities. The innumerable Jain and Buddhist stupas, chaityas, statues, inscriptions coins and other excavated antiquities would prove the same. But it must be stated that intensive excavations have not been done in Andhra. No Brahmi inscriptions before Buddha's time have been discovered. More ancient sites where the ancient Andhra rule flourished have yet to be dug out and our thanks are due to the Hyderabad Archaeological Department for digging out certain Andhra towns like Kondapur where ancient Andhra coins, pottery and other interesting remains have been discovered. To quote late Mr. Jayaswal "in the eyes of the Hindu historian,

ancient history ends with the Mahābhārata war (1400 B.C.) while the spade knows nothing apart from Mohenjodaro anterior to 500 B.C." "To begin Indian History at 600 B.C. is to present a headless body. According to Indian historians they have recorded fully the Dynasty of Manu." The whole subsequent history has got to be recovered either with the help of Literature or with the help of Archaeology. This is a work for Indians themselves. The Yerragudi Asokan inscriptions (Kurnool Dt.) are written in a peculiar Brahmi writing and it is said that it gave rise to the Jata and Ghana method of reciting Vedas in Andhradesa. We are fortunate in having Mr. Garde as our South-Eastern circle Archaeological Superintendent who, with his previous experience in Gwalior, can do much not only in preserving ancient Andhra monuments in a better state but also in carrying out more intensive diggings on one or two ancient Andhra sites like Vengi, Adurra, Salihundam (which was partly excavated but stopped.) I am sure, Mr. A. Ghosh, our popular Indian Director-General of Archaeology, will give all the necessary support and I appeal to the Government of India to give the necessary finances. The most ancient Indian History begins in the Deccan and it is upto our Government to spend necessary skill and money so that the History of Andhra may present a better picture. As stated already, it is one of the most ancient and important dynasties of India. Some of the Andhra scholars may be given training when the Department next excavates some Andhra sites.

With the launching of the Nandikonda project, there is the fear of immersion of Nagarjunakonda antiquities. But we are assured that historical antiquities there will not suffer even at the needs of irrigation. Probably, an arrangement will be made by which the Remains will be taken out to a central place like Vijayawada before the project will begin.

Our Andhra State is now formed with our own Government. The New Boundary Commission may give some more Telugu portions to it. The eight or nine districts of Telingana might also join the present Andhra sooner or later so as to give us the Original Viśālāndhra. As is well-known, the one binding factor of the Andhra nation is the language, viz, the Telugu which

they speak and the culture, Andhra which is their Heritage. The modern Andhra language is partly Telugu, mostly Sanskrit with an admixture of Prakrit, Kanarese, Muhammadan and other terms. From the earliest times, Telugu language is found in the Andhra inscriptions. Though the inscriptions are composed in Sanskrit, the actual grant portion consists of pure Telugu. Tenth century inscriptions found in Andhra and Kalinga contain many Telugu verses. The first extant Telugu work is *Āndhra Mahābhāratam* composed by Nannayyabhat with the help of Nārāyanabhat under the advice of RajaRajanarendra, the E. Chalukyan king, in about the middle of the eleventh century A.D. Nanne Choda's *Kumārasambhavam* is said by some to be earlier and by others later. Mr. M. Ramakrishnakavi M. A. who was the first to revise and publish it has also published in the Journal of the A. H. R. Society a Sanskrit Drama called *Kaumudi Mahotsava* and *Bharata Nitya Sāstra* for the Baroda Oriental Series and has thus done great service. He has got several Mss. with him.

Some of the earlier Telugu poets like Ranna and Ponna wrote in Kanarese and presented their works to the Canarese kings. Dandin's *Daśakumara Charitra* throws interesting light on the political and social history of the period (7th C.) The Telugu literature abounds in historical material. The local Records and Kafiya's throw interesting light. The Oriental Manuscripts Library (Andhra Section) contains many of these and there are Mss. of the Kakatiya, Reddi and Vijayanagar periods, hundreds of them, which throw very useful light. The *Rāyavāchakam*, *Krishnarāja Vijayam*, *Tondamānvamsāvali*, *Velugōtivarī vamsāvali*, *Padmanāyakula Charitra*, *Palnātivira Charitra* and others will be very useful in compiling the history of the country. The late K. Viresalingam, G. Sriramamurti, K. V. Lakshmana Rao, G. V. Ramamurti, J. Ramayya, C. Virabhadra Rao and a host of other veteran Andhra scholars contributed by their writings to the social, literary and historical advancement of the country. Some of the Puranas, Epics and *Bhāgavatam* are mostly useful in writing out a Comprehensive History of Andhra.

THE 16TH SESSION OF THE IND. HISTORY CONGRESS 191

The works of Andhra Vijnānasarvasvam and Andhra Sāhitya Parishat, the Suryarāya Nighantu and the Telugu Lexicon (work now done at Madras) have done signal service for the Andhra historical and literary cause. Innumerable Telugu Journals like the Telugu Academy Journal and Bhārati, have also yielded much useful information both for the student of history and literature. Dr. Kalaprāpurna Chilukuri Narayana Rao's History of Telugu Language and other works, Pandit Mallādy Suryanarayana Sastry's Lives of Telugu Poets, Telugu Literature and Grammar, Prof. Nidadavolu Venkat Rao's recently published work on Telugu Literature, Kavisarvabhau-
ma Sripada Krishnamurthy Sastry's Telugu Bharatam and other works, late Janamanchi Seshadri Sastry's Ramayanam have also increased our knowledge about Telugu history and culture. In this connection, I must mention the learned services rendered by late T. S. Narayana Sastri, Nadimpalli Jagannadha Rao who wrote Andhra maha sāmrajyam, Raja Appa Rao Bahadur of Vuyyur who published Chronology and Genealogy of Puranic Lists, Dr. M. Krishnamachari who wrote History of Sanskrit Literature and last but not least Pandit Kota Venkatachalam who is fortunately here now. His many Books on Bharatiya Sakas, Kalisaka Vijnanam, Kaliyugarajavamsamulu, who are Andhras, who are Guptas, Mānavasrṣhti Vijnanam, Agnivamsapu Kings Etc. Etc. have infused new inspiration. All those who are interested in Andhra History should read them. His views reiterate the views of K. P. Jayaswal and other Oriental scholars and opposes those of Western scholars who have upset Puranic Chronology and History and given a perverted and false view of Andhra Origin. This may be due to their want of full Sanskrit knowledge. Many Sanskrit Pandits do not know English well while several English educated scholars have not mastered Sanskrit. The Sanskrit scholars lack the advantage of comparative and modern study of books and journals while the modern scholars suffer from want of intensive knowledge of all that is precious in Sanskrit Literature. A happy combination of both would settle most of the problems and as far as possible blind reliance on the writings of western scholars should be given up and by doing original research work with the help of literature, archaeology, history and epigraphy, we must obtain real insight into what is truly Indian.

The Andhra University, under whose invitation we meet, is the embodiment of all that is great in Andhra history and culture. But, by having no Chair for Archaeology and Andhra History and Epigraphy it has proved itself unable to give any great stimulus for Andhra Historical Research. I know that a lot of historical material—inscriptions and literature—was collected by it, but no original Research work is done as is done in Madras, Calcutta and Banaras Universities. No doubt the late Dr. K. R. Subramanian's book, 'Buddhist Remains in Andhra and The History of Andhra between 225 and 610 A.D.' Prof. P. T. Simivasa Ayyangar's Advanced History of India (Hindu Period) revised by Prof. Gurty Venkat Rao, and M. S. Sarma's A Forgotten chapter in Andhra History and a few others are published by the University. But the Chair for Andhra History and Archaeology is a dire necessity and now that the Andhra State has been formed, Research like the one done by the Deccan College of Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona should be started with, if necessary, Govt. support. But it is something that the Telugu books in the Tanjore Palace library have been catalogued by the Andhra University with the contents of the works. The Tirupathi Venkateswara Oriental Research Institute under the able guidance of Prof. P. V. Ramanujaswami helped by Vetury Prabhakara Sastry and M. Ramakrishna Kavi has been doing valuable service to Andhra History and Culture by publishing Inscriptions and also rare manuscripts. A similar work should be undertaken by the Andhra University. A Chair for Andhra Anthropological Research is also necessary, as Andhra abounds in several aboriginal tribes.

The Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry has obtained nearly a thousand palm-leaf M. ss. from late Dr. C. Narayana Rao and late Rao Sahib G. V. Ramamurty Pantulu (through Prof. Telikicherla Venkataratnam). As a result of the Society's urgent appeals to the Madras Government, a large amount has been earmarked for publication of M. ss. in the four important learned Institutions in the State including this Society. The Secretary of the Society already sent over a hundred rare and unpublished Mss. in Telugu & Sanskrit and

they have been transcribed. Some of them will soon be published. The Telugu Academy, Kakinada has also done much in this direction. It has lots of historical material and Mss.

The Society is now publishing the History of Andhra (1000—1,500 A. D.) a Madras University Thesis which got D. Litt for an Andhra Lady Srimati V. Yasodadevi of Madras. It finished publishing a Thesis on Revenue Administration of N. circars which fetched a London University PH. D. for Dr. Lanka Sundaram. Sri B. V. Krishna Rao, a well-known Andhra Scholar who got M. A. Degree from Andhra University for his Thesis on Early Andhra Dynasties from 225 to 625 A. D. has recently published it and his History of the E. Chalukyas will soon be published as Vol. 21 of the Society's Journal in memory of the late Andhra Historian Chilukury Veerabhadra Rao. The Historical works of late Dr. Chilukury Narayana Rao who was honoured by Andhra University with the title of Kalaprapurna and whose valuable work on Telugu Literature fetched from Andhra University a reward for him will be published gradually in the pages of the Society's Journals. Volume 20 of the Journal is published in memory of his great learned self. Another member Dr. M. Rama Rao, who edited Kakatiya Samchika for the Society is given PH. D. for his Thesis on Prataparudra. He started a Society called Itihasa Samsodhaka Mandal at Guntur in 1943 and published only 3 Vols. of the Journal of Andhra History and Culture but owing to this departure as History Professor of Nizam's College Hyderabad, both the Society and the Journal disappeared. I hope it will be only temporary. Yet another member Sri Vaddadi Appa Rao edited for the Society the History of the Reddis of Kondavidu who rendered a great Patriotic Service to the Country by driving out the Moslem invaders. As one connected with the Society for the past 28 years, I had the privilege of editing several of its Journals and some Telugu Samchikas. I also published the History of the E. Gangas of Kalinga and contributed a chapter on the same to Vol. IV of the Indian History Congress. Over 60 monographs on Epigraphy, Numismatics, History and Anthropology were also published. So far, the Historical accounts of the Satavahanas, of Pallavas, E. Chalukyas, E. Gangas, Kakatiyas, Reddis, Velanti and Renati Cholas, Vizianagara rulers and Subsidiary minor dynasties of Andhra (later period) have all been published by the Society. It is time the Society publishes a History of the Andhras soon.

Sri Kandregula Jaganadha Gopala Rao B.A.B.L. of the Gowtami Vidyapitham, Prof. Vissa Appa Rao, M.A.L.T., Secretary of The Damerla Rama Rao Art Gallery and Andhra Gana Kala

Dr. C. Narayana Rao Memorial Volume.

Parishat and Sri N. Ramesam M.A.I.A.S. Dt. Collector. Guntur have done their best for the Andhra History and Culture

The Epigraphical department is moving rather slowly. Thousands of Inscriptions yet remain to be published. I know it is a difficult task. But it has to be surmounted by giving more work to private societies and individuals.

After the fall of the Imperial Andhra power, according to Puranas, as many as 12 subsidiary subordinate dynasties - Andhra Bhrutyas, established their independence in various parts of the Empire. The Iskshvakus, Brihatpalayanas, Salankayanas, Pallavas, Chutus, Nagas, Abhiras, Matharas & Vasishtas & others founded their own rule and issued charters. The Salankayanas were succeeded by Vishnukundins & they by Chalukyas one of whose later Kings - Raja Raja got Andhra Mahabharatam written by Nannayya. After him, his brother Vijayaditya VII ruled till 1076. Then, his son and successor, Rajendrachola became Chola Emperor in 1070 A. D. and so, the Chalukya-chola Empire became one. Vengi was ruled by Rajendra Chola's sons one after another and when the last one Vikramachola left for the South in 1135, he gave over the Kingdom to his Vassals, the Velnati cholas. The Kakatiyas who fixed their Capital at Warrangal Conquered the Coastal Districts and under Prataparudra, the last Emperor, the whole of Andhra became one. Though for 2½ centuries more, the Hindu rule lasted, it was often subdued by Golkonda Nawabs. When Golkonda was Conquered by the Nizam, Asaf Jah, in 1724, the whole Andhra became subject to his power. In 1765, the N. Circars and in 1799 the Ceded Dts., passed under E. I. Co's rule. It is only recently that Telingana obtained some freedom. The future only knows when and how the whole of Andhra will become one as it did already under Kakatiya Pratapa Rudra.

A History of the Andhras, from the earliest times to the formation of the Andhra State, based on original sources, has yet to be written both in English and in Telugu and the work done so far by the learned Societies and Individuals will stand in good stead. A conference of Andhra historians should be held in a central place soon to settle details. There are many problems in Andhra History to settle first and the early publication of a History of this State will help the Indian History Congress in its publication of a true National History. In conclusion, let me thank you all for your patient hearing.

A newly discovered Copper-plate grant of Sri Ammaraja (II) Vijayaditya of the Eastern Chalukyan Dynasty

By. Prof. R. Subba Rao, M.A.L.T. M.E.S. (Retd.)

A set of five plates with ring and seal intact was discovered by a ryot while ploughing in a village near Anaparti in East Godavari District and it was handed over by him to the H.M. of the Board High School there Sri B. Gourinatha Sastri who gave them to the Society's Vice-President Raja K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur who was good enough to hand them over to me for deciphering and publishing them in the Society's Journal. I returned the Set after done with but it was got back at my request, by the kindness of Sri N. Ramesan, M. A. I. A. S. local Sub-collector, for the Society.

I cleaned them with tamarind and salt and took Estampages for making photo-blocks. From the original plates, which are in a very good state of preservation, I prepared the Text which is published below.

Details of the Grant:

It is a Set of five plates, the fifth plate being blank on both sides with a view to serve as a good cover at the back. The first plate, first side, is also kept blank with the same purpose. There is writing on the other sides, which is in Telugu Lipi of the middle of tenth century. The letters are clear and bold. On the first plate, second side, there are eight lines, so also on the second and third plates both sides. But, on the fourth plate, both sides there is writing of seven lines each only. There are only a few mistakes which the engraver committed. They are corrected and shown in the footnotes.

The Seal also is very clear and into it are soldered the two ends of the ring. The diameter of the seal is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The seal contains the symbol of Surya at the top and below that, in the centre, in relief, there is the figure of Varaha or Boar, the Incarnation of Vishnu (the symbol adopted in all the Eastern Chalukyan Grants) facing right with a prominent sprout, with an Ankusam (Elephant-goad) which is the common title adopted by the kings in their Grants, in front and the crescent (Half-Moon) behind, which shows that the Chalukyans were of the Lunar dynasty. Below this, we get the legend or title "Sri Tribhuvanamkusa" and below that, at the bottom, a full blown lotus flower.

❖ A Copper-plate Grant of this king under the heading The Pamulavaka C. P. grant of Ammaraja II Vijayaditya was already published by me in this Journal Vol II P P 212-213

The length of each plate is 7 inches and the breadth is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The five plates have got their rims raised so that the writing may be protected in case the plates get rubbed against one another.

Language and Alphabet:—

The language used is Sanskrit. It is partly in verse and partly in prose. The script is telugu of the tenth century with an admixture of Canarese letters. The letters are round and beautifully written. In words like mūtṭē, savva, damma, bhayya, puvvātaḥ, the letter 'r' (rēpha) is represented by doubling of the consonants which follow it. The Anusvāra is represented by a dot placed at the right top and sometimes it is represented by Nasal. The letter "ॐ" in Vidurāru, Ponnāru etc., is a strange letter whose sound is still found in Tamil.

Subject-matter of the Grant.

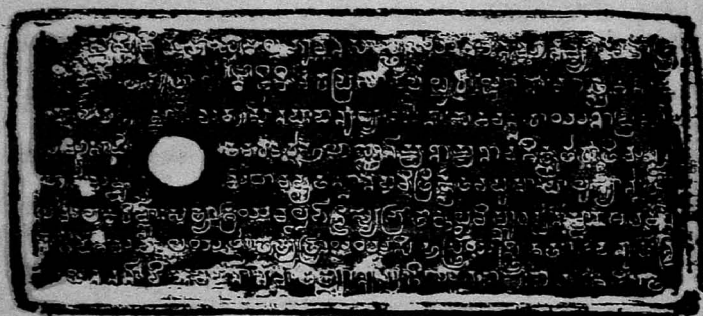
As usual in all the grants of this dynasty, full details are given. The Chalukyans were of Mānavya gotra and they are the sons of Hariti and they claim to have obtained the kingdom by the favour of Kausiki and they were helped by the Saptamatrukas (the seven goddesses) and they were devoted to the feet of Swāmi Mahāsena, the War-God and their symbol was Varaha bestowed on them by God Narayana. Their dynasty was made holy by the sacred baths taken after performance of several horse sacrifices.

The Genealogy and Chronology of the E. Chalukyan Kings from Satyasraya Vallabhendra's (Pulikeśin II's) brother Kubja Vishnu Vardhana, to the Donor of this Grant, viz, Ammaraja II Vijayaditya are given. The Donor has the titles Samasta Bhuvanarayana (Abode of all the worlds), Maharajadhiraja (Great King of Kings), Parameswara (Paramount Lord), Parama Bhattaraka (Supreme Sovereign) and Parama Brahmanya (Supreme Brahman). Having assembled all the Reddi Chiefs and Cultivators of Sakadamantani Vishaya (District) he informed them as follows:— The Donation of the Village named Nagiya Pundi was made free of all taxes and given by me by this order to Bikiraja who was learned in Sastras, and who was the son of Irandiya Raja who was devoted to the worship of Gods and Brahmins and his wife Bijja Kavva who was chaste, beautiful, saintly and blessed with sons. The boundaries of the Village granted are next described and then, the usual Vyasa Slokas given. The Ajnapti or Executor of the Grant is Katakaraaja II (Descendant of Pandurangā and Katakaraaja, the Brahmin Commanders of Gunaga Vijayaditya and his successors) and the Scribe Jonthacharya. The Grant belongs to about 957 A.D. from the internal evidences.

J. A. H. R. S. Vol. XX.
A New C.P. Grant of King Ammaraja(II) Vijayaditya
SEAL



First Plate, Second side.



Second Plate, First Side.



A newly discovered Copper-plate Grant of SriAmmaraja (II) 197
Vijayāditya of E. Chalukyan Dynasty

❖ TEXT

First plate, Second side.

1. 'Om! Svasti Srimatām Sakala Bhuvana Samastūyamāna
Mānavyasagotrā

2. nām Hārīti putrānām Kauśikivaraprasāda labdva
Rājyanām Mātrigaṇa pa

3. ri pālitanām Svāmi Mahāsena pādānu dhyāyinām
BhagavanNārāyaṇa prasāda

4. samāsādita vara Varāhalāṇchchhiṇṇa kṣaṇapakṣhaṇa
vasikṛtārāti Maṇḍa

5. lānā mAsva mēdhava bhṛtasnāna pavitrikṛta vapuṣ-
hām Chalukyanām ku

6. la malamkarishṇa Satyāsraya Vallabhendrasya
bhrātā Kubja Viṣṇuvard dhanoshṭṭa daga varshāni

7. Vamgidēsa mapālayat tatputro Jayasimhastrayas
trimsatam tadanujendra

8. Rājanandano Viṣṇuvardddhanaṇa nava tatsānur mMa
mgiyuvarājah Pamchavimratim ta

Second plate, First side.

1. tputro Jayasimhastrayodasa tadavarajah Kōkiliḥ
shaṇmāsan tasyajyeshṭho

2. bhrātā Viṣṇuvardddhanaṇa samuchchhāṭya sapta trim-
satam tatputro Vijayāditya Bhaṭṭāra

3. koshāḍḍaṇa tatsuto Viṣṇuvardddhanaṇa shaṭrimsatam
tatsuto Vijayāditya Nare

4. ndra Mrgarājaschashṭāchatvarimsatam tatsutah
Kali Viṣṇuvardddhanoddhyarddha

5. varsham tatriyatānayah amgātsam grāmaraṅga
nijalasadasinā

6. Mamgi Rajottamāṅgam Tuṅgādrēssamga murvvyā
māsa niriva mudā pātayāt Kannarāmkaṇ

7. niṣṣamkaṇ samkilēna prathhitajanapadāddurggam-
annirggamayyādrāgdhavamyaḥ pravesyaḥ

8. prabhurabhaya manah pratyapādBaddegāmkaṇ sa-
srima Vijayāditya Bhūpatē

Second plate, Second side.

1. Bhrātṛbhissaha chatvārimsatsamassarddham chatu-
bhirabhunagbhuvam tadbhrāturvVikrama

2. ditya Bhūpatēssaddhammapateḥ Vilasatkāṭṭhika
dhāma kārṭṭhasya tanayo naya

❖ From the Original plates obtained for the Society's Museum.

1. Represented by a symbol.

2. Read tatpriya

3. dinānāthhātūrāṇāṃ dvijavara samitēryyāchakānāṃ
yatinān(m)nānādēsā

4. •gatānāṃpaṭuvaṭu naṭa sadgāyakānāṃ kavināṃ pān-
thhvanāṃ andhhaḥkā

5. nāṃ abhilāshitāphala srā anādrakshaṇā dyomāteva
trimsadabḍā

6. nbbhuvam abhunagaso chāru Chālukya Bhimab tat-
putrah Kōḥabhiḥgārda Vijayādityah

7. •shanmāsāṃ tatsūnūr Amaraḥaḥ saptavarshaṇi tat-
sutam Vijayādityam Balamu

8. chehhāṇya Talapō māsa makam tamjitvā Chālukya
Bhima nayo Vikramāditya

Third plate, First side.

1. ekādaśamāsāṃ tatāṣ Talapa rājasyasuto Yuddhamallah
saptavarshaṇi nirjji

2. tyarjjunāsannibho janapadātṭamirggam yodhatam
dayādān inabhanulīna Bhaga

3. nākārānvidhayotarām Vīri Vōrjjitanak am Ammaṇṇ-
patē bhrātākāṇṇyanbbhuvam

4. Bhimo Bhīma parākramassamabbhunak samvatsarān-
dvādāsa tasya Mahēvara

5. mūrṭṭerUmā samānākṛteḥ Kūmarābhāḥ Lokamahade-
vyāḥ Khaluya

6. ssamabbhavad Ammarājakhyah jāla jāta patrachamara
kalasāṃkusalakshaṇāṃka kara

7. chārātatalah lasadajanva valapita bhuja yugaparigho
girindra sānuraskah

8. Vijati kshitiṭpeyasmin bahirudyānāvalokanārṭṭham
bhitah taddigdesaṇi maṇṭikana

Third plate, Second side.

1. ka haya gajendrāpratatim yō rūpeṇa manojam
vibhavēna Mahendra mahi (ma) ka

2. ram urūmahasāharamaripuradahānanyam kurvyan-
bhāti vidita digavanikṛtṭih sa

3. sasta bhuvanāsraya Sri Vijayāditya Mahārājādhi-
rāja Parama

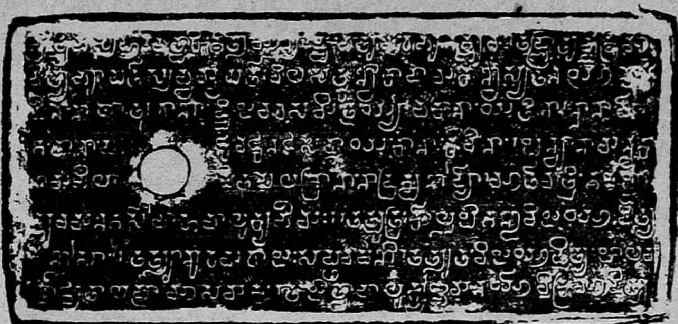
3. mēkam

4. tanayo

5. masta

10 MAY 1958
MADRAS

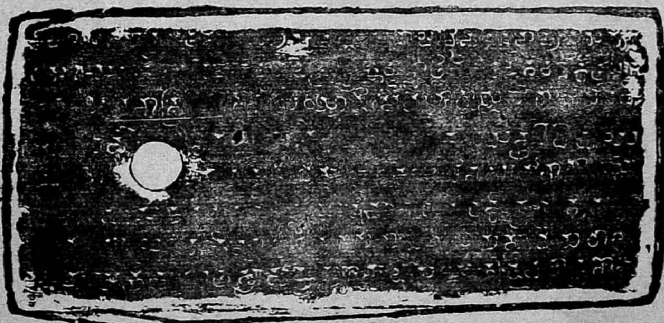
Dr. C. Narayana Rao Memorial Volume.
Second Plate, Second Side.

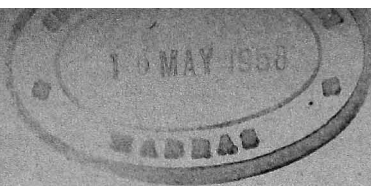


Third Plate, First Side.

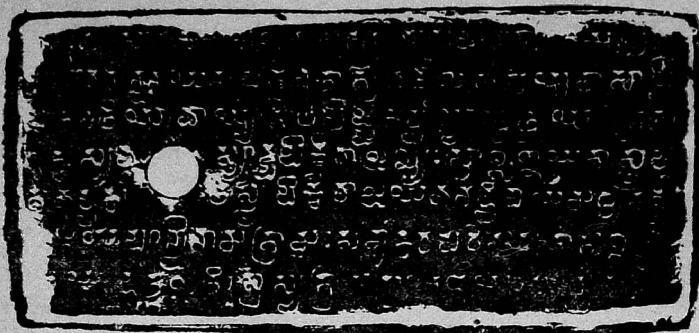


Third Plate, Second Side.





J . A . H . R . S . Vol. XX
Fourth Plate, First Side.



Fourth Plate, *Second Side.



To face Page 199

A newly discovered Copper-plate Grant of Sri Ammaraja (II) 199
Vijayāditya of E. Chalukyan Dynasty

svarah^o parabhattacharakah Paramabrahmanyah sakāda-
mantani Vishaya.

5. nivāsino Rāshtrakūṭa pramukhān kutumbina sarv-
vanāhū yo

6. tsamājñāpayati viditamastuvah Sri-man utarakirt-
tischaru dhyāno

7. yastāsūryvēmse bhūtasamkarapadābja madhupas
Tādapa Rāja

8. jñayomatimām tasya sadyassāuddhammayutam Dai-
vatarchanābhi

Fourth plate, First side.

1. ratah Bhūsurabhakte durava Irāṇḍiya Rājākhyā
indumukhah

2. tasyāravinda nayana pativrata sobhasila rūpayuta
sādhvi

3. putravatiyā bhāryyāseet Bijjekavvākhyā putroyovinata

4. ristasyā chasyascha Bikirājākhyah srasī iyī Sāstrājña

5. ssubhadrukah tasye Bikirājaya bhavadvishayē mad-
hyavatti

6. Nāgiya Pūḍināmagrāmah sarvvakaraparihārah
śasanikṛtya

7. mayādatta itī asyagrāmasyā vadhayaḥ pūrvvatah

Fourth plate, Second side.

1. Vidurāru dakshinatah Pēnumanda paschimatah
Pōnnāru

2. uttaratah Tavidipundi asyo parimakena chidbādha
kāryya

3. kurvvanpancha mahāpātako bhavati Vyāsena pyok-
tam Bahubhirvvasu

4. dhādattam Bahubhischanu palitam yasya yasya ya

5. dābhūmistasya tasya tadā phalam Svadattām
para'ttām

6. yohareṭa Vasundhara shashthim varsha sāhasrāni
Vishthhayām jāyāte

7. krimih Ajñapti Katakirāja Jōta chāryvēna likhitam

6. ... parama. 7. ... paradattam.

⊕ The text is prepared from the Original plates which are now obtained
for the Society's Museum.

TRANSLATION

Hail! Kubjavishnuvardhana, the (younger) brother of Sabyasraya Vallabhendra, who adorned the family of the Chalukyas¹ who are glorious; who are of the lineage (gotra) of Manavya, which is praised throughout the whole world; who are the sons of Hariti², who obtained the kingdom (sovereignty) by the excellent favour of Kausiki³; who are protected by the troop of the Mothers⁴ (of mankind); who meditate on the feet of (God) Svami Mahasena; who have had the provinces of their enemies subjected to them, on the instant, at the site of the excellent crest of Boar⁵ which they acquired through the favour of the Holy Narayana; and whose ~~bodies~~ have been purified by the ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices — ruled over the country of Vengi⁶ for eighteen years. His son, Jayasimha (I) ruled for 33 years; his younger brother, Indrajah's son, Vishnuvardhana (II) ruled for nine years; his son Mangi yuvaraja ruled for 25 years; his son, Jayasimha, (II) for thirteen years; his younger brother, Kokkili for six months; his elder brother, Vishnuvardhana (III), having driven him out, ruled for thirty-seven years; his son, Vijayaditya Bhattarakka (I) for eighteen years; his son Vishnuvardhana (IV) for thirty-six years; his son Vijayaditya (II) Narendra Mrigaraja (Lion of kings) for forty-eight years; His son, Kalivishnuvardhana for 1/2 year; his son, who, in the battle, beheaded Mangi (ruler of Nolambavadi), routed king Kannara in battle, destroyed the prowess of his ally Sankila (ruler of Dahala), having taken most

1. Calukki, caliki, calki, Chālukya, Chalukya, Chalukya, chalikya, Salki Salki, salki are all found in the inscriptions. 2. Descendants of an original ancestress of the Harita Gotra. 3. Kausiki is the Goddess of Durga, the Goddess of war. 4. The mothers are the seven mothers, (the Sapta-matrukas) who are the female counterparts of Brahma, Siva, Kumara, Vishnu, Varaha, Indra and Yama, who are created to drink the blood of the demon, Andhaka. Their Vahanas (Bearers) are Hamsa (Swan), Vrishabha (Bull), Mayura (Peacock), Garuda (Kite), Varaha (Boar), Hasti (Elephant), Mahisha (Buffalo) respectively. A stone sculpture containing the Sapta Mātrukas with their Vahanas is found in the Madras Museum. 5. The Varaha Lanchana or the crest of the Boar is found on the seals of the Eastern Chalukyan Inscriptions. Their coins called 'varahas' bear the same symbol. 6. It is represented by the modern villages of Peda-Vengi and China-Vengi, six miles off Ellora. (Vide for the History of Vengi, my Note in the Journal Vol. I, Part 2, page 98.)

difficult forts and entered their strongholds and promised protection to Baddega. Vijayāditya (III) ruled for forty-four years; his younger brother, Yuvaraja Vikramāditya's son, Chalukya Bhima-Bhupala ruled for thirty years; This benevolent Chalukya Bhima I who is described as having had a shining Kanthika or necklet as a garland round his neck ruled the earth for 30 years like a second mother as he provided the desired lands and food to the downfallen, helpless, needy, bachelor — pupils, actors, singers, maimed, blind, assemblies of learned Brahmanas, beggars, ascetics, and wanderers. His son, Kolabhoganda Vijayāditya (IV) ruled for six months; his son, Ammaraja (I) for seven years; having driven out his son Vijayāditya (V) a mere boy, Talapa ruled for one month; then, the son of Chalukya-Bhima named Vikramāditya (II), having conquered him, ruled for eleven months; and then Talaparaja's son Yuddhamalla II ruled for seven years; then, the son of Kolibhoganda (IV) named Bhima II, having conquered him, ruled for twelve years.

He was the very incarnation of Mahesvara and his wife Lokamahādevi resembled, in her form and beauty, Uma or Parvati. The son born to them, Ammaraja (II), the very Kumaraswami himself, by surpassing Manmatha (the God of beauty) in form, Mahendra in glory, Surya (Sun-god) in bright lustre and Hara in burning the towns of enemies, reduced them all to inferior position and shone brightly. His pure fame spread in all directions. He, the refuge of all the worlds, the glorious Vijayāditya Maharaja, the Parameswara, the Paramabhattaraka, and the Paramabrahmanya, having called together all the cultivators and the village heads in the Sakadamantani Vishaya ordered thus: Be it known! By means of this order made by me, the village, called Nagiya Pundi in the district of Sakadamantani, freed from all taxes, was given to Bhikiraja, well-versed in Sastras and son of Bijjekavva and Irandiya Raja who was fond of worshipping Gods and Brahmins and who received favours by order of Tadaparaja who licked honey from the lotus feet of Sankara of Solar Line noted for his famous and fine qualities. The village is bounded, on the East by Viduraru, on the South by Penumaṇḍa, on the West by Ponnaru and on the North by Tevindipundi. Whoever molests this Grant will be one who has committed the five great sins. Then follow the usual imprecatory S'lokas of Vyāsa. The Executor of this royal Order was the officer Katakaraaja. The Charter was engraved by the Scribe Jontachārya.

**In Memory of the Late Kalaprapurna,
Dr. C. Narayana Rao, M. A., Ph. D., L. T., Anantapur.**

A short account of his career, work and achievements.

By Prof. R Subba Rao, M.A.L.T., M.E.S. (Retd) Hon. Gen. Secretary.

Born in September, 1890 in the village of Anandapuram, near Pondur, Visagapatnam District and educated in the Municipal High School, Chicacole and Raja's College, Parlakimidi and in the Maharaja's College, Vizianagaram, Sri Chilukuri Narayana Rao had a distinguished academic career. He took the degrees of Master of Arts in Telugu and Kannada and of Licentiate in Teaching of the Madras University and Research Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the same University by a Thesis on the Telugu Language of the Eleventh Century. From early in life, he had great aptitude for literary, linguistic, historical and educational research. He made his mark in all these spheres. He taught classes from lowest standard in an elementary school to the highest classes in a University, and always brought freshness into his teaching. He started and maintained schools at Arasavelli, Vizagapatam district, one for the children of agriculturists and another for Harijans. He was one of the earliest to work through his agricultural school for the propagation of the method of single seedling transplantation in the then Ganjam district. His school won the gold medal in the competition held by the Ganjam Agricultural Association for new experiments in agriculture. He worked under Mr. J. A. Yates, Inspector of Schools Northern Circars in the propagation of the Direct Method of teaching English and made extensive study of the systems of education of various Countries and published two Works, one on the German system and another on that in the U. S. A. in Telugu. He has thousands of students all over the Telugu country who hold him in high esteem and regard, as a kind, sympathetic and enthusiastic teacher and lecturer.

He has been a prolific writer of Telugu Literature and has worked for 35 years to make it rich and varied. He published nearly a hundred books and some hundreds more are awaiting publication. As Chairman of the Telugu and Joint Boards of Studies in Languages in the Andhra University, Dr. Narayana Rao was

mainly responsible in the early stages for giving shape and direction to Telugu Studies in the University in all its branches. He rendered similar service to the Madras, Mysore and Osmania Universities as a member of various committees.

His researches may be classed, under two heads, (1) Historical and Epigraphical and (2) Literary, Linguistic and allied subjects. The results of his researches in both these directions are well-known throughout India and abroad. The Andhra Historical Research Society at Rajahmundry of which Dr. Narayana Rao was the President-Founder bears ample testimony to the untiring work he has done in and through it in the field of Historical research. When, in 1922, it was first formed, it celebrated Raja Raja Day and published Raja Raja Samchika; but owing to certain differences in internal affairs, it disappeared. So, in 1924, when I was transferred as History Lecturer to the Government Arts College, Rajahmundry, from the Ceded Districts College, Anantapuram, he requested me to Refound it and I did it. Recently, in 1947, he transferred his Library of palm-leaf Mss. to the Society in which a branch will shortly be opened under the name of Dr. C. Narayana Rao Oriental Mss. Library. He has also transferred all his collections of Copper-Plate inscriptions so as to serve as the nucleus for a Museum under the auspices of the Society. The Society is now building a Hall to Commemorate his life and work.

Dr. Narayana Rao was also the President-Founder of the Navya Sahitya Parishad, a rallying centre for all modern writers in Telugu and an active member of the Progressive Writers' League of Andhra.

In the field of Linguistics, he is an acknowledged authority. His unflinching attack on the Caldwellian theory of the Dravidian languages and his views on the subject are held in respect in the world of scholars. His greatest service to the Andhra University was the publication under its auspices of two sumptuous volumes of his "History of the Telugu Language." Next to Bengali, Telugu has by this publication been the second language in India to have a History written of it.

He was also the President-Founder of the Krishnadevarāya Vidya Parishad of Rayalasima. During the last 20 years

Dr. C. Narayana Rao Memorial Volume.

and more, Dr. Narayana Rao has done yeoman's service to Rayalasima by working for its educational, literary and economic uplift. Even after his retirement, he was working as untiringly as ever. His patience, perseverance and industry are exemplary. He presided over the Language and Literature Section of the Society's Vijayanagar Day Celebrations held in Hampi Virupākshaswami Temple in 1946 and presided over the General Conference of the Vemgi Day Celebrations held in Vemgi in 1947. He also presided over the Shashtipurthi Celebrations held in my honour by the Society in 1952. Unfortunately he fell a prey to Cancer and died soon after. In his death, not only the Society but the whole educational world has suffered. May his Soul rest in Heaven in Peace! The Society can only pay this humble homage but the torch he lighted in Andhra must shine with increasing lustre. The Society hopes to publish if not the whole of 1,25,000 pages of his Manuscripts on Religions, Smṛtis, Stōtras, Sastras, Histories, Biographies, Languages and Literatures, Educational Methods, Dramas and Dictionaries Proverbs and other Subjects totalling nearly 240, at least, a portion of some of them.

The Society has honoured him by electing him as an Emeritus Patron and Life Trustee and by putting his Portrait (a large-sized one) in its main Hall. The Members of the Society as well as the Public can best perpetuate his name by contributing liberally funds for printing his several works -



Recent Opinions of Distinguished Visitors about the Work of the Society.

I am highly delighted to visit the A. H. R. Society buildings to-day. I heartily congratulate Prof. R. Subbarao and his fellow Workers on the success so far achieved in building up the library, museum and other interesting organs of this very important and interesting Institution of our Andhra Desa. I am quite hopeful that with the sustained energy and enthusiasm of my friend Prof. R. Subbarao, this institution will develop into one of great magnitude and will attract Scholars of distant places both of this country and of other civilised countries, to devote their precious time to a careful study of the Indian antiquities here. The materials so far collected—books printed as well as unprinted and unpublished, Mss. Coins, Inscriptions and other things are so many that they require several rooms and halls for a careful exhibition and organised classification and presentation. I hope that the Government of Madras will extend to this the encouragement it richly deserves.

(Sd.) G. V. Sithapathi.

D. 4—8—1948. Compiler, Telugu Encyclopedia, Madras.

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

D. 16—8—50

(Sd.) P. L. N.

I am very glad to go round the buildings and also the various collections of books, periodicals and journals etc. in various languages (which) are being used by several people. It is the first and foremost of its kind in Andhra Desa.

Professor Sri R. Subbarao, M. A., L. T. M. E. S. Petired, deserves all gratitude and respects for his valuable services since, nearly thirty years.

D. 13—3—51.

(Sd.) K. Suguna Mahalakshmi,

Senior Deputy Inspector of Schools, Rajahmundry East.

1. నేను ఈరోజున Andhra Historical Research భవనమును దర్శించితిని. శ్రీ రాళ్ళబండి సుబ్బారావుపంతులు, M. A., L. T. గారు దయతో భవనములోని వివిధ సంస్కృతములను, శాసనములను, నాణెములను చూపి వాటి దేశచరిత్రకుగల ఉపయోగములను వివరించినది. ఇందు అమూల్యపుస్తకములున్నవి. ఇందులో అనేకములు

తాటియాకులపై లిఖించబడిన శిథిలావస్థయందున్నవి. ఇవి అచ్చుపడి ప్రచురింపబడినగాని వాటి చారిత్రకవిలువ నిర్ణయించుటకు వీలులేదు. గవర్నమెంటువారును, ధనికులును, విద్యావంతులును, సహకరించి పని చేసినగాని ఈమహాకార్యము ఒకవ్యక్తివలన కాదు.

2. ఈసంస్థను ఇంతవరకు తీసుకువచ్చి, దీనికి ఒక భవనమును సంపాదించి, అనేక శాసనములను, గ్రంథములను సంపాదించి వాటిని విమర్శించి వాటివలన వెలువడిన దేశచరిత్రను బయలుపరచి శ్రమచేసిన శ్రీ సుబ్బారావు వంతులుగారి పట్టుదల, శాస్త్రజ్ఞానము, ధైర్యసాహసములు ప్రశంసనీయములు. రమారమి ఇరువది సంవత్సరములక్రిందట శ్రీ సుబ్బారావువంతులుగారు ఆధ్వర్యమున పూనూరు సామవృత్తిస్థితి ఇప్పటి దీని సకల భారత దేశముండేగాక ఇతర దేశములందును పేరుగాంచిన స్థితిని చూచిన నవ్వివేషారే పట్టు మగునన్న లోకానికి స్ఫురించకపోదు.

3. దీనిని దర్శించిన కాలమునందు నాకు దీనివిషయమై ఒక ఊహ కలిగినది. అది ఏదన, శ్రీవంతులుగారు తమ అడుగుజాడలలో ఈపనిని సాగించి ఇంకను వృద్ధిలోకి తెచ్చువ్యక్తులను సమకూర్చి దీని పురోభివృద్ధికి మార్గాన్వేషణ. గుళ్లపల్లి సాంఘికముద్రి.
డి 10—7—1951. (Retd. Science Professor)

Since I am myself a life-time member of the American Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, I have taken much pleasure in the privilege I have had to visit this pioneering association of scholars and thinkers. I wish all of them and all their works great success and the support it so richly deserves. D14—8—1952. (Sd.) T. C. Radding, Hampton Institution, U.S.A.

It has given me very great pleasure to have visited the Andhra Historical Research Institute this morning.

Mr. R. Subbarao, M.A., L.T., Hon. Secretary, Andhra Historical Society was kind enough to take me round the building and the library and I feel extremely happy to have seen a number of collections of great historical value. I very much appreciate the good work done by Mr. Subbarao in this direction and he deserves the gratitude of the Public.

The Society deserves all possible help and support.

(Sd.) G. Ranga Rao, Divisional Inspector of Schools, Godavari Division. 14—8—52

I had the pleasure of being shown round on 14—8—1952 the Andhra Historical Research Society Premises by Prof. R. Subbarao. It redounds to the credit of Prof. Subbarao and his

RECENT OPINIONS OF DISTINGUISHED VISITORS 207

colleagues that they had succeeded in securing a Site on the bank of Godavary with a building at a cost of about Rs. 30,000 which they secured as donations from the enlightened public. There is a good reference library of nearly 1,000 books in 10 languages, Indian and European. Besides this, there is a valuable collection of about 1,000 palm-leaf manuscripts in Telugu, Tamil, (discovered in Andhra Dists) Sanscrit and Prakrit, several of which are rare and unpublished, dealing with the sciences and literatures. There is an impressive collection of copper-plates, coins of various dynasties all over India, archaeological antiquities. Work on all these has been carried on through this Association for the last 30 years. Many eminent and prominent workers in the field have been associated with this work. The Society has about 80 Publications in their own English Journals and Telugu works. As one of the few important Historical Research Societies, in India, and in our State, with a long and meritorious record, this Institution deserves encouragement and support from all quarters. Their main needs are improved accomodation and provision for research assistant staff.

(Sd.) M. V. Krishna Rao, Minister for Education, Madras.

I am happy indeed to see this wonderful collection. I am grateful to Prof. Subbarao for having shown me round and explained everything. I hope the good work will prosper.

D. 20—3—1953. (Sd.) Sri Prakasa, Governor of Madras.

I had the pleasure of visiting the Society premises and to glance through the collections therein, viz. Oriental manuscripts, books, and periodicals, inscriptions and other collections. For the specialised study and research the Society is intended for, many more scholars are necessary. Sri R. Subba Rao seems to be the Soul of the Society at present. For want of funds, accomodation and even Scholars who could peruse the manuscripts, rare and valuable manuscripts may get destroyed in course of time and will become lost to the literary world and to the country. I hope the Central Government will give liberal grants to this Institution to enable it, to engage a few Scribes to read and copy the manuscripts and also a Building grant to house the collections. I hope also the professors of the local college will become members of the Society and take interest in research.

Andhra had a glorious past and research will pay good dividends and put up the new State in a high place among the States in India.

I wish the Society will grow in strength and usefulness.

.. D. 18—10—1953.

M. Ananta Sayana Ayyangar

(Dy. Speaker of Parliament.)

Dr C. Narayana Rao Memorial Volume.

గురుతుల్యులు శ్రీరాష్ట్రభండి సుబ్బారావుగారిని ఆంధ్రజిహ్వన పరిశోధకమండలికార్యాలయము నందర్పించే భాగ్యము కల్గింది నాకు. సమితి గ్రంథాలయము, ప్రాచీన వస్తుసంపద, ముఖ్యముగా తామ్రశాసనములు, నాణెములు, అత్యంత విలువైనవి సేకరించి భద్రపరిచినందులకు ఆంధ్రదేశము శ్రీరాష్ట్రభండి సుబ్బారావుగారికి చాల ఋణపడియున్నది.

సమితి గ్రంథాలయము, వస్తుప్రదర్శనశాల తగురీతి నేర్పరుచుటకు పలయుధనసహాయము చేసి ఆంధ్రులీ సంస్థను బలపరచు ప్రాధాన్యము చూచుచున్నాను.

31—11—53

రా. సుబ్రహ్మణ్యం,

S.E.C. Vizag.

Asst. Suptd. Arch. Dept.

As an old Member of the Andhra Historical Society I felt great satisfaction when today's visit to the Society Rooms fulfilled a long-felt desire. The pleasure was heightened when I could do so in the company of my friends and Colleagues Messrs G. V. Khare, Shri S. N. Joshi, Prof. R. V. Otarkar, N. G. Tavakar and Shri Gokhale. We were all on our way back from Waltair Session of the Indian History Conference. My friend Shri R. Subba Rao and his labours in the field of Andhra History and Literature are the efforts of a pioneer. All credit to him and his colleagues and supporters. The only desire I could express here is that such an effort deserves every possible support from the Andhra Government, the Andhra University and Andhra Public. I wish the Society grows into a great Centre of Andhra Research.

(Mahamahopādhyāya) Datta Vaman Potdar, G. H. Khare, Curator, P. R. Gokhale, M. A., M. Ed., S. N. Joshi, R. V. Otarkar, B. A., Mandala, Poona. N. G. Tavakar, B. A., Principal, D. V. M. Bombay.

1st Jan. 1954.

GOVERNMENT OF ANDHRA

Education, Health and Local Administration Department.

G. O. Ms. No. 100, Education, dated 7th December, 1953.

ABSTRACT:—Grant—Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry—Token Grant—Sanctioned.

Read the following:

Madras Government Order No. 1702 Education, dated 15-7-53.

From the Director of Public Instruction, No. 209—E 3/53 dated 30-10-53.

ORDER:—The Government sanction a token grant of Rs. 500/- (Rupees Five hundred Only) to the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry in appreciation of the efforts of the Society.

2. The Director of Public Instruction is requested to disburse the Grant to the Society after 1st April, 1954.

3. The expenditure should be debited to "37 Education—S. Miscellaneous—A General & other grants."

(By order of the Governor) S. R. Kaiwar, Secretary to Government.

Proceedings of the Annual General Body Meeting held on 7-4-1950.

THE XXVIIITH ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1949-50 ON THE WORK OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJAHMUNDRY.

The last Annual General Body Meeting was held on 10-4-49 and the following Office-bearers were elected to carry on the administration of the Society for 1949-50 :—

President :— Sri N. Kameswararao Pantulu, B.A., B.L.

Vice-President :— Sri Raja V. Venkappa Rao Bahadur.

Treasurer :— Sri Raja K. S. Jagannadha Rao Bahadur.

General Secretary :— Prof. Sri R. Subba Rao ,

M. A., L. T. M. E. S. (Retd.)

Joint Secretary :— ~~Sri~~ M. AnnaReddi M.A., B.L.

Librarian :— Sri D. Venkata Rao, M.A., L.T.M.E.S. (Retd.)

Members of the Managing Council.

Messrs 1. K. V. Punniiah, M. A., L. T.,

„ 2. N. V. Narasimham,

„ 3. Ch. Hanumanta Rao, B. A.

„ 4. Hota Sri Ramasastry, B. A., B. L.

Changes in office bearers :

You know our General Secretary, Mr. R. Subba Rao was appointed as Head of the History Dept. in the Orissa Government Ravenshah College Cattack, and had to leave Rajahmundry on the second of September 1949. On that occasion, I was Selected as General Secretary in the place of Prof. R. Subba Rao for the the remaining portion of the year.

Managing Committee meetings.

There were altogether 10 meetings of the managing council in the year. The meeting held on 26-8-49 was a special meeting and it was a thanks-giving one to Mr. R. Subba Rao for all the services rendered by him till then i. e., for over 25 years to the Society on the occasion of his leaving Rajahmundry for his special duties under Orissa Government as Head of History Department, in Govt. Ravenshah College, Cuttack.

During the year, our society was represented by Prof. R. Subba Rao & by Mr. A. S. N. Murty of Chatrapur at the Indian History Congress held at Cuttack in December 1949. As usual, Prof. R. Subba Rao also represented the Society at the other All-India meetings.

Dr. C. Narayana Rao Memorial Volume.

Membership:

The number of members, all classes, during the year was 160 and the number of subscribers 40.

Finances:

You will hear a detailed report of the financial condition of the Society from the Hony. Treasurer. The main Sources of income were from subscribers, and from sale of publications and rent of Rs.480/- got from the Standard VocumOilCo. Mr.Subba Rao, was responsible to help us by getting orders for several whole sets of Society's Journals for the Colleges in Orissa. We received Rs. 100/- as Grant from Govt., for the Library. There was a donation of Rs. 116/- given by Mr. T. Rami Reddi of Nellore which was also got by Prof. R. Subba Rao. There are several promises of help to the Society for the publication of its Commemoration Volumes viz, Vengi and Vizianagar Samchikas which have not yet been realised.

Activities:

On invitation, we exhibited all our publications, English and Telugu, at the exhibition of books arranged on the occasion of the conferring the honour of Asthana Kavi on Chellapilla Venkata Sastry garu at Bezvada in the month of September 1949. The Society also presented an address to Brahmasri Veturri Prabhakara Sastry garu on 11—2—50 and presented him with a pair of cloths, in connection with the celebrations organised by Kalabhi Vardhani Parishat.

During the year, the Society printed & published Vol. XVI of the Journal. The 17th Volume is under print & nearing completion. Some pages of 18th Volume are also printed. 200 pages of Vengi Samchika are also printed. During the year, our Manuscripts Library received attention of several learned bodies and scholars. The Madras Government Mss. Library took a loan of several of the rare Mss. of our Society such as Jñāna Sindhu, Charuchandra Charitra, Taraka Brahmarajceyam and Kalpalatha and other works, and got them transcribed. There are still valuable and unpublished books, in our collection which merit study & publication. The work of cataloguing is yet incomplete. For a proper display & preservation, good, open Racks with Tin containers are required. We have not got enough money for the work. We have purchased a new Almyrah for our books from the Library grant given by the Government.

During the year, we acquired for the Library by purchase the Raja Dharma Volume of the Mahābhārata published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. We got by presentation several Books. A copy of "Lilavati", the romantic story of the marriage of Lilavati with the Andhra king Hala was presented by the Sindhi Jaina Grantha Māla, of Bombay. This work contains descriptions of the temple of Sri Bhimeswara at Drākshārāma. The Editor acknowledges the help rendered by the Society through its Secretary Prof. R. Subba Rao in sending him good photographs of the temple of Bhimeswara etc. Other valuable publications got for review or exchange are Pahlavi Vennidad (~~Zendavesta~~) by Anklasaia, Origin and growth of Parakala Mutt, E.P. Ind. Vol XXVII and others.

Conclusion :

Our thanks are due to the President & Editor & the Hony. Treasurer & the Joint-Secretary who ceaselessly worked for the Society. Our particular thanks are no less due to our Ex-General Secretary Prof. R. Subba Rao who, though away, is rendering supreme service to the Society. Vaddadi Appa Rao, Secretary.

Annual Report of the Librarian & Curator of Museum

The Library and Museum are recognised as the mainstay of the Society and we possess a very valuable library and a priceless museum of copper-plate and stone inscriptions and coins. But the books require a thorough checking and re-arranging and the Museum articles a careful re-sorting.

After I had taken charge of the Section after the last Annual Meeting, I attempted the process of checking and re-arranging and re-sorting and spent a few days over the work and made some slight progress, but the immensity of the effort involved and obvious difficulty of the task without the close assistance of a person who had an intimate acquaintance with the contents of the Section and the changing clerks who are absolutely new to the whole atmosphere discouraged me and I felt difficult to continue the work. I must express my regret that I could not preserve and render a most desirable service the Section needed.

The Library Section has not recorded much progress except by way of attracting a larger number of visitors and readers to the Reading Room.

Dr. C. Narayana Rao Memorial Volume.

Our Library receives about 80 Journals on exchange basis and these include, as ever, very valuable journals from learned bodies in India and abroad. There has been a reduction however in the number of the journals and periodicals actually received during the year evidently because of the irregularity of the availability of our own Journal for exchange. But this deterioration can be made up if the publication of our own Journal is regularised and Issues of it are promptly despatched for exchange.

During the year under review, there are 464 additions in toto to the Library, of books, journals and periodicals, of which the number of new books received was only 50.

The number of visitors and readers during the year was 7,300 as against the previous years' number of 6,000, and the average of daily attendance has worked out at 20 as against 17 of the previous year. This is one direction, however, in which I could report progress indicative of the increasing usefulness of our Reading Room.

There have been no additions to the Museum.

The Library received during the year under review a Library Grant of Rs. 100/- only from the Government and nothing yet from the Municipality. With the help of the grant we have purchased a new big almyrah and some books. More money and more space are needed to house and preserve the contents of the Library and Museum.

The cataloguing of the palm-leaf Manuscripts remains to be completed with the help of a scholar such as had been engaged, for some time during the previous year.

I close the Report with a hope that the desired re-arranging and re-sorting may be done during the ensuing year and the Library and the Museum kept in a more orderly and presentable form for greater usefulness to the Members and the Public.

D. Venkata Rao,
Hon. Librarian & Curator.

Annual Report of the Treasurer.

President and Gentlemen:

Regarding finances of the Society, I am herewith submitting the statement. There is no time to have it audited and we

have little balance to have it done early in these days. The starting balance of 1948—49 was only Rs. 485-4-4 and we are better off in that respect, as 1140—11—9 this year we had and we have Rs. 282-10-0 for next year 1950-51. Our expenditure is as usual.

The Library grant is received and the Municipal grant is yet to come. The term of lease to the Standard Oil Co., is over and they are perhaps entitled to hold over of their own accord for another year as I think or hear according to the agreement. So, it has to be ascertained if we are not entitled to receive rent than Rs. 432/- as advance for 1950-51. This I casually mention to recollect it to our Hon. Secretary as it suits to more his convenience.

Rajahmundry
5—4—1950

R. K. S. Jaganadha Rao
Hon. Treasurer.

Annual Report of the Librarian and Curator for the year 1949-50

The Library and Museum are recognised as the mainstay of the Society and we possess a very valuable library and a priceless Museum of copper - plate inscriptions and coins. But the books require a thorough checking and re-arranging and the museum articles a careful re-sorting.

After I had taken charge of the Section after the last Annual Meeting, I attempted the process of checking and re-arranging and re-sorting and spent a few days over the work and made some slight progress, but the immensity of the effort involved and the obvious difficulty of the task without the close assistance of a person who had an intimate acquaintance with the contents of the Section and with changing clerks who were absolutely new to the whole atmosphere discouraged me and I felt diffident to continue the work. I must express my regret that I could not persevere and render the most desirable service the Section needed.

The Section has not recorded much progress except by way of attracting a larger number of visitors and readers to the Reading Room.

Our Library receives about 80 Journals on exchange basis and these include, as ever very valuable journals from learned bodies in India and abroad. There has been a reduction, however, in the number of the journals and periodicals actually received during the year evidently because of the irregularity of the availability of our own Journal for exchange but this deterioration can be made up if the publication of our own journal is regularised and issues of it are promptly despatched for exchange.

During the year under review there were 464 additions in toto to the Library, of books, journals and periodicals, of which the number of new books received was only 50.

The number of visitors and and readers during the year was 7,300 as against the previous year's number of 6,000, and the average of daily attendance has worked at 20 as against 17 of the previous year. This is one direction, however, in which I could report progress indicative of the increasing usefulness of our Reading Room.

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The cataloguing of the [palm leaf Manuscripts remains to be completed with the help of a scholar such as had been engaged for some time during the previous year.

I close the report with a hope that the desired rearranging and re-sorting may be done during the ensuing year and the Library and the Museum kept in a more orderly and presentable form for greater usefulness to the Members and the Public.

Rajahmundry,
6th. April, '50.

D. VENKATARAO
Hon. Librarian and Curator.

THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJAHMUNDRY.
 RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT FOR THE PERIOD FROM 1—4—49 to 31—3—50.

RECEIPTS,	Rs.	As.	Ps.	PAYMENTS.	Rs.	As.	Ps.
To Opening cash balance.	104	10	5	By Books B/S.	24	0	0
„ Subscriptions.				„ Deposit in Aryapur Bank.	0	8	6
„ Individuals.	573	0	0	„ Andhra Bank Deposit.	127	1	0
„ Institutions.	336	11	0	„ Lighting.	41	7	9
„ Donations.	171	0	0	„ Deposit in Imperial Bank.	463	9	0
„ Sale of Journals.	730	2	0	„ Municipal Taxes.	94	6	10
„ Interest.	2	9	6	„ Reading Room Expenses.	39	7	6
„ Library grant.	100	0	0	„ Library.	205	11	0
„ Postage.	1	12	3	„ Postage.	80	12	0
„ Recoveries.	18	0	0	„ Establishment.	363	4	0
„ Loans.	384	8	0	„ Printing charges.	1162	0	0
„ Sale of old articles.	7	10	0	„ Travelling.	76	0	0
„ Miscellaneous Receipts.	26	14	0	„ Loans repaid.	334	8	0
„ Andhra Bank withdrawals.	525	0	0	„ Other items.	680	11	9
„ Imperial Bank withdrawals.	915	0	0	„ Contingencies.	53	3	5
				„ Building repairs.	54	1	6
				„ Cash on hand.	95	9	11
	3896	13	2		3896	13	2

Rajahmundry,
1—4—1951.

D. KAMESWARARAO.
Chartered Accountant.

THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY. RAJAHMUNDRY.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE PERIOD FROM 1—4—49 to 31—3—50.

Rajahmundry,
1-4-1951.

D. KAMESWARARAO,
Chartered Accountant.

SRI DRONAMRAJU KAMESWARA ROW PANTULU, B.A., G.D.A., F.C.A.
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANT & AUDITOR.

IX

AUDIT REPORT

THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJAHMUNDRY.

BALANCE SHEET AS ON 31-3-1950

	Rs.	As.	Ps.		Rs.	As.	Ps.
Loan on Pronote to Sri N. Kameswararao				House and sites as per last B/S.	21448	15	3
Pantulu Garu.	2000	0	0	Cost of 6 sets of Copper-plates			
Other loans.	110	0	0	as per last B.S.	1200	0	0
Silver Jubilee Donation.	100	0	0	Palmleaf manuscripts in Telugu &			
Capital as per last B/S	49,563	13	8	Sanskrit as per last B.S.	4000	0	0
less Excess of Expenditure over Income.	740	14	0	Telugu & English printed books as			
				per last B.S.	800	0	0
				Museum A.C. as per last B.S.	10000	0	0
				Furniture as per last B.S.	3000	0	0
				Books as per last B.S.	605	5	0
				Add addition	24	0	0
					629	5	0
				Photos & enlargments as per last B.S.	549		0
				Electrical installations as per last B.S.	230	6	6
				Water tap.	114	0	0
				<u>Stock of Journals.</u>			
				Kalinga Sanchikas 153			
				@ 8 each.	1224-		

X



Kakateya. Sanchikas 186@5-	930-		
Reddy Sanchikas 325. @ 6-	1950-		
A. H. R. Society Journals			
3882 @ 1-	3882-	7986	0 0
Deposit with R.E.S.Co.,Ltd.,			
as per last B.S.		165	8 0
Subscriptions due.		195	0 0
Rent Receivable.		432	0 0
<u>Cash & Bank Balances.</u>			
Andhra Bank Ltd. .	11-15-3		
Aryapur Urban Bank Ltd.	28- 3-9		
Imperial Bank of India.	146-13-0		
Cash on hand.	95- 9-11	282	9 11
		<u>51,032</u>	<u>15 8</u>

Separate report herewith attached.

Rajahmundry,
1-4-1951.

D. KAMESWARARAO.
Chartered Accountant.